Right-Wing Directory

Introduction

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Afrikaner Volksfront

The Afrikaner Volksfront was established in 1977 and was led by Pieter du Plessis and Dr. Ernst Venter. It was one of the main right-wing movements in South Africa. The Afrikaner Volksfront is described as a right-wing extremist group that is largely based in the white minority community.

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Independent Board of Inquiry - March 1996
Profiles of Right-wing organisations

Introduction

For most South Africans, the right-wing threat means the AWB and other vigilante groups associated with it in style and method. However, few know of the shadowy groups operating even further to the right. Thus the danger in having numerous small splinter groups of the right-wing is that they remain anonymous while they design acts of terror. The disadvantage of the right-wing being so fragmented is that each unit of the right-wing will have its own commanders.

Almost all of the right-wing organisations share members between them, thus increasing the difficulty of ascertaining the exact number of members per organisation. However many of these members belong to, or at least have links with, several right-wing organisations and a large number belong to the AWB.

Afrikaner Fasciste (AF)

Afrikaner Fascists

The Afrikaner Fascists is led by Armando Pellencin. Pellencin is the son of a former Italian prisoner of war in South Africa. Susan Pellencin, Armando's wife, was an active member of the AWB's welfare project. The AF is a low profile organisation probably consisting of Pellencin and a handful of members. On the 15th of November 1993 an unidentified AF member laid a wreath on Strijdom Square in Pretoria in honour of convicted mass-murderer Barend Strydom.

Afrikanerfront (AF)

Afrikaner Front

The Afrikaner Front (AF) was established in 1989. The AF originally consisted mostly of former high-ranking members of the AWB who had fallen out with Terre'Blanche. Although the AF is now dormant as an organisation, its members still play influential roles in general right-wing politics. The function of the AF has largely been usurped by organisations like Vekom and the Afrikaner Volksfront.

Afrikaanse Gereformeerde Bond (AGB)

The Afrikaanse Gereformeerde Bond is a conservative grouping in the Dutch Reform Church. They are not prepared to break with the DRC and join the Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk. The ABG is headed by theological historian Professor Carel Boshoff. Boshoff sees negotiations with all parties as a prerequisite for obtaining a homeland. Boshoff publicly supports the Freedom Front.

Afrikaner Kultuurbond (AKB)

The AKB was established in 1990 by Mossie van den Bergh (CP, VEKOM, AV) with a view to acting as a co-ordinating organisation for the right-wing cultural organisations, but it has had limited success. The AKB later became known as the Afrikaner Kultuurraad. Other members include Professor PG Nel (AV, CP) and Koos Lombard (CP).
Afrikaner Nasional Sosialisties Party.

Afrikaner National Socialist Party

A Nazi movement which espouses Hitler's ideology promoting the annihilation of blacks and Jews. Members include Dr Poll Doussy, Koos Vermuelen (also WAM) and Walter Helm.

An advertisement recruiting international neo-Nazis to "work" in South Africa was linked to the ANS.\(^1\) According to *The Citizen*, a Frenchman and a pair of New Zealand twins were arrested in separate right-wing incidents, and are among 50 people who have been recruited to "work" in South Africa. Monica Huggett, from Kempton Park, emerged as the key figure in the recruitment drive.\(^2\) Huggett, an ANS member, was arrested in March 1994 on charges of illegal possession of firearms. The *WM&G* state, "her recruits have behaved like hooligans rather than professional undercover operatives."

The New Zealand twins, Christopher and Robert Grose, and a companion, Shane Els are being charged with illegal possession of arms and ammunition. The twins, who arrived in South Africa in May threw in their lot with the right-wing cause, volunteering to protect Terre'Banche's Venterdorp farm.\(^3\) They were released on R2 000 bail after appearing in court on the 23rd June 1994, and their case was remanded to the 15th July 1994.

Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk (APK)

Afrikaans Protestant Church

A 'reformed' Church of Christ which is restricted to only white Afrikaners. The APK broke away from the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in 1986 because it was disappointed with the new "liberal" direction of the DRC, in particular a DRC statement that apartheid is a sin. Within three months after its founding the APK had a membership of about 15 000 and 60 parishes.\(^4\) Members of the APK include Willem Lubbe, Dr Coenie Snyman (chief Chaplain of the AWB) and Dr Dirk Malan.

There is strong support for the APK in the Northern and Western Transvaal. The APK has an estimated 20 000 members in South Africa and Namibia. They boast 239 parishes with 135 ministers.

A spiritual home for the Volk

Dominee Adendorff, the APK's chief administrator, in an interview granted to the Independent Board of Inquiry, explained that the shift in the DRC's political focus has led to today's situation, "we are on the brink of being overthrown by the communists." Adendorff served as a dominee in the DRC for 20 years before leading the walk-out in 1986. Sitting in his office in the huge Cape-Dutch styled mansion in Pretoria, Adendorff explained, "Communism is the anti-Christ. The DRC has embedded all the demands of the ANC's communistic Freedom Charter. This is why we walked out."

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1 *Citizen* 12/6/94
2 *Weekly Mail & Guardian* 17/06/1994
3 *Sunday Times* 12/06/1994
4 *Sunday Times* 5/03/1989
Questioning Adendorff about the APK’s policy of racial separation he referred us to the Bible to explain that nations are separated in heaven and each church has a responsibility to its own nation. "I know it’s not popular but I believe grand apartheid is a good way to give people their freedom. I am not a racist. I believe that as long as everybody accepts Jesus Christ they will have eternal salvation in heaven. The chosen people will see God face to face.”

According to Adendorff the APK is not a political institution and its mission is simply to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ to Afrikaners. He was scathing about the Broederbond saying, "The Broederbond has managed to influence the Dutch Reformed Church to serve their political needs." He also criticised De Klerk for his reforms, believing that he is promoting drug abuse, sexual promiscuity and turning the Sabbath into an unholy day. "This is in line with the coming of an anti-Christian government. Values where we can never have peace. The communists are atheists and are against Jesus Christ."

Adendorff warned us that a united South Africa will be doomed. "Just like in the Soviet Union, they also tried to mix the nationalities together. I support the idea of a Volkstaat but every nation must have its own independent state. The communists say they are ready to negotiate the principle of a volkstaat with us. We have in our possession a confidential statement from the SACP where Slovo states that they would never concede a Volkstaat."

Afrikaanse Studentefront (ASF)

Afrikaaner Student Front

The Afrikaaner Studentefront first came to public notice in September 1990. The occasion was a speech by, the then, African National Congress Foreign Affairs spokesperson, Thabo Mbeki, at the University of Pretoria. Right-wing students burnt two ANC flags outside the meeting and displayed a heap of tyres. The tyres, representing 'necklacing' were described as "the ANC’s toys".

In March 1991 the ASF came to prominence again at a meeting in Pretoria addressed by Org Marais, former Deputy Finance Minister. The meeting was continually disrupted by the shouting of slogans and the eventual singing of 'Lied van Jong Suid Afrika' (the song of young South Africa) which is regarded by many right-wingers as their national anthem. The demonstrators were eventually removed by members of the South African Police. After the meeting an ASF official said the Afrikaner youth was being forced into alternative means of protest by the government's refusal to call a white election.

On the 29th April 1991 a group of right-wing students, affiliated to the ASF, disrupted an ANC meeting held at the University of Pretoria. Nelson Mandela was prevented from addressing the crowd by protesters shouting "Mandela go home" and "ANC scum". Two ANC flags were burnt when Mandela took the platform. The disruption of the meeting started when an elderly Pretoria right-winger, Hendrik Claasens, stepped up on to the stage and attempted to address the audience. Thirty years before, Claasens led a group which broke up a meeting addressed by the then ANC President, Chief Albert Luthuli.

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5 Thabo Mbeki was sworn in as a Deputy President of South Africa on the 10th May 1994.
6 Vrye Weekblad 28/09/1990
7 Beeld 22/03/1991
8 Citizen 30/04/1994
One month later the ASF was banned by the University of Pretoria's Student Representative Council (SRC) from operating on the campus. The CP said they would provide money to cover the legal costs of the students involved in the demonstration. In response to its banning, the ASF intended to form the Afrikaner Studentraad, a student body to represent right-wing students.

On the 20 May 1991 the ASF held a memorial service to commemorate 19 people killed by a bomb blast in Pretoria 1983. The ASF issued a statement warning the ANC and the Nationalist Party not to decide on the future of the Afrikaners. "The murderers and terrorists responsible for the 1983 blast were today - together with the National Party - wishing to determine the future of our country. We regard it as a scandal, and nothing less than an act of treason on the part of the National Party to try and determine our future with communist murderers such as these." The fourteen ASF members who took part in the service displayed placards reading, "Keep South Africa clean - ban the ANC/SACP."

The ASF has stated that in light of political development in the country they have no option but to resort to extra-political activities. Following the disruption of the Mandela meeting the ASF warned that their actions would become more extreme if the ANC did not realise that whites were not to be touched. The ASF have also warned that the ANC would not decide on the future of whites.

In the early 1990's the significance of the increase in right-wing student activity showed the image of the right-wing as becoming more acceptable to a broader spectrum of the public. The danger in the growth of the right-wing student movement is two-fold. Firstly the right-wing is providing itself with an 'intelligentsia' from which future leaders and planners can be drawn and secondly, examples from all over the world have shown that students often form the back-bone of militant movements. However, as quickly as right-wing student activism had increased so has it decreased.

Afrikaner Volkstaatbeweging (AVB)

Afrikaner Nation State Movement

The AVB was established in 1991 for the purpose of bombing Hillview School in Pretoria and other acts of sabotage. Hillview School, bombed on the 14th of July 1991, was intended to accommodate 700 children of returning ANC exiles. Damage was estimated at between R800 000 and R1 million. An anonymous caller told the media that the AVB had been responsible for a number of Transvaal bomb blasts which destroyed the post offices in Verwoerdberg and Krugersdorp and damaged the Hillview High School and Cosatu offices in Pretoria.

A statement issued on the 26th January 1992 by AVB spokesperson, Dries Kriel, urged right-wing organisations to play an active role in the negotiation process. "We are on the eve of a 20 year-plus jail sentence because of the deeds for which we have accepted responsibility. We are prepared to negotiate final borders for an Afrikaner State, but we are not prepared to share power with blacks."

Kriel, who was out of jail on R20 000 bail, appeared in court in connection with 30 terror charges, including sabotage. The charges have not yet been finalised and all cases are sub judice.

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9 Citizen 01/05/1991
10 Citizen 24/05/1991
11 Citizen 21/05/1991
12 Beeld 22/03/1991
13 Citizen 30/04/1991
14 Citizen 21/05/1991
Sapa reported that the AVB announced it would abandon violence and back Freedom Front leader, General Constand Viljoen. Admitting responsibility for past acts of violence, Dries Kriel said that he had decided to back the Freedom Front because of its successful attempt to establish a volkstaat council.

Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU)

Afrikaner People's Union

The Afrikaner Volksunie was established in 1992 when five Conservative Party Members of Parliament broke away because of increasing disillusionment with the CP. The driving force of the AVU is the 'Volkstaat' ideal. According to Johann van Rooyen, "The major policy difference between the AVU and the CP concerned the new party's emphasis on a territorially less ambitious homeland, a demand for self-determination (not apartheid), an emphasis on the Afrikaner ethnic group (not the white racial group), and negotiations with all parties (not just with conservative homeland leaders)."

Tensions inside the AVU prompted its chief negotiator, advocate Chris de Jager, to resign from the party's negotiating team. This confirmed speculation that the AVU was crumbling. The emergence of the AVF was seen to be responsible for usurping the support and the profile the AVU tried to harness. The demands of the AVU has been overtaken by the more militant right-wing groups and the AVU has disappeared from the political arena.

Afrikaner Volkswag (AV)

Afrikaners Peoples Guard

The Afrikaner Volkswag was established in 1984 by Professor Carel and Anna Boshoff to counter NP establishment organisations such as Federasie vir Afrikaanse Kultuur (Federation of Afrikaner Culture). The aim of the AV was to co-ordinate the cultural activities of the right-wing. Professor Boshoff, who at the time was the chairperson of the Afrikaner Broederbond, broke from the Broederbonds towards the end of 1983.

The Volkswag supports the formation of the white homeland of Orania. Twelve thousand supporters attended the founding meeting, amongst them were prominent leaders across the right-wing spectrum. The AWB played a prominent part in the founding with several influential right-wingers making up an initial 50 000 strong membership. Since 1990 the AV has steadily declined in support. The loss of support is attributed to serious financial problems as well as internal differences with regard to the particular Volkstaat views of Professor Boshoff.

Professor Boshoff has repeatedly stated that he is prepared to negotiate about the land for a volkstaat with any party including the ANC. He has stated that the concept of a volkstaat itself, however, is not negotiable and a refusal to recognise this could lead to violence.

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15 Information from the South African Press Agency as reported in The Citizen (10/5/94)
16 Van Rooyen (12;1994)
17 See IBI's August 1993 report.
18 Van Rooyen (1994:95)
20 Beeld 23/10/1990
21 Beeld 21/7/1990 and Beeld 23/10/1990
AVSTIG was established in 1988 by Professor Carel Boshoff to push for a white homeland. AVSTIG was instrumental in establishing the town of Orania in 1991. Boshoff believes that a national identity can only be cultivated in a national homeland where there is complete sovereignty. He argues that Afrikaners are being assimilated and are identifying as South Africans rather than Afrikaners. Boshoff concludes, "Afrikaners must work out their own destiny."

"We are not in the Volkstaat because we hate blacks. We are not racists, but it is a matter of self preservation." Thys Pick - Orania’s caretaker

Orania was founded in 1968, when the government department of Water Affairs began building dams and developing canal systems from the Orange River into adjacent farming areas. When families of the white workers finished the project in January 1989, they left behind 90 prefabricated houses, a primary school, a church and a post office.

Most of the town structures were falling apart when Boshoff and his foundation bought the town at an auction. They told the 400 coloured people who lived outside the town to pack up and leave. They now live in the nearby towns of Hopetown, Petrusburg and Kimberly. "This is the first Afrikaner homeland in the world. We bought the land, not the people," said Orania's caretaker, Thys Fick. One week before the official opening of Orania, the last ten ‘coloured’ families were moved to Warrenton, more than 100 kilometres away.

Orania is envisaged as the growth point of a Volkstaat that will stretch over a large part of the arid North Western Cape Province where Afrikaners can consolidate their power. Boshoff believes that the area earmarked for the homeland could be turned into a lush paradise and could eventually accommodate up to three million whites. Orania has a present population of around 350 members.

Rich Mkhondo outlines his impression of Orania, "I found Orania to be a harsh, Calvinist motherland, far from the swimming pools and verdant verandas which most residents have left behind in white suburbia. The houses were flimsy and dilapidated, the roads cracked and buckled. The shortage of labour was a problem. Some paid white labourers sometimes refuse to do what they call 'kaffir' work and they resent living in houses formerly occupied by coloureds. It is doubtful whether Orania will ever be self sufficient. Boshoff agrees, but he is banking on the homeland becoming part of a constellation of regional states to be bordered by the new South Africa."

According to a journalist working for a foreign film company who visited Orania, "Orania is mostly inhabited by pensioners who fear blacks. There are some young idealists who have attempted to create a little white kibbutz in South Africa. But, there is simply no infrastructure. As much as they try to promote the idea that they are doing their own work, the truth is they are forced to rely on the surrounding farms for their food."

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12 This quote is from an interview with Fick printed in Reporting South Africa by Rich Mkhondo (1993:113)
23 City Press 07/04/1991
24 Rich Mkhondo is a journalist for Reuters a news and information service. This extract is taken from his book Reporting South Africa (1993:113)
25 The journalist wished to remain anonymous.
Carel Boshoff Junior disagrees, "Oranje's economy is small but it is viable. We have companies producing goods. We produce clips for arch files and spare parts for tractors. There is a butchery, a bakery, a doctor and a guest house. A lot of idealistic young people live in Oranje. People ask me if I feel isolated when I am in Oranje. The truth is I feel isolated when I am in Pretoria. There is political tension in Oranje. Fifty percent of Oranje residents supported the Freedom Front while the other fifty percent boycotted the election."

This report has been primarily concerned with the political and military aspect of the right-wing. However, deep in the bigotry of the right-wing is a small group of intellectuals who seem to have an ideology that is not based on blind racism but what seems to be a genuine commitment to self-determination.

The son of Professor Carel Boshoff, Carel Boshoff Junior, is in his thirties and works as the researcher for the AVSTIG. One month after South Africa's first non-racial elections were held Boshoff explained the history of the development of the right-wing. What unfolded was a story about, as Boshoff put it, "the uneasy relationship between the political and the philosophical right-wing." Most of the information in this section is based on this interview with Boshoff.

According to Boshoff Junior the Afrikaner Volkswag was a loose unity movement for the four right-wing leaders, namely former CP leader the late Andries Treunicht, Professor Boshoff, HNP leader Jaap Marais and AWB head, Eugene Terre'Blanche. However, when AVSTIG was formed, it put forward as its proposal for an area for a possible volkstaat, the western parts of South Africa - the Northern Cape. This caused a split amongst those volkstaaters who desire the Northern parts of the country as the area demarcated for a volkstaat. The right-wing groups opposing AVSTIG's proposal were The Vereeniging van Oranjewerkers, SABRA, the CP and the AWB. These organisations have not yet put forward a realistic volkstaat map on the table.

In 1988, after Terre'Blanche had been discredited by the Jani Allen affair (Terre'Blanche was accused of having an affair with Ms Allen a journalist with the Sunday Times) and the four right-wing leaders had parted ways, the political right-wing embarked on a crusade of purity. This was emphasised in their rhetoric, they were no longer talking about themselves as Afrikaners but Boers. Boshoff explained that the shift to Boers was because, "Brown people are also Afrikaners, but by definition only whites can be considered Boers."

In a bid to unite volkstaaters the first Volkstaatrading was established in 1990. This was a voluntary council of both small and large volkstaat groupings. This did not last long. According to Boshoff, "Not long after the Volkstaatrading was established my father [Professor Boshoff] had a formal meeting with the ANC. He was forced to pull out of the Volkstaatrading." A second Volkstaatrading was formed by AVSTIG. The aim of this council was to plan the economic development of the volkstaat. "At this time," said Boshoff, "the Volkstaatrading had planned a strategy for acquiring a volkstaat. We would negotiate with the government for a volkstaat. At the same time, with the help of the government, Afrikaners will move into the Northern Cape becoming the majority in the region. A volkstaat will not be created overnight. A volkstaat could not have been established before the 27th April. In order for the volkstaat to be democratically governed by Afrikaners we must wait ten to twenty years. It is the only realistic way. We must just persuade our followers to be patient."

According to Boshoff the Afrikaner Volksfront has no vision for a volkstaat because it has not accepted the new government. However it still plans to proceed with its own structures. Boshoff believes that the Afrikaner Volksfront is now in a crisis. He challenges the Volksfront's claim that it is inclusive of all Afrikaners. Boshoff explains, "Yet AVSTIG, SABRA and the AV have all pulled out of the Volksfront to back General Viljoen. The AVF did not act as a right-wing umbrella body because it was dominated by the Conservative Party. The AVF thought that it could draw its
power base from the AWB's military power. After Bophuthatswana they, along with the rest of the world, realised that the AWB's power was just an illusion.

"In the mean time the volkstaat proposal for the Northern Cape - the western part of South Africa - had gained a basis of popular support. The crisis within the Afrikaner Volksfront prompted General Viljoen to formulate a plan. He registered the Freedom Front and contested the elections. Viljoen realised that we had to open our options because boycotting the election would result in violence. The Conservative Party stuck to their guns. By the time Viljoen had registered the Freedom Front, the extreme right-wing had declared the election as the coming of the anti-Christ. Viljoen was then labelled a traitor who was in the employ of the state."

"The ultra right-wing thought that Inkatha would not participate in the election and that together they could wreck the election. The Conservative Party thought they would then be able to force an all-white election. The Freedom Front have taken the initiative while the AVF and the CP have moved to the background."

"Questions concerning where?, how?, what? and when? are being referred to the Volkstaatraad [Volkstaat Council]. The first task of the Volkstaatraad will be to identify the criteria for a plan to achieve a Volkstaat. The second leg of the Volkstaatraad will be to set up mechanisms to protect Afrikaners who don't live in the volkstaat. This will be based on the Community Councils which have been established in Belgium. These Community Councils will protect Afrikaners living under a new dispensation by ensuring that they are not being discriminated against. Like seeing that their own school systems are preserved. Just before you arrived at the office someone phoned to tell me that my name had been announced over the radio as a member of the Volkstaatraad. Although the ANC have not committed themselves to the creation of an Afrikaner volkstaat I believe if we can come up with a realistic option the ANC will not ignore it. If PW Botha was asked ten years ago who he thought would be president in 1994, he would not have said Mandela."

For Boshoff a volkstaat has to be acceptable to the international community based on democratic principles. Boshoff explained, "We do not need to expressly state that the volkstaat will be non-racial since, by adhering to democratic principles, that is implied. The volkstaat will be part of a regional settlement something like the Southern African Commonwealth. The volkstaat is not an Amish-type experiment. We would co-operate economically with South Africa, Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe."

"The Freedom Front will take its lead politically from the Volkstaatraad. The Volkstaatraad will be responsible for ensuring that the volkstaat is both politically and economically viable. A volkstaat can not be avoided. Resistance to the new government is possible but it is not likely. It all depends on levels of frustration. We are not extremists but, resistance will follow if we are frustrated in our decent attitude."

The broad objective of AVSTIG is the research into the most viable way of establishing a volkstaat. AVSTIG researches the economic foundations of a volkstaat which would be based on regional development and community empowerment. AVSTIG is also concerned with the philosophical question, ensuring that human rights and civil liberties are incorporated into the "volkstaat philosophy." Boshoff believes that Afrikaners are in a crisis of nationalism and parallels this crisis with the crisis facing socialism.
Afrikaner **Weerstandsbeweging** (AWB)

**Afrikaner Resistance Movement**

The AWB is the most infamous of all South African ultra-right wing groups. The militant and radical AWB was founded by a group of seven men in Heidelberg in 1973. One of them was Eugene Terre'Blanche. One of the major reasons for the formation of the AWB was the National Party's policy of "appeasement". It was also felt that the Afrikaners in South Africa did not share the same destiny as other whites in South Africa. Thus the AWB was launched in direct opposition to the National Party government, which it viewed as representing a threat to the Afrikaner people.

Terre'Blanche has been thrown into the political limelight after scandals surrounding his personal life. Although the AWB has lost much of its coherence, Terre'Blanche has managed to emerge as leader of the ultra right-wing. Terre'Blanche reflects in his speeches the more militant tone of the organisation since the end of white rule has become a political reality.

Terre'Blanche is a poetic orator who invokes powerful emotional responses by conjuring up images of Boer women and children interned in British concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer war. **Terre'Blanche** has said on numerous occasions "An unarmed white man in Africa is a dead man." Calling on right-wingers to arm themselves, Terre'Blanche stated, "We are not seeking a million votes but a million rifles."  

Terre'Blanche has on a number of occasion publicly stated that the AWB will wage war on an ANC government.  

Commenting on the right-wing invasion of the World Trade Centre, Terre'Blanche said the AWB has started "it" [the war on the ANC] and added "you can be sure we will not let our fatherland be stolen by people who are killers, terrorists and murderers".  

Furthermore Terre'Blanche has stated that the AWB would attack the ANC if one white person was hurt as a result of mass action; and that "all hell will break loose" unless the government released right-wing detainees. The AWB have also said that it would reclaim Boer land by violent means and has threatened revolution if claims for a Boer homeland are not recognised.

Speaking at a meeting in Cape Town's city hall Terre'Blanche urged his followers to take up arms and fight to have Cape Town included in a future Boer state. "A volk's borders are not drawn on paper by academics, but by the clatter of guns, bombs and cannons, the tears of mothers and the courage of men. Prepare yourselves for war." Terre'Blanche also warned that if the Boers don't get their volkstaat, "South Africa will look like Guy Fawkes".

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26 South African legislation allows whites to posses up to 27 firearms.
28 Citizen 30/06/1993
29 Star 06/12/1990
30 Star 27/02/1991
31 Sowetan 19/07/1991 and Citizen 27/05/1991
32 Star 04/05/1993
33 Citizen 09/07/1993
Nine days before South Africa’s first democratic election AWB Media spokesperson, Fred Rundel, said, "De Klerk has betrayed us. He has abandoned the principles of the National Party and has capitulated to the communists."

Rundel is one of three AWB members who are part of the Volk shadow cabinet that was established in February 1994. The other AWB members on the Volksraad are AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and Ernst van der Westhuizen. According to Rundel the AWB were going to walk out of the Volksraad to demand that Ferdi Hartzenberg distance himself from General Constand Viljoen. "Hartzenberg creates divisions wherever he goes. The CP has already split twice, Hartzenberg must split from Viljoen before there are more splits within the CP."

Rundel believes that Constand Viljoen has been sent to divide the Afrikaners. "He [Constand Viljoen] informed the ANC of a right-wing plot to kill Ramaphosa. The night before the registration deadline, Viljoen told us three times that he wouldn't enter the elections. Yet, claiming it was a spontaneous decision, he registered equipped with a logo. How spontaneous could it be if he already had a logo? He also said that he paid for the registration with a cheque from an anonymous source. If you believe that then you also believe in leprechauns. If he isn’t being financed by the ANC then he is being financed by the Broederbond controlled National Party. The AWB will win a Volkstaat because we fight with our hearts and not our chequebooks."

For Rundel a precondition for negotiations is for "Blacks to prove that they can practice democracy. They must stop plundering, raping and killing. For centuries blacks have been walking with their barefeet over diamond fields - without ever thinking to open a diamond mine. They just don't have the ability to create. They are not builders they are consumers. I am not a racist, I am a realist."

"Civilians with guns"

The AWB has similarities to Hitler's Nazi Movement. The khaki uniforms worn by AWB members sport emblems very much like those worn by the Nazis. The adapted swastika, called the triple seven by the AWB, appears on all flags, letterheads and epaulettes. The eagle is symbolic of God's protective care, while the "three sevens" is the biblical number of "final victory in and by Jesus Christ". The colour red is a symbol of the blood which Christ shed on the cross, as well as the blood of the Christian and Afrikaner Boer. White is the symbol of the purity of their ideals, and black (ironically) is the symbol of bravery.

The Vierkleur, the flag of the old Transvaal republic is honoured by the AWB. It is a symbol of the "Volk's" unrelenting quest for its own free Boerestaat. The proposed Boer republics will be a one-party state governed by white technocrats. Terre'Blanche has stated that the borders of the Boerestaat will be drawn in blood. "The AWB is fighting a holy war. The enemy must learn a lesson from this because we kill people if they try to take our land from us."

As part of its strategy to attain an all-white state and crush opposition, the AWB established a uniformed military corps in 1990. Known as the Wenkommando (WK) it functions as a broad-based
A civil defence organisation which appears to have some support within the police force. The WK has taken over from various para-military groups operating under the banner of the AWB. The AWB command is structured so that each soldier is directly accountable to his local commander, the local commander is then accountable to the regional commander, who is accountable to the generals, the generals in turn are accountable to Terre'Blanche. So, as seen during the invasion of Bophuthatswana, the AWB is able to mobilise people on short notice.

There are training camps spread throughout the country. The training camps take place on secluded farms and most are based in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and the Northern Cape areas.

The camps are organised according to regions with the local commanders acting as instructors for basic training. Para-military training includes techniques in baton and knife fighting, unarmed combat, handgun combat, target shooting, anti-ambush and defensive driving techniques, including how to escape road-blocks.

Training camps are graded in five different stages and take place every weekend. During the first two stages basic combat skills are taught, emphasising self-protection. Stages three and four are geared towards training in specialised military techniques. The fifth stage is training for the elite 'Ystergaard' which, besides being Terre'Blanche's personal bodyguards, is considered to be the special force of the AWB. Access to observe training in the top stages is impossible.

A journalist explained, "The size of the training camps that I have visited range from thirty people to a few hundred people. Some of the bigger camps have a medical team and are equipped with tents. Women and children are being taught to use guns. I saw a child who was no older than four or five being taught to shoot a nine millimetre pistol. They are being told to prepare for war. Although they have a lot of guns ranging from pistols to automatic weapons they lack discipline, they are not an army, they are civilians with guns. After every training session they have a braai. I have often thought that it is more of a social event than a military exercise and an excuse for right-wingers to braai with their guns."

The main thrust of the growth of the AWB is taking place inside the 'Wenkommandos'. 'Aquila' the former military wing, trained commandos in the use of arms. The WK is headed by AWB generals; Servaas de Wet, Alex Cruywagen, Willem Etsbeth and Roelf Jordaan. Cruywagen was arrested shortly after the wave of pre-election bombing in 1994. Because of the years of white male conscription, Aquila, the Ystergarde and the Wit Wolwe are all composed of trained soldiers. AWB spokesmen, including Terre'Blanche, put the Wenkommando membership between 34 000 and 36 000. In September 1992 an official police assessment put the WK membership at around 15 000.

The Wenkommando system has also supplanted the old Burgerade (Citizens Councils). Before 1990, the Burgerade made up the Regional Councils with regional councils forming area councils. Representatives of the area councils sat in on the Hoofraad (head council), which at that time was the highest executive body of the AWB.

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38 Information about AWB training camps was told to IBI by a journalist working for a foreign film company that was filming a documentary on the right-wing in 1993. Most provinces in South Africa have changed their names since the 1994 election. Transvaal is divided into Gauteng Northern Province, Mpumalanga, and North West. The Orange Free State is known as Free State. The Northern Cape remains the same.

39 The journalist, for personal security reasons, asked IBI not to reveal his identity.
Since the establishment of the Wenkommando, the head council has increasingly become a rubber stamp, with the general staff (generals from the Wenkommando) gaining in power and control. A silent coup at a Welkom meeting in January 1993, saw the generals effectively wrenching power from Terre'Blanche. While Terre'Blanche officially remains at the head of the organisation, this clique of generals we now in charge of all the important facets of the organisation such as strategy, planning and administration.

Since 1990 there seemed to be an overall increase in both active and passive support for the AWB. A recruitment campaign stretching out to areas like the Northern Transvaal saw the AWB in Nylstroom grow from a hand full of die-hards to a 200 plus strong commando. The AWB claims to have 100 000 signed-up members. However active support of the AWB is estimated by the police at 10 000 people. Recent rallies have barely gathered several hundred supporters.

Former police Colonel, Servaas de Wet, is in charge of the Wenkommandos, however, it would seem as if the real power lies with men such as "Chief of Staff" Alex Cruywagen, Willem Etsbeth and Roelf Jordaan. Other important members of the general staff include, Johan “Hagar” Thompson (East Rand) and Jaapie Oelofse (Johannesburg).

Thompson and Oelofse were involved in the protection of white owned houses, in Dawn Park on the East Rand, during the Chris Hani funeral procession. As part of the Wenkommando system, the country is divided into thirty regions, these regions are subdivided into four commands under the commandant. These units are further divided into platoons with a veldkornet (lieutenant) in charge. Other ranks include Brigadier, Captain, Sergeant and Corporal.

The WK is divided into the elite Ystergarde (Iron Guards), Rooivalke (Red Falcons), Witkruisarenede (White Cross Eagle), Penkoppe, Stormvalke, the Underwater Unit and "ethnic" units such as exclusively Portuguese and Eastern European commandos. The Ystergarde is considered to be a cohesive fighting unit, with many of its members being former members of the SADF and SAP Special Forces. There are approximately 200 Ystergarde members. Previously the Ystergarde was led by Leon van de Merwe. The Ystergarde is now under the control of Keith Conroy.

The Rooivalke - is the female counterpart of the Ystergarde and is under the command of Ansie Cruywagen - wife of AWB General, Alex Cruywagen. It is a small and symbolic sub-structure which conducts separate training camps on specialised military techniques. These camps are exclusive to Rooivalk members.

The Boervrou was established as a women's wing of the AWB but is now largely dormant. Dr Johanna 'Baba' Boshoff was its leader before she joined a splinter group of the AWB.

The Kappiekommando (Bonnet Commando) is a women's organisation which acts as a support group for the 'soldiers' in the AWB. Kappiekommando members dress in traditional Voortrekker dresses.

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40 Weekly Mail 22/01/93
41 An AWB rally in Brits on the 23 April 1994 only managed to attract 200 supporters. (City Press 24/04/1994) On the 16 November 1994, an AWB meeting in Alberton attracted 300 hundred supporters. On both occasions the main draw card, Eugene Terre'Blanche, was the main speaker.
42 On July 26 1994, 'General' Oelofse received a R1 000 fine after being convicted of sabotage charges.
43 Back to the Laager, (1991:148)
and bonnets. Their leader, Marie van Zyl, attended the trial of mass murderer Barend Strydom in her traditional outfit.\textsuperscript{44}

The \textit{Witkruisarende} appears to be a battlefield medical team.

The \textit{Penkoppe} can be regarded as the Wenkommando Youth League and consists almost exclusively of the children of active AWB members.

The Stormvalke was founded in 1979 and can be regarded as the very first para-military wing of the AWB. It has however never been more than a motorcycle gang wearing AWB insignia. This unit became dormant in the mid-eighties and was revived again in 1992, under the leadership of a \textit{Roodepoort motorcyclist}.

The Underwater Unit - Three men clad in diving gear made their appearance at a rally in May 1992. No other information is available.

Horse Unit - sources have reported a formation of a horse unit near Roodeplak dam in Kameelfontein. At AWB marches there are usually a handful of men on horseback. This is mainly symbolic of former Boer leaders on horseback.

\textit{Vergeldingseenheid} (VE) (Reprisal Unit) - In March 1993, Terre'Blanche released a press statement on the formation of this unit. He alleged that the VE consists of hard core AWB members who are keeping their identities a secret (even from Terre'Blanche). The statement also claimed that the unit was formed to retaliate when terrorists launch attacks on whites. No verification of the existence of this unit can be found.

On the August 7 1993 the AWB launched their airforce at a public display when they were given the freedom of Shweizer-Reneke.

Sources in right-wing circles claim that AWB secretary general Nico Prinsloo has worked with \textit{Inkatha}. It is also alleged that the AWB is assisting the IFP Youth Brigade in "protecting" Krugersdorp. AWB media-spokesperson, Fred Rundel, confirmed that the AWB is training "Zulus". Residents of Tshing township, neighbouring Ventersdorp town, told IBI that Zulus were on Terre'Blanche's farm and IFP officials had been seen in Ventersdorp.

In a police swoop at the end of April, 34 right-wingers were arrested in connection with the wave of bomb blasts. Most of these men were members of the AWB's elite Ystergaard. Amongst those arrested in the swoop were the AWB's secretary-general, Nico Prinsloo, chief of staff, Alex Cruywagen, and the commander of the Ystergaard, Leon van der Merwe. Cruywagen led the ill-fated AWB expedition into Bophuthatswana on March 10 1994.

All those arrested were provisionally charged with 19 counts of murder and 191 counts of attempted murder.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{44} Back to the Laager, (1991:148)
\textsuperscript{45} See page 2 of this report.
Afrikaanse Wenaksie
(Afrikaans Winning Action)
Afrikaanse Wenaksie is one of numerous small organisations originating from Robert van Tonder’s Boerestaat Party. The aim of the Afrikaanse Wenaksie was to promote the Afrikaans language. The organisation is probably defunct.

Aida Parker Newsletter (APN)
Edited by Aida Parker it is well known for its radically anti-Communist beliefs. During the 1980’s the APN main focus was to expose the ANC’s links with Moscow justifying the Government’s ‘Total Onslaught’ propaganda. An advert to subscribe to The APN appeared in Sweepslag46, the AWB’s official mouthpiece.

Aksie Blank Natal (ABN)
Action White Natal
This organisation which was based in Dundee, Natal, under the leadership of one Chris Wolmeraans, is probably defunct.

Aksie Eenheid Vryheid Vrede (AEVV)
Action Unity Freedom Peace
Piet ‘Skiet’ Rudolph founded this group after he had received indemnity from prosecution for the theft of SADF arms and ammunition. This was a turning point in Rudolph’s political career. Since receiving indemnity he has been shunned in right-wing circles on suspicion of being a police informer.

In 1993 his politics were relegated to the back burners when he absconded with the estranged wife of a Pretoria magistrate. Rudolph reappeared from obscurity when he assaulted a journalist in April 1993 after a newspaper report hinted that Clive Derby-Lewis was arrested because of a statement allegedly made by Rudolph. This one-man group is probably defunct.

Aksie Eie Grond (AEG)
Action Own Land
A rather short-lived organisation which was established in Nylstroom and Warmbaths after the first land reforms in 1991. The leading members of this group were Leonard Venter (Boere Krisis Aksie) and Chris Bagner (Vekom).

Aksie Kontra 435 (AK435)
Action Contra 435
This organisation was founded by a Walvis Bay attorney, Daan Mostert, after the implementation of the United Nations Security Council resolution 435 in the former South West Africa. Mostert has close links with the AWB. This organisation later changed its name to Aksie Vrye Volk (AW).

46 Sweepslag Volume 5, Number 2 (1993)
In 1990 the AW issued a statement demanding the right for whites to rule themselves in an independent homeland free from outside interference. The AW also condemned the concept of a unitary state, as well as a black majority government declaring "We will defend our continued existence with all means at our disposal."

**Aksie Selfbeskerming (AS)**

Action Self-Protection

Aksie Selfbeskerming was founded in May 1990 by Klerksdorp CP member Douw van der Merwe. This organisation is believed to be defunct.

**Aksie Volkseie Weermag (AVW)**

Action for Own Nation's Defence Force

Aksie Volkseie Weermag, established in January 1992, warned the National Party Government that it would refuse to serve in the South African Defence Force unless it could do so within its own community. Acting as its spokesperson the Afrikaner Volksunie member, Chris de Jager, said that 68 members of AVW would not be reporting for duty. South African law legislated, from 1967 to 1993, that white males were compelled to render military service in the South African Defence Force.

**All Races Alliance Party (ARAP)**

ARAP is a one man party which was founded in July 1990 in Pretoria. It is now dormant.

**Anglo South African Fellowship (ASAF)**

In June 1989, The ASAF invited the late Andries Treunicht and Clive Derby-Lewis to the United Kingdom.

**Binnekring (BK)**

The Inner Circle

In mid 1991, several cabinet ministers received letters from a secret organisation calling itself "Die Binnekring". They referred to themselves as a formal covert group and a well structured group of former members of specialist groups within the South African security forces.

In this letter they warned the ministers "should you continue to neglect the right-wing concerns and the voice of the silent majority of people who refuse to bow to the communists, we will commence using our capabilities in a war of attrition against you and yours". (Nothing was ever heard of them again)

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47 Daily Mail 13/07/1990
48 Star 13/01/1992
49 Citizen 07/01/1992
50 literally
Blanke Afrikaner Republiek Party

White Afrikaner Republic Party

This was a short-lived party founded by miners in 1986 in Stilfontein in the Western Transvaal. The leader, Gert van Jaarsveld, and the party, have since slipped into oblivion.

Blanke Beveiligings-Organisasie (BBO)

White Protection Organisation

The BBO is chaired by former Conservative Party Parliament candidate for Lichtenberg, Willem van Vuuren.

Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB)

(White Liberation Movement)

The BBB was founded in 1987 by Professor Johan Schabort and Rev. Jan S Smith. Schabort lectured in biochemistry at the Rand Afrikaans University and now lives on a farm in Brits, which is a centre for extremist activity. The BBB advocate an extreme version of fascist apartheid based on refined Nazism. A pamphlet prepared by Schabort calls for a repatriation of all blacks, Jews and Indians to take place under military law. (He does not say where they should be repatriated to.) He also declared that the assets of all non-whites should be nationalised.

Schabort, who describes himself as an anti-internationalist, is steadfast in his belief in white nationalism, an ideal he admired much in Hitler. According to Schabort, the idea that there was a holocaust during World War Two was nothing but a money-making scam on behalf of the Jews.

Letters from both Smith and Schabort appeared in the outrageously racist and anti-Semitic publication Racial Loyalty, the mouthpiece of the Church of the Creator. In 1986 Smith wrote to the paper setting out his own opinions on the breakdown of apartheid. "If a R10 reward is put on the scalp of a kaffir, the Christian spook peddler deserves a R1000 reward. I think a Jew scalp could be valued at R100. At a cost of about R4 million we could then fumigate and clean up the whole country." Another letter read:

"Whites are being bombarded with race-mixing indoctrination by our own JOG, World War 2 is rehashed at each opportunity, not forgetting the 6 million hoax, until you want to puke. Our Jews are an awfully busy bunch, raking in the millions while our cities are being swamped by Kaffirs (Niggers). Included herewith is a cheque of $505.00. Use it to the best advantage in our fight for the survival, expansion and advancement of the White Race. May the Creative Force of the White Race stay with you toward our White goal.

Rev J S Smith

South Africa

51 Saturday Star 12/02/1994
52 Searchlight, Number 232 (October 1994)
53 Jewish Occupation Government, also referred to as ZOG, or Zionist Occupation Government.
54 Racial Loyalty September 1990
The BBB has links with the British National Front (BNF) and similar groups in Australia, New Zealand and America. It is also believed that it has connections with the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). The BBB was banned in 1988 under the State of Emergency and Schabort was restricted. After the BBB was banned Schabort formed the Blanke Nasionale Beweging this was also banned. The banning of the BBB was but a token gesture as the group never really constituted a threat, nor did the group have a significant membership.

The BBB was unbanned on February 2nd 1990 and is only considered a threat in the sense that the leader Schabort is still active in right-wing politics. In 1990 Schabort joined the Conservative Party and was active in the Afrikaner Volkfront but resigned in February 1994, after he accused the AVF's leadership of betraying the Afrikaner nation and reaching secret agreements with the ANC and SACP. Schabort believes that more than 80 percent of the country should be controlled by white South Africans. "The land that belongs to whites should stay the land of the whites, and the non-white people - inside and outside the Republic of South Africa - have enough land to be independent. It is a question of the survival of the fittest, the most sophisticated and the strongest."

BBB members are mainly white workers, many being government employees. Members include: Keith Conroy, an Irishmen trained by the SAS Military trainer of Cape Aquila (also AWB & Cape Rebel Movement), Wynand de Beer (Cape Rebels) and the late Dr. Theuns Stoffberg who was the former leader of the fascist Grey Shirts.

Just days before the 1994 April election Reverend Jan Smith, who has a record of racist activity going back to 1989, emigrated to New Zealand. Although the former COTC head reportedly had his immigration application held up by Immigration Minister Roger Maxwell, and despite fierce protests from anti-racist campaigners in New Zealand, Smith has been granted permission to reside in New Zealand. Searchlight reported that a New Zealand branch of the COTC has surfaced and it is being led by Smith.

Blanke Front (BF)
White Front

This grouping was founded in June 1990 by Oscar Hartung. Together with Servaas de Wet (AWB, AVF, AF), then deputy-leader of MAN and leader of the newly formed Wenkommando, he attempted to hijack the Pretoria based AWB commandos. This group received very little support and most of the right-wing groups refused to acknowledge its existence.

Blanke Nasionale Beweging (BNB)
White Nationalist Movement

Formed by Prof. Johan Schabort in 1988 after State of Emergency restrictions were placed on the BBB. Soon after its formation the BNB was banned and acting leader Wynand de Beer was restricted to Cape Town. De Beer is the editor of The Cape Rebel which is an anti-Semitic publication. Another well-known member is Dr. Theunis Stoffberg who was part of the Greyshirt Movement in WW2. (This group has since become dormant)

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55 Star 09/02/1994
56 Saturday Star 12/02/1994
57 Searchlight, Number 232 (October 1994)
Blanke Hulpfonds

White Benevolent Fund

The leader of Blanke Hulpfonds, Greyling Bezuidenhout, is a member of the Orde Boervolk. Bezuidenhout also founded a white union called Blanke Werkersvakbond.

Blanke Veiligheid (BV)

White Safety

In April 1990 it was revealed that Piet Bezuidenhout, a wealthy Orange Free State businessman who owns 32 farms and a number of motor businesses, founded the Blanke Veiligheid. The BV is a vigilante group with heavily armed members patrolling the streets of the Free State mining town, Welkom. This group also patrols white areas in Riebeekstad, Robertson, the West Rand, Klerksdorp and Delmas.

The BV claimed that because the police were unable to contain crime they (the BV) established night patrols. Armed with shotguns and magnum pistols, vigilantes headed out in groups of twelve in unmarked vans to patrol Welkom. "Welkom was the scene of the most violent and organised right-wing action in 1990. The AWB, local white vigilantes and white mineworkers mostly victimised ordinary citizens, but they seemed to target activists from progressive organisations in the Thabong township and organised black mineworkers" Welkom's black residents said the vigilantes were more concerned with 'kaffir bashing' and terrorising black residents than maintaining law and order.

The BV received attention when inter-racial violence spilled into Welkom. According to the book Back to the Laager, which documented a case study of the conflict in Welkom, the vigilantes imposed a curfew and blacks found in the white areas after 7pm were stopped, questioned and sometimes beaten up. On 16th May 1990 fighting erupted after weeks of racial tension on the mine.

Black miners protested against the dismissal of some colleagues and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) started challenging racism on the mines. White security personnel at the President Steyn goldmine mine fired upon the protesters with rubber bullets injuring 14 mineworkers. The mine-workers retaliated, killing a security guard and a white miner. The AWB and BV gathered outside the police station armed with shotguns, rifles and sjamboks. They promised to take drastic steps to protect themselves. White miners called for "blood and revenge". Black community leaders retaliated against right-wing action by embarking on a consumer boycott of white owned businesses.

On 18th May 1990, Adriaan Vlok, then the minister of Law and Order held urgent discussions on the safety of workers on the mines with NUM and the Chamber of Mines Officials. The meeting resulted in a peace agreement being signed on the President Steyn mine. There are still reports of vigilante attacks in Welkom, but the crisis seems to have passed.

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58 Back to the Laager, a publication of the Legal Education Action Project, documents the rise of right-wing violence in South Africa; (Cape Town (1991)
59 Mkhondo, (1993:107)
60 What follows is a brief summary of that case study.
61 Back to the Laager, (1991:66)
Piet Bezuidenhout claimed that the BV is organised and well equipped. It has three *aircrafts* for "monitoring" black townships, it has its own radio station and four "bakkies". The organisation claimed to have 5,000 members armed with pistols, who wear khaki uniforms with a lion insignia.62

Hennie Muller (43), a Welkom panelbeater, is the official leader of the BV. He told journalists at a press conference on the 11th May 1990, that he had joined *Inkatha*, because he agreed with Mangosuthu Buthelezi's policies of self-determination.63 Muller's statements are blatantly racist and he has said that there would be "blood on the streets" and that "we don't want kaffirs singing and dancing on our streets."64 *Inkatha's* General Secretary, Oskar Dhlomo, denied that Muller was a member of Inkatha, "The likes of Mr Muller are unlikely to be acceptable."65

After Muller backed down from disrupting a multiracial sports day at Welkom Primary School, The BV lost support from the far right-wing. Most right-wingers threw their weight behind the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), declaring the BV to be a "spent force".66

**Boer Kommando (BK)**

The Boer Kommando was formed in Pretoria on the 23rd February 1991, after bitter behind-the-scenes disputes between AWB leader, Eugene Terre'Blanche and AWB Wenkommando leader, Gawie Volschenk erupted. BK leader, Volschenk, criticised Terre'Blanche's behaviour saying that it hampered, "the aspirations of compatriots towards greater co-operation and disciplined action. The AWB is no longer pure in their ideals."67 Volschenk was allegedly a king-pin in the right-wing disruption of an ANC meeting where President Mandela's was due to speak at the University of Pretoria in 1991.68

Volschenk told a press conference that membership of the BK was 212 and that the BK had the support of four of the AWB's 14 commandos. Terre'Blanche dismissed these claims arguing that the AWB had almost 14 commandos in Johannesburg alone, and that each commando consists of 196 men.69

Gawie Volschenk and R. K. Robinson were arrested in January 1992, in connection with a double blast at the abandoned Melkrivier school, west of Potgietersrus. No-one was injured by the explosions. M. de Wall and M. Strynburg were arrested in connection with supplying explosives.

**Boere-Inligtingdiens (BID)**

(Boers Information Service)

Andrew Ford of the BWB established this "intelligence service" to collect intelligence on all activities against right-wingers. Robert van Tonder on occasion threatened that he was continuously

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62 Sunday Star 01/04/94 and City Press 13/05/1990
63 Star 11/05/1990
64 Back to the Laager, (1991:68)
65 Star 15/05/1990
66 Sunday Star 24/06/1990
67 Sunday Star 24/02/1991
68 Business Day 09/01/92
69 Citizen 26/02/1991
compiling lists of those policemen who are or have been involved in the torture of right-wing detainees.

Boere Krisis Aksie (BKA)
(Farmers Crisis Action)

The BKA was founded by right-wing farmers to assist with drought relief for farmers who opposed the land reforms.\(^70\) The BKA started out as an ad-hoc organisation which was involved in the farmers siege of Pretoria in 1991. In a bid to arm underground BKA structures in the Northern and Eastern Transvaal in November 1993 members of the organisation raided an SADF arms depot in Pietersburg. 400 hand-grenades, 20 kg of explosives, 200 60mm and 81mm mortar bombs and 100 000 rounds of ammunition were recovered when police arrested 10 members of the organisation.

Its base of support is restricted to the Northern Transvaal areas of Nylstroom and Warmbaths. The BKA has played an integral role in setting up the ‘volksleer’ (people’s army).\(^71\) This organisation never developed any formal structure and while it still exists in name, its functions and members have been taken over by the Bosveld regional committee of Vekom.

Boere Nasionale Front (BNF)

Boers National Front

The Boere Nasionale Front amalgamated with the military wing of the Boere Weerstands beweging and the Boer Republikeinse Leer (BRL). The amalgamation occurred in May 1993, when extreme right-wing groups united at the start of what is called the ‘the armed struggle of the Boer’.

Boere Republikeinse Leer (BRL)
(Boer Republican Army)

This clandestine right-wing guerrilla group first became known in 1991, when a 10 page typed document was circulated to right-wingers in the Western Transvaal. The document declared that members of the Orde Boerevolk, Boerestaat Party, Afrikaner Weerstands beweging, the Nasionale Party or the Wenkommandos are members of the BRL.\(^72\)

Addresses of existing right-wing armies were given as places where training would be carried out. Modelling themselves on the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the BRL called on individuals to commit anonymous acts of sabotage against the enemy.

The document outlines methods of urban warfare and these include; arson, petrol bombs, time bombs and destroying telephone wires. It also instructs on how to escape after deeds of sabotage and what to do when caught. Under the heading "How to identify the targets?", the document says they are the leaders and the offices of the NP and the Broederbond, the SACP, The ANC, the PAC, the trucks and factories of multinational American companies like Coca Cola, Shell and BP petrol stations, the representatives of the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation and the CIA. The document also targets Idasa, the American and British Chamber of Commerce and the Four (sic)

\(^{70}\) Van Rooyen (1994:69)
\(^{71}\) Work in Progress (April/May 1994)
\(^{72}\) Citizen 04/03/1991
Freedoms Forum as the Boers' lifelong enemies. The hit-list contained telephone numbers or addresses of the Boer nation's "enemies".  

The BRL claimed responsibility for some acts of terror and sabotage during 1991-1993, including a bomb at the Christian Academy in Klerksdorp and a bomb at Cosatu House. But it later turned out that other right-wing organisations or individuals were responsible. Initially it was thought that the BRL was an attempt to infiltrate the right-wing terror circle, but Andrew Ford of the BWB claimed that the BRL was the armed wing of the BWB and that it was working in conjunction with the Boere-Inligtingdiens (BID), a so called intelligence unit of the right-wing.

**Boerenasie-organisasie (BNO)**

The BNO is an organisation known for its Anti-Semitic sentiments.

**Boerestaat Party (BSP)**

The Boerestaat Party was formed by Robert van Tonder in 1988 to advocate the reinstatement of the Transvaal, Natal and Orange Free State Boer republics. The Boer republics which existed before 1902 are seen as the core of the white Volksstaat and for this reason van Tonder believes that the Boers have a historic right to them. The definition of a citizen allows for all Afrikaners to be citizens of the volkstaat. Other whites and immigrants may acquire citizenship only by identifying with, and being initiated into, the Afrikaner Boerevolk. The main aim of the BSP is to establish an independent white volkstaat which will exist just like other nations in Southern Africa.

The BSP is a close ally of the AWB and BSP members are allegedly referred to the AWB and the Wit Wolwe for military training. The BSP has links with international right-wing organisations. Van Tonder boasts that some international organisations have promised to send soldiers to South Africa if necessary. BSP members are well-known for promoting Jewish conspiracy theories. Van Tonder alleges that 13 different right-wing organisations are represented in the BSP. The BSP is not part of the Afrikaner Volksfront and is hostile to it.

The BSP is a member of the Unrepresented Nations and People's Organisation (UNPO). There is a rift in the BSP revolving around the differences between supporters of the Israelites and the Church of the Creator (COTC). It is alleged that van Tonder has links with the COTC and the World Apartheid Movement while some of his staunchest supporters like the Strydom family - parents and wife of convicted murderer and Wit Wolwe member Barend Strydom who gunned down seven blacks in Strijdom Square Pretoria in 1988 - belong to to the Israelites.

The BSP's military wing is the Boereweerstandsbeweging (BWB) and is headed by Andrew Ford (Boer Republican Army). Petrus Bester (BWB chief of training) was detained in 1990 in connection with possession of illegal arms. Bester was kicked out of the BSP after it was alleged that he was a government spy who had been sent to infiltrate the organisation.

On February 27 1994, at his farm just outside Randburg, Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder organised a festival celebrating the battle of Majuba (when the Boer army routed the British in 1879). They came in dribs and drabs from all corners of the country, about forty hard-line.

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73 Sunday Star 03/03/1991
74 See page 70 of this report for a description of the Israelites.
75 See page 56 of this report for a description of the Church of the Creator.
76 See page 82 of this report for a description of the World Apartheid Movement.
Boerestaaters, vierkleurs fluttering from their cars. Senior Boerestaaters wore pin-stripped suits with a fashionable vierkleur decorating their ties while their younger colleagues were clad in khaki uniforms. The venue was the Bosflierie theatre on van Tonder's farm. Run by whites, for whites, it was dedicated to promoting Boer culture.

Free State farmer Deon Rautenbach opened the festival with a Bible reading of David's victory over the Philistine giant, Goliath. Rautenbach paralleled David's battle with the Boer's covenant with God. He asserted that although the Boers are a small 'volkie', they are God's chosen people, leaving them no alternative but to fight, since "on the 27th of April the Boer's land, this is the last bastion of God, will be handed over to the Anti-Christ." Implying that he was preparing to fight for the Volk, Rautenbach announced that this might be the last time he saw his people.

Robert van Tonder assured English speaking 'Boers' that there is a place for them in the Boerestaat. "While being English on the surface, their yearning lay with the Boers." Van Tonder warned de Klerk not to feel too comfortable because he was making the same mistake the British made at the hills of Majuba by underestimating the resolve of the Boers, and that he would "pay the same price."

Van Tonder insists, "We are not asking for a white state nor are we asking for an Afrikaner state. We are asking for a Boer state." Claiming that the Boere have their own particular history, language and culture, he maintains, "The Boere are not a race, we are a nation, we demand the reinstatement of the Boer republics for the Boer Volk."

According to van Tonder 'coloured' Afrikaners and Cape Afrikaners, whom he alleges assisted the British in the early 1900's, are not part of the Boer nation. Believing that the solution to South Africa's race problem lies in establishing fifteen separate nation states in South Africa, van Tonder is quick to draw comparisons with the independence of ethnic groups in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. "De Klerk and Mandela are concocting their own Bosnia," said van Tonder.

Van Tonder predicted three possibilities that the Boer 'stryd' could assume. The first possibility is the democratic option whereby the Boers would contest the elections. He dismissed this option, because Boers would be outnumbered at the polls. He asked, "what concern has a Xhosa in the Cape for determining the future of Transvaal Boers?" Van Tonder told people to show their contempt for Mandela by not voting. "Who the hell is Mandela? He has his own country. I haven't got a country. On the 27th of April they can enjoy their mess. We will dance and have our braai at the Boereteater."

The second possibility is a 'burgeroorlog' (civil war), since, "We will never tolerate a communist ideology." Van Tonder prophesied that the combined might of the Boers and the Zulus would topple any government within twelve days. "There are only two factors which will determine South Africa's future - the Boers and the Zulus, because they are the only real nations." Van Tonder insists that the Boers will fight because, "Elke Boer weet hy's 'n Boer en 'n reg op sy land het."(Every Boer knows that he is a Boer and that he has a right to his land) Van Tonder pointed out that the Boers' priorities were those of their own people, but he insisted, "We are not race haters."

The third possibility would be a long-term solution where the Boers struggle in a manner similar to that of the 'Joodie' (Jews) to achieve their independent homeland. "If the Jewish nation remained true to the ideal of the reinstatement of their own country after a Diaspora of 2 000 years, why should we Boers surrender after only nine decades? However," he warned, "the Boers frustration cannot continue for much longer." Van Tonder concluded, "As Israel is to the Jews, the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal are to the Boers. We were the first to settle there. We will force them to give it back."
**Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB)**

(Boers Freedom Movement)

The BVB was founded in 1989 after rumours about Terre'Blanche's relationship with *Sunday Times'* columnist Jani Allen unfolded. The leading figures in the BVB were CP member and Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk chair, Professor Alkmaar Swart and former AWB deputy and security policeman, Jan Groeneweld, who is the brother of Freedom Front General Tienie Groeneweld.

After the population registration act was repealed in June 1991, Jan Groeneweld called on Boers to intensify the "third freedom struggle", "because the BVB will not negotiate with anti-Christian violence-doers about the freedom of the Boer people." Professor Alkmaar Swart announced that the Boervolk struggle had begun and that extra-parliamentary means will be used to achieve a Boerestaat.

In November 1990, the BVB announced the borders of a proposed homeland for whites in South Africa. This was the first demographic breakdown and map for a volkstaat. The area, which would comprise 20 percent of the total land area of South Africa, will be concentrated mainly in the Transvaal platteland with portions in the Orange Free State and the Cape Province. The final map of the homeland was calculated by a sophisticated computer programme which took into account factors such as, the number of white conservatives, infrastructure, economy and defence. These plans were later taken over by Vekom.

This group may be regarded as the forerunner to the (EK25/Vekom/CoG) grouping that led to the establishment of the Afrikaner Volksfront in 1993. The central ideology of the BVB is based on freedom for the Afrikaner in a "Christian Republican" Volkstaat.

**Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB)**

(Boers Resistance Movement)

The BWB, under the leadership of Andrew Ford is said to be the "military wing" of the Boerestaat Party (BSP). The elite BWB military wing is the shadow organisation of the Boer Republikeinse Leer (BRL) or, the Boer Republican Army (BRA). Ford has on occasion voiced his dissatisfaction with Terre'Blanche's mannerisms and pointed out that after the Jani Allen affair a considerable number of AWB supporters defected to the BWB. This of course is difficult to determine.

At a meeting in February 1993, Andrew Ford declared war, on behalf of the BWB, on all South Africans who disagree with the right-wing cause. Speaking at his Rustenberg farm in the presence of eight BWB members, five of whom were masked and heavily armed, Ford warned, "We have the names and addresses of those who are against us, and we know exactly where to strike." Also present at the meeting was Deon Rautenbach, secretary for the BWB and brother-in-law of convicted mass-murderer, Barend Strydom.

The structure of the BWB revolves around the Boereleer and its Generals. The BWB does not allow any access to its training sessions, claiming the less publicity in this regard, the better. Part of the BWB training includes a course on security procedures. (Conversations of members are taped and then played back to them, to illustrate the ease with which the trainees divulge sensitive

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77 *Citizen* 19/06/1991
78 *Beeld* 05/02/1991
79 *Citizen* 28/11/1990
information.) Ford also claims that one of the reasons for the ban on allowing photographs to be taken of gatherings, is that a number of professionals, i.e. lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc. are part of the group, and they need to protect their identities.

The BWB also has a Jong Jeug (Youth Wing)

Children receive military and educational training. Boer history is recreated and then taught to the trainees, some as young as 5 and 6 years old. Women and older children are also actively involved in training.

**Brandwag Sekerheid**

**Sentinel Security**

It is believed that the Brandwag Sekerheid uses Pretoria security service, Chantelle, as its cover. Brandwag Sekerheid, under the leadership of Francois Jooste, patrols white residential areas.

**Brandwagvolksleer (BVL)**

**Sentinel Peoples Army**

The BVL was established in 1985 as an "alternative defence force" it was the forerunner of the AWB's Wenkommando. Its leader was Francois Jooste, who also headed other para-military units of the AWB. Jooste was purged from the AWB at the beginning of 1989 and the Volksleer came to an end before it really got off the ground.

**Cape Rebel Movement. The**

Keith Conroy (AWB), an Irish-born immigrant skilled in combat techniques, came to South Africa twenty-five years ago at the age of nineteen. Conroy has told journalists, "South Africa will be the Western man's final battleground where he will have to make his last stand or be ploughed under forever." President's Council member, Mrs Anne Routier, demanded a high level investigation into the Cape Rebel Movement after its publication the Cape Rebel stated that Ashkanazi Jews should be considered Asians and not allowed to vote in South Africa.

Conroy, trained by a former British SAS member, acted as a bodyguard to Eugene Terre'Blanche with an AR15 semi-automatic. The AR15 is an American made weapon, virtually impossible to acquire in South Africa. Police have refused to divulge to journalists how Conroy obtained such a licence. The effective range of the AR15 is 1,500 metres and it is capable of firing 100 rounds a minute.

**Christelike Demokratiese Beweging (CDB)**

**Christian Democratic Movement**

This group cannot be categorised as a right-wing group per se. It should be considered because of the co-ordinator Carel Bakkes. He used to be a parliamentary candidate for the Conservative Party.

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(Sources: *Sunday Star* 29/01/1989; *Star* 23/01/1989; *Star* 07/01/1989; *Star* 22/01/1989; *Star* 19/01/1989; *Star* 25/01/1989; *Star* 5/01/1989; *Saturday Star* 17/09/1988; *Weekly Mail* 13/10/1989)
and he has links with Sege, a group that was involved in the establishment of the Afrikaner Volksfront.

**Christelike Volkseie Onderwys (CVO)**

Christian People's Education

The People's Committee for Christian People's Education resolved at their first congress in March 1991 to lobby for the right of Afrikaner-only education be included in a future constitution.\(^1\)

Christian People's Education is the right-wing's alternative to integration in schools. Several schools have already been established under the guidance of Professor Alkmaar Swart. At first the group was viewed with some scepticism, but with time the concept gained popularity within right-wing circles. By mid-1993 13 Christian People's Education schools had been formed.\(^2\)

**Church of the Creator (COTC)**

Kerk van die Skeper

Church of the Creator (COTC) members call their belief "a powerful religious creed and programme for the survival, expansion and advancement of the white race." Despite their name they do not believe in God, they view their race as their religion. "Our view about God is simple, the thing doesn't exist at all."

The COTC define their ideology as racial socialism rather than the Nazi philosophy of national socialism since "we have learnt from his [Hitler's] failures. Whereas Hitler promoted and advocated pan-Germanism as the core of his political movement, we denounce nationalism as an artificial barrier and a divisive force preventing the unification of the White race."\(^3\)

The COTC advocates the total extermination of Jews, blacks and 'mud races'. It was originally founded in America in 1973 by Ben Klaasen, 'Pontifex Maximus' (Latin for 'High Priest'). Seventy-four year old Klaasen was born in the Ukraine and emigrated with his family to Mexico, then Canada, and eventually the United States, settling in Florida in 1958.

Among the basic tenets of the COTC's philosophy is the inherent superiority of the white race. Klaasen believed that whites - products of the "divine seed" - are an endangered species because Jews, for centuries, have plotted world domination. "For every one of ours they kill we will exact ten times their number, starting with the rabbis." Klaasen was hopeful that once Jews and blacks are eliminated, whites can establish a government resembling the Nationalist Socialist movement of Adolph Hitler. Klassen once wrote, "Hitler stands head and shoulders above any other man as the greatest leader the white race has ever produced, and the greatest white man that ever lived."

In the 1990's Klassen, who had been at the helm of the organisation of nearly two decades, decided to take a back seat. A number of 'High Priests' appeared and as quickly disappeared as a result of internal conflicts. In January 1992 Rick McCarty became the new 'High Priest' (or as he prefers to

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\(^1\) Van Rooyen (1994:185)  
\(^2\) Patriot 21/05/1993  
\(^3\) The White Man's Bible by Ben Klassen published by the Church of the Creator, USA (1981)  
\(^4\) Information about Ben Klaasen was obtained from the Anti-Defamation League's, June 1990 Special Edition
be known the "executive director") of the COTC. In August 1993 Ben Klassen committed suicide.

The COTC's publication, "Racial Loyalty", is sprinkled with insulting comic strips about black and Jewish people. In a series called the "The X-rated book: sex and obscenity in the Bible", COTC says: "The Hebraic Bible is nothing but an incoherent collection of primitive, barbaric, dirty Jewish fairytales, a stinking pile of Jewish garbage." In 1987 Klassen published a book called Rahowa! - This planet is all ours. 'Rahowa' - stands for 'Racial Holy War' and is described in the book as a "dynamic creed and a militant programme for the survival, salvation and redemption of the white race."86

The South African chapter of COTC was founded by Jan Smit and Johan Schabot (BBB) and support is found with the Wit Wolwe and the Boerestaat Party. According to Smit "nature says survival is the ultimate morality, regardless of the means."

The COTC have been at war with what is believed to be another faction of the Wit Wolwe, the Israelites. Israelites believe that whites are descended from the lost tribes of Israel and God has chosen the white race (excluding Jews) as the chosen people. On April 7th 1991, COTC held a meeting where 'RC' Badenhorst lectured about the "ten lost tribes swindle". Two Boerestaat Party (BSP) members who attended the meeting, actor Schalk Jacobsz and BSP deputy leader, Ben Schoeman were also members of the Israelites and were deeply offended by the lecture. According to BSP leader, Robert van Tonder, they were expelled from the BSP because, "They [Jacobsz and Schoeman] infringed the BSP's principles of tolerance and religious freedom."

Meetings of the COTC were held on the first Sunday of every month inside Poll Doussy's seven storey building. Dr Poll Doussy of Belgian origins has well known international neo-Nazi links and also has links with the World Apartheid Movement. Recent information revealed that Doussy is financially strapped and his building has been sold. It was presumed that this, coupled with the fact that Smit had emigrated to New Zealand in April 1994, meant that the COTC had folded.

However, present investigations uncovered that meetings have continued and are now taking place on the farm of Boerestaat Party leader, Robert van Tonder. It is alleged that he is centrally involved in the organisation. Meetings are still held on the first Sunday of every month and attendance is strictly by invitation only. Sympathisers and potential members are 'cordially invited' to these meetings where lectures "towards the best interests of our race" are presented.87

There was a bookshop inside the building called "Doussy Kultura". A former SS officer, Van der Kuyl, runs this shop. It is rumoured that van Der Kuyl was arrested after World War 2 by the Russians for collaborating with the Nazis. Literature such as The White Man's Bible, the autobiography of British fascist Oswald Moseley, a variety of neo-Nazi books on World War Two, a Hendrik Verwoerd anthology, local right-wing pamphlets, a series of magazines published by a group of former SS officers and Hitler's Mein Kampf were available in "Doussy Kultura."88

Searchlight alleges that two Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB)89 operatives Adrian Maritz and Henry Martin were also members of the COTC. In October 1991, while awaiting murder charges,
they fled from Lanseria airport, near Johannesburg, to Botswana. According to the publication the two confessed to have infiltrated the COTC in order to recruit members into CCB death squads.

Maritz and Martin appeared together with Lood van Schalkwyk on charges of murder, attempted murder and malicious damage to property. The three were accused of bombing a taxi-rank in Pretoria in 1990, and of sending a parcel bomb, that same year, that killed a computer technician. All three jumped bail, but van Schalkwyk was re-arrested. At the end of May 1994, Adrian Maritz was deported from the United Kingdom, following an assault charge laid against him by his wife. Maritz was arrested on his arrival in Johannesburg and appeared in court. The case was postponed to June 17th and he will remain in custody.

According to media reports, in November 1991 Jurgen Mathews White and Johannes Jurgens Grobbelaar, members of the COTC, committed suicide after being cornered by the police in the Northern Cape. Although it was never proved where they were headed, it is held that they were trying to smuggle arms and explosives into Namibia. Both were fanatic believers in the supremacy of the white race. They were found with an arms cache which included, R1, R4 and AK47 rifles, grenades and mortars.

A day after White and Grobbelaar died the two remaining members of their group, Johannes Van Wyk (23) and Jean du Plessis were arrested in connection with armed robbery and murder. These charges are linked to incidents in Wallmansthal where the four extremists fired on members of the South African Defence Force and stole two R4 rifles and to the 1991 brutal slaying of three people in Louis Trichard. Van Wyk was sentenced to three life terms and an additional 49 years imprisonment for his role in the murders while Du Plessis received an effective 12 years imprisonment for housebreaking and the unlawful possession of firearms. The Pretoria Supreme Court refused van Wyk and du Plessis leave to appeal.

Dietse Federasie (DF)

Dutch Federation

A small band of die-hards with links to the HNP and overseas organisations such as the Dietse Blok. It has chapters in South Africa, Belgium and the Netherlands. Its stated mission is to forge cultural, economic and political links with the above mentioned countries.

Jan van de Graaf, an immigrant from Holland, was Chief Secretary of the movement since its inception in 1958 until his death in April 1992. His son Henk, editor of the HNP publication “Afrikaner”, was elected chief secretary.

Flaminke. Die

The Flamingos

This group was established in May 1990, as a vigilante ‘neighbourhood Watch’ in Odendaalsrus and Virginia, near Welkom. It claimed to have 2 500 mainly mineworkers and farmers as members.

Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP)

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*Searchlight, Number 232 (October 1994)
*Back to the Lager, (1991:154)
Reconstituted National Party

This was formed by Albert Hertzog and Advocate Jaap Marais in 1969 because they were dissatisfied with the National Party reforms. The HNP believe firmly in the grand apartheid of Verwoerd, believing a white government should dominate the entire territory of South Africa with partition between the races.

In its manifesto for the 1989 general election, the HNP called for the reintroduction and strict maintenance of "old-style" apartheid. The HNP's manifesto also:

- Rejects the Conservative Party's proposal of a Southern African confederation of States, because, they argue, "the Republic will be reduced to a regional entity which poses a threat to the white nation."

- Rejects negotiations with the ANC and called for the banning of the United Democratic Front and the Mass Democratic Movement.

The HNP could only muster 0.25 percent of white support in the 1989 elections.

In a joint statement with the AWB in 1990, Jaap Marais, called on the government to end the prosecutions of CCB death squad members. Marais stated that the right-wing assault on de Klerk's reform process could take two forms, a resort to violence or forcing a general election. Marais warned de Klerk, "If you sell us out in this illegitimate manner, we will fight." Jaap Marais was elected to the executive council of the Afrikaner Volksfront.

International Freedom Foundation (IFF)

The IFF was founded by Jack Abramhoff in Washington D.C. in July 1985. The IFF describes itself as a non-profit making educational body ostensibly interested in the promotion and defence of democracy, human rights and "free market systems throughout the world". According to Jeffrey Marishane, contrary to the IFF's own created self image as a body which stands for democracy and human rights, a close inspection of the IFF reveals it as deeply involved in the resurgence and spread of neo-fascism both inside and outside South Africa.

Within a month of its formation it applied for membership to the World Anti-Communist League (WACL). This was granted in August 1987, at the WACL's 20th annual conference in Taiwan. In 1983, Abramhoff visited South Africa to establish links between College Republican National Committee and the right-wing National Students Federation (NSF). In 1983 the NSF was headed by Russell Crystal. The Student Moderate Alliance (SMA) was one of the first NSF affiliates.

Crystal was subsequently exposed as a security police agent. The NSF's publication "the National Student", was in turn found to have been secretly funded by the Bureau of State Security (BOSS). In June 1985, an organisation called Citizens for America and the NSF held an international conference of right-wing forces in co-operation with the SADF at Unita's Jumba headquarters in

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92 Information from the South African Barometer Election Special, August 1989
93 Jeff Marishane is a researcher with the Institute for Contextual theology (ICT) in Johannesburg.
94 See the section on International Links on page 25 of this report.
95 The SMA is a right-wing university student body directly in opposition to the National Union of South African Students [NUSAS].
Southern Angola. The conference was attended by representatives from the Nicaraguan Contras, the Afghan Muhajedin, the WACL and others.

In 1989 the IFF's branch in London hosted Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as its guest speaker. On the 13 January 1993, Bob Douglas released the report of his enquiry on human right abuses in ANC detention centres outside South Africa. The enquiry was conducted at the request of the IFF. One of the findings of this report is that "the saga of the ANC/SACP in exile is one of tyranny, terror, brutality, forced labour in concentration camps and mass murder." the report further states that the detention centres, "readily conjure up a comparison with Nazi concentration camps and the Gulag." According to Top Secret the report has been described as a mixture of statement, political comment and unsubstantiated evidence.

Iron, Steel and Allied Workers Union (ISAWU)

On the February 4 1993, at an AWB meeting in Pretoria West's Portuguese Hall, ISAWU declared their support for the AWB. Combined with the white Mine Workers Union, their strength is estimated at 80 000 members. Speaking at the meeting ISAWU's Deputy Manager, Lenn van Niekerk Venter said that white workers were the first to feel the effects of unrest and uncertainty. "This will make white worker unions stand together."

Israelites

While different congregations of the Israelites are divided on a number of issues, such as the exact nature of the promised land and the permissibility of violence, they are bonded together by the belief that members of the white race are the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel and all other races are sub-human. The Israelites are tied to an international Aryan movement, the Children of Israel.

The Israelites are believed to have links with the AWB. Leonard Veenendal and two others who escaped from Namibia, after they were detained in connection with an attack on UNTAG, are believed to be some of the leaders of the Israelites. They promote and justify racial hatred based on the spiritual beliefs of the Verbondsvolk church. The Israelites have as their central philosophy the belief that they, and not the Jews, are God's chosen people. They believe that blacks cannot go to heaven because they do not have souls. The 'proof of this bizarre belief rests upon the selective and fundamentalist interpretation of numerous bible verses and a blind, fanatical belief in a Christian God they call Yahweh.

Verbondsvolk church leader Reverend Gert Steenkamp has told his congregation that, "Kaffirs can only stink and steal. They are born from the seed of Satan. They are trying to take over our country and undermine the original creation of God." Pastor F W Neser, leader of the Vereeniging based...
Israelite congregation, described apartheid as the last bastion against the satanic onslaught saying, "It is a destiny and duty of whites to rule over blacks."\(^{101}\)

The sinister effect of the Israelite churches teachings have been exposed in the trials of Eugene Marais and Cornelius Lettering. Marais was charged with seven counts of murder and twenty seven counts of attempted murder following an attack on black bus commuters in Durban. Marais was given seven death sentences and describing Lettering's beliefs as "warped and fanatical" the Judge sentenced Lettering to an effective 24 years imprisonment.\(^{106}\)

Marais, testifying in mitigation, said that blacks were animals of the field. Karel Liebenberg, a senior member of the Verbondsvolk church which Marais attended, told the court that he had taught Marais that only whites were made in God's image and blacks did not have souls worth saving. According to Liebenberg where the Bible refers to 'wild animals' and 'orphans of the earth', the Bible is referring to black people.\(^{103}\)

Jackals

The Jackals are a white-supremacist organisation, claiming that it is their God-given task to keep South Africa white.\(^{104}\) They carry out vigilante action to protect whites. Information about the Jackals appeared when threats were made to assassinate Nelson Mandela and South African Communist Party leaders, Joe Slovo and Chris Hani. The hit-list circulated in the Western Cape declared, "The Jackals are not going to give the Communists an opportunity to wreck the country." The document also warned that the Jackals are specialists in arms and explosives.\(^{105}\)

The Jackals also threatened to kill prominent civil rights lawyers and ANC members in the Western Cape.

Magsaksie Afrikaner-Nasionisme (MAN)

Power Action Afrikaner Nationalism

In June 1990, MAN announced a plan to set up a vigilante-style system of right-wing commandos to patrol Pretoria, "to combat crime and vagrancy". "The commandos," according to MAN co-ordinator, HNP candidate in Hercules, Oskar Hartung, "will be headed by Field Cornets who have military training either as former members of the SA Defence Force or SA Police." Hartung assured that the Commandos would at all times act within the framework of the law and would not challenge the authority of the police or the SADF.\(^{106}\)

A former SA Police Colonel and an AWB commandant-general of the Commando unit, Servaas de Wet, was in charge of military operations for the organisation. Two months later, in August 1990, MAN announced that he had abandoned plans to set up its own commando units and would fall in with the AWB.\(^{107}\)

Mine Workers Union (MWU)

\(^{101}\) Sunday Star 24/03/1991
\(^{102}\) Business Day 28/11/1990
\(^{103}\) Star 15/03/1991
\(^{104}\) New Nation 24/041991
\(^{105}\) Citizen 24/04/1991
\(^{106}\) Citizen 15/06/1990
\(^{107}\) Citizen 01/08/1994
White workers mostly belong to whites-only unions. The white right-wing have planned to build a ‘super union’ to promote the interests of the white worker. These interests are anti-black and anti-capitalist. For the ‘right’ means being opposed to foreign capitalists as they were during the fight against British imperialism.

"Those involved in the project [to build a ‘super union’] believe that the South African economy can be brought to a standstill by a two to three day strike or stay-away by white workers. This conviction is founded primarily on the belief that the extent to which whites monopolise skilled positions would render them immune from substitution during such industrial action."

"Whites in non-metropolitan areas seem to be more insecure about work prospects and the effect of integration, while those workers who command the highest job rates will soon be subject to job fragmentation. This factor may tempt complacent journeymen, like those in the printing industry, to back the super-unionists."

Peet Ungerer, MWU General Secretary, announced in January 1992, "The foundations for an all-white super trade union have been laid." Ungerer stated that the ideal of a giant white union had been laid because white workers were economically and politically threatened. The MWU started a campaign in 1991 to form one union for white workers. According to Ungerer, the Union had 40 000 members in key positions in the economy, including the mining, steel, chemical, electrical, municipal, postal and retail sectors.

Speaking at the official opening of the annual congress of the MWU in January 1992, MWU president, Cor de Jager, said that although the union was not affiliated to any political organisation, it was no longer possible to avoid political choices. De Jager added that the MWU wanted ANC president Nelson Mandela to note that white workers would fight for self-determination.

The congress cited, "high-unemployment, discrimination against white workers through affirmative action programmes, scandalous workmen’s compensation, intimidation of whites, mixed schools and CODESA” as the biggest threats facing white workers.

In January 1992, Andries Kriel, spokesperson for the Afrikaner Volkstaatbeweging and an MWU official, was arrested in connection with blasts at Melkrivier school and Potgietersrus.

At an AWB meeting in the Portuguese Hall of Pretoria West on the February 4 1993, The MWU and the Iron Steel and Allied Workers Union declared their support for the AWB. The MWU Organising Secretary, Krappies Cronje, explained to the crowd that the situation whites in the country were facing, was worse than the depression of 1933. "If we stand together and unite as white workers, then the de Klerks and the Mandelas can no longer ignore us. They will have to listen. White workers have to stand together with the AWB."

After South Africa’s first representative government was installed, the MWU said its role in the new South Africa was to protect white workers against policies such as affirmative action. According to Ungerer, the new constitution did not disallow whites-only unions, "besides, there are..."
a lot of black unions and organisations which only represent blacks.” (MWU-Nuus May 1994).

Ungerer added that the MWU must distance itself from past politics, “We are a labour organisation and not a support organisation for a political party. Ungerer believes that an integrated union would be unworkable because, "one group’s interest will always be promoted at the cost of the other group’s interests.”

Other trade unions that have aligned themselves with the right-wing trade union movement are the White Construction Workers' Union, The Transvaal Municipal Workers’ Union, The Transnet Union, and the South African Iron and Steel Workers’ Union. In 1991 of the total 212 trade unions registered with the Department of Manpower, 32 were exclusively white.

Mozambique Institute. The

The Mozambique Institute was founded in 1991. In July 1992 Bruce Anderson was expelled from South Africa after admitting he had been involved in gun-running from Mozambique to South Africa. He said he had acquired weapons from Renamo for use by Inkatha. Anderson, a British citizen, had become a spokesperson for Inkatha.

National Forum (NF)

The National Forum was formed in the 1970's. Its leader, Ivor Benson, was formerly a mainstream right-wing press journalist in South Africa and Britain (the Daily Telegraph and the Daily Express). He was also a press censor in Rhodesia under the Ian Smith regime. In the early 1960's he was a contributing editor of Western Destiny, the journal of racist anthropologist Roger Pearson.

The forum promotes the belief in a Jewish conspiracy and in white supremacy. The forum's monthly publication is called "Behind the News". The NF is considered to be the South African chapter of the World Anti-Communist League. Benson is the South African correspondent of the US Liberty Lobby's anti-Semitic journal, "The Spotlight". In 1985 Benson was also associated with the Crown Commonwealth League of Rights.

Nuwe-AfrikanerWeerstandsbebeweging (Nuwe-AWB)

New Afrikaner Resistance Movement (New-AWB)

The New-AWB was set up by Eddie Von Maltitz and Andrew Ford when the competency of AWB leader, Eugene Terre'Blanche's, leadership ability was challenged. In June 1990, the New-AWB changed its name to the Boere Weerstandsbebeweging (BWB). Ford explained, "As the Boere Weerstandsbebeweging, it follows logically that we are fighting for the reinstatement of the Boer republics. The word 'Afrikaner' does not fit into this context."

Odal Clan

The Odal Clan, the youth wing of the Anglo-Afrikaner Bond (AAB, was founded in 1979 by an ex-member of Hitler Youth, Rudolph Schmidt of Bothasig). The Odal Clan was financed by the AAB, and its aim was to recruit white school children to work for white domination and racial purity. The

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114 MWU-Nuus May 1994
115 Van Rooyen (1994:91)
116 Vrye Weekblad 01/03/1991
117 The Crown Commonwealth League of Rights is an Anti-Semitic group based in the United Kingdom.
118 Sources: Rand Daily Mail 21/11/1979; Sunday Times 18/11/1979
ages of Odal Clan members ranged from twelve to twenty-six. Its leaders, in 1979, were Jan Posthumus (17) of Krugersdorp and Johan Dippenaar (25), a university drop-out of Belville, Cape Town. Posthumus said his heroes were Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Napoleon and Dr Verwoerd. The Clan was also active in Namibia and had links with the Viking Youth in England and New Zealand and the Viking Jugen in Germany.

Oos-Transvaalse Boerkommando (OTB)

(Eastern Transvaal Boer Kommando)

The Eastern Transvaal Boer-Kommando (ETB) consists mainly of ex-AWB members and its power base is concentrated around Hendrina and Middelburg with some influence extending to Northern Natal and parts of the Free State.

Under the ostensible leadership of Gawie Volshenk, a teacher from the Eastern Transvaal, the establishment of this group in February 1992 split the AWB's Wenkommando in two. Even though the ETB claims that their sphere of influence extends to the Free State and Natal, their real sphere of influence is limited to the Eastern Transvaal.

Volshenk rose from obscurity after he was implicated in the sabotage of a platteland (country) school in 1992. However, his lack of charisma and oratorical powers do not allow him to be likened to the leadership of Terre'Blanche, instead he is seen as a front man for disillusioned ex-AWB members.

The training camps are tightly run and new members are seldom allowed in, unless they are introduced by a trusted member and cleared by an advisory committee.

It is unlikely that the ETB consists of more than 400 members. It is interesting to note however that a considerable number of arms caches uncovered over the last two years have been in the area where the ETB is and has been most active.

Orandee-Ontwikkelingskorps (OOK)

Orandia Development Corporation

The Orandee-Ontwikkelingskorps, like many right-wing organisations, denies being racist. OOK promotes the Orandia Volkstaat ideal and is in the process of embarking on a great trek to the Northern Cape. OOK plans to occupy 700 000 square kilometres of the Northern Karroo as their Volkstaat capital. OOK President, Ed Bernardo, is building a Noah's ark-like speedboat on his small holding, for transporting Afrikaners who are unwilling to remain in South Africa under a black government.

Professor Carel Boshoff is the spiritual leader of OOK and is expected to be Orandia's first president. Bernardo believes that Orandia is the only solution whereby whites can retain their language, culture and religion. OOK hopes that the Volkstaat will have achieved self-governing status and be fully independent by 1997. Bernardo claims that there will be initial room for about 300 000 people in Orandia.

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119 Volshenck was also responsible for forming the Boer Kommando in February 1991 (see page 57)
120 Weekly Mail 30/11/1990
121 Weekly Mail 30/11/1990
122 Weekly Mail 30/11/1990
At Orandia's first general congress in Upington on the 6th May 1991, it could only muster the support of 50 interested volkstaaters. Yet, they want a third of South Africa for an Afrikaner homeland.

**Orde Boerevolk** (Cm)

Towards the end of 1990, as a result of Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph's run from the law (Piet ‘Skiet” Rudolph was on the run following the theft of weapons from the SADF to launch the "Third War of Freedom.”). The weapon that killed Chris Hani was part of this consignment of arms that was stolen by the Orde Boerevolk became the media focus of the right-wing. Rudolph claimed responsibility for the arms theft at the South African Airforce's headquarters in April 1990. In mid-June 1990 in a video tape, which he posted to the Beeld newspaper, Rudolph declared war on the government. On 17th August 1990 the right-wing's 'scarlet pimpernel' was arrested in Pretoria. Rudolph embarked on a hunger-strike to demand his, and other detained right-wingers', release. Eight days later Rudolph ended his hunger-strike, renounced violence, and called on fellow right-wingers to hand in their weapons. For this reason the OB found him guilt of treason and sentenced him to death.

In February 1991 Rudolph, together with six fellow OB members, resumed his hunger-strike, demanding political prisoner status, an end to isolation cells, and regular visits from family members. On 6th March 1991 the strike was ended and one week later Rudolph was given indemnity by the government and released from custody.

Andrew Ford, former leader of the Orde Boerevolk received military training in the SADF. Ford is a well known anti-Semite and white supremacist. Other members include Arthur Archer, Craig Duncan Barker, Greyling Bezuidenhout, Horst Klenz, Deon Rautenbach (BWB, WW & BSP links), Trudie Rautenbach (BSP), Darryll Stopforth (AWB), Lodewyk Grobeler Van Schalkwyk, Leonard Veenendal and deputy leader Conraad Vermaak.

Nic Strydom, father of convicted mass-murderer Barend Strydom, was appointed OB leader in June 1991. After his appointment Strydom remarked that the organisation had suspended violence because it felt that negotiations could succeed. However one month later after a bomb exploded at Hill View High School in Pretoria, OB's deputy leader, Conraad Vermaak, remarked that schools earmarked for use by the ANC would suffer a similar fate.

In July 1993 the OB called on its people to organise underground cells and prepare for war. A statement released by the OB stated: "We can only win our people's freedom through a barrel of a gun or the echo of a bomb, we have no choice.""}

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123 Sunday Star 7/04/1991
124 Covert Action Number 45 page 5 Summer 1993
125 Beeld 09/10/1990
126 The OB has claimed responsibility for the following acts of violence:

- February 1990 -- Shooting attack on the British embassy (Business Day 06/12/1990)
Orde van die Dood (OD)

Order of Death

The Order of Death, which has been linked to the AWB, was found in 1989 with a hit-list containing the names of left-wing activists, FW de Klerk and Pik Botha. Hendrik Binneman, Cornelius Lottering, Fanie Goosen, Cornelius van Zyl and Dawie de Beer were arrested in connection with this. It is not clear whether this organisation exists beyond these five men. Since their arrest no press releases have been issued by the organisation nor have any actions been attributed to them.

Fanie Goosen claimed that The Orde van die Dood had been formed to take over the country by revolution if the AWB failed in this task.

Organisation for Truth in South Africa (OTSA)

In 1990 a new militant organisation claimed responsibility for disrupting a National Party meeting in Vryheid, forcing F.W. de Klerk to give his speech outdoors. 200 right-wingers disrupted the meeting by throwing two teargas canisters into the Centenary Hall.

A source inside the organisation told the media that the organisation was formed in great secrecy at the beginning of August 1990. The organisation planned to stop any NP meetings which were to be held in the rural areas. The organisation would also infiltrate, "Broederbond-style", all levels of the Afrikaner society and get right-wingers into all the prominent positions.

The OTSA also plans to unite right wing organisations from the AWB to the CP. According to the source in OTSA, the organisation would operate underground. The organisation's immediate aim was to arm all "right-minded" whites.

Pretoria Boerekommandogroup (PBKG)

Pretoria Boer Commando Group

The PBKG is based in Pretoria and is closely linked to Vekom and the BVB. This group is led by Willem Ratte, a former intelligence officer with 32 Battalion. One of the central figures in this organisation is Jan Groeneweld. Ex-SAP chief of Detectives, Lieutenant General Cobus Visser and Eric Barnard are in charge of the training.

- 4th September 1990 - Beeld offices (Daily Mail 04/09/1990)
- 12th September 1990 - National Party offices in Pretoria (Beeld 13/09/1990)
- 3rd October 1990 - The house of the American ambassador (Beeld 05/10/1990)

In 1991 the members of the OD were indemnified on charges of terrorism, malicious damage to property, unlawful possession of arms, ammunition and explosives and attempted sabotage.

Business Day 16/11/1990

Daily Wail 20/08/1990
The PBKG is organised along the lines of a community watch, with support for the volkstaat ideal being central. It sees Pretoria as the 'holy city' of Afrikanerdos. This organisation has grown rapidly since its inception in 1992, approximately 1 000 members are divided into 14 different commandos in the greater Pretoria area. The number of members of the PBKG may have increased to 3 000, most of whom are inactive, "Only about 150 members around Ratte are likely to undertake serious military action."  

The structure of this organisation is similar to that of other right-wing military formations, with a chief commandant (Visser), 14 commandants, 20 field cornets, and 100 corporals.  

After its initial growth, enthusiasm waned considerably. Ratte appears to be a full time employee of the PBKG. The PBKG was central in the creation of the right-wing 'Radio Pretoria' in 1994 and was responsible for guarding the broadcasting station.  

Radio Pretoria, operating as a pirate station, had ignored threats by the Government to stop broadcasting. On 26 April 1994, the Pretoria Supreme Court ordered Radio Pretoria to stop transmitting and apply for a licence. Radio Pretoria's application for a licence will be decided by the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA).  

A newspaper article reported that physical scuffles had broken out between supporters of Radio Pretoria on the May 14 1994. One group of supporters, under Mossie van den Bergh's management committee wanted to respect the constitution and suspend transmitting until the station's application for a licence was settled by the IBA. A group of hard-liners formed a rebel committee. The committee consists of Jan du Toit, Willem Ratte and Anita Armand.  

Regse Blanke Volksfront (RBV)  

White Right Peoples Front  

An ill fated attempt was made to unify the right under the auspices of the HNP. This organisation is still active but has been sidelined with the establishment of the AVF.  

Republican Unity Movement of South Africa (RUMOSA)  

RUMOSA was established by Clive Derby-Lewis in 1991 and according to Derby-Lewis was formed as part of the "conservative English Volksfront". He alleged that it served to unite 66 different organisations under one umbrella body and consisted of 40 branches countrywide with newsletters being sent to more than 5 000 interested parties each month.  

Originally established as a voice for patriotic English speakers, RUMOSA soon developed into an organisation that held classes in self defence and protection. RUMOSA was affiliated to the Western Goals Institute. Soon after RUMOSA became defunct Derby-Lewis formed the Stallard Foundation.  

Resistance against Communism (RAC)  

Resistance against Communism was established in 1990 by well known right-winger, Eddie von Maltitz. RAC claims to have a membership of 30 000 people. The organisation planned to hold a

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130 Work in Progress (April/May 1994)  
131 Weekly Mail & Guardian 20/05/1994  
132 See the section on International Links on page 34 of this report.
march through Soweto on May 9th, 1991. "Although the march would be peaceful," van Maltitz warned, "Marchers would be carrying concealed firearms." According to van Maltitz, the organisation planned to march through Soweto to hand over a memorandum, "appealing to the black community to stop marching through white areas, not to intimidate people who wanted to work or pupils who wanted to attend school, and to end stay away action."

The march never took place and the RAC has never been heard of since. On the 14th July 1993, Van Maltitz appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on charges of public violence relating to the right-wing occupation of the World Trade Centre on June 25th, 1993. In order to protest at what he said were lighter sentences handed down to blacks, Van Maltitz appeared in court with his face, hair and hands blackened and wore a woollen cap.

In an about turn, Maltitz said that he was prepared to give the ANC a chance and he would support its efforts to build a new South Africa. "I say, give them (the ANC) a chance, be fair and see how they shape." He said he was impressed by the responsible attitudes displayed by ANC leaders and particularly by President Mandela's State of the Nation speech when opening parliament.

Sentrum Vir Reformatoriese en Kontemporere Studies (SERKOS)

Centre for Reformist and Contemporary Studies

SERKOS is a Pretoria based group that was initially involved in forming the Afrikaner Volksfront. The main focus of SERKOS is to oppose so-called 'Liberation Theology'.

Suid Afrika Bureau vir Rasse Aangeleenthede (SABRA)

The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs

SABRA was set up in 1948 as an ideological think-tank to develop racial policies for the National party government. In National Party circles SABRA was regarded as the avante garde in formulating separate development policies. In 1972, Professor Carel Boshoff was appointed to chair SABRA. In the late seventies SABRA, in consultation with Vorster's Government, helped to establish the Vereeniging van Oranjewerkers.

Carel Boshoff Junior explained that due to the Nationalists increasing move away from 'ethnic' states and towards the development of a three-chamber system of government, SABRA broke ties with the government in 1983. SABRA criticised the 1983 constitution and found itself becoming increasingly distanced from PW Botha's government. The National Party stopped funding SABRA. SABRA has provided the ideological foundation for the right-wing has since become a think-tank in formulating policy for a white Afrikaner homeland.

Toekomgespreek (TG)

Discussion of the Future

Led by Professor Kobus Lombard, Toekomgespreek was established in the mid-eighties to serve to counter the National Party's Broederbond. The TG is based on virtually the same sort of structure as the Broederbond, using the same procedures for recruitment, initiation rites and screening of new members. Nevertheless, the TG never attained the influential hold on its political party, the Conservative Party, that the Broederbond had over the National Party. Membership is by invitation.
only and as is the case with the Broederbond, a potential member is only invited after his/her name has been circulated amongst all other members.

Only after a prospective member had been cleared, is he invited to attend a meeting of a 'cell'. (In TG parlance the cell is called a “Gesprek”) A female counterpart, called "Die Vrou" (The Woman) has also been established with Lucia van den Bergh, wife of well-known Pretoria firebrand the Rev. Mossie van den Bergh, occupying the chair.

By mid 1990 TG joined the 'moderate' wing within the CP, arguing that it should envisage a much smaller homeland. In October 1990 TG encouraged the formulation of the policy document entitled 'Strategie vir 'n Veranderende Situasie' - Strategy for a Changing Situation (also known as the 'Koos document'). Written by Koos van der Merwe and other senior CP MPs, the document argued that it was impractical to repatriate seven million people to the homelands and because blacks have become a permanent fixture of 'white' South Africa, the CP will have to settle for a smaller state to be created by way of 'sacrificial partition'.

Transvaal Agricultural Union

The issue of land is an incredibly emotional one for both black and white in this country. The right-wing has made a determined effort to infiltrate and control agricultural co-operatives. The Transvaal Agricultural Union and its counterpart the Free State Agricultural Union are examples of provincial unions which are dominated by the right-wing.

TAU President, Dries Bruwer, estimated that right-wing Transvaal and Free State farmers have no less than 100 000 arms and right-wingers country wide have one million arms in their possession. Bruwer also alleged that the SADF were issuing arms to farmers through the Commandos in a scheme designed for them to protect their property. Bruwer said at a TAU meeting in April that farmers would defend the scrapping of the 1913 and 1936 land acts to the death. The meeting decided that 'mass action' must be taken to prevent the Acts from being scrapped. A month later the TAU met again and resolved that the scrapping of the 1913 and 1936 Acts would be viewed as a declaration of war.

In a press statement in December 1991, Dries Bruwer warned the National Party government that they were forcing organised agriculture to make political decisions. He added that resentment of most agriculturists was being stoked by the government because, the economy was already in a lamentable position and the absence of the maintenance of law and order had resulted in farmers being exposed to intimidation.

In 1993 the TAU had 14 000 members. In an about turn, Dries Bruwer joined the Freedom Front to contest the 1994 non-racial election.
Bruwer also believed that multi-party negotiations, to bring about a new constitution, at a time when the economy was so weak showed a clear lack of judgement on the part of the Nationalist government. Bruwer warned that farmers would take the law into their own hands, "if the State continues to side-step its responsibility, and pander and truckle to radical ANC/SACP demands."

In a letter to The National Party's Minister of Agriculture, Dr Viljoen, Bruwer wrote, "As a recognised rightist in agriculture and politics, I have to inform you that I believe white resistance would be much more dangerous, calculated and catastrophic than black resistance if there is an explosion. You must not, under any circumstances, underestimate this rightist resistance."

Vereeniging van Oranjewerkers

Union of Orange Workers

This organisation was founded in 1980 by Professor Hercules Booysen of SABRA, and Hendrik French Verwoerd, son of former prime minister H.F Verwoerd. The organisation was disillusioned with the process that included Indian and Coloured people in political decision making. Its primary goal was to identify and encourage the development of certain 'ideal' growth points which were to facilitate the creation of a future homeland.

The Conservative Party was established in 1982 in opposition to the National Party's reform and the Vereeniging van Oranjewerkers aligned themselves with the CP.

It is claimed that the organisation has between 2 000 and 3 000 members. The Vereeniging van Oranjewerkers set up the Oranje Business Association (OBA) The aim of the OBA is to help form and fund mini-states exclusively for Afrikaners. One of the examples is Morgenzon in the Northern Transvaal, which was created along these lines. Residents of Morgenzon use only white labour and ban blacks from living or working in the area. However they do employ black women from the nearby township of Sivukile to clean the streets.

Wealthy business sympathisers finance a publishing house which has produced about 20 publications in the past two years. All proceeds are directed to the Oranjewerkers.

Closely linked to the Volkswag, they get their financial support from Genootskap van Oranje Sakeringe, which is also led by Hendrik Verwoerd (Jr). Like his father, Hendrik Jr is dedicated to the ideal of separate development. But unlike his father, he believes that the survival of the Afrikaners can only be ensured if they have their own separate territory. According to Hendrik Jr "We do not want to dominate blacks or anyone else. We want a territory exclusively for the Afrikaners where we can lead our own way of life."

This idea goes way beyond what Hendrik Sr. envisaged for South Africa. Hendrik Verwoerd Sr. had in mind an all-white South Africa, with the black majority becoming citizens of the nominally independent homelands, while still providing the labour for the white industries.

Hendrik Jr believes that the government must accede to the demands for an Afrikaner Homeland. If this demand is not met, he warns that the Afrikaner nation will be forced to take drastic steps. Exactly what these steps will be remains to be seen.

Veterans for Victory (VV)
Veterans for Victory (VV) was a small right-wing group headed by the Australian mercenary, Sergeant Rob Brown. The South African government, it is alleged, has been responsible for setting up and funding organisations with the sole purpose of undermining the extra-parliamentary opposition to apartheid. VV was allegedly funded by the Defence Special Account in order to specialise in producing literature to discredit the End Conscription Campaign (ECC).

Veterans for Victory and the ultra-right Aida Parker Newsletter claimed that there were secret links between ECC and Moscow. ECC had always been a thorn in the government's side because it highlighted the injustice in the apartheid Defence Force and encouraged white men to refuse to defend and maintain apartheid by not serving in the SADF. The funding for VV has now stopped and Sergeant Brown has disappeared. How many organisations the government funded in the past, and what these people are currently involved in, is unknown.

Victims against Terrorism (VAT)

This is yet another example of a state funded campaign to promote the security forces and spread propaganda discrediting and smearing anti-apartheid organisations. Victims against Terrorism has not been heard of since the ANC was unbanned in 1990.

Volkeenheidkomitee (VEKOM)

Volk Unity Committee

Vekom was established when volkstaaters proposing the Northern area of South Africa as a volkstaat realised that they needed to consolidate their proposal. Vekom officially launched in 1992 aiming to unite the right-wing and was the front-runner for the Afrikaner Volksfront.

Volkshulp 2000

People's Assistance

Aksie Helpmekaar (The Front for Helping Fellow Citizens) - which later became Volkshulp 2000 - was launched as part of a charity campaign initiated by the Conservative Party in conjunction with other right-wing organisations. Championing the cause of the 'poor whites' the CP used Volkshulp 2000 for the formation of a labour bureau and to provide basic necessities for poor whites.

Wereld Apartheid Beweging (WAB)

World Apartheid Movement (WAM) - (Also known as the World Preservatist Movement)

The World Apartheid Movement is headed by Koos Vermuelen who celebrates Hitler's birthday each year by inviting an elite clique of Nazis to his farm near Pretoria.
It is believed that while Vermuelen heads the organisation, real power lies in the hands of Poll Doussy who backs WAM financially. Vermuelen alleged that Khetisi Kheswa, the ‘Vaal monster’ who died in detention in 1993, was a member of his organisation. IFP Vereeniging organiser, Chris Theunissen, confirmed this saying that although Kheswa was a member of Inkatha and WAM, "there was no conflict of interest between the two." Sources close to the right-wing revealed that WAM have their own "small" training camps but access to these camps is impossible since WAM members are suspicious of outsiders and wish to keep their identities secret.

At the end of 1990, Vermuelen was detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act in connection with a parcel bomb incident that killed a Durban computer technician in October 1991 and an explosion at a Pretoria taxi-rank which injured 13 people. He was released uncharged.

In 1990, its total membership was estimated at 800. In November 1990 it was alleged that WAM was suspected of planning to kill large numbers of blacks by dropping poisonous chemical gas over black townships from a micro-light aircraft, and to assassinate cabinet ministers. Towards the end of 1990 Vermuelen was detained for questioning in connection with a number of bomb blasts. WAM also picked up some of the legal fees for Chris Hani’s assassin, Janus Walus.

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**Wes-Randse Blanke Gemeenskap (WBG)**

West Rand White Community

Stephanus Venter, WBG spokesperson, told a press conference in April 1990 that the organisation was established, "to protect whites from black-on-white violence." According to Venter the WBG would patrol the area stretching from Westdene to Krugersdorp on a 24 hour basis in unmarked motor cars. The organisation boasts a membership of 600 people. The organisation would only help white people who are in trouble.

**Wit Weerstandsbeweging (WWB)**

White Resistance Movement

In what was known as the ‘armed struggle of the Boer’ the Wit Weerstandsbeweging amalgamated with the Boere Weerstandsbeweging in May 1993. Extreme right-wing organisations joined forces in a campaign to demand that all negotiations cease, that right-wing prisoners be released and that self-governing Boer republics are established.

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142 Kheswa had been implicated in the Boipatong massacre as well as in the massacre of mourners attending a night-vigil in Sebokeng.
143 *Citizen* 14/07/1993
144 *Business Day* 14/07/1993
145 *Citizen* 28/11/1990
147 *Vrye Weekblad* 30/11/1990
148 *Weekly Mail* 04/06/94
Lodewyk Putter, of the WWB, said they were joining forces because time was running out for the Boers to retain what was rightfully theirs. The amalgamation of the WWB with the BWB followed the Boer Nasionale Front joining the BWB’s military wing - the Boer Republican Army (BRA).

Wit Wolwe (WW)

White Wolves

The Wit Wolwe is a death squad cell headed by convicted mass murderer, Barend Strydom. Strydom was sentenced to death in May 1989 for the murder of seven people at Pretoria’s Strijdom Square on November 15 1988 and a further unrelated murder. One of the victims was an 88 year old woman. In passing sentence, Mr Justice Louis Harms said Strydom showed no remorse about his actions and would do it again if given a chance. He said there was no chance of rehabilitation. Strydom was one of about 150 prisoners released in terms of an agreement between the government and the ANC on September 28 1992.

Shortly after his release, in November 1992, Strydom released a document threatening “action” unless government responded to negotiate with the WW. His demands included the restoration of the Boer republics, accept God as the only god, drop taxation of petrol, stop immigration and deport all “foreigners” such as the SACP’s Joe Slovo and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Right-wing sources are adamant that the WW cannot be linked to existing right-wing organisations and that they are individuals operating on their own initiative.

Secretary-general, ‘Boerestaat’ Bosman, admitted that his organisation had committed retaliatory attacks on blacks in response to the killing of whites.

Other known members of the Wit Wolwe are Eddie Visagie (Orange Free State leader) and Hendrik van Staden (Eastern Cape leader).

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149 Citizen 01/06/1993
150 Van Rooyen (1994:97)
151 Visagie, alias Johan Steyn, was convicted of intimidation and sentenced to 18 months corrective supervision in December 1993, after distributing a hit-list. (Citizen 02/12/1993)
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<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
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<td>ANC</td>
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<td>AWB</td>
<td>Afrikaner Weerstands beweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement)</td>
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SADF: South African Defence Force
SANDF: South African National Defence Force
SAP: South African Police
UDF: United Democratic Front
UWUSA: United Workers' Union of South Africa