

Afrikaner political flags

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Dedicated to Mrs Betsie Verwoerd in memory of the late Rudolph Boshoff.

ABSTRACT: The goal of this study is to review the flags of Afrikaner political parties and movements of the past as well as the present with special emphasis on those organisations which now constitute the new Afrikaner separatist political movement. The new Afrikaner National Flag, intended to fly in future over the Republic of Afrikanerland, is presented.

The illustrations for this paper appear on Plates 24-26.

1 Introduction

It was the policy of all South African Prime Ministers, from Louis Botha to P.W. Botha, to strive for the establishment of one white South African nation, with two languages and two cultures. But this was never realized, mainly because the Afrikaner has always refused to relinquish his own identity and nationality. As Robert van Tonder wrote thirty years ago: "Also here an Afrikaner remains an Afrikaner and an Englishman an Englishman, and there is no reason to pretend that this will disappear by imposing on us the imprint 'South African.' ... You do not get traditions out of the air."¹

In 1994 a chapter in the history of South Africa was closed. Afrikaners no longer govern this country and have become a non-independent people, like the Quebecois, the Basques, the Bretons, the Zulus and many, many others.

It might be the choice of some Afrikaners to sacrifice their identity and become a white minority group within a so-called "rainbow nation," but it is surely the duty of the majority to maintain their national identity and pride as an Afrikaner Nation. And the goal and ideal of any nation is political independence in its own sovereign state.

2 Afrikaner Bond (AB)

The first political party to exist in Southern Africa was indeed an Afrikaner party. The Afrikaner Bond (Afrikaner League), was active in the British Cape Colony between 1880 and 1910. Conceived in the mind of Reverend S.J. du Toit² in 1879, and co-founded by J.H. ('Onze Jan') Hofmeyr³ in 1880, the Afrikaner Bond was a major factor in Cape politics for over thirty years. It strove for the defense of Afrikaner interests and the Dutch language in the Colony, although the definition of an Afrikaner by the Bond was quite liberal: any one, either Afrikaans or English-speaking, who considered South Africa as his only fatherland. At first strictly a Cape colonial party, the Bond tried to extend its influence in the Boer Republics by founding branches there, but this met with little success.

The ideal of the Afrikaner Bond was initially a United South Africa under her own flag. Under the influence of 'loyal Dutch' (*i.e.* loyal to the Queen of England) politicians such as J.H. Hofmeyr, this ideal later evolved to a United South Africa under the British Flag. This explains why the AB supported the government of Cecil Rhodes when he was Prime Minister of the Cape Colony between 1890 and 1896, and also why the AB adopted a passive stance when British Imperialism gruesomely suppressed the independence of the Boer Republics between 1899 and 1902.⁴

The Afrikaner Bond had a coat of arms and a flag, which were good symbols of the early ideal of "a United South Africa under her own flag," and which give us an idea of what might have been the flag of a United South Africa at that time, without the British imperialist factor. The arms⁵ showed four pales, vert, tenné, argent and gules, with a chief azure, charged with an anchor and the letters A at dexter and B at sinister, all argent. The flag (Fig. 1) was similar to the arms, with four horizontal stripes from top to bottom red, white, orange and green, and a blue canton, charged with a white anchor and the white letters A and B. The flags depicted under the shield have an upright anchor, with the letters A and B on either side. A flag kept at the Old Transvaal Museum had an anchor disposed per bend, with the letters under it.

The anchor came from the arms of the Cape Colony. The red stripe could have represented the Cape, the white one Natal, the orange one the Orange Free State, and the green one the South African Republic (Transvaal). The five colours combined those of the Union Jack as well as those of the Boer flags. The letters A and B stood for Afrikaner Bond.

This AB flag is not widely known. T.R.H. Davenport, in his exhaustive history of the Bond, does not mention it once. One sample of such a flag was kept in the Old Transvaal Museum (ref. TA 13.28). It was found there in the 1930s by J.A. van Zyl who did not identify it properly as an AB flag and called it wrongly "a vyfkleur."^{6,7} In his book *Flags over South Africa*, Gerard⁸ made exactly the same mistake, calling this same flag "another vyfkleur flag." Neither of them had seriously considered the meaning of the letters AB.¹

After the foundation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 the Afrikaner Bond merged with three other Afrikaner parties, the Orangia Unie (Orange Free State), Het Volk (Transvaal) and the Volksverenigings (Natal), to form the South African Party, under the leadership of General Louis Botha.

3 Nasionale Party (NP)

The National Party of South Africa resulted from a split in the South African Party. In 1912, General J.B.M. Hertzog, minister in the Louis Botha cabinet, publicly criticized the Prime Minister's Conciliation Policy, as being far too lenient towards British Imperialism. He was expelled from the cabinet and proceeded to found, on 1 July 1914 in Bloemfontein, his own National Party, dedicated to the defence of Afrikaner interests.

On the constitutional issue, NP-policy strove for the suppression of South Africa's ties with Britain. This process was started when Hertzog (Prime Minister since 1924) obtained Dominion status for the country in 1926, and culminated in 1961 when Prime Minister Dr H.F. Verwoerd succeeded in transforming South Africa into a Republic out of the Commonwealth.

The racial question was initially dealt with by the NP through Hertzog's Segregation Policy, which became the more rigid policy of Apartheid under Prime Minister Dr D.F. Malan in 1948, and evolved to Separate Development under Dr Verwoerd after 1958. This policy was strongly liberalized under the government of B.J. Vorster (1966 – 1978) and progressively discarded by Prime Minister P.W. Botha (1978 – 1989). This culminated to the handing-over of power to a black majority ANC-led government in 1994.

The National Party had no particular emblem or flag during the first 25 years of its existence. In 1933 General Hertzog formed a coalition government with the rival South African Party, and the two parties amalgamated in 1934 to form the United Party. This was rejected by hard-core republican nationalists who, under the leadership of Dr D.F. Malan, maintained the existence of the National Party. P.W. Coetzer and J.H. Le Roux explain: "The growth of the 'purified' NP had begun to accelerate. The party machinery and organization was reactivated, and, in order to strengthen the feelings of identification and cohesion of its members, it was decided during the 1935 NP-congress of the Orange Free State that the party must have its own flag. A flag commission was then nominated,

¹ An omission repeated more recently by Burgers.⁴⁶

and, on its recommendations, the well-known blue gunpowder-horn, fimbriated white, on an orange field was adopted in 1939 as the party-flag (Fig. 3). In 1937 all the provincial congresses had adopted orange as the official party colour, on recommendation of the Federal Council.⁹ Among those who served on the flag commission were Mrs M.M. Jansen¹⁰ and Mrs S. Moerdijk.^{11,12} Soon the National Party colours became orange, white and blue, like those of the South African flag, and remained so until 1993.

Where did this powder-horn come from? It was very symbolic of the Great Trek of 1836–1852, and was quite certainly taken from the arms of the Orange Free State (Fig. 2). These arms were the gift of King William III of the Netherlands in 1856 to the Orange Free State government. Its three horns were taken from the old arms of the House of Orange; or, a hunting horn azure, enguichée gules. C. Pama explains:

*The legend of this blowing horn goes back to the days of Charlemagne in the early middle-ages. Among his vassals was a landlord named William with the Horn, so called because he had such a horn on his shield. He had great possessions in the South of France, including the city of Orange. This legendary William of Orange 'with the Horn' is mentioned in many middle-age legends and much honoured. The later Oranjes have always kept the symbol of the hunting horn, and it still figures in the arms of the Netherlands Royal House.*¹³

The horn also figures on the present arms of the French city of Orange.

One must remark that the Dutch hunting blowing-horns, after crossing the seas, when they had arrived in Bloemfontein, were transformed by the Boers into gunpowder-horns. In this way the horn remained a practical implement for the Boers and became a symbol of their fight for freedom and national survival. Hence the horn on the flag of the National Party of South Africa.

NP flags existed in various sizes; 60 × 90, 100 × 150 and 120 × 180 cm. They were silk-screened. The height of the *kruithoring* (powder-horn) was equal to one third the width of the flag. These flags were widely used in NP activities until the mid-1980s for decoration of congresses, meetings, or demonstrations. Very often the flags were fastened between two poles, and used as NP branch banners, the name of the branch and of the constituency being written respectively over and under the power-horn. *Kruithornings* were to be found also on all official NP documents and posters.

At the beginning of the 1980s the powder-horn was progressively replaced by a new logo consisting of the letters NP with an arrow pointing upwards, in blue-white-orange colours. This logo was first introduced during the campaign for the general parliamentary election of 19 April 1981. The NP arrow logo did not figure on flags, save on white vertical decorative banners (Fig. 5).¹⁴ Triangular cardboard pennants of orange, white and blue stripes extending to the fly point of the pennant were frequently seen at NP meetings and congresses. They were about 40cm wide at the hoist of 60cm long.

The last official use of the *kruithoring* took place during the campaign for the general election of 6 May 1987, when NP candidates were provided with blue ties semées with orange powder-horns. Both emblems, the NP flag and the orange, white and blue colours were discarded on 29 April 1993, when the NP adopted a new logo and a new flag. By that time the NP was no longer an Afrikaner party having opened its membership to people of all races. Subsequent developments thus fall outside the scope of this study.

4 Ossewa Brandwag (OB)

In 1938, the Afrikaner Broederbond, the influential nationalist secret society, organized, through its front-organisation the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge, a nation-wide ceremony for the centenary of the Great Trek, which is considered as the birth of the Afrikaner Nation. What was at first a modest event, the symbolic crossing of South Africa by several ox-wagons from Cape Town to Pretoria, soon took enormous proportions and created a deep revival of cultural life and national pride among Afrikaners.

After the celebrations, it was decided by prominent Afrikaner nationalist personalities, to create a permanent organization which would perpetuate the spirit of the Great Trek centenary. The Ossewa Brandwag ('Ox-wagon Sentinel') was founded, to keep alive the "Voortrekker principles of Afrikaner Nationalism." The first OB leader was Colonel J.C. Laas. In January 1941 he was replaced by Colonel J.F.J. (Hans) van Rensburg, a former Administrator of the Orange Free State.

At first the OB was a cultural organization, and its actions complemented the political activities of the National Party. In the early 1940s especially under van Rensburg's leadership, the OB started to act as a political movement, opposed to parliamentary democracy, advocating a totalitarian regime on fascist lines. Its goal was to prepare the establishment of an Afrikaner Republic in anticipation of Hitler winning the war. It thus came into violent ideological conflict with Dr Malan's National Party which supported a policy of democratic nationalism. After Hitler's defeat in 1945 and the National Party electoral victory in 1948, the Ossewa Brandwag lost its *raison d'être* and finally disappeared in the early 1950s.

The first flag of the Ossewa Brandwag (Fig. 4) was designed by Col. J.C. Laas himself.¹⁵ It had four horizontal stripes of red, green, orange and blue, each one representing a province of South Africa: red for the Cape, green for Transvaal, orange for the Orange Free State and blue for Natal. On this flag was stitched a complicated emblem. A circular azure shield was divided per fess, the chief divided per pale, in dexter, the silhouette of a Boer sable with a powder-horn argent enguiché tenné, in sinister a similar silhouette contournée, with a gold lion passant contournée. The lower half showed two eagles sable, guarding an oxwagon proper (literally: oxwagon sentinels). The circular shield

was placed upon a wooden wagon wheel inscribed with the expression *My God, My Volk, My Land Suid-Afrika* (My God, My People, My Land South Africa). Over the shield was a helm crested by a black eagle with open wings, curiously facing the fly of the flag. Under the arms was a white scroll with the inscription *Die Ossewa Brandwag* in gold and black letters.

This complicated flag was soon replaced by another one (Fig. 6), which would become of prime importance in the future. It was a Vierkleur with the red stripe replaced by one of orange, symbolizing thus the two Republics of the past as well as the whole of Afrikanerdom of the present and the future. As an OB-document said: "This flag is a symbol of Afrikaner culture and history. It binds for us together past and future."¹⁶ In the 1940s this flag, which would soon be called the Afrikaner *Strydvlag* (Flag of the Struggle), was used only by the Ossewa Brandwag. It was not strictly the flag of the OB, but rather what the OB considered to be the national flag of the Afrikaner people. The South African flag, with its little Union Jack on the white stripe, was of course abhorrent to the OB. The *Strydvlag* gained support and in 1942, when the Afrikaner Broederbond published a draft constitution for a future South African Republic, it recommended the *Strydvlag* as the national flag of the Republic-to-be.¹⁷

The Ossewa Brandwag also had an official emblem (Fig. 7) which was designed by N.G.S. van der Walt and took its inspiration from the Arms of the Transvaal (Fig. 8). The oval shield of the Transvaal Arms was replaced by an oxwagon wheel. In the lower half was figured the mount of Amajuba (site of a great Boer victory over the British Army in 1881) behind an oxwagon. Between the spokes of the upper part of the wheel were figured the colours of the *Strydvlag* in the appropriate order green, orange, white and blue. Over the wheel stood the eagle, as in the Transvaal Arms, but here it was given an attitude identical to the Nazi eagle, with horizontally stretched wings, and this was anything but a coincidence. Under the wheel was a scroll with the organization's name. The eagle on a wheel had also been the emblem of the M.T. Steyn Presidential Regiment where Col. Laas had served during the Anglo-Boer war. The symbolism of the wheel was described as follows:

... a wheel which keeps on rolling and cannot be stopped by anybody, as Commandant-General Andries Pretorius had predicted to the English Cape Governor about our People. ... There is no more beautiful image of our cultural history and our struggle as the OB-Arms and its vierkleur flag:

- the eagle moves upwards, higher, with its stretched wings;*
- the wheel rolls and rolls, makes deep tracks on the Path of South Africa;*
- the mountain, Amajuba, its call resounds over the whole Fatherland: move ! attack !!*
- the wagon, carrier of white civilization, remains as symbol of the*

*national movement.*¹⁸

The Ossewa Brandwag used many kinds of vertical banners with the OB arms figured on them. Royal blue was until 1943 the colour used by the OB in the Cape Province; this particular banner originates thus from there.¹⁹ The movement also used, for decorative purposes, long vertical banners of orange and green bunting, with a simplified version of the OB-arms in black and red, fimbriated white (Fig. 9); they are 90cm wide and 3m long. The OB arms are stitched on the upper-third and measure 34 × 50 cm.

We must also mention a white vertical OB banner (Fig. 11), made of Irish linen, with a full-colour OB emblem painted on it, whose dimensions are 75 × 86 cm. The Wees Sterk-Kommando (Be Strong-Commando), OB student branch of the University of Pretoria, had a dark blue flag (Fig. 10), 120 × 180 cm, with the OB eagle-and-wheel emblem and appropriate inscriptions hand-painted on it.

5 Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP)

The Herstigte Nasionale Party (Reconstituted National Party) grew out of a right-wing split in the National Party in 1969. After Dr H.F. Verwoerd was assassinated on 6 September 1966, his successor, B.J. Vorster, promised that he would "faithfully follow the path of Hendrik Verwoerd." But it soon became obvious that he intended to deviate from the traditional NP policy of Separate Development in many ways. The crisis culminated in September 1969 when four NP members of parliament, Albert Hertzog (a former cabinet minister), Jaap Marais, Willie Marais and Louis Stofberg, were expelled from the party because they disagreed with Vorster's new sports policy. They gathered their supporters and founded their own political party, the HNP, on 24 October 1969, in Pretoria. The HNP opposed any reforms of the Apartheid policy, and advocated a presidential Republic where Afrikaans would be the only official language.

As far as the party colours and flag are concerned, Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the HNP explains:

Very shortly after its foundation the party had to contest a general parliamentary election, which, according to the then leader of the National Party of Transvaal, Minister B.J. Schoeman, was fixed at an earlier date to April 1970 on his own proposition, in order "to destroy the HNP." Accordingly it was a great strain and stress to participate in a general election amidst physical violence, social intimidation and personal blackmail from the National Party, and at the same time to found and establish nationwide a new party with its policy, symbols, colours and emblems.

The flag question was thus quickly considered and resolved during a short discussion between myself, Mr G.H. Beetge Director of

Stryders, Mr Johan Fourie and the assistant-editor of HNP-weekly Die Afrikaner, Mr B.M. Schoeman.

There were several possibilities. It was considered that our name, Reconstituted National Party, pointed out that the real National Party did not exist any more because of its policy-changes. Technically we were not allowed to adopt the orange-white-blue NP colours as ours. In this way, we decided to stay as close as possible to the traditional NP-colours. Orange, white and green were considered because of the green in the Transvaal flag. But green was rejected in favour of black for two reasons: firstly it was considered that black was closer to dark blue than green; secondly, with the white/black contrast we wished to suggest something of the political situation of South Africa, and further with the sharp contrast of white and black we wished to emphasize our party's vocation in the strong definition of its principles. From a pure advertising point of view orange and black contrast very well and this gave a high legibility to public posters. ... The colour orange recalls the Dutch origin of the Afrikaner people and is part of the name and flag of the Orange Free State. It is not necessary to discuss the acceptance of orange by the HNP because we consider orange and white as sine-qua-non in the composition of our flag.²⁰

The HNP flag was thus from the outset a simple horizontal tricolour of orange, white and black from top to bottom (Fig. 12). Sometimes on stickers (Fig. 13), letterheads and shirts (Fig. 14) the HNP flag was adorned with lettering and slogans on it, but never on real flags.²¹

The HNP adopted a coat of arms (Fig. 21) with a shield tenné, three powder-horns argent, enguichés sable, set one and two. Under the shield is a white scroll with the motto 'Stryd' (Fight) in black. Mr Jaap Marais explains:

On the shield, it is the dates on the powder-horns which are important: 1914 refers to the foundation of the National Party by Gen. J.B.M. Hertzog; 1934, the maintenance of the 'purified' National Party of D.F. Malan, N.J. van der Merwe, J.G. Strijdom and others; 1969 the Herstigte Nasionale Party of Dr Albert Hertzog, son of Gen. J.B.M. Hertzog. The Bureau of Heraldry of South Africa refused to register these arms because of the dates on the powder-horns. To us these dates were more important than to obtain the registration.^{22,23}

During the campaign for the general election of 6 May 1987, a second HNP emblem was devised (Fig. 16): a white hexagon containing the black letters HNP on an orange field. It was used systematically on posters, but never on flags.

The Odal rune – the letter O in the ancient Viking runic alphabet – is another unofficial HNP emblem. Mr Marais explains further:

It was seriously considered, during an HNP congress of the early 1970s to adopt the Odal rune as the HNP emblem in place of the three powder-horns. But the historical background of the powder-horns made the decision against it. Nevertheless the Odal rune was officially adopted as the emblem of the HNP youth movement Jeugstrydaksie (Youth Struggle Action) in black, fimbriated white, on an orange field, and was registered as such. In Swakopmund, South West Africa, there was an active branch of the HNP in which there were several Germans who used the Odal rune as an HNP symbol. It was not official, however it figured prominently in meetings where I was the speaker. We have not encouraged nor discouraged its use, because we identify ourselves with the European heritage that it represents and we like its symbolism. Further it is a handsome, strong, discernable emblem.²⁴

In South West Africa the HNP used square white flags with a black Odal rune within an orange border (Fig. 17).²⁵ HNP posters in SWA also featured this emblem prominently.

When the National Party discarded its traditional orange, white and blue colours in 1993, the HNP felt right to use them as its own. Marais recalls:

The HNP then wrote to the National Party Head Office and asked if the colours and symbols that the NP had used for so many years were completely abandoned. The answer was a perplexing attempt to say neither 'yes' or 'no,' but in any case they admitted that they would not use them any more. Thus, on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1994, the HNP officially adopted the colours orange, white and blue as its own, and in this way sealed the idea that ... the Herstigte Nasionale Party is the revived National Party as it claimed from the beginning.²⁶

Since 1994, the official HNP party flag has been a plain horizontal tricolour of orange, white and dark-blue stripes (Fig. 18).

6 Konserwatiewe Party (KP)

When P.W. Botha succeeded B.J. Vorster in 1978, he accelerated the liberalization of NP policies and it became progressively obvious that his government intended to discard the whole policy of Separate Development. Tensions arose between the Prime Minister and the NP right wing, led by A.P. Treurnicht, Leader of the National Party of Transvaal. The split occurred in 1982 when Botha accepted the principle of "healthy" power-sharing with Coloureds and Indians, to which Dr Treurnicht answered: "When you share power, you lose it."²⁷ Treurnicht and another cabinet Minister, F. Hartzenberg, left the NP, followed by 16 other members of parliament.

At a huge meeting in Pretoria on 20 March 1982 the Conservative Party of South Africa was founded, with Treurnicht as leader. It amalgamated most of the NP right wing, the National Conservative Party of former Minister C.P. Mulder, Aksie Eie Toekoms (Action Own Future) of Prof. Willie Lubbe, the South Africa First Campaign, the Kappie Kommando, several HNP dissidents and received the support of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB). The CP came to fill the political vacuum that existed between a steadfast HNP and a NP which had been continuously moving to the left.

Faithful to Separate Development, and contrary to the new NP policy, the Conservative Party considers that South Africa is not one nation but a plurality of nations, and that each People must be given their own state. CP slogans say: "laat elke Volk homself regeer" (let every People govern themselves) and "grense bring vrede" (borders bring peace).

In 1987 the CP became the Official Opposition to the NP in Parliament. The Party polled 600 000 votes and got 39 seats in 1989, and might have taken power in 1991–1992 had there been another whites-only general election at that time. In 1993 the CP joined the newly-formed Afrikaner Volksfront.

From the outset the CP adopted an emblem (Fig. 19), consisting in a blue 'KP' logo, fimbriated white, on a yellow rectangle, with the inscriptions 'Konservatiewe Party' over, and 'Conservative Party' under it, in white letters on yellow. As the HNP, the CP wished to stick to the old NP colours as much as possible, and so merely replaced orange with yellow. As far as is known, the colours have no other precise meaning.²⁸

The Conservative Party adopted its first flag in 1982. The whole KP emblem was placed on a tricolour flag divided diagonally per bend sinister yellow, white and blue. In order for the emblem to be identical on both sides, the mistake was made of using double-sided flags. Each side was made of silk-screened translucent nylon, with the result that both sides were seen at once, due to the translucency. This gave the impression that the flag had a white lozenge at its centre, and the KP logo was almost indistinguishable. In the late 1980s a second flag was adopted (Fig. 20). It was a squarish flag divided diagonally per bend sinister yellow over blue. In the centre were stitched on each side white rectangles containing the blue KP-logo, fimbriated yellow. The logo was thus identical on both sides of the flag, this time without the transparency problem.

On 26 May 1990, the Conservative Party organized in the amphitheater of the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria what was to be the "biggest white political meeting ever held in South Africa,"²⁹ with more than 150 000 participants. At the occasion another CP flag, the third, was officially adopted (Fig. 15). It is a horizontal tricolour of yellow, white and blue stripes, with the blue KP logo, fimbriated white on a yellow rectangle set in the middle of the white stripe. This flag was issued in 120 × 180 cm and 60 × 90 cm sizes, with sewn stripes of bunting and the central emblem printed on the white stripe. The reverse of the flag is the mirror-image of the obverse. It is still in use as the official CP flag.

7 Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB)

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement) was founded on 7 July 1973 by seven former HNP members who were dissatisfied with their party's smashing defeat in the 1970 general election and wished to create an extra-parliamentary far-right pressure group. The leadership was given to Eugene Terre'Blanche and Jan Groenewald was elected deputy-leader. Both were former policemen and Terre'Blanche is considered "without the shadow of a doubt the finest speaker in South Africa."³⁰

The AWB is an exclusively Afrikaner Nationalist movement which rejects party-politics and liberal democracy, and advocates an authoritarian presidential Republic, as was the case in the former Boer Republics. It officially refers to a Calvinistic Christian-Nationalist ideology, but projects a neo-Nazi image with its Nazi-like flag, its khaki-clad Storm Troopers, its declaration that Jews should be deprived of the right of vote, *etc.* Arthur Kemp, who has written a book on the AWB summarizes in saying that "the AWB is a combination of the outward characteristics of National-Socialism, while on a purely philosophical level, it is a combination of extreme Afrikaner nationalism, and christian anti-semitism."³¹

Politically the AWB militates for the creation of an independent Afrikaner State (Volkstaat) in Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Although it is registered as a political party (Blanke Volkstaat Party), the AWB has never contested any elections but has instead supported the Conservative Party. Due to Terre'Blanche's oratory talents and his good sense of organization, the AWB enjoyed quite considerable public successes in the 1980s.

At its foundation the AWB adopted a flag on the pattern of the Nazi flag (Fig. 22), *viz.* a red field with a white circle in the centre, charged with a black emblem consisting of a four-pointed star with the letters A and W superimposed on it. Its symbolism was thus explained by an early AWB propaganda document: "The four-pointed star was in opposition to the six-pointed star of international political Zionism and its derivative, the five-pointed star of Communism which is representative of a satanically manifested striving of the Anti-Christ."³² The star was dropped in 1979 in favour of better known "three sevens."

The current AWB flag (Fig. 23), of notorious world-wide fame due to its provocative nature, is also based on the nazi flag pattern and was designed by Jan Groenewald and Franz Jooste. The three sevens of the black emblem have been arranged to form a kind of Trinacria or three-legged Swastika. Its meaning is threefold:

... the three sevens represent the biblical figure of perfection and final victory in and through Jesus Christ. The 777 figure stands in direct contrast to 666, the figure of the Anti-Christ, the animal of Revelations. The circle form in which the three sevens are placed symbolizes continuous movement forward and therefore everlasting

life in Jesus Christ.³³

... The three sevens are a direct reference to the Bible and the tumultuous history of the Boer Nation. If God created the world in seven days, this symbolic cypher marks in fact the triple birth of the Afrikaner Nation. It can be found in each of the essential phases of this People's history and it is for this reason that the AWB has chosen it as its emblem.

... the first 7 is a direct reference to the year 1838, more precisely to the seven days of marching through Zulu territory of the column of Andries Pretorius, gone to avenge the massacre of hundreds of Voortrekker families by the terrible warriors of the Zulu King Dingaan.

... the second 7 symbolizes the battle of Blood River where the Boers crushed the Zulu army. This battle took place on December 16th 1838, a Sunday, seventh day of the week, day of the Lord, who owed to be thanked for giving victory to His people.

... the third 7 symbolizes the first Anglo-Boer war (1880-1881), which was won at the battle of Amajuba hill by Gen. Piet Joubert on 27 February 1881, another Sunday.³⁴

The AWB has gone out of its way to mythologize its founding. The official AWB version of the founding makes much play on the significance of the formation of the movement - the seventh day of the seventh month of 1973 - and of the fact there are were seven founding members.³⁵

The black-white-red colours of the AWB flag, obviously taken from the Nazi flag, are completely alien to the symbolic and historical tradition of the Afrikaner. Arthur Kemp explains: "... the symbolism of the colours differed from pamphlet to pamphlet. While the very first explanation (issued in 1979) said red 'was the colour of the blood which the christian Afrikaner had to sacrifice as a guarantee for his self-preservation,' the 1988 explanation said red stood 'for the blood that Christ spilt on the cross for our sins (and) for the blood of the Christian and the Afrikaner-Boer.' The 1979 explanation said the white colour stood for 'the white race and the purity of our ideal' while the 1988 version only made mention of 'the purity of the ideal.' The black was explained away in 1979 as contrasting with the white colour as 'symbol of division and racial authenticity' while in 1988 it was claimed that black was the heraldic symbol for bravery." Clearly the explanation of the AWB flag posed immense problems as no Afrikaner historical precedents existed for them. They were obviously taken from National-Socialist Germany, who in turn had taken them from the old pre-World War One Imperial German flag.³⁶

The AWB flag is made of a red rectangular cloth, on both sides of which are stitched two white disks with the black three-sevens emblem, so that the flag is identical on both sides. The AWB also uses an emblem which features an eagle with outstretched wings standing on a white disk with the three sevens, which

is highly reminiscent of the Nazi eagle.

8 Afrikaner Studente Front (ASF)

The Afrikaner Student Front was a right-wing university organization created in the early 1980s, and was essentially active in the University of Pretoria where it opposed the NP student organization, the Afrikaner Studente Bond (Afrikaner Students' League). The ASF supported the policies of the right-wing Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party. Its leader Gerdus Kruger, was a HNP member who was later elected CP municipal councillor of Pretoria. The ASF made the political blunder of creating its own flag on the nazi pattern (Fig. 24), probably in imitation of the AWB. Its emblem was the Odal rune, borrowed from the HNP's Jeugstrydaksie, of which Gerdus Kruger was a member.

9 Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB)

The Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (White Liberation Movement) was founded in 1985 by Prof. Johan Schabort, a former HNP-Central Committee member. It claimed to be "the most right-wing organization in South Africa." Schabort's public pronouncements were marked by the absence of the extreme religious element present in the AWB's pronouncements. AWB deputy-leader Jan Groenewald summed it up as follows:

*We did not agree with Schabort on a number of points. Firstly, we felt that there was no statement of faith in God. Secondly, they fought the situation from a racial perspective, while we saw it as a question of nations, not of races. Thirdly, we in the AWB saw the problem as one of awakening a nation's consciousness, while they saw it as one strictly of race and a division on colour lines. For example we said that there were many Whites whom we would not want to have as part of our community while the BBB made it clear that it stood for all Whites no matter what.*³⁷

The BBB flag (Fig. 25) was also based on the nazi pattern. It bore an Odal rune slightly different from the one of the ASF and HNP: its legs were hooked, and it was fimbriated in white and black.

The BBB was banned in November 1988 by the Botha Government. It was unbanned in February 1990 by de Klerk, along with the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party. Schabort refused to reconstitute the BBB and announced that he joined the Conservative Party because "it had become the broad front of the Afrikaner People."

10 Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB)

The Boere Weerstandsbeweging (Boer Resistance Movement) was a splinter-group of the AWB created in 1989 when it was publicly revealed that the great christian-nationalist AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche had had an affair with the English-speaking journalist Jani Allan. Several AWB leaders then demanded Terre'Blanche's resignation and, failing to obtain this, they left the AWB.

The ideology and goals of the BWB are identical to those of the AWB. The BWB flag (Fig. 26), is black, with a white cross throughout, fimbriated red. At its centre is a black emblem on a white disk, fimbriated red. This flag retains the black-white-red colours of the AWB. The cross may be intended to emphasize the christian-nationalist character of the BWB.

The first BWB emblem (Fig. 26) retained the three sevens but simply set two and one. It was later replaced by another emblem: *viz.* a black triangle standing on one point, with the white letters BWB united by lightning flashes (Fig. 27).

11 Wit Wolwe (WW)

The Wit Wolwe (White Wolves) is an extremist white racist clandestine organization. Its leader is Barend Strydom, a former policeman and former AWB member. On 16 November 1988, 23-year old Barend Strydom ran through the J.G. Strijdom Square in Pretoria shooting indiscriminately at Blacks, killing seven of them. "Under questioning it transpired that Strydom was the sole member of a shadowy group called the White Wolves which had sent various threats to leading liberals in the country and which had claimed responsibility for a few minor incidents."³⁸ Sentenced to death, Strydom was released in February 1990 during the general amnesty.

The flag of the Wit Wolwe (Fig. 28) is based on the nazi pattern. Its emblem comprises two black interlaced Ws.³⁹

12 Boerestaat Party (BSP)

The Boerestaat Party (Boer State Party) was constituted in the early 1980s by Robert van Tonder and was one of the first exclusively Afrikaner nationalist and separatist organizations to strive for the creation of an Afrikaner State in Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

The BSP is reported to have its own flag (Fig. 31) based on the Transvaal Vierkleur pattern, with a green vertical stripe at the hoist, and three horizontal stripes of black, white and light blue in the fly. The green comes from the Transvaal flag. The white stripe represents the white Afrikaners, situated between the Black Peoples to their north, and the sea to their south.⁴⁰

13 Which flag for Afrikanerland?

After their electoral defeat in the referendum of 17 March 1992, the Afrikaner Nationalist forces were disorganized and somewhat discouraged. Disunity gained momentum. The Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) was constituted on 7 May 1993 under the leadership of General Constand Viljoen. It was a large umbrella-organization which was joined by the CP, the AWB, the Transvaal and Orange Free State Farmers Union, the Mine Workers' Union and other organizations. The HNP refused to join. The AVF advocated the creation of an independent Afrikaner Republic. At a big AVF meeting in Pretoria on 29 January 1994, Gen. Viljoen was almost shouted down by the audience when he advocated participation in the April election. He then left the AVF and created his own party, the Vryheidsfront - VF (Freedom Front) which took part in the multiracial elections of April 1994. The VF is also in favour of an Afrikaner Volkstaat.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the most popular flag among Afrikaner separatists was the old Transvaal Vierkleur (with a red stripe), with the exception of the old Orange Free State flag in this province. The problem is that neither flag is representative of the whole Afrikaner Nation, and that both of them are 'dead' flags, representing states which ceased to exist in 1902! The Afrikaners needed a new flag to represent their whole Nation, and fit for the future. It was then that several personalities recommended the adoption of the Afrikaner Strydvlag, the Vierkleur with an orange stripe (Fig. 32). This flag originated with the Ossewa Brandwag and was later twice recommended by the Afrikaner Broederbond in 1942 and in 1955 as the national flag of a future Afrikaner Republic.⁴¹

In April 1991, Mr Carel IV Boshoff, leader of the student wing of the Volkswag organization, wrote an interesting article on this matter in the Volkswag publication *Die Possak*:

The Central Committee of the Studentewag decided during its last meeting to support the strydvlag as flag of the Volksstaat. The form of the Vierkleur is maintained because it is unanimously accepted as the strongest freedom symbol in our history. This is emphasized by the fact that green represents freedom in heraldry. The only difference is that the red stripe has been replaced by one of orange. The reasons are the following:

- *The Transvaal Vierkleur is representative of the Transvaal Afrikaners, but not of the Free Staters or others,*
- *The orange colour, which figures in the old Orange Free State flag, is thus included,*
- *The orange-white-blue (the basis of the South African flag) is also the flag with which William of Orange won the freedom of Netherlands against Spain. Further, Jan van Riebeeck probably landed in the Cape with this flag in 1652.*

*The feeling is thus that the Strydvlag represents our struggle for freedom from our land of origin, to the establishment in South Africa of the Boer Republics and the Republic of South Africa of 1961.*⁴²

From then the strydvlag gained more and more support among Afrikaner separatists. In 1995 it was officially registered at the Bureau of Heraldry by the Afrikaner Volksfront (Certificate No. 2798 issued on 31 October 1995).⁴³ On this occasion the flag was renamed the 'Vryheidsvlag' (Freedom Flag). At the same time it was also adopted by the Vryheidsfront as the new Afrikaner National Flag.⁴⁴ The Vryheidsfront had already adopted a party emblem (Fig. 29) which combined the letters VF in a white disk with a quadricolor flame of green, orange, white and blue, the colours of the Stryd- or Vryheidsvlag. The precise shades of the colours of this flame are: green pantone No. 334, orange pantone No. 1585 and pantone reflex blue, which could also be used for the flag. This flag is also flying in Orania in the North-Western Cape and in Morgenzon in South-East Transvaal. Orania is an Afrikaner town led by the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting (Afrikaner Freedom Foundation) of Prof. Carel Boshoff: it is to be the nucleus of a future Afrikaner Volksstaat in the North-Western Cape. Morgenzon is a similar enterprise run by the Oranjewerkers Unie (Orange Workers' Union) of Mr H.F. Verwoerd: its goal is to form the nucleus of a future Republic of Afrikanerland in the South-East of Transvaal, North-East of the Orange Free State, and Northern Natal.

Only the Afrikaner village of Orandia near Olifantshoek has a flag of its own (Fig. 30). This flag has four vertical stripes black, orange, white and dark blue in a ratio of 3:19:19:19. On the white stripe appears a dark-green outline of the Castle of Cape Town (built by Jan van Riebeeck in 1654), fimbriated grey. On a blue disk inside the Castle outline appears the Voortrekker Monument of Pretoria in orange. The positioning of the stripes is explained as follows: They are vertical (rather than horizontal) as a symbol of victory. The narrow black stripe at the hoist indicates that the Orandians are prepared to live peaceably with the rest of the continent.⁴⁵

Today it is the Vryheidsvlag (Fig. 32) which is recognized and accepted by most Afrikaner separatists as the new Afrikaner National flag. In these troubled and uncertain times in South Africa, it is under the green, orange, white and blue folds of this flag, that the Afrikaner People will strive for freedom and independence, and will ultimately shape their own future.

Skep u eie toekoms! (Dr H.F. Verwoerd)

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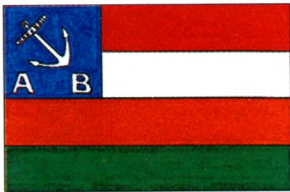


Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11

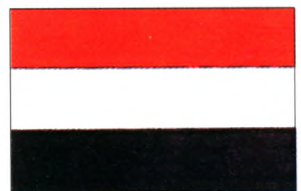


Figure 12

Plate 25



Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18

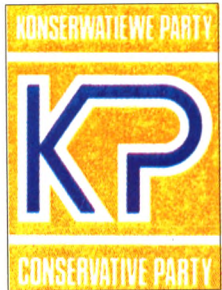


Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21



Figure 22



Figure 23



Figure 24



Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 27



Figure 28



Figure 29



Figure 30



Figure 31



Figure 32