

**National Socialism and Nazism in South Africa: The case of L.T.  
Weichardt and his Greyshirt movements, 1933-1946**

By

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## **Abstract**

In 1933, the world saw Adolf Hitler and National Socialism taking power in Germany. That same year on the other side of the globe, South Africans saw the establishment of the first of many Greyshirt movements modelled on National Socialism and pro-Nazi by Louis Theodore Weichardt. This study thus analyses the multiple complex factors which inspired and gave rise to Weichardt and his Greyshirt movements, which includes Weichardt's early life, him fighting for Germany in World War One (WWI) and his subsequent experiences in the turbulent Weimar Republic. The 1920s and 1930s socio-economic sphere of South Africa characterised by labour unrest, anti-communism, Afrikaner political divide, republicanism and the poor white problem will also be scrutinised as factors which led Weichardt to create his Greyshirt movements. It is also indisputable that the Greyshirt movements went through various transformations such as from the non-parliamentary South African Christian National Socialist Movement (SACNSM) to a parliamentary South African National Party (SANP) and back again to a non-parliamentary movement the South African National Socialist Union (SANSU). This study discussed the reasons and new functions that went along with every transformation. The level of direct and indirect cooperation and connection between Weichardt and the Nazis will be also presented.

## Abbreviations

ANS:	Afrikaanse National Student Union
AO/NSDAP:	<i>Ausland-Organisation- Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei</i> /Foreign Organisation of the National Socialist German Workers' Party
BED:	Bavarian Ersatz Division
BFC:	British Free Corps
BOSS:	Burro for State Security
CPSA:	Communist Party of South Africa
DNVP:	<i>Deutschnationale Volkspartei</i> /German National People's Party
DP:	Dominion Party
DSP:	<i>Deutsche Internationalen Schule Pretoria</i> / German International School in Pretoria
KPD:	<i>Kommunistische Partei Deutschland</i> / Communist Party of Germany
LP:	Labour Party
LSSAH:	<i>Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler</i>
MNR:	Revolutionary Nationalist Movement
NCP:	National Christian Party
NLS:	National Legionary State
NO:	New Order
NP:	National Party
NSDAP:	<i>Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei</i> /National Socialist German Workers' Party
NUSAS:	National Union of South African Students
OB:	Ossewabrandwag

OFS:	Orange Free State
POW:	Prisoner of War
SA:	Sturmabteilung/Stormtroopers
SACNSM:	South African Christian National Socialist Movement
SAIRR:	South African Institute for Race Relations
SANP:	South African National Party
SAP:	South African Party
SANSU:	South African National Socialist Union
SAW:	South African War
SJ:	Stormjaers
SPD:	<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> / Social Democratic Party of Germany
SS:	<i>Schutzstaffel</i> /Protection Squadron
UP:	United Party
USA:	United States of America
WWI:	World War One
WWII:	World War Two
WWP:	White Workers' Party
ZAR:	<i>Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek</i> / Transvaal Republic

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1 .....	1
<b>BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE</b> .....	1
<b>1.1 Background/rationale</b> .....	1
<b>1.2 Research problems and objectives</b> .....	4
<b>1.3 Research methodology and paradigm</b> .....	4
<b>1.4 Chapter layout</b> .....	5
<b>1.5 Ethical considerations</b> .....	6
<b>1.6 The significance of the study</b> .....	6
<b>1.7 Limitations to the study</b> .....	7
CHAPTER 2 .....	8
<b>ORIGINS AND RISE OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND THE ORIGINS AND RISE OF     NATIONAL SOCIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA</b> .....	8
<b>2.1 Introduction</b> .....	8
<b>2.2 An overview of Germany’s intellectual, philosophical and cultural dynamics in the 19<sup>th</sup>         century as origins of National Socialism</b> .....	8
2.2.1 Social Darwinism and Eugenics .....	8
2.2.2 German culture of the nineteenth century .....	10
2.2.3 German Romanticism .....	11
2.2.4 German nationalism .....	13
2.2.5 German militarism .....	15
<b>2.3 Post-WWI socio-economic problems, the rise of the NSDAP and authoritarianism in         Europe</b> .....	15
<b>2.4 Ideology of National Socialism</b> .....	18
2.4.1 Totalitarianism .....	18
2.4.2 Racist component and anti-Semitism.....	18
2.4.3 Anti-communism .....	21
2.4.4 Anti-capitalism.....	23
<b>2.5 Factors which contributed to the radicalisation of portions of South Africa which         inspired them to embrace National Socialism.</b> .....	24
2.5.1 The historical Anglophobia and republicanism of Afrikaners .....	24
2.5.2 The socio-economic turmoil and the rise of anti-Semitism and communism in South Africa 1900s-1930s .....	27
2.5.3 Anti-Semitism becomes entrenched in the political context of South Africa through the poor white problem .....	31
2.5.4 Establishment and activities of pro-Nazi movements in South Africa .....	33
<b>2.6 Conclusion</b> .....	37

<b>CHAPTER 3</b> .....	39
<b>FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTED TO WEICHARDT EMBRACING NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT</b> .....	39
<b>3.1 Introduction</b> .....	39
<b>3.2 Louis Theodore Weichardt’s life and how it shaped his worldview</b> .....	39
3.2.1 A Short biography of Weichardt’s early life, 1984-1914.....	39
3.2.2 Weichardt’s role in WWI, 1914-1918.....	43
3.2.3 How the socio-political atmosphere of post-WWI Germany influenced Weichardt’s ideological underpinnings, 1919-1924.....	47
3.2.4 The socio-political atmosphere of South Africa and how it contributed to Weichardt’s ideology, 1924-1933 .....	54
<b>3.3 Weichardt’s establishment and spread of the pro-Nazi/Fascist movements in South African and reaction to it</b> .....	58
3.3.1 The establishment of the South African Christian National Socialist Movement (SACNSM) .....	58
3.3.2 The purpose and endeavours of the SACNSM .....	61
3.3.3 Analysis of the aims and purpose of the SACNSM.....	63
3.3.4 The establishment of the Uniformed Greyshirts .....	64
3.3.5 The spread of the movement and reactions from the public and Jewish population in South Africa .....	69
<b>3.4 Conclusion</b> .....	74
<b>CHAPTER 4</b> .....	75
<b>THE RECONFIGURATION OF THE SACNSM INTO A PARLIAMENTARY MOVEMENT, 1934-1939</b> .....	75
<b>4.1 Introduction</b> .....	75
<b>4.2 The transformation of the SACNSM into the SANP and the underlining factors which led to this transformation</b> .....	76
<b>4.3 The main aims and ideology of the SANP</b> .....	78
4.3.1 Main aims of the SANP .....	78
4.3.2 The SANP’s main ideological underpinnings as distinguished from that of the SACNSM .....	79
4.3.3 Organisational and administrative structure of the SANP .....	82
<b>4.4 The courts cases against Greyshirt officials: major setbacks to the support of the SANP</b> .....	84
a) The defamation lawsuit by A. Levy against three prominent Greyshirt officials .....	84
b) Forgery and perjury: The second case against Inch.....	87
<b>4.5 The spread and activities of the SANP in South Africa, 1934-1938</b> .....	90
4.5.1 Activities and support in Natal.....	90

4.5.2	Activities and support in the Orange Free State and Cape Colony.....	92
4.5.3	Activities and support in the Transvaal (TVL).....	93
4.6.1	First party congress of 1934.....	95
4.6.2	Second party congress in 1937.....	96
<b>4.7</b>	<b>The SANP’s electioneering and participation in elections, 1934-1938 .....</b>	<b>97</b>
4.7.1	Participation of the SANP in the Port Elizabeth by-election .....	97
4.7.2	SANP participation in the by-election of Piketberg.....	98
4.7.3	SANP participation in the 1938 general election.....	99
<b>4.8</b>	<b>Attempted cooperation between the SANP and the NP.....</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>4.9</b>	<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>103</b>
<b>CHAPTER 5</b> .....	<b>THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SANP INTO THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL SOCIALIST UNION (SANSU) 1939-1947 .....</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>5.1</b>	<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>5.2</b>	<b>The second transformation of the Greyshirts/SANP and the underlying factors that caused it.....</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>5.3</b>	<b>The ideologies and aims of the South African National Socialist Union (SANSU) .....</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>5.4</b>	<b>The organisational structure of the SANSU .....</b>	<b>111</b>
5.4.1	Different forms of groups inside the SANSU.....	111
5.4.2	The structure and hierarchy.....	112
<b>5.5</b>	<b>Weichardt’s and other pro-Nazi’s relations with the Nazis 1930s-1940s.....</b>	<b>113</b>
5.5.1	Background to Afrikaners dealings with the Nazis before and during WWII.....	113
5.5.2	Weichardt’s relations and ties with the Nazis in Germany and German South West Africa (Namibia).....	115
<b>5.6</b>	<b>The internment of Weichardt and the twilight of his career as a National Socialist ....</b>	<b>119</b>
<b>5.7</b>	<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>121</b>
<b>CHAPTER 6</b> .....	<b>CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS OF THE STUDY .....</b>	<b>123</b>
<b>APPENDICES</b> .....	<b>APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>129</b>

# CHAPTER 1

## BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

### 1.1 Background/rationale

The ideology of National Socialism gained its foothold in Europe, more specifically in Germany after the WWI in German intellectual history.<sup>1</sup> The major ideological components of National Socialism are a racial theory, anti-Semitism, totalitarianism, ethno-nationalism, militarism and aggressive foreign policy.<sup>2</sup> The racial theory emphasises eugenics and Social Darwinism by stating that the Aryan man or the European white man, especially those of German descent, are superior to other races such as the Jews, Africans, and Asians.<sup>3</sup> As I. Hattingh emphasised, National Socialism is at its core also anti-democratic.<sup>4</sup> It promotes a totalitarian form of governance where the rights of an individual are subordinate to that of the state.<sup>5</sup> Suppression is thus an integral part of National Socialism. The ideology of National Socialism is thus totalitarian in nature and its logical end point will be a authoritarian form of government. Another major component of National Socialism is the emphasis placed on the military traditions and the desire to expand its spheres of influence. National Socialism was adopted as the central ideology of Nazi<sup>6</sup> Germany.

The ideology of Nazism, and by extension fascism and National Socialism, arguably remained abeyant inside German borders, but spread to various countries within Europe's borders during the first half of the twentieth century. In Europe, fascism and authoritarianism inspired and spread to Spain and led to the creation of Francisco Franco's fascist state (1936-1975), the Fatherland Front in Austria (1934-1938), Antonio de Oliveira Salazar's fascist taking power in Portugal (1933-1974).<sup>7</sup> Fascism also gained a strong footing in Latin America. In Bolivia the fascist Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR) was established on 7 June

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<sup>1</sup> I. Hattingh, *Nasionaal-Sosialisme en die Gryshemp-beweging in Suid-Afrika* (D.Phil. Thesis, University of the Orange Free State, 1989), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-13; The concepts of National Socialism which includes the racial theory, ethno-nationalism, anti-democracy, anti-Semitism, Totalitarianism, militarism and aggressive national and international policy, will be examined and interpreted in the contents of the study.

<sup>3</sup> A. Bullock, *Hitler: a study in tyranny*, pp. 339 & 407.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74-76 & 103.

<sup>5</sup> T. Honderich (ed.), *The Oxford companion to philosophy*, p. 269.

<sup>6</sup> The full name of the Nazi Party was the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP), which translates to the National Socialist German Workers' Party in English. The NSDAP thus became known generally as the Nazi Party, and its ideology became known as Nazism. Henceforth this study will refer to the NSDAP as the Nazi Party and/or Nazis and its ideology as Nazism. I. Kershaw, *Hitler*, p. 84.

<sup>7</sup> M.J. Trow, *The black book: what if Germany won World War II- A chilling glimpse into the Nazi plans for Great Britain*, pp. 9-12.

1942, while Argentina saw the rise of the Union of National Fascista (1920-1939) under the leadership of Nimio de Anquin. The United States of America (USA) also saw the emergence of fascist movements within her borders, most notably the pro-Nazi German American Bund (1936-1941).<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note that these movements were famous at the prominence of Italian fascists and German Nazism and did not survive long after the end of WWII, chiefly because of the denazification efforts by the allies after WWII. M. Shain contends that National Socialism also gained a significant footing in the Union of South Africa during the 1930s and 1940s through the National Socialist movement called the Greyshirts.<sup>9</sup>

The spread of National Socialism and its ideology of totalitarianism, militarism and racism, found enthusiastic support among certain sections of the Afrikaner population through movements such as the Greyshirts. One of those enthusiastic Afrikaner supporters was Louis Theodore Weichardt.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, this study contends that the practical manifestation of Nazism and its ideology of National Socialism in South Africa is best presented by examining the radicalisation of the political context of South Africa in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the early life (1894-1924) and socio-political actions of Weichardt from 1933 to 1946. His Greyshirt movement demonstrated evident support to Nazism and National Socialism as they went through various formats and changes from 1933 to 1946. Hence, this study intends to, *inter alia*, unravel and explain the possible influence Nazism and National Socialism had on Weichardt to embrace them even though he was aloof from Europe; the actual theatre of these ideologies.

Additionally, the study will critically examine the various forms the Greyshirt movement took from its inception in 1933 until 1946. It will be argued that this period was characterised by an increase in Nazism and National Socialism in South Africa. It would further be apt to evaluate events in South Africa that may have influenced and sustained the existence of the Greyshirt movement for nearly two decades in South Africa. There exists a limited critical evaluation of the Programme of Principles and constitutions of the various Greyshirt movements in South Africa. For instance, in his thesis Isak Hattingh presented a draft of the

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<sup>8</sup> M.J. Trow, *The black book: what if Germany won World War II- A chilling glimpse into the Nazi plans for Great Britain*, pp. 9-12.

<sup>9</sup> M. Shain, *A perfect storm: anti-Semitism in South Africa, 1930-1948*.

<sup>10</sup> Weichardt was born on 21 May 1894 in Paarl, a small town in the Cape Colony but in what is today the Western Cape Province of South Africa. A chapter in this study will be dedicated to him in order to elaborate more on his upbringing and evaluate how he got exposed to German influence.

Programme of Principles of the SANP and not the one it adopted in 1934. The reason for the above-mentioned is the lack of comprehensive studies which focuses solely on the Greyshirts.

Some of the useful and leading academic studies concerning the Greyshirt movement in South Africa were conducted by the historians Hattingh, David Scher, and Martin Shain.<sup>11</sup> Although Hattingh examines the Greyshirt movement from its inception in 1933 until its disbandment in 1950, he did not address the effect Weichardt's participation in the WWI on the side of Germany had on shaping his National Socialistic ideology. Further factors which are inadequately mentioned by Hattingh, Scher and Shain includes the effect of Weichardt's stay in the turbulent Weimar Republic and how it contributed to Weichardt embracing National Socialism. Effects of the Greyshirts ideologies and *modus operandi* on race and class relations as well, growing division within the Afrikaner political context and historical anti-British sentiments among the white Afrikaner population. This study will look at all those and other shortcomings in an attempt to give a thorough analysis of the Greyshirt's ideology.

Indeed, the studies by Francios Van Heerden, Steven Uran and Patrick Furlong dealt with the factors that influenced the rise and implementation of Nazism and National Socialism in South Africa from 1933 to 1948.<sup>12</sup> But they do so without analysing each ideological component found in the Programme of Principles and the constitutions of the various Greyshirt movements and, more importantly, without emphasising the centrality of Weichardt as an individual in the evolution of Nazism and National Socialism in South Africa. Furthermore, Hattingh and Scher presented the aims and ideology of the various Greyshirt movements as it appeared in their given Constitution or Programme of Principles, but falls short to present, examine and analyse the given ideology or aims in its totality. They inadequately examine how the ideology and aims of the Greyshirt movement evolved over the period 1933 to 1946. In addition, they do not establish if there were any cooperation between the Greyshirt movements with the Nazis in Germany, or sub-organisations of Nazi Germany in South West Africa (Namibia).

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<sup>11</sup> See I. Hattingh, *Nasionaal-Sosialisme en die Gryshemp-beweging in Suid-Afrika* (D.Phil. Thesis, University of the Orange Free State, 1989) and D.M. Scher, "Louis T. Weichardt and the South African Greyshirt Movement," *Kleio*, XVIII, 1986.

<sup>12</sup> See generally F.J. van Heerden, *Nasionaal-Sosialisme as faktor in die Suid-Afrikaanse politiek, 1933-1948*. (D.Phil. Thesis, University of the Orange Free State, 1972); S. Uran, *Afrikaner Fascism and National Socialism in South Africa, 1933-1945*, (D.Phil. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1975); P.J. Furlong, *National Socialism, the National Party and the radical right in South Africa, 1933-1948* (D.Phil. Thesis, University of California, 1990).

The above are the factors that the study will attempt to critically analyse. In addition, this study will examine cooperation of the Greyshirt movement with other fascist movements in countries such as Italy which has so far been marginally researched. An additional aim is to establish the aspects which made the Greyshirt movement unique with regards to other pro-Nazi and National Socialistic movements in South Africa such as the Ossewabrandwag (OB) [Oxwagon Sentinel] and the Nuwe Orde (NO) [New Order]. Emphasis will be placed on the central role Weichardt played in the evolvment of the Greyshirt movement throughout the 1930s and 1940s.

## **1.2 Research problems and objectives**

There is clearly a gap in the historiography of the Greyshirt movements in terms of the influence of Weichardt in its creation and its sustenance until 1946. *The research question/problem that this study will attempt to answer is: to what extent did Weichardt play a role in bringing the ideologies of National Socialism and Nazism in South Africa and the evolution and challenges he encountered in that process.* Therefore, the objectives of the study are: to form a clear understanding regarding the factors which influenced Weichardt to establish movements based on Nazism and National Socialism in South Africa; to present a thorough examination of the various aims and ideologies of the Greyshirt movements between 1933 and 1946; to establish if there were any cooperation between the Greyshirts and German Nazis and with other Nazi organisations elsewhere, and to examine the extent to which the cooperation existed; and to assess what made the Greyshirt movements different from other pro-Nazi and National Socialistic movements in South Africa.

In order to address these mentioned objectives, the following research questions will be explored during the research process amongst others: Which factors both internationally and nationally influenced Weichardt to establish movements based on Nazism and National Socialism? Which ideologies and aims drove various Greyshirt movements in South Africa from 1933 to 1946? Was there ever cooperation between the Weichardt's Greyshirts and German Nazis or Nazi movements elsewhere? What forms did the Greyshirt movement take in South Africa between 1933 and 1946? What made the Greyshirts unique from other pro-Nazi movements in Southern Africa?

## **1.3 Research methodology and paradigm**

For the purpose of this study, the qualitative research method will be used and be framed according to the interpretative paradigm. The qualitative research method would involve

analysing and collecting non-numerical data such as books, memoirs, primary text and videos in an effort to form concepts, establish opinions and describe events and experiences. The qualitative research method is best suited for this study because in the effort to analyse and construct a narrative about the Weichardt and the Greyshirts the researcher depended on non-numerical data sources such as the personal documents, memoirs, newspapers and a plethora of books. The history of the Greyshirt movements will be researched and explained by consulting a variety of different historical sources. Primary sources that will be consulted include archival material from the Free State Provincial Archives (Bloemfontein), the Archives for Contemporary Affairs at the University of the Free State Bloemfontein Campus as well as from the Digital Innovation South Africa (DISA) where the private collection of Weichardt and Greyshirt movement. Secondary sources like newspaper articles between 1933 and 1950 from *The Friend* at the Bloemfontein Record Centre, books, online collections, theses, dissertations, journal articles, and conference papers will also be consulted. These before-mentioned sources are of vital importance because it provides the researcher with the necessary information to draw a factual, insightful and chronological narrative regarding the Greyshirts.

#### **1.4 Chapter layout**

The dissertation will consist of the following chapters:

Chapter 1 deals with the background to the study and highlights aspects, such as its research problems and objectives, significance, research design and methodology used, and provides the chapter layout.

Chapter 2 examines the specific cultural and intellectual aspects prevalent in 19<sup>th</sup> century Germany coupled with the analysis of the socio-economic conditions of post-WWI Europe especially in Germany; and how these two above mentioned factors contributed to the rise of National Socialism and the Nazis; and how the socio-economic context of south Africa radicalised parts of the Afrikaner population to embrace National Socialism.

Chapter 3 examines the early life of Weichardt with specific focus on what influenced him to embrace the ideology of Nazism and National Socialism and introduce it in South Africa. It will also deal with the establishment the SACNSM, its para-military wing the Uniformed Greyshirt and its aims and ideology and how it correlated with the aims and ideology of Nazism and National Socialism, the creation of their official mouthpiece – *The Truth Die Waarheid* newspaper.

Chapter 4 will focus on the transformation of the SACNSM from a non-parliamentary movement into a parliamentary one called the SANP and the underlining reasons and transformative aspects that goes along with it; next the chapter would analyse the performance of the SANP in the various by-elections it participated in.

Chapter 5 will examine the transformation of the SANP as a non-parliamentary movement back to a non-parliamentary one called the SANSU, and to what extent the Greyshirts cooperated with German Nazi Party and other Nazi movements elsewhere.

Chapter 6: would highlight the findings of the study.

### **1.5 Ethical considerations**

This study does make use of humans as test subjects as justification for any ethical clearance in this regard. The researcher is aware about a fact that this research topic can lend on to take sides. However, the researcher is determined to avoid this by selecting sources from divergent views and varying role players such as the reaction from South African Jews, Afrikaners and the English in order to highlight opposing views to Weichardt's Greyshirt movements. The main goal is to ensure impartiality. In addition, the researcher is determined to strictly adhere to the regulations regarding plagiarism as set out by the University of the Free State's Plagiarism Policy and ethical clearance procedures.

### **1.6 The significance of the study**

The study of Weichardt and the Greyshirt movements will contribute to the knowledge about Nazism and National Socialism in South Africa and how it contributed to the South African socio-cultural and political history. The rise of Nazism and National Socialism, with its arguably cruel and racist ideology, had caused destruction on a global scale. It is for this reason that the phenomenon of Nazism and National Socialism is still one of the most widely studied areas in History. Despite the massive interest in Nazism and National Socialism, there is still a need for further academic research on its effects in other countries. The study on the Greyshirts could benefit different interdisciplinary disciplines, such as history, political science and cultural studies. The study will likely contribute in exposing how racism in South Africa during the period of Hertzog built up to apartheid. It is the hope that this study will augment existing historiography on class division, racism and even connect to a central theme in South African social historiography.

### **1.7 Limitations to the study**

One of the logistical limitations of the study was the sudden outbreak of Covid-19 and the subsequent closing of the University of the Free State. Which hampered the researcher's freedom to visit the Archives for Contemporary Affairs (ARCA). However, this was addressed by revisiting the ARCA when certain restrictions were lifted. Additionally, the scope of discussions was another limitation. The central figure in the Greyshirts was Weichardt, discussions, research and analysis thus focused predominantly on him. Meaning that other figures within the Greyshirt movements (for practical considerations) were afforded less attention. This study focused on specific research questions and objectives, meaning that certain aspects regarding the Greyshirts did not fall in the designated research questions or objectives and are thus not presented in detail. Such as administrative aspects regarding the Greyshirts, detailed analysis of its spread in various towns, general functions of the multitude Greyshirt branches as well as the omission of the last Greyshirt movement (White Workers Party) for timeline and practical considerations.

## **CHAPTER 2**

# **ORIGINS AND RISE OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA**

### **2.1 Introduction**

After WWI, Germany saw the emergence of National Socialism in the form of the Nazis and in South Africa in the form of the Greyshirts. However, the rise of National Socialism and its spread to countries such as South Africa did not happen in a vacuum but was a combination of factors rooted in the 19<sup>th</sup> century intellectual and cultural histories of Germany and the post-WWI socio-economic turmoil experienced by Europe and many parts of the world. This chapter would thus firstly analyse the historical intellectual and cultural history of Germany as aspects which laid the foundation of the later emergence of National Socialism. Secondly, a brief analyses of post-WWI socio-economic problems in Germany, and the widespread emergence of totalitarian governments in Europe in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Additionally, the main ideological components of National Socialism will be analysed to familiarise the reader with the inner workings of National Socialism and how it corresponded with the ideology of Weichardt's later Greyshirt movements.

The second part of this chapter would turn its focus on Afrikaner republicanism and Anglophobia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and how it led to certain Afrikaners to establish pro-Nazi movements. Additionally, the focus would then swift to an analysis of the post-WWI socio-economic conditions of South Africa and how these conditions radicalised many parts of the Afrikaner population to adopt and model their future movements on that of National Socialism.

### **2.2 An overview of Germany's intellectual, philosophical and cultural dynamics in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as origins of National Socialism**

#### *2.2.1 Social Darwinism and Eugenics*

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century various pseudo-scientific schools of thought became popular in Victorian Britain and especially in Germany, one such pseudo-scientific venture was Social Darwinism. Social Darwinism which saw widespread support from 1890s in Europe and onwards had a profound impact on the worldview of the Nazis as well as the later Greyshirts

of Weichardt.<sup>13</sup> In 1859, the biologist Charles Darwin published the most ground breaking scientific study of recent memory titled: “*On the origin of species by means of natural selection, or the perseveration of favoured races in the struggle for life*”, which henceforth would only be referred to as the Origin of Species.<sup>14</sup>

Darwin’s theory can be best summed up by a quote “the survival of the fittest”.<sup>15</sup> Darwin argued that a species survival and continual existence are determined by its effectiveness in adapting to their environment, and by carrying on the genes that made adaption and survival possible. For example, if there are ten giraffes in a desert, eight of them have short necks and two of them have longer necks. The only available source of food is fruits high up on a tree, the giraffes with the shorter necks would be unable to reach for the food and die out and so does the bad genes which caused their short necks. Whereas the giraffes with the longer necks would be able to reach for the fruit and survive thus producing offspring with the positive genes of long necks which would enable it to survive. Another example, is that deer which are slower than the rest will not survive and will be eaten by predators, thus the strongest and fastest genes will carry over and the chances of survival of the species increases.<sup>16</sup>

The example can also be reversed, that is to say the predator which is hunting the deer, those predators which are slower will not be able to catch the deer and die out, the predators which are faster will be able to catch the prey and the genes will carry over so that the next generation which will thus preserve the species.<sup>17</sup> These examples are known as natural selection. Social Darwinism took these examples and applied them to human beings and societies.<sup>18</sup> Social Darwinism theorists Herbert Spencer and Andrew Carnegie thus argued that humanitarian principles and achievements have destroyed the function of natural selection. Instead a society should be organised to release their beneficial power of nature. The modern state, instead of protecting weak and downtrodden, should ignore those elements completely and focus on the healthy elements of society and encourage them.<sup>19</sup>

In relation to people and races, Social Darwinism led to Eugenics. The sociologist Anthony Giddens identified two types of Eugenics. The first one is positive Eugenics, which specifies the encouragement of positive breeding. Which means if blue eyes are seen as

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<sup>13</sup> T. Honderich (ed.), *Oxford companion to philosophy*, p. 176.

<sup>14</sup> K.D. Bracher, *The German dictatorship: the origins, structure and effects of National Socialism*, p. 13.

<sup>15</sup> Honderich, p. 833.

<sup>16</sup> H. Krausnik and M. Broszat, *Anatomy of the SS state* p. 28.

<sup>17</sup> A. Giddens, *Sociology*, pp. 32, 92.

<sup>18</sup> Krausnick and Broszat, p. 31.

<sup>19</sup> Giddens, p. 652

superior to other eye colours, people with blue eyes are thus promoted to marry and have children with other people who have blue eyes to ensure that the favourable gene is transmitted to the next generation. Negative Eugenics entails to weeding out of negative traits.<sup>20</sup> For example, mental illnesses such as Schizophrenia are seen as degenerate aspects of human nature and the people it will thus be denied medical care, will be sterilised or simply put to death in order to stop the so-called degenerate gene to contaminate other generations.<sup>21</sup>

Social Darwinism can also be adapted to fit the actions of nations, and it was especially used in Europe during the colonial period to justify their exploitation and war of conquests. For example, in Hitler's and the Nazis' *Lebensraum* (living space) idea, it is stated that Germany needed living space in the east to survive. Hitler thus argued that if Germany does not adapt to their environment, which meant attacking and taking over countries in the east, it will lead to her death. The stronger nation must prevail over the weaker one, which was the law of nature according to the Nazis and proponents of Social Darwinism.<sup>22</sup>

It should be noted that Social Darwinism was soon vested in South Africa as well. In the words of the historian Lindie Koorts: "*the Victorian worldview that permeated in the Western Cape among other things was Social Darwinism*".<sup>23</sup> The Afrikaner politician, DF Malan and leader of the National Party (NP) incorporated Social Darwinism and use it as justification for the NP's racist segregation/miscegenation laws that it proposed. According to Malan the white man was superior and mixing and interracial marriage between whites, blacks and Asians would only weaken the purity of the white man.<sup>24</sup> Weichardt's adoption of National Socialism and the Social Darwinistic atmosphere of racial issues in South Africa led to him and his Greyshirts movements to adopt the same policies.

### 2.2.2 German culture of the nineteenth century

German culture was closely linked with that of the racial theories discussed above. It was an intense glorification of old Germany's superiority in all spheres of life and was part of the historical foundation on which the theories of German racial domination and even the concept of *Lebensraum* was based. National Socialism, as with other components utilised a cultural heritage that was already there when the movement began to become an ideology. The

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<sup>20</sup> Giddens, p. 655.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Kershaw, pp. 258-296; Krausnick and Broszat, pp. 26-33.

<sup>23</sup> L. Koorts, *DF Malan: and the rise of Afrikaner nationalism*, p. 7.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 369-370.

Germanic cult had developed and established itself rapidly seventy years before the rise of National Socialism.<sup>25</sup>

It was during the second half of the nineteenth century that the glory of Germanic ancestors reached the dimensions of intense worship for the blue eyed, tall, upright men and women, pure of soul who inhabited the old, dark, German forests. The then Germanic men were stereotypical brave and fearless soldiers who defied the Roman Empire, brave hunters and the full-bodied women were considered the best example of a mother and perfect spouse. They represented the ideal German and were shrouded in mysticism and surrounding myths.<sup>26</sup> Later, in 1876, Wagner added a further milestone with his opera cycle, *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (The ring of the Nibelung).<sup>27</sup> There is no doubt that Wagner, as well as his enchanting music, was an important force in the glorification of the German past, especially considering the influence he had on other facets of German culture, politics and social life.<sup>28</sup> The message of Wagner's music was that love and sacrifice could save the world from its pain, hatred and corruption.<sup>29</sup> One important result which Wagner achieved indirectly for National Socialism was that the magnitude of his music tended to narrow the gap between the movement and that of German intelligentsia who were hostile to it.<sup>30</sup> However, for most Germans the cultural heritage of what Wagner's music meant was a psychological reality and a powerful motivational tool for the Germans in an attempt to make the myth of German superiority a reality. The Nazis would recognise this psychological factor and utilise it as a political and propaganda tool.<sup>31</sup>

### 2.2.3 German Romanticism

Romanticism was a movement that was prominent in Europe during the early and middle 19<sup>th</sup> century which had a substantial influence on western civilisation. German Romanticism did not much differ in its aims to that of other European countries such as Britain at the time. As in other European countries, German Romanticism represented an antithesis towards the

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<sup>25</sup> Hattingh, p. 9.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>27</sup> The opera cycle consisted of three operas, namely the *Valkyrie*, *Siegfried* and *Götterdämmerung*, which took an astounding three days to perform. These were dramas based on myths with which he made a rich contribution to German Romanticism and nationalism. M. Crosland, *The home book of opera*, pp. 223-230; K.B. Sandved (ed.), *The world of music*, pp. 2176-2177.

<sup>28</sup> K.S. Pinson, *Modern Germany: its history and civilisation*, pp. 264-265.

<sup>29</sup> Pinson, p. 264.

<sup>30</sup> H. von Maltitz, *The evolution of Hitler's Germany: the ideology, the personality, the moment*, p. 193.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205.

principles of the enlightenment and classicism.<sup>32</sup> The goals of Romanticism and more specifically that of German Romanticism were the following; return to nature, which indicates a certain sort of paganism, the domination of emotions and feelings over the intellect and reason, revolt against rationalism, emphasis on dreams, nostalgia, magic and a tendency towards the immeasurable and unspeakable mystery of life.<sup>33</sup>

There can be no doubt that Romanticism exerted a significant influence on the development of German civilisation between the periods 1800 until 1945.<sup>34</sup> During these nearly hundred and fifty years, the Germans tended to carry an idea to the extreme and to lose themselves intellectually and emotionally in what was called *das Uferlose, das masalose* (the unbound and uncontrollable) to what the future practical consequences could be. This may explain why the Nazis went to such extremes in carrying out their racial ideology.<sup>35</sup> For example, most European countries shared a history of anti-Semitic tendency but it was the Nazis who went all out to murder six million Jews in specially built factories of death at Auschwitz, Treblinka, and Sobibor<sup>36</sup> to name but a few. It also explains why the German nation continued to fight after defeat was inevitable during WWII.

It was during this period too, that German Romanticism began to move away from the rest of the Western world and took on a consciousness which symbolised that the German was unique and different from the rest of the world.<sup>37</sup> From German Romanticism in the early twentieth century, two distinct movements erupted, which were eventually incorporated directly into National Socialism - the *Volkisch* and the *Jugend* movements. In the former, the concept of a unique nation was glorified and words such as patriotic, nationalist, racial purity and anti-Semitism were all echoed by this movement. The members of this movement were predominantly young people who cherished romantic thoughts and dreams about a new Germany. Karl Dietrich Bracher noted that it was in many respects a direct ideological precursor to National Socialism.<sup>38</sup> One can observe the link between the young people who was active in the *Volkisch* movement and the amount of young people in one of the most

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<sup>32</sup> In layman terms, the enlightenment and classicism emphasised the importance of rationality, logic and strict principles in discovering truth or with the creation of art. B. Shapiro, *The right side of history: how reason and moral purpose made the west great*, pp. 34-40, 70, 74, & 98-105.

<sup>33</sup> Von Maltitz, p. 206.

<sup>34</sup> R.D.O. Butler, *The roots of National Socialism, 1783-1933*, pp. 23, 25, & 35.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Treblinka and Sobibor were all designed just as killing factories; Auschwitz was a hybrid, which served as a slave labour camp and death camp as well. L. Rees, *The Holocausts: a new history*, pp. 74, 237-240, & 254.

<sup>37</sup> Butler, p. 65.

<sup>38</sup> Bracher, p. 26.

notorious sections of Nazi Germany, the Gestapo;<sup>39</sup> most of its members were young educated graduates with a romantic outlook on German life.<sup>40</sup>

The Jugend movement was also a highly romantic movement that began in 1900. It was established as a reaction against mass industrialisation, mechanisation, urbanisation and the immobility of rational thought. Many among the youth like many of the day were unable to cope with the present and future challenges and for that reason were looking at the past for a romantic utopia.<sup>41</sup> An important influence of Romanticism in the above-mentioned movements was that it created a general climate for vague thinking, an intellectual and emotion dream world and an emotional approach to political problems, where sober thinking had to be applied.<sup>42</sup> Arthur Moeller van den Bruck<sup>43</sup> stressed that National Socialism was not the culmination of political thought in a post war Germany, but certainly the climax of one hundred and fifty years of sustained Romantic theory.<sup>44</sup>

#### 2.2.4 German nationalism

The kind of nationalism that prevailed in Germany from 1806 until 1945 was characterised by an aggressive political nationalism. Although nationalism became widespread in Germany after 1806 during which the independent German states stood together to fight against the French Emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte's wars of conquest, it was only after the wars of unification in 1866 against Austria<sup>45</sup> and 1871 against France<sup>46</sup> up until the outbreak of WWI that Germany developed its astronomical aggressive nationalism. Initially, Otto von

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<sup>39</sup> *Geheime Staatspolizei*, known in English as the secret state police of Germany, or just Gestapo, its leader was the fearsome Heinrich Müller. See Bullock, pp. 278-279.

<sup>40</sup> F. McDonough, *The Gestapo: the myth and reality of Hitler's secret police*, pp. 50-53.

<sup>41</sup> Von Maltitz, pp. 210-211.

<sup>42</sup> Pinson, p. 178 and Von Maltitz, p. 217.

<sup>43</sup> Van der Bruck was born in Solingen, Germany in 1876, and was the editor of *Das Dritte Reich*. See Butler, p. 255.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 265.

<sup>45</sup> In 1866, the German states under the leadership of Prussia (the strongest German state) waged a war with their neighbouring Austria, which was also considered a German state. Germany, which was known at the time of the war as the North Confederate of Germany defeated the Austrians in only six weeks, expanding the frontiers of Germany and kicking out Austria from ever becoming part of greater Germany. Hitler however reversed Bismarck's policies by annexing Austria in March 1938. See S. Jenkins, *A short history of Europe: from Pericles to Putin*, pp. 220-224.

<sup>46</sup> The war was waged between the newly expanded North Confederate of Germany under Prussia leadership against France on a bogus pretext and certainly manufactured by Bismarck himself. The result was catastrophic for the French, who was outwitted, outgunned and outmanoeuvred. The result was that Germany expanded her territory even further with the annexation of the French territories of Alsace and Lorraine, which will once again be contested in WWI and WWII. The result of the Franco-Prussian war as it became known was greatly expanding the German nation effectively unifying the different states under Prussia rule. See M. MacMillan, *The war that ended peace: how Europe abandoned peace for the First World War*, pp. 6, & 330-331.

Bismarck<sup>47</sup> advocated this aggressive nationalism to achieve unification and then again to keep the various German states together.

Kaiser Wilhelm II became the symbol of the Germans' aggressive and bombastic nationalism during his reign between 1888 and 1918. His photograph on horseback, wearing his military uniform and with his stab in his hand served to inspire millions of Germans.<sup>48</sup> However, during the years just before the outbreak of WWI, German nationalism was slowly on the decline, and when the Germans lost the war and the Kaiser had to flee,<sup>49</sup> many expected that German nationalism was about to crumble. As it happened this was not the case, the main reason for this was the claim that the undefeated German army, which was the best army on land, was stabbed in the back by Marxist-Jewish traitors.<sup>50</sup> This claim would be thoroughly analysed in the next chapter because it had a profound influence on the worldview of Weichardt who fought on the side of the Germans during WWI and believed in the invincibility of the German army and the 'stab in the back myth' as it became known.

In the period between the two world wars, it was especially the youth of the German middle class who were at the forefront of the nationalist movement. There was a growing revolutionary spirit among the youth and those that participated in WWI; and there was a growing mention of a national revolution, breaking the chains of the Versailles Treaty<sup>51</sup> and so on. This evolutionary spirit was thus in direct opposition to the Weimar Republic and democracy. This was the reason why these evolutionary elements thought the new republic from the start, and one of the reasons for the volatile existence of the republic in its short life of only fifteen years. It was also during the same Weimar Republic period that Oswald Spengler

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<sup>47</sup> Otto von Bismarck is considered to be the best statesman of his time, extremely ambitious and cunning, the Franco-Prussian War indicates his cunningness. He is the founder of modern Germany thanks to his aggressive nationalism. See S.S. Montefiore, *Titans of History*, pp. 381-385.

<sup>48</sup> Von Maltitz, pp. 219-228; Bracher, p. 47; and W. Conze, *The shaping of the German nation: a historical analysis*, p. 30.

<sup>49</sup> Kaiser Wilhelm II fled to the Netherlands, where he died in 1941. When he congratulated Hitler on his brilliant victory against France in the summer of 1940, he told him to be cautious. Hitler's reported reply was when he saw the letter, is: "what does that old man know".

<sup>50</sup> Kershaw, p. 175-176; and E.K. Bramsted, *Germany*, p. 228.

<sup>51</sup> The Versailles treaty is the peace treaty that was signed by the allied nations after WWI, consisting largely of Britain, the USA and France and the losing party namely Germany. These allied countries solely put the blame of WWI on the shoulders of Germany, they were forced to accept guilt and pay massive amounts of reparations which crippled their economy. The strong military of Germany were reduced to a meagre fighting force of only 100 000 men, no air force was allowed, and no military personnel in the Rhineland. Large swaths of land were also taken from Germany, and given to the newly created state of Poland, Alsace and Lorraine were also lost to the French. The Versailles Treaty of 28 June 1919 became probably the most hated aspect in German life and was viciously attacked by the right. See H. Vogt, *The burden of guilt: a short history of Germany, 1919-1945*, pp. 42-44.

published his *Decline of the West*<sup>52</sup> and other works that preached aggressive nationalism which had a profound effect on the German spirit.<sup>53</sup>

### 2.2.5 German militarism

Germany was known for its militarism at least one hundred years before WWI. The tradition of feudal military organisation and thinking continued for centuries in Prussia and later during WWI and continued throughout the Nazis reign.<sup>54</sup> Prussia, one of the previous independent German states, managed to unify all the other German states during the wars of unification between 1866 and 1871.<sup>55</sup> Prussia and its warlike tradition, which consisted of sixty two percent of Germany and came to dominate German political and social contexts of life, by propagating their military traditions to other parts of Germany.<sup>56</sup> Kaiser Wilhelm II, instructed that all schools in Germany should glorify the strong warlike tradition of Prussia in their curriculum.<sup>57</sup> This is an important fact, because Weichardt would be schooled in a German school in the Union of South Africa and later in Germany itself. The families from both his father and mother's side would consist of Prussian heritage which is a factor that will also be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter. This may give the indication why the later Greyshirt movements of Weichardt emphasised strict military discipline, this would be looked at in more detail in the subsequent chapter.

## 2.3 Post-WWI socio-economic problems, the rise of the NSDAP and authoritarianism in Europe

On 11 November 1918 the guns went silent on the western front, officially ending WWI, the most destructive war in human history at the time. WWI resulted in the death of thirteen million soldiers and a further 10 million civilians, destruction of age-old cultural heritages and architecture in an unimaginable scale. The Great War as WWI was known at the time led to the collapse of four Empires, the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, Russian and German Empire while a fifth (the British Empire) was beginning to lose its grip on theirs. Economic deprivation,

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<sup>52</sup> The Decline of the West by Oswald Spengler had a profound impact on the thinking of Germans after WWI, it stated that civilisations in Europe are on their last breath and that it will take national revival to stop it. Was also pessimistic about the role of Jews and Asiatic peoples in the world.

<sup>53</sup> Pinson, p. 499.

<sup>54</sup> Von Maltitz, p. 242.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Macmillan, p. 115.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

rise of trade union strikes, civil war and communist revolutions inspired and directed by Soviet Russia further characterised post-WWI Europe, and non-more so that in Germany.<sup>58</sup>

The newly established Weimar Republic could never effectively solve Germany's growing problems. The French occupation of the Ruhr and the war reparations Germany had to pay stipulated by the Versailles Treaty had a disastrous effect on the German economy, which inevitably led to hyperinflation, at the start of 1922 one Dollar equalled 90 Marks by the middle of 1922 it rose to 350 and by November 1923 an astounding 4, 210, 500, 000, 000 Marks was equal to one Dollar.<sup>59</sup> The economic ruin experienced by Germany was exploited as a great propaganda tool for the Nazis who gave the struggling German population an answer to their ills, that it was the fault of "International Jewry" working for or through foreign peoples and countries who was causing this crisis. The Weimar Republic was also threatened by various communists' coups. From November 1918 – May 1919 four communist coups and revolutions took place whereby independent "Soviets" was established such as; People's State of Bavaria, Bavarian Soviet republic, Soviet republic of Saxony and the Bremen Soviet Republic.<sup>60</sup> The result was that various para-military nationalist groups were formed to deal with these "Soviet Republics".

The end was a bloody civil war which ended with the fall of the "Soviet Republics" and the radicalisation of many parts of the German population. The Nazis stepped into this chaos as a fervently anti-communist movement which also proclaimed that these communist takeovers were the work of the Jews. The turbulent Weimar Republic years created the environment for the Nazis to rise and take power and inspire many parts of Germany. Weichardt was one of those inspired, he personally experienced the Weimar Republic years and stated afterwards that it influenced his worldview toward National Socialism. Weichardt experiences in the Weimar Republic would be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

The rise of the Nazis in Germany was not an isolated phenomenon, various countries in Europe experienced some degree of communist revolutions which was quickly overthrown and new fascist regime replaced them. Preceding the Nazis was the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Italy under Benito Mussolini in 1922. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar would in turn also establish a semi-fascist dictatorship in Portugal which would last from 1933-1974.<sup>61</sup> In

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<sup>58</sup> R. Gerwarth, *The vanquished: why the First World War failed to end, 1917-1923*, pp. 1-12.

<sup>59</sup> B. Widdig, *Culture and inflation in Weimar Germany*, pp. 33-50.

<sup>60</sup> D. Schumann, *Political violence in the Weimar republic, 1918-1933: fight for the streets and fear of civil war*, pp. 3-33.

<sup>61</sup> F.R. de Meneses, *Salazar: a political biography*, pp. 83 & 375.

1934, the Fatherland Front of Engelbert Dollfuss and Kurt von Schuschnigg established the Austrian Corporate State based on fascism and anti-Semitism. A Corporate State is closely linked to fascism whereby members of a specific economic sector are enticed to join a designated interest group. These interest groups in turn attain public status and participate in national policy making under the state. Both Austria under the Fatherland front and Italy under Mussolini implemented various forms of state corporatism.<sup>62</sup>

Weichardt was inspired by this model and made it one of his main ideological underpinnings of one of his later Greyshirt movements.<sup>63</sup> Fascism and National Socialism also spread to Romania where Octavian Goga and his National Christian Party (NCP) gained power in 1935.<sup>64</sup> The NCP took their inspiration from the Nazis, adopting various aspects of National Socialism from their symbols such as the swastika to anti-Semitism as well as implementing state corporatism. In 1940 the National Legionary State (NLS) under Ion Antonescu came to power in Romania, which was even more fascist and pro-Nazi than Goga's NCP. At the end of WWII the NLS would be directly and indirectly responsible for the death of 400 000 Jews. The spread of fascism after post-WWI also reached Spain with the establishment of the Spanish fascist state under Francisco Franco in 1936 which would last until 1975.<sup>65</sup> The chaotic post-WWI Europe characterised by social-economic and political upheaval led to the spread and establishment of fascist movements around Europe and abroad. Many of these fascist movements that sprung up were influenced and inspired by National Socialism of the Nazis. Weichardt would be one of many who experienced this radical post-WWI Europe atmosphere whereby he would be inspired by National Socialism and import it to South Africa.

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<sup>62</sup> G.L. Mosse, *International fascism: new thoughts and new approaches*, p. 238.

<sup>63</sup> Archives for Contemporary Affairs (ARCA), P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 122; "The SANSU's programme of principles and constitution".

<sup>64</sup> K.P. Spicer, *Anti-Semitism, Christian ambivalence, and the Holocaust*, p. 139.

<sup>65</sup> Rees, pp. 105, 132, 233-234, & 396.

## 2.4 Ideology of National Socialism

### 2.4.1 Totalitarianism

The immediate thought that comes to mind if one thinks about Nazi Germany is the word totalitarianism. Totalitarianism can be defined as a form of governance that outlaws opposition parties, restricts oppositions and freedoms from the individual because the needs and rights of an individual is subordinate to that of the state, and the state exercises complete control over the public and private life of the nation in question.<sup>66</sup> Totalitarian regimes such as Nazi Germany is further characterised as a complete disregard for democracy and its underlining processes such as freedom of speech, freedom of association, among others. Totalitarian regimes such as Nazi Germany are thus also characterised as a one-man-one-party rule, which was exactly what the Nazis were, all other parties were outlawed and the Nazis were the only undisputable party in Germany under the absolute authority of Hitler.<sup>67</sup> The development of a national cult of personality around the single leader, in this case Hitler, to legitimise his position of power and his influence over the people. Absolute control over the economy, mass surveillance and state-sponsored terrorism are other aspects which are prevalent in totalitarian governments.<sup>68</sup>

The Greyshirts movements of Weichardt would wholeheartedly stood for a totalitarian regime. They (the Greyshirts) under Weichardt saw democracy as an outdated system and an invention of British imperialism and Jews.<sup>69</sup> The before-mentioned was the same justification used by the Nazis when defending their totalitarian regime. Throughout the programme of principles and aims of the various Greyshirt movements (SACNSM, SANP and SANSU) Weichardt made it explicit that his movements saw party politics as a means to divide a nation and the most effective manner to rule a state would be to abolish party politics and rule through an authoritarian government.<sup>70</sup>

### 2.4.2 Racist component and anti-Semitism

The central concept of National Socialism and that of the Nazis was their radical views on race and anti-Semitism. The Nazis firstly viewed that the Aryan race was the master race of the

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<sup>66</sup> Hattingh, p. 114.

<sup>67</sup> Kershaw, p. 87.

<sup>68</sup> P. Longenrich, *Goebbels*, p. 311.

<sup>69</sup> *Die Waarheid – The Truth*, 13.07.1934.

<sup>70</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 117; “SANP programme of principles”; *Die Waarheid – The Truth*, 13.07.1934.

world, which gave them the right to conquer and in the end murder all the other races which they saw as inferior and a threat to them.<sup>71</sup> To become a member of the Nazi party or the *Schutzstaffel* (SS) an individual needed to prove that he was from Aryan descent. The Nazis argued that the Aryans were in a continual conflict with other races, especially the Jews who the Nazis saw as one of the biggest existential threats to the German nation because of their so-called financial and cultural influences.<sup>72</sup> In order to preserve the so-called purity of the Aryan race, the Nazis introduced the infamous Nuremberg Laws in 1935. These laws prohibited sexual relations and marriage between Germans and Jews, but the law was later stretched to encompass not just the Jews but Gypsies, the black race and Asians.<sup>73</sup> With the introduction of the Nuremberg Laws, sexual relations and marriages between Aryans and so-called inferior nationalities became punishable under the race laws as *Rassenschande* (race defilement), which meant imprisonment.<sup>74</sup> According to the Nazis to be a true German meant having “pure blood” uncontaminated by other so-called non-Aryan peoples, the rallying call for this racist policy of the Nazis became known as Blood and Soil.

After the start of WWII, the racists and genocidal policies of the Nazis stretched even further to encompass all other races, which were not German, at the bottom of these non-Germans stood the Jews, blacks, Slavs and Romanians.<sup>75</sup> The introduction of the Nuremberg laws and race defilement laws proved to be inadequate for preserving the purity of the Aryan race according to the Nazis, and they thus eventually started to exterminate Jews, Slavs, blacks, Romani as well as the physically and mentally ill.<sup>76</sup> Other groups which were not from the beginning singled out for extermination but nonetheless imprisoned and tortured included groups such as the work shy, homosexuals and Jehovah’s witnesses, however, over the course of the WWII they too would be murdered. One of Hitler’s racial ambitions when WWII started was to exterminate most of the Slavs from central and Eastern Europe in order to acquire a *Lebensraum* (living space) for the Germans. Those who will not be exterminated would be made slaves to serve the German nation. WW Hagen posited that Hitler planned to enslave, exploit and exterminate whole countries.<sup>77</sup> The idea of creating a master race in Nazi Germany led to the efforts by the Nazis to purify the German nation through Eugenics. This ultimately

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<sup>71</sup> G.L. Mosse, *Nazi culture: intellectual, cultural and social life in the Third Reich*, p. 79.

<sup>72</sup> M. Burleigh, *The racial state: Germany 1933-1945*, p. 49.

<sup>73</sup> R. Gellately and N. Stoltzfus (eds.), *Social outsiders in Nazi Germany*, pp. 216 & 231.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> S. Gigliotti and B. Lang, *The Holocaust: a reader*, p. 14.

<sup>76</sup> A. Mineau, *Operation Barbarossa: ideology and ethics against human dignity*, p. 180.

<sup>77</sup> W.W. Hagen, *German history in modern times*, p. 313.

led to forced sterilisation and euthanasia of the physically handicapped as well as the mentally ill, in an extermination policy, which became known after WWII as the T4 program.<sup>78</sup> The inspiration for the T4 program came from Hitler's obsession firstly with Social Darwinism and the ancient Sparta,<sup>79</sup> state of Greece which was one of the first state-sponsored Eugenics empires.

Weichardt in the 1930s and 1940s would incorporate the Nazis' biological racism and anti-Semitism in his various movements, which became the central ideological stance of the Greyshirts. Weichardt adopted the racial hierarchy of the Nazis down to using terminology such as Aryan. A potential member of the Greyshirts needed to prove that he was from Aryan descent similar to a potential Nazi or SS member.<sup>80</sup> An Aryan was thus at the top of the racial hierarchy according to the Greyshirts. Other races and nationalities in South Africa such as the black, Indian, Asian and Jewish population was seen as non-Aryans and a threat to the racial purity of the white ruling class and condemned as second-class citizens or in the case of the Jewish population as non-citizens. It was for this reason that Weichardt propagated segregation policies and laws against sexual relations and marriages between Aryans and non-Aryans in an attempt to keep the ruling white Aryan class "pure".

It is thus indisputable that the Greyshirts incorporated the racist Blood and Soil ideology of the Nazis, this is observable by the official song of the Greyshirts called *Bloed en Bodem* which translates into English as Blood and Soil.<sup>81</sup> The Greyshirts would also incorporate the Nazis' fervent and biological anti-Semitism as their central ideology. Anti-Semitism was already rife in South Africa and elsewhere in the world before the Nazis came to power. The previous statement would be discussed at various intervals in the current as well as next chapter. However, the anti-Semitism in question was always based on economic or religious pretexts. The Nazis regime made anti-Semitism a race and biological factor. Meaning that even if a Jew converted and become a Christian, he was inheritably still a Jew. The Nazis saw Jews as inheritably sub-human it did not matter in what context you placed him. Weichardt and his

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<sup>78</sup> In July 1933, the Nazis introduced the Law for the prevention of Hereditary Diseased offspring, which forced sterilisation of people with a wide range of disabilities and conditions ranging from schizophrenia, alcoholism, Huntington disease, epilepsy and much more. Between 350 000 people were sterilized from 1933-1939. See R.K. Wittman and D. Kinney, *The devil's diary: Alfred Rosenberg and the stolen secrets of the Third Reich*, pp. 325-327.

<sup>79</sup> When a baby was born in Sparta it was first inspected by an elder, if the baby was seen to have any deformities what so ever it was immediately killed or left to die of exposure. See R.L. Fox, *The classical world: an epic history of Greece and Rome*, pp. 76-77.

<sup>80</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 144; "membership forms for the Uniformed Greyshirts".

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 127; "Song of the Greyshirts".

Greyshirt movements thus adopted the then unique notion of racial anti-Semitism of the Nazis. These views held by the Greyshirts strengthens the argument that they were significantly modelled on the Nazis.

### 2.4.3 Anti-communism

The Nazis claimed that communism was dangerous to the overall well-being of nations because of its ideology, which stood for egalitarian values of equality, abolishment of private property, aggression towards the middle class and small businesses, and of communism being an atheistic ideology.<sup>82</sup> The Nazis rather rejected the notion class conflict, socialism and economic egalitarianism, favouring instead a stratified economy with social classes based on merit, talent and cooperation between the classes.<sup>83</sup> In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler expressed his desire to wage a war on the Marxist principle that the men of this earth are all created equal.<sup>84</sup> Hitler strongly believed that the notion of equality was a sin against nature, reason being he was a fervent supporter of Social Darwinism, which as we have discussed in the previous section contends that people and civilisations are not equal and in a continual struggle for existence where the strongest would prevail. Nazism thus believed in upholding the natural inequality of man, including the inequality found between different races as well as within a specific race.<sup>85</sup> One can thus observe the two polar opposites regarding the ideology of communism and Nazism.

Hitler and the Nazis thus took a different road to that of economic egalitarianism promoted by communism. Hitler's National Socialistic state's aim was to advance individuals who showed intelligence or special talents, with the aim that such individuals will rule over the masses.<sup>86</sup> Nazism thus relied on two cornerstones - elitism and the *Führerprinzip* (leadership principle), stating that elite minorities should take on leadership roles over the majority.<sup>87</sup> The elite minority should itself then be organised to a hierarchy of talent, with a single leader, Hitler on top. Nazism also went on to state that each member in the hierarchy show absolute obedience to those directly above him and should hold complete power over those below him.<sup>88</sup>

The Nazis anti-communist stance was prevalent from their inception until its fall. The only difference is that the conflict between the two grew greater over the years. During the early 1920s when the Nazis were only a fringe party in the political sphere of Germany, Hitler

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<sup>82</sup> Kershaw, pp. 118, & 231-235.

<sup>83</sup> J.W. Bendersky, *A history of Nazi Germany: 1919-1945*, p. 40.

<sup>84</sup> A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 402.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> Bendersky, p. 49.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

urged different Nazi factions and other far-right political movements to unite in opposition against Jews and Bolshevism, the two was seen as on in the same by the Nazis.<sup>89</sup> Hitler argued that that Jewish-Bolshevism was composed of three vices which were democracy, internationalism and pacifism.<sup>90</sup> The communist movements, the Social Democrat Party of Germany (SPD), trade unions and the left wing press were all considered by the Nazis to be controlled by Jewish-Marxists including the so called Jewish international conspiracy which aim it was to break and weaken the German nation by promoting internal disunity between the German people through class struggle.<sup>91</sup>

The Nazis also fervently propagated the belief that the Jews were behind the instigation of the Bolsheviks Revolution in Russia.<sup>92</sup> Most important is that the Nazis believed that the communist alongside the Jews conspired with one another to stab Germany in the back, which resulted in Germany losing WWI.<sup>93</sup> The ‘stab in the back myth’ would be discussed in great detail in chapter 3 because it would have a profound impact on the worldview of Weichardt. This myth will give the reader a clear understanding of the later Greyshtirt’s movement’s hostility towards democracy, communism and the Jews. The Nazis also took the stance that modern cultural trends of the 1920s and early 1930s such as jazz music and Cubanist art such as the work of Picasso all represented “Cultural Bolshevism” and were part of the political assault which was aimed at the spiritual degeneration of the German nation.<sup>94</sup>

Weichardt first anti-communist worldview was established during his stay in the Weimar Republic which was plagued by numerous violent communist revolutions and counter revolutions. Weichardt was thus inspired at this stage by the effective resistance by the Nazis towards communism and can be seen as the major factor which made him embrace the Nazis. It is easily observable that the anti-communist stance taken by the Greyshirts in later years was modelled on the anti-communism of National Socialism. Meaning that Weichardt and the Greyshirts was not just against communism on theoretical grounds but propagated the Nazi lie that communism was simply a tool used by the Jews to enslave the Aryans and dominate the world.<sup>95</sup> Weichardt would also be invited to the world anti-communist conferences which was

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<sup>89</sup> J. Toland, *Adolf Hitler*, p. 207.

<sup>90</sup> I. Kershaw, *Hitler, the Germans and the final solution*, p. 53.

<sup>91</sup> Hitler, pp. 20 & 30-35.

<sup>92</sup> Kershaw, p. 150.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> Bendersky, p. 52 and see Hitler, pp. 225-234.

<sup>95</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 117; “SANP programme of principles”.

held in Nazi Germany and throughout other fascist countries in Europe such as Italy, Portugal and Spain.<sup>96</sup>

#### 2.4.4 Anti-capitalism

The Nazis were passionately anti-capitalism, because they argued that free-market capitalism inevitably leads to a nation getting damaged due to international finance and the economic dominance of corrupted big businesses, which the Nazis saw as being run by the Jews.<sup>97</sup> Although Goebbels preferred communism back in 1925, he disliked capitalism but saw both communism and capitalism as the two pillars of materialism, which in turn was part of the international Jewish conspiracy to dominate Germany.<sup>98</sup> The Nazis anti-capitalism stance is observable if one looks at its propaganda regarding capitalism. A regular Nazi propaganda poster that was widely distributed among the working-class districts of Germany read: “The maintenance of a rotten industrial system has nothing to do with nationalism. I can love Germany and hate capitalism”.<sup>99</sup> Hitler both in public and private voiced his disdain for capitalism. He argued that capitalism holds a nation ransom in the interest of big monopoly companies which he referred to as the “cosmopolitan rentier class”.<sup>100</sup> Weichardt would incorporate Hitler’s anti-capitalistic stance in his future Greyshirt movements.

Hitler opposed capitalism or the free market system for a number of reasons, firstly, because those systems, according to him, cannot be trusted to put the national interest of Germany first, profit according to him would be made a priority and not the national interest of the people of Germany.<sup>101</sup> Secondly, Hitler also preferred an economy which would direct important resources in ways which would fit in with the interest of the nation as a whole such as, the rearming program of Germany which began at full steam in 1935, massive building projects such as the autobahns and economic self-sufficiency.<sup>102</sup> Thirdly he believed, as stated in *Mein Kampf*, that a nation could never defend itself properly if it fights just for financial interest. Lastly, he believed that capitalism makes a nation’s ability to wage war decrease.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 162; “news clippings and speeches”; *Cape Argus*, 10.11.1939.

<sup>97</sup> Bendersky, p. 72.

<sup>98</sup> A. Read, *The Devil’s disciples: Hitler’s inner circle*, pp. 138 & 142.

<sup>99</sup> Bendersky, pp. 58-59.

<sup>100</sup> R.J. Overy, *The dictators: Hitler’s Germany and Stalin’s Russia*, p. 399.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 403.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> Hitler, p. 138.

Hitler distrusted capitalism because of its uncontrollable/ role it plays in the lives of a nation and especially that of the German nation.<sup>104</sup> An example of the uncontrollable nature of capitalism is when an economic crash in the USA can have ripple effects and plunge Germany in an economic crisis. Hitler preferred a state regulated economy which would retain private property and encourage competition, but it will always be subordinate to that of the needs of the state.<sup>105</sup> For example, one of the interests of the Nazis state was to curb the rise of urbanisation which was gripping not only Germany but the whole world in a period of rapid economic and industrial expansion. A solution to this was to encourage the expansion of the German people to go live on farms, with the result that they could not sell their farms without special authorisation from the Nazi state, this will be looked at in the following section as well.<sup>106</sup> Hitler argued in *Mein Kampf*, that the only way to ensure economic security was to have direct control over the resources of Germany instead of relying on world trade. The Greyshirt movements of Weichardt would hold the same anti-capitalist views. To them (Greyshirts) capitalism was not used opposed on a theoretical basis but on an anti-Semitic basis as well. For example, the Jews according to the Greyshirts used capitalism to exploit the world's people and Afrikaners.

## **2.5 Factors which contributed to the radicalisation of portions of South Africa which inspired them to embrace National Socialism**

### *2.5.1 The historical Anglophobia and republicanism of Afrikaners*

Anglophobia and republicanism, so embedded in the Afrikaner's psyche by the 1930s and 1940s, which in the future was used by Weichardt and other disgruntled Afrikaners to justify cooperation with the Nazis, can be traced back to the hostilities between the British and the predominately Dutch settlers in the Cape of Good Hope. The Dutch settlers arriving at the Cape of Good Hope during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century soon developed their own distinct identity and became known as Afrikaners or Boers.<sup>107</sup> Hostilities ensued between the Afrikaners and the British over religious rights, slavery, economic oppression and treatment of blacks in general.<sup>108</sup> These hostilities increased the Afrikaner's desire for self-governance, independent from the British Empire. The Afrikaner's desire for independence soon metamorphosed into

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<sup>104</sup> Overy, p. 399.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> Longerich, p. 302.

<sup>107</sup> T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, pp. xxi-xxii.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*; E.A. Walker, *The Great Trek*, pp. 59-105.

action as thousands of Afrikaner families known as Voortrekkers moved out of the Cape Colony into the interior of South Africa from 1835-1840 in an effort to realise their republican dream.<sup>109</sup>

Their republican ideal was soon achieved with the establishment of two independent Boer republics; the South African Republic (ZAR) and the Orange Free State (OFS) whose independence was granted by the British through the Sand River Convention (1852) and the Bloemfontein Convention (1854).<sup>110</sup> If the hostilities between the Afrikaners and the British and the ensuing establishment of the ZAR and OFS was the match who lit the fire of Anglophobia and republicanism among Afrikaners, other historical clashes between the two poured fuel unto that fire. These events are; the annexation of the ZAR by the British in 1877 and the regaining of the ZAR's independence after the Battle of Majuba in 1881; the threatening of the ZAR independence in 1895 by the arch imperialist Cecil John Rhodes through the disastrous Jameson Raid of 1895.<sup>111</sup>

The Anglo-Boer War, known as the South African War (SAW) in contemporary historiography of South Africa, was the arguably the most significant Afrikaner-British struggle, which enflamed Afrikaner anti-British sentiments to fever pitch. This was due to the British use of Scorched Earth Policy and the establishment of concentration camps where 4, 117 Boer women and 22, 074 Boer children perished along with 20, 000 blacks.<sup>112</sup> With the outbreak of WWI Afrikaner anti-British sentiments and republicanism again came to the forefront of the South African political sphere. With the declaration of war against Germany in 1914, South Africa as Britain's subject was automatically also in a state of war against the Germans. It was decided by the ruling party the South African Party (SAP) to send South African troops to occupy the German colony of German South West Africa (modern-day Namibia).<sup>113</sup>

This understandably infuriated a large portion of the Afrikaner population who little more than a decade earlier was at war with Britain, which resulted in the Afrikaner losing the independence of their two republics as well as being subjected inhumane treatment through the scorch earth policy and concentration camps. The ex-president of the OFS summed up the Afrikaner's position at the outbreak of WWI accurately when he stated; "*Never did I think that*

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<sup>109</sup> C.F.J. Muller, *Die oorsprong van die Groot Trek*, pp. 12-14.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15; Pakenham, pp. 16-17.

<sup>111</sup> F.A. van Jaarsveld, *The awakening of Afrikaner nationalism; 1868-1881*, pp. 219-224; Pakenham, pp. 1-5.

<sup>112</sup> H. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners; biography of a people*, p. 256.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 379-381.

any government, and least of all an Afrikaner government, would use the children of concentration camps against the German nation".<sup>114</sup> Various prominent veterans<sup>115</sup> of the SAW would not stand this humiliation and along with their revived republican ideal launched an armed rebellion which would ensure the Afrikaner's independence once more.<sup>116</sup> The armed Boer-rebellion had its effect on Weichardt as well, who with the outbreak of WWI, was himself in Germany, a cable from his uncle in South Africa informed him that if Germany was to win the war, that the ZAR would once more gain its independence.<sup>117</sup>

Weichardt, influenced by the centuries old Afrikaner republicanism and Anglophobia decided to throw in his lot with the German army and fought against the British.<sup>118</sup> During the 1930s with the establishment of his pro-Nazi movements, Weichardt still entertained the hope that a Nazi victory in WWII would ensure Afrikaner independence. Afrikaner republicanism and anti-British sentiments which is intertwined with it also influenced other prominent Afrikaners to embrace the enemy. For example, Johannes Frederik Jansen van Rensburg leader of the pro-Nazi movement, the OB stated the following: "*The OB is of the opinion that a German victory is an obvious condition for an Afrikaner Republic to come into existence. Liberation can happen only as a result of a German victory*".<sup>119</sup> In an interview with Balthazar Johannes Vorster (Prime Minister of apartheid South Africa, 1966-1978), William Buckley asked Vorster about his past activities in the pro-Nazi OB, Vorster defended his membership in the OB by stating that that he was rather not pro-Nazi but anti-British.<sup>120</sup> It can be concluded that the republican ideal along with strong Anglophobe sentiments was a significant factor that pushed some Afrikaners in the future to embrace Nazism who shared their prejudices regarding the British.

The Nazis in turn did their part to reinforce these Anglophobia and republicanism of the Afrikaners through propaganda and reinsurance from Berlin. An example of the before mentioned is when Hitler gave a speech at the *Sportpalast* on 30 January 1940 and stated the

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<sup>114</sup> N.J. van der Merwe, *Marthinus Theunis Steyn*, p. 212.

<sup>115</sup> These veterans included the likes of Koos De la Rey, Manie Maritz and Christiaan de Wet to name but a few.

<sup>116</sup> F. Welsh, *A history of South Africa*, pp. 379-380.

<sup>117</sup> Hattingh, p. 43.

<sup>118</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 145: "Die Man en die Plan"; Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv; München; Abteilung IV Kriegsarchiv. Kriegstammrollen, 1914-1918; Volume: 6309. Kriegstammrollen: Bd 4.

<sup>119</sup> Pike, p. 210; *Die Vaderland*, 1 January and 8 August 1942.

<sup>120</sup> Firing Line with William F. Buckley Jr, episode 132, recorded on 13 March 1974 and aired on PBS. See full interview between William F. Buckley and B.J. Vorster at: YouTube, "Firing Line with William F. Buckley Jr.: The Question of South Africa", <<https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=VVWh01yColQ>>, 09.02.2017.

following; “*they (Britain) waged war for gold mines and for mastery over diamond mines*”.<sup>121</sup> Hitler thus made a reference towards the SAW, which Hitler saw as British imperialism and greed for the rich goldmines of the ZAR. Hitler went on in the same speech to state the following;

After all, this entire blockade warfare is nothing other than a war against women and children just as once was the case in the Boer War...It was then that concentration camps were invented. England locked up Boer woman and children in these camps. Over 20, 000 Boer women (and children) died wretchedly at the time.<sup>122</sup>

The Nazi propaganda machine also produced a anti-British movie titled, *Ohm Kruger* along with distributing propaganda leaflets with the image of Paul Kruger on it with the heading *alles sal reg kom* (everything will be fine) with the aim of recruiting men for Nazi war effort.<sup>123</sup> The message is simple, they knew Kruger stood as the embodiment of republicanism and anti-British for the Afrikaners and that these propaganda would affect the desires of the Afrikaners and produce sympathy for the Nazi cause among them.

### *2.5.2 The socio-economic turmoil and the rise of anti-Semitism and communism in South Africa 1900s-1930s*

After WWI the Union of South Africa was experiencing various socio-economic turmoil of its own, which would have reinforced Weichardt’s already existing distrust in democracy, anti-communism, anti-Semitism and pro-Nazism. The turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw an increase in labour unrest in the Union of South Africa. From 1906 until 1920 a total of 199 strikes occurred in South Africa according to the official yearbook of the Union of South Africa. However, 168 of those 199 strikes occurred between 1916 and 1920.<sup>124</sup>

Culminating in the 1922 Wits Miners’ Strike also known as the Red Revolt, which resulted in 280 deaths, 50 of those being policemen and the arrest of 5000 participants.<sup>125</sup> The spike in labour unrest led to renewed fears of communist infiltration, anti-capitalism and anti-Semitism in the political context of South Africa. The 1922 strike resulted in a political

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<sup>121</sup> World Future Fund, “Adolf Hitler – speech at the Berlin Sportpalast; January 30, 1940”, <<http://www.worldfuturefund.org/wffmaster/Reading/Hitler%20Speeches/Hitler%20Speech%201940.01.30.htm>>, *s.a.*

<sup>122</sup> J. Kreienbaum, *A sad fiasco; concentration camps in Southern Africa*, 1900-1908, p. 236.

<sup>123</sup> C.W. Hallstein, ‘Ohm Kruger: the genesis of a Nazi propaganda film’, *Journal of Literature and Film Quarterly*, Vol. 30, 2, 2002, pp. 133-139; P. Dickens, “Waffen SS uses the Boer War to recruit the Dutch”, <<https://www.google.com/amp/s/samilhistory.com/2017/07/23/waffen-ss-uses-the-boer-war-to-recruit-the-dutch/amp/>>, 23.07.2017.

<sup>124</sup> H.R. Pike, *History of communism in South Africa* (Second edition), pp. 103-104.

<sup>125</sup> Giliomee, pp. 331-336.

mudslinging contest between Jan Smuts who was leader of the SAP and Malan and JBM. Hertzog of the NP. The verbal attacks which the above-mentioned politicians engaged in after the Wits Miners' Strike reveals a lot about their prejudices. Malan accused Smuts of mishandling the 1922 strike and that he (Smuts) was colluding with the Chamber of Mines and "monopolistic bloodsuckers".<sup>126</sup> Smuts in turn said that Malan and the NP were Bolsheviks symphasisers, Malan hit back by saying that he felt closer with the Labour Party (LP) than with "Smuts-Smartt-Hoggenheimer and Co".<sup>127</sup>

This clash ultimately led to Smuts' SAP losing against a NP and LP coalition in the 1924 general election. The conflict between the SAP and the NP tells a lot about the existing anti-communist/capitalism/Semitic prejudices prevalent in South African politics at the time. Malan was labelled a Bolsheviks symphatiser by Smuts because of Malan's criticism of the former's handling of the 1922 strike, indicating the fear of a rise in communists' infiltration in South African politics. Malan in turn labelled Smuts and the SAP "Hoggenheimer and Co". Malan's newspaper *Die Burger* published on a regular basis anti-capitalist/Jewish cartoons by the cartoonist DC Boonzaier. The central figure in these cartoons was the Hoggenheimer character who was portrayed as a wealthy Jewish capitalist hell bent on improvising the Afrikaner.<sup>128</sup> Malan thus labelled Smuts as capitalistic Jew exploiting Afrikaners. Malan and the NP's anti-Semitism and anti-capitalistic sentiments at this stage had its roots in British imperialism which Afrikaner nationalists saw as a bunch of capitalists under the leadership of Jews who has a history of exploiting the Afrikaner for their own financial ends. Weichardt, with the launch of his Greysshirt movement in 1933 would also proclaim that the Jameson Raid of 1895 was under the leadership of the Jews to take over the goldmines and impoverish the Afrikaner.<sup>129</sup>

There wasn't just labour unrest in the form of strikes but also overtly communist activities and communication between the communist in Russia with South Africans, which further radicalised the political context in South Africa. Firstly, on 1 April 1919, disgruntled workers under the leadership of JT Bain (a known Marxist) stormed the Johannesburg City Council, took it over, hoister the red flag of socialism and called themselves "The Soviet".<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Koorts, p. 195.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 193-195; see also ARCA, P.V. 27, *Cape National Party*, File No. 1/2/2/2/1. "Party Congress of the National Party (NP)".

<sup>128</sup> Koorts, p. 195.

<sup>129</sup> *Die Burger*, 27 October 1933; *The Star*, 27 October 1933.

<sup>130</sup> The word Soviet translated to English means council. During the Bolsheviks revolution of 1917 it meant a government of a specific sphere under the control of workers or communist, for instance the Moscow Soviet or

The “Soviet” was short-lived and angry citizens demanded Bain and his gang to disembark. Secondly, just eight months later in January 1920 a group of strikers under the leadership of Harry Haynes took control of Durban’s City Hall and also proclaimed it a Soviet.<sup>131</sup> The Durban Soviet quickly fizzled out and lasted for only a day. The head of the communist party in Russia, the Comintern praised the two soviet takeovers in Johannesburg and Durban.<sup>132</sup>

Thirdly, in 1927 James La Guma and JT Gumede visited Moscow, where La Guma had discussions with Nikolai Bukharin (member of the Soviet Comintern) on the situation in South Africa regarding the repression of the black population. This resulted in the Comintern in Moscow issuing a directive to the Communist Party South Africa (CPSA) that they should work for the overthrow of the British and Boer and form an independent Black Republic.<sup>133</sup> The precise wording of the directive was “*A South African Native Republic, as a stage towards a Workers’ and Peasants’ Government, with full protection and equal rights for all national minorities*”.<sup>134</sup> The Comintern’s Black Republic directive caused an increase of black people in the CPSA from a small minority in 1924, 1 600 of 1750 members by the end of 1928 was now black, however the leadership at this stage was still predominantly white.<sup>135</sup> These events especially the Black Republic one enflamed anti-communist sentiments among many Afrikaners. It is worth highlighting these events to emphasise the reinforced affect it had on Weichardt’s already existing ideology which he developed during his stay in the Weimar Republic. Weichardt experienced first-hand the turbulent Weimar Republic years of 1918-1923, characterised by major strikes, economic deprivation, overthrows of governments and the subsequent instalment of Soviets, rise of anti-Semitism and the rise of the Nazis.

In the South African socio-economic and political context, there was also major labour strikes, the establishment of Soviets (although on a less significant manner) and direct interest shown by the communist Russia in South Africa. Anti-Semitism was also finding fertile ground in the political context of South Africa. These events, though different in their historical development reinforced Weichardt’s belief that there’s a conscious effort by foreign elements such as international Jewry under the guise of communism to overthrow governments and sow

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Leningrad Soviet. R.A. Medvedev, *Post-Soviet Russia: A journey through the Yeltsin era*, p. 187. Explanation of the soviet takeovers in Johannesburg see: *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 April 1919, *The Star*, 1 April 1919, *Sunday Times*, 1 April 1919.

<sup>131</sup> Pike, pp. 102-103.

<sup>132</sup> *Report of the Martial Law Inquiry Judicial Commission*, Pretoria, 1922, p. 30.

<sup>133</sup> Pike, pp. 166-168.

<sup>134</sup> *South African Worker*, 30 November 1928.

<sup>135</sup> M. Legassik, *Class and nationalism in South African protests: the South African Communist Party and the “Native Republic”, 1928-1934*, p. 9.

discord. It was not just Weichardt and his pro-Nazism which emphasised that communism is ultimately led by Jews with the aim of destroying the Afrikaners. Malan also voiced the same when he stated:

We in South Africa have a hundred more reasons to detest and fear Bolshevism...Bolshevism has long had its eye on South Africa. It wants to initiate a Bolsheviks revolution here and therefore seeks its support mostly from the non-white elements. Under the leadership of communist Jews it has nested itself in a number of our trade unions.<sup>136</sup>

The point needs to be emphasised that the growing fear of a communist takeover in South Africa is not unjustifiable, since the Bolsheviks revolution in 1917 and their struggle to entrench their power throughout the 1920s and 1930s, millions have died through civil war, straight out genocide committed against the Kulaks (land owning peasants), mass starvation in the Ukraine directly caused by the economic policies of Stalin and the force incarnation of millions in the Gulags.<sup>137</sup> However, Weichardt didn't just believe in the dangers of communism but that communism was used as a tool by Jews to influence the majority black population of South Africa which in turn would overthrow South Africa install a communistic dictatorship at the expense of the Afrikaner and whites in general. The notion that communism was used as a tool by the jews to influence the black population and overthrow the government at expense of the Afrikaner is false and does not hold up against historical scrutiny. However, the fact that communist Russia tried to influence the black population of South Africa with the goal of establishing a Black Republic and excluding the rest is historically accurate. It should be stressed that the black population which was by far the majority and mostly impoverished was seen by Weichardt as susceptible to the doctrine of Marxism, the Comintern's directive of the Black Republic and the rise of black membership in the CPSA reinforced this notion. This is why in the constitution and programme of principles in Weichardt's later movement the SANP, he specified the suppression of all communistic doctrines bent on influencing the native population.<sup>138</sup> Other later Afrikaners who went on to establish or lead pro-Nazi movements such as Oswald Pirow, Van Rensburg and PJ Meyer were all fervently anti-communist, reinforced by their continual visits to Nazi Germany after being invited to attend anti-communist conferences held by top Nazi officials. The labour unrest in South Africa along with the emergence of communistic activities led to an increase in anti-Semitism/communism

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<sup>136</sup> Koorts, p. 364.

<sup>137</sup> R. Gellately, *Lenin, Stalin and Hitler: the age of social catastrophe*, pp. 62-80, 131-173, 227-267. For a detailed discussion of the gulag system see: A. Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*.

<sup>138</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 117: "booklet specifying the constitution and programme of principles of the SANP"; *Die Burger*, 17 April 1934; *Die Waarheid - The Truth*, 13 July 1934.

and a distrust in democracy in South Africa. This was the first aspect in the socio-economic context of South Africa which contributed to the radicalisation of the Afrikaner nationalistic movement in the 1920s and 1930s.

### *2.5.3 Anti-Semitism becomes entrenched in the political context of South Africa through the poor white problem*

In 1929 the stock market crashed in the USA leading to a worldwide economic decline that became known as the Great Depression. By 1931 South Africa was firmly in the grip of the Great Depression worsened by South Africa's refusal at the time to abandon the Gold Standard and coupled with a crippling drought left South Africa on the verge of collapse.<sup>139</sup> It is around this time in 1932 that the poor white problem in South Africa was to energise the Afrikaner nationalistic movements as never before with the release of the Carnegie Report (1932) and the *Volkskongres* (People's Congress) held in Kimberley in 1934 which addressed it.<sup>140</sup>

The Carnegie Report and the People's Congress estimated that at the time there was 300 000 poor whites in South Africa, predominantly of those being Afrikaners. There was a variety of reasons given to the emergence of the poor white problem in the Carnegie Report such as: Roman Dutch Law, lack of education, dependency of the Afrikaner on the government, mental predisposition (which was disproved) and the growing urbanisation of the Afrikaner which led to them being outsourced in the job market by cheaper black labour. Weichardt would state that the urbanisation of the Afrikaner resulting in him (Afrikaner) mixing with other races in the cities, was one of the aspects which made drove him to create the Greyshirts.<sup>141</sup>

Anti-Semitism was also connected to the poor white problem of South Africa and effected Weichardt who already possessed a fervently anti-Semitic ideology which he picked up in Germany after WWI. From 1881-1910, 300 000 Jews from Russia and Eastern Europe escaped Tsarist Russia's pogroms and persecution by migrating to various western countries to find better pastures.<sup>142</sup> Lithuanian Jews viewed South Africa as the best destination second only to the USA. Thus, from the same period above (1881-1910) a conservative estimate of 40 000 Jews mostly from Lithuania came to South Africa.<sup>143</sup> A large majority of the Jews coming to South Africa was artisans and retailers with a variety of skills, thus in the words of

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<sup>139</sup> Koorts, pp. 245-246.

<sup>140</sup> C. Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: radical Afrikaner nationalism and the history of the Ossewabrandwag*, p. 125.

<sup>141</sup> Giliomee, pp. 344-349; Marx, pp. 125-136; and Hattingh, p. 44.

<sup>142</sup> G. Saron and L. Hotz (eds.), *The Jews in South Africa history*, pp. 59. 69 & 222.

<sup>143</sup> A.A. Dubb, *Jewish South Africans*, pp. 21-30.

the historian Christopher Marx “*they (Jews) reached a starting position that was favourable to social advancement early on*”.<sup>144</sup>

The result was that the Jewish population of South Africa held a disproportionate share in many economic spheres of South Africa such as retail and wholesale.<sup>145</sup> Weichardt during his speech at the *Koffiehuis* on 26 October 1933, announcing the establishment of the Greyshirts spent a large portion of his speech emphasising the disproportionate share of the Jews in the economy. He attributed it to international Jewish conspiracy whereby the Jews exploit nations and Afrikaners through monopolistic control of the economy.<sup>146</sup> It is clear from the previously mentioned statement from Weichardt that he adopted the historically inaccurate notion that there exist an international Jewish conspiracy with the aim of exploiting the nations of the world. The mass influx of Jews and their subsequent domination of various sectors of the South African economy was curbed by the introduction of the *Quota Act of 1930* by the NP government effectively putting a halt on future Jewish immigration to South Africa.<sup>147</sup>

However, with the Nazis coming to power in January 1933 there was again a large influx of Jews coming into South Africa, the *Quota Act of 1930* did not make provision for the Jews escaping the Nazi regime. Resulting in anti-Semitic rhetoric reemerging in South Africa, HF Verwoerd and JG Strydom along with professors from the University of Stellenbosch organised a protest at Cape Town in 1936 against the proposed arrival of more Jewish immigrant from Nazi Germany.<sup>148</sup> They stated during the protest that extra Jewish immigration would make it more difficult for Afrikaners to make way in the business world of South Africa. Malan thus started pressuring the new Smuts government (the United Party, UP) to introduce more legislation that will address this problem, Oswald Pirow at this time called the Jews a thorn in the flesh.<sup>149</sup>

The UP government obliged and introduced the *Alien Act, No. 1, of 1937*, halting all Jewish immigration.<sup>150</sup> Anti-Semitism in South Africa at the time was thus motivated by economic conditions, the Afrikaner nationalists in the words of Marx: “*adopted the rhetoric of class struggle, but used it ethnically...the exploiters were the foreigners, namely the Jews and*

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<sup>144</sup> Marx, p. 247.

<sup>145</sup> Giliomee, p. 417.

<sup>146</sup> Hattingh, p. 47.

<sup>147</sup> Koorts, pp. 310-311.

<sup>148</sup> Marx, pp. 254-255.

<sup>149</sup> C.F.J. Muller (ed.), *500 years history of South Africa*, p. 438

<sup>150</sup> Pike, p. 207.

*the British*".<sup>151</sup> It should be kept in mind that South Africa at the time was not alone in its apprehensive caused by an influx of Jewish immigration. A case in point is the Evian conference held between 6-15 July 1938, where a variety of countries met to discuss what to do with the Jews fleeing Nazi Germany, especially after *Anschluss* (Union) between Germany and Austria.<sup>152</sup> The Evian Conference in hindsight was quite infamous there was no consensus between the countries involved on what to do about the mass of Jews leaving Germany and Austria, most countries closed their doors to the Jews or at least let in a small number of Jews. During the conference arguments was rather raised on the proposal to send the Jews to Madagascar, North-Rhodesia, British Guiana or Palestine.<sup>153</sup>

The poor white problem was thus the second factor in the socio-economic context of South Africa which would radicalised Afrikaners such as Weichardt to create his pro-Nazi movement as he saw it as the best means to address these problems. The division in Afrikaner politics was the third factor which contributed to the emergence of radical Afrikaner nationalism. The division in the Afrikaner's political context came when Hertzog's NP went into a coalition with the SAP and worsened when a full merge between the two was realised in 1934, effectively establishing the UP.<sup>154</sup> This merge of the NP and SAP into the UP, led many Afrikaners, Weichardt being one of them losing his trust in parliamentary politics and democracy as a whole.

The failure of the Weimar Republic led to a widespread distrust in democracy which was eagerly exploited by radical movements such as the Nazis. The same phenomenon was happening in the political context of the Afrikaner. The coalition between the SAP and the NP led to a distrust in democracy and parliamentary politics; the fear of communism and the poor white problem all contributed to radicalising certain Afrikaners. The following section would indicate that the radicalising of parts of the Afrikaner population is observable if one looks at the number of pro-Nazi and fascist groups that sprung up in the 1930s.

#### *2.5.4 Establishment and activities of pro-Nazi movements in South Africa*

The labour unrest along with the rise of the CPSA, the poor white problem and Afrikaner political divide all contributed to radicalising certain Afrikaners in South Africa. Weichardt was one of them and coupled with his pro-Nazi, totalitarian ideology he adopted while in

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<sup>151</sup> Marx, p. 136.

<sup>152</sup> Rees, pp. 129-136.

<sup>153</sup> G. Macdonogh, *1938: Hitler's gamble*, pp. 151 & 174-180.

<sup>154</sup> Giliomee, pp. 349-350.

Weimar Germany led him to create the first pro-Nazi movements. The following descriptions would only be a summary of his movements chapters 3, 4 and 5 will critically examine each. The first movement created by Weichardt was the SACNSM on 26 October 1933, along with their launch of their official newspaper called *Die Waarheid – The Truth*.<sup>155</sup> The SACNSM was a non-parliamentary movement with an authoritarian ideology, aiming at a solution to the poor white problem, continual oppression of the blacks and Indians with their central ideology being that they (SACNSM) was fervently anti-Semitic.<sup>156</sup> At the same time as the SACNSM came into being, the para-military wing was established, called the Uniformed Greysthirts. The para-military Uniformed Greysthirts would not have been out of place in Nazi Germany, meaning that Uniformed Greysthirts was modelled and inspired by nazi para-military groups such as the SA.

Their official emblem was the swastika; they thus wore it on their uniform. Members needed to prove that they were of Aryan descent to become members and they used the Nazi salute in all official and unofficial gatherings. Members of the SACNSM and the Uniformed Greysthirts in official correspondence signed their letters Heil Weichardt/South Africa.<sup>157</sup> The SACNSM was short-lived movement and in April of 1934 Weichardt decided to transform the SACNSM into a parliamentary party the SANP with the Uniformed Greysthirts still as the para-military force. The SANP was once again reformed to a non-parliamentary movement called the SANSU.<sup>158</sup> The SANSU, however quickly drifted into non-existence especially after Weichardt was interned in 1944 and sent to the internment camp in Koffiefontein. Throughout the three movements of Weichardt, the SACNSM, the SANP and the SANSU, except being overtly pro-Nazis, their main activities along with the Uniformed Greysthirts was to propagate anti-Semitism and antagonise the Jewish communities.

Weichardt was certainly not the only Afrikaner which was inspired by fascism and National Socialism. The political turmoil rise of anti-Semitism/communism/democratic tendencies in South Africa led to similar movements which followed suit. These movements are worth mentioning to emphasise the radicalisation of certain Afrikaners during the 1930s and 1940s;

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<sup>155</sup> Marx, pp. 242-243; and Pike, p. 207.

<sup>156</sup> *Die Waarheid – The Truth*, 23 December 1933.

<sup>157</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 144: “pamphlet regarding the information and organisation of the Greysthirts”.

<sup>158</sup> Hattingh, pp. 159-160.

The *Volksbeweging* (People's Movement) also known as the African Gentile Organisation which was established by HS Terblanche with their headquarters in Cape Town.<sup>159</sup> Terblanche stated that he became aware of the Jewish danger during his 17 year stay in Europe and that all South Africa's problems can be laid at their feet. The fact that Terblanche developed his anti-Semitism also during his stay in the chaotic Weimar Republic year, indicates that the Weimar republic in those years had a radicalising effect on certain groups of people such as himself including Weichardt. The People's Movement published a newspaper called *Terre Blanche* with a swastika on its masthead indicating their pro-Nazi and National Socialistic sympathy. They also distributed anti-Semitic tracts and pamphlets to mostly poor areas warning them of the so-called Jewish menace.<sup>160</sup> The reason anti-Semitic propaganda was spread in the poor Afrikaner areas says a lot. The poor Afrikaners would be more sympathetic to the anti-Semitic propaganda which proclaims that many of their economic ills are because of Jewish exploitation.

Manie Wessels and Chris Havemann was to next establish the South African National Democratic Party known as the Blackshirts, with their headquarters situated in Johannesburg, the Blackshirt's official mouthpiece was their newspaper *Ons Reg (Our Right)*.<sup>161</sup> The South African Fascists was another pro-Nazi movement founded by Johannes Strauss von Moltke, who broke away early from the Greyshirts. The *Christenvolk Beskermingbond* (Gentile Protection League), founded by Jan Hendrik de Waal Jnr, with their headquarters located in Bethlehem, Free State.<sup>162</sup> Johannes Bruwer founded The Bond van Nasionale Werkers (National Workers Union) which became known as the Brownshirts and also used the Nazi salute as official greeting.<sup>163</sup> There was also a pro-Nazi movement in the parliamentary of the Union of South Africa called the NO, under Pirow.<sup>164</sup>

Soon ultra-right and increasingly pro-Nazi ideology began to spread and reach students, through the establishment of the *Afrikaanse Nasionale Studentebond* (ANS) in 1933.<sup>165</sup> The ANS caused the three Afrikaans universities in Bloemfontein, Stellenbosch and Potchefstroom

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<sup>159</sup> Pike, p. 207.

<sup>160</sup> Shain, p. 252.

<sup>161</sup> Pike, p. 207; Hattingh, pp. 136-139; ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 148: "Newspaper clippings of *Die Burger*, 1 September 1935".

<sup>162</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 120: "newspaper clippings from *Die Waarheid- The Truth*, 17.05.1935."

<sup>163</sup> Hattingh, pp. 136-139.

<sup>164</sup> P.J. Furlong, "Pro-Nazi subversion in South Africa, 1939-1941", *Ufahana: Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 16, 1, 1988, pp. 27-31.

<sup>165</sup> Marx, p. 169.

to cut ties and break away from the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). The reason for the break was the ongoing debate whether students from the black university, Fort Hare would be allowed to be members of NUSAS.<sup>166</sup> The Afrikaans universities were against the notion and supported by the ANS. The NUSAS decided against membership of the students from Fort Hare for fear of losing the membership of the three Afrikaans universities, but the die was cast, ANS insisted on total disassociation and the break became reality. By 1936 Stellenbosch was the main stronghold of the ANS.<sup>167</sup>

Nicolaas Diederichs and Meyer soon took over the leadership of the ANS and began to transform it into an anti-democratic, totalitarian and increasingly pro-Nazi organisation. Preference was thus given to speakers who held fascist ideology based on their experience in Europe such as CGC de Villiers, who was a lecturer at the University of Stellenbosch and fervently anti-Semitic.<sup>168</sup> ANS study tours headed by Meyer and Diederichs was organised to visit fascist Italy and Nazi Germany to further promote the ANS fascistic ideology, where a Nazi youth organisation expert Hans Gerluch helped to further expand and organise the ANS.<sup>169</sup> These ANS tours was also used to create a network with Afrikaans students studying in Europe which would provide information on European affairs. Organisational and ideological ties between the ANS and similar German student bodies was also established, resulting in 1938 that the ANS was even invited by the annual *Reichspartei* congress of the Nazi Party.<sup>170</sup>

These pro-Nazis, totalitarian and anti-Semitic movements mentioned above never gained widespread support numbering always around the low thousands with the NP being the home of the Afrikaner. The reason for this was not because of the anti-Semitism of anti-capitalistic worldview of these movements, because the NP held anti-Semitic views and was ambiguous at best when it came to capitalism.<sup>171</sup> It had to do with the ideology of totalitarianism and National Socialism which the general Afrikaner population found foreign and unable to assimilate into the worldview held by Afrikaners and the NP.

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<sup>166</sup> ARCA, P.V. 546, *N. Diederichs-collection*, File No. 1/A8/2: "University of Stellenbosch perspective of the NUSAS, ANS struggle for three Afrikaans Universities".

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>168</sup> ARCA, P.V. 546, *N. Diederichs-collection*, File No. 1/A8/2: "De Villiers correspondence with Diederichs".

<sup>169</sup> S.P. Suransky, *The unspoken alliance: Israel's secret relationship with apartheid South Africa*, pp. 16-18.

<sup>170</sup> C. Bloomberg, *Christian nationalism and the rise of the Afrikaner Broederbond, 1918-1948*, pp. 135-140.

<sup>171</sup> Koorts, pp. 190-200; ARCA, P.V. 27, *Cape National Party*, File No. 1/2/2/2/1. "Party Congress of the National Party (NP).

However, there was an exception to this with the establishment of the OB on 4 February 1939. The OB enjoyed mass support first as an Afrikaner cultural movement which was high jacked by Van Rensburg who made it into a fervently pro-Nazi movement. Van Rensburg was an early admirer of Hitler which was further reinforced by his visits to Nazi Germany and fascist Italy throughout the 1930s and secretary of justice in the Union government. By the time Van Rensburg became *Kommandant-generaal* of the OB on 1 January 1941 he was pro-Nazi in and out going so far as calling Hitler a saint and “*We’ll get rid of the Jew entirely*”.<sup>172</sup> The OB established its own para-military group during the second half of 1940, called the *Stormjears* (SJ). The SJ’s function within the OB was to be the security arm of the OB during functions and special occasions. However, the main aims of the SJ according to Van Rensburg (future leader of the OB) was to position the SJ in the Union in South Africa in such a manner as when the Nazis are victorious in WWII that they (SJ) can implement a coup or stand as an effective armed resistance against the Smuts government.<sup>173</sup> The OB was thus transformed from a predominately Afrikaner cultural movement into a militarised, totalitarian, anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi movement still under the guise of an Afrikaner cultural movement. The OB under Van Rensburg, who was a better organiser and orator attracted thousands more to the OB, marking at its height in middle to end 1941 300 000 members (conservative estimates) to 400 000 members (liberal estimates).

## 2.6 Conclusion

The origins of National Socialism can firstly be traced to the widespread appeal of pseudo-scientific and racist theories in Europe and Germany during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These theories such as Social Darwinism and eugenics emphasised the existence of a racial hierarchy based on nature’s food chain. At the top were the Aryan white whereby the Germans was described as being the archetype of the Aryan man. The Aryan nations was described as being morally, intellectually and culturally superior to other races and nationalities. At the bottom of this so-called hierarchy was people from Eastern Europe and Asia such as the Slavic, Indian and Chinese. As well as including the blacks and the Jews which was at the bottom. These theories additionally proclaimed that just like in nature, the race at the top of the hierarchy not only has

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<sup>172</sup> P.J.J. Prinsloo: “Kultuuraktiwiteite van die Ossewa-Brandwag”: “Ontkoppeling van die kultuurtaak onder Dr. Van Rensburg” in P.F. van der Schyff (ed.), *Die Ossewabrandwag: Vuurtjie in droë gras*, pp. 353-356; Blake, pp. 34-36; Pike, p. 210; detailed discussion of why Laas was ousted from the OB can be found in L.M. Fourie, *Die Ossewa-Brandwag en Afrikanereenheid* (D.Phil. – Thesis, Potchefstroom University, 1987.), pp. 104-137.

<sup>173</sup> P.J. Van der Schyff: “Verset teen Empire oorlog”: “Skakeling met Duitsland” in P.F. van der Schyff (ed.), *Die Ossewabrandwag: Vuurtjie in droë gras*, p. 226.

the right but also the duty to dominate and even exterminate the lower ranks of the hierarchy to ensure the purity and success of the Aryan peoples.

Social Darwinism and eugenics coupled with the nationalistic, militaristic and cultural aspects of Germany in the 19<sup>th</sup> century led to the creation of a certain portion of German society becoming race obsessed and emphasising that the Germans should take their place at the top of world affairs. This portion of Germans, was more or less stayed on the fringes of German politics. However, the socio-economic turmoil post-WWI Germany experienced such as widespread communist revolutions, economic woes, civil war and being reduced to a second-hand power was successfully exploited by movements such as the Nazis, who embodied racial theories and German superiority. The result was that the Nazis and their ideology of National Socialism which was a fringe movement gained mainstream popularity and secured power in Germany in 1933. The ideological underpinnings of the National Socialism such as totalitarianism, racism/anti-Semitism and anti-communism/capitalism was used by the Nazis to explain the turmoil in Germany and provide a way out.

Additionally, the emergence of various pro-Nazi movements such as the Greyshirts in South Africa in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has its roots in 19<sup>th</sup> century Afrikaner republicanism and Anglophobia coupled with South Africa's post-WWI socio-economic problems which made anti-Semitism, racism and authoritarianism widespread in South Africa. The historical Anglophobia of the Afrikaners can be traced back to continued tension and conflict between British imperialism and the Afrikaner's wish for independence. This continual conflict between Afrikaner nationalism and British imperialism led certain Afrikaners to create movements that was pro-Nazi in nature as well as cooperate with the Nazis. This occurred because of the shared hatred the Nazis and Afrikaners historically had for the British as well hoping that by cooperating or being sympathetic towards National Socialism the Nazis would grant South Africa her independence under a pro-Nazi government under the Greyshirts or OB.

The post-WWI socio-economic context of South Africa had historical parallels with the socio-economic conditions experienced by Germany after WWI. South Africa after WWI was also experiencing her own problems such as widespread strikes, political division, economic woes and the emergence of communist agitation. The result of these challenges radicalised a portion of the Afrikaner population and made them adapt national Socialism as they saw it as the most applicable ideology to solve and explain these problems.

## CHAPTER 3

# FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTED TO WEICHARDT EMBRACING NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

### 3.1 Introduction

On 26 October 1933 South Africa saw the establishment of the first of many Greyshirt movements, created by Weichardt and modelled on that of National Socialism in Germany. This chapter will attempt to answer the question as to how the Greyshirt movement under the leadership of Weichardt came to be in South Africa. To answer this question a thorough analysis of the dualistic nature of Weichardt and his movements will be conducted. Dualistic in the sense that there were two streams of influence on Weichardt which led him to embrace National Socialism and Nazism and create a movement which was modelled on them. The first stream of influence was foreign more specifically, German nationalism. Weichardt's early life, role in WWI and his subsequent stay in Germany until 1924 will all be analysed and scrutinised to determine to what extent it all contributed to Weichardt adopting a worldview based on Nazism and National Socialism. The second stream of influence was South African - the Afrikaner nationalism. In 1924 Weichardt returned to South Africa from Germany and the existing socio-political atmosphere in South Africa (such as the poor white problem, economic woes, racial segregation and Afrikaner political division) will be analysed to determine to what extent it contributed to his worldview.

### 3.2 Louis Theodore Weichardt's life and how it shaped his worldview

#### *3.2.1 A Short biography of Weichardt's early life, 1894-1914*

Louis Theodore Weichardt (**Appendix A**) is considered the father of the Greyshirts<sup>174</sup> movements which was active in South Africa from 1933-1950 as the first practical manifestation of National Socialistic thinking. He was born in the small town of Paarl located in the then Cape Province (modern-day Western Province) on 21 May 1894.<sup>175</sup> His father, Carl

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<sup>174</sup> The Greyshirt movements of Weichardt took on various forms during its existence: a movement, party or league. When the term "Greyshirt" is used, it means the entire movement or party or league together with their para-military wing, the Uniformed Greyshirts. For example, the first movement Weichardt created was the South African Christian National Socialistic Movement (SACNSM) in 1933. He also established in the same year the para-military wing of the SACNSM called the Uniformed Greyshirts. When the term Greyshirts is referred to it means both the movement and the Uniformed Greyshirts. And so it will be with the rest of his movements. See I. Hattingh, p. 42.

<sup>175</sup> Uran, p. 170.

Heinrich Wilhelm Weichardt from German origin<sup>176</sup>, who was attached to the South African Railways as a stationmaster at Lady Grey Bridge, passed away from a heart attack when Weichardt was only three months old in 1894.<sup>177</sup> It is interesting to note that Carl Heinrich, Wilhelm Weichardt's brother stayed on in Germany when Carl immigrated to South Africa. The brother who stayed on in Germany would have a child also called Carl Weichardt which is Louis Weichardt's nephew. Carl Weichardt would in the future become a high-ranking Nazi functionary, by working at *Eher*, the publishing giant in Germany which printed Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and the *Völkisch Beobachter* which was the official government newspaper of the Nazi government.<sup>178</sup>

The year that Louis's Weichardt father died in 1894, the now widowed Johanna Weichardt née Thiel, moved with Louis Weichardt and his older brother Karl Weichardt<sup>179</sup> to the then ZAR.<sup>180</sup> Johanna Weichardt was one of thirteen children from her German parents, Gustav Thiel and Maria Katharina Thiel who both conducted missionary work in Jerusalem.<sup>181</sup> Gustav Thiel (1825-1907) and his wife Maria Katharina (1826-1862) left Prussia, Germany in 1849 and travelled to Jerusalem for their missionary work and they established a Prussian Hospice in 1851.<sup>182</sup> Maria, however, died of pneumonia at the age of 36 in 1862.

Gustav Thiel continued to work in Jerusalem for another nine years until 1871 when he left for good to return to Prussia.<sup>183</sup> In 1879 Gustav and his thirteen children, which included Johanna, immigrated to South Africa with the help of Paul Kruger, and made Pretoria the capital of ZAR their new home.<sup>184</sup> Gustav Thiel, Weichardt's grandfather, was one of the primary German influences on Weichardt's early life and no doubt influenced Weichardt's strong Christian and pro-German convictions later on in his life. He was also from the Protestant Christian faith. As chapter two has indicated, the founder of the protestant faith,

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<sup>176</sup> While Carl Heinrich Weichardt immigrated to South Africa from Germany his brothers stayed behind.

<sup>177</sup> Hattingh, p. 42.

<sup>178</sup> The *Eher* publishing house was headed by Max Amman, a personal friend of Hitler's as well as being his commanding officer during WWI. H. Weichardt, *Nazi terror: a short autobiography of a Jewish National Socialist*, p. 1; Longerich, pp. xviii, 124, 129, 139, 1558, 166 & 358.

<sup>179</sup> Karl Weichardt was born on 14 June 1892. Date of birth is established by looking at his WWI application form to join the German army. Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv; München; Abteilungen IV Kriegsarchiv. Kriegstammrollen, 1914-1918; Volume: 10365. Kriegstammrollen; BA. 1.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>181</sup> R.L. Chapman, *Tourists, travellers and hotels in 19<sup>th</sup> century Jerusalem: Mark Twain and Charles Warren at the Mediterranean hotel*, p. 11.

<sup>182</sup> E. Mermann-Jozwiak, "Deutsche kolonisten im heiligen land: Die familie John Steinbeck in briefen aus Palastina und USA", [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/236726581\\_Deutsche\\_Kolonisten\\_im\\_Heiligen\\_Land\\_Die\\_Familie\\_Johan\\_Steinbeck\\_in\\_Briefen\\_aus\\_Palastina\\_und\\_USA](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/236726581_Deutsche_Kolonisten_im_Heiligen_Land_Die_Familie_Johan_Steinbeck_in_Briefen_aus_Palastina_und_USA), 10.01.2007.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>184</sup> Hattingh, p. 42.

Martin Luther was highly anti-Semitic in his teachings. Weichardt and his Greys shirt movements would later distribute the anti-Semitic parts of Luther's teachings (**Appendix B**) throughout their various branches in South Africa.<sup>185</sup>

Archival sources in Hamburg, Germany, indicate that Weichardt visited his grandfather and his second wife Anna-Maria Thiel along with his brother Karl when he was as young as eight years old in 1902.<sup>186</sup> It indicates that on 13 August 1902, Louis and Karl Weichardt along with Gustav and Anna-Maria boarded the ship; *Kronprinz* in the shipping line, *Deutsche Ost-Afrika-Linie*, Hamburg (**Appendix C**).<sup>187</sup> The destination was South Africa. This explains that Weichardt had a close enough relationship with his German grandfather that he visited annually in Germany during his childhood. As mentioned above, the Weichardt family moved to ZAR in 1894 they settled in the capital, Pretoria.<sup>188</sup> When Weichardt turned six in 1900 he was sent to the newly established *Deutsche Internationale Schule Pretoria*<sup>189</sup> (DSP), a German school with a curriculum that emphasised German culture and incited a love of Germany between the students.<sup>190</sup> Much of the curriculum was also directly received from Germany.

The history of Germany was most certainly glorified at the DSP. Histories such as the proud militaristic traditions of the Prussians as explained in chapter two, the glorification of the monarchy of Kaiser Wilhelm II and, it could be argued, even the superiority of the Germans because at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when Weichardt was attending the DSP, Germany was leading the world in many aspects.<sup>191</sup> This is yet again another important period in the life of Weichardt, this is where his intellectual foundation was laid - in a German framework. To make matters more interesting, Weichardt's mother married the principal of the DSP in 1906 - a

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<sup>185</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 143, "Pamphlet Martin Luther and the Jewish Evil".

<sup>186</sup> Staatsarchiv Hamburg; Hamburg, Deutschland; Hamburger Passagierlisten; Volume: 373-7 1, VIII A 1 band 134; p. 1991; Microfilm No.: K\_1775.

<sup>187</sup> Staatsarchiv Hamburg. Hamburg Passenger lists, 1850-1934 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc. 2008.

<sup>188</sup> Hattingh, p. 42; and M. Shain, "Echoes of Nazi Anti-Semitism in South Africa during the 1930s-1940s" in C.R. Browning *et al* (eds.): *Holocaust scholarship: personal trajectories and professional interpretations*, pp. 243-244.

<sup>189</sup> Since 1889 attempts by the considerable German population in the Republic of Transvaal (ZAR) were made to establish a pure German school. However it was unsuccessful because the ZAR government would not grant the requested land to build the school. In 1897, the German, Friedrich Klinkenberg Müller passed away and left a significant amount of money to go to establish a German school. See DSP, "Teachers and students of the German International School Pretoria: Schüler und Lehrer der Deutschen Internationalen Schule Pretoria", [www.safrika.org/Names/DSP\\_Namen.html](http://www.safrika.org/Names/DSP_Namen.html), *s.a.*

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>191</sup> Germany was seen as the new Athens of Europe. They had the strongest land army in the world, a massive industrial complex and labour force, brilliant civil service. Berlin the capital also possessed some of the top academic facilities in the world, turning out brilliant, philosophers, mathematicians, physicists and more. German was also the first state to implement a wide spreading state welfare system. See N. Stone, *A short WWI history*, p. 7.

certain Mr. Christian Schübel served as principal/*schulleiter* of the DSP from 1903 until 1905.<sup>192</sup> This implied that Schübel became Weichardt's step-father and principal. Staff records also indicated that he was only here in South Africa on a work permit and his permanent residence was in Nuremberg, Germany. This is highly relevant because in 1912 the permit would expire and he would go back to Germany and it is no coincident that in the same year, the Weichardt family moved to Germany.<sup>193</sup> **Appendix D** shows that Weichardt clearly wrote the Johanna Weichardt as his mother and Christian Schübel as his father, and their residence as Nuremberg, Germany when asked by the German authorities to indicate "parents and relatives".<sup>194</sup>

Following Johanna Weichardt's marriage to Schübel, they moved to a small town called New Hanover, located in the then Natal Province (today Kwazulu-Natal).<sup>195</sup> Weichardt, aged 12 and his brother Karl, aged 14, were both registered in the English/German-medium school in New Hanover called Neu Hanover which was established by German farmers in 1858.<sup>196</sup> Weichardt later wrote in a manifesto of his later movements that the time he spent at the Neu Hanover School taught him the differences between the English speaking child and the *Boerekind* (Farmer/Afrikaner child) and their way of seeing things. Weichardt saw the English at that time as unpatriotic in their attitude towards South Africa whereas the Afrikaner was the opposite.<sup>197</sup> Clearly, there was a clear thread of German influence running through the early life of Weichardt.

Travel records already concluded that he spent time with his German grandfather in Germany itself. The young Weichardt attended two German schools early in his life which all contributed to his admiration for the German way of life and culture. There is certainly nothing wrong in the growing up and appreciating the German culture and way of life but as chapter two explained, there were dark spots emerging in the German culture which laid the foundations for later atrocities in Germany and some instability in South Africa.

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<sup>192</sup> DSP.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*; and Hattingh, p. 43.

<sup>194</sup> Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv; München; Abteilung IV Kriegsarchiv. Kriegstammrollen, 1914-1918, Volume: 11262. Kriegstammrollen: Bd. 1.

<sup>195</sup> Hattingh, p. 42.

<sup>196</sup> Ancestry.com.South Africa, Biographical Index, 1825-2005 [database on-lone]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2016.

<sup>197</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 145, "S.A.N.S.B. Bied aan: Die plan en die man, vir die volk van Suid Africa".

There is another profound historical event Weichardt lived through in his early childhood, and that was his experience of the SAW.<sup>198</sup> He experienced the horror of the SAW as a child and watched the British troops marching into Pretoria on their victory parade in May 1902. He stated in an interview regarding his experience of the SAW that it was a profound shock because “*ons het ons eie mense in tranes gesien*” (we saw our own people in tears).<sup>199</sup> This was an event which would stay with Weichardt throughout his life and one of the motivations to get into politics, because he did not want to see the Afrikaner nation suffer like that again.<sup>200</sup> As stated before, after the expiry of his permit in South Africa Schübel took to Germany the Weichardt family. In Germany Weichardt underwent further schooling and business training and used his free time in Germany to travel throughout Europe to countries such as Switzerland, the Low Countries and France. When WWI broke out in August and September of 1914, his return to South Africa was already arranged.<sup>201</sup>

### 3.2.2 Weichardt's role in WWI, 1914-1918

At the outbreak of WWI, Weichardt was still on holiday in Switzerland, as a citizen of the Union of South Africa. A telegram from his uncle<sup>202</sup> in Pretoria reported that, if Germany would win the war, the Transvaalers would regain their republic. In addition, rumours started going around that the war would only last six months<sup>203</sup> and then Kaiser Wilhelm II would hold his victory parade in Germany and France.<sup>204</sup> News also reached Weichardt in middle September that an armed rebellion led by *Boer* veterans of the SAW has broken out in South Africa.

The 1914 Boer Rebellion as it became known was an armed reaction by Boer SAW veterans and Afrikaner politicians on the news that South Africa as a British subject was pulled into another war.<sup>205</sup> Afrikaners were just twelve years earlier at war with Britain, now they had to fight for them against Germany which was always on a good footing with the Afrikaners.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 122. “Pamphlet where Weichardt talks about his early life”.

<sup>199</sup> Hattingh, p. 43, Hattingh's interview with Weichardt in 1983.

<sup>200</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 145. “S.A.N.S.B. Bied aan: die plan en die man, vir die volk van Suid-Afrika”.

<sup>201</sup> Hattingh, p. 43.

<sup>202</sup> The sources as of yet has not specified the name of the Uncle in this case, and in a latter case involving Weichardt's arrests based on treason after WWI.

<sup>203</sup> There seems to be a tendency of wishful thinking before any war of magnitude starts. At the outbreak of WWII in September 1939, soldiers also sang songs that they will be home for Christmas. They were correct but only in 1945.

<sup>204</sup> Hattingh, p. 43, Interview with Weichardt.

<sup>205</sup> A.N. Pelsler, *Die Afrikaner-Broederbond: Eerste 50 jaar*, p.4.

<sup>206</sup> Van der Merwe, p. 212.

The hope was also to re-establish the Boer Republic.<sup>207</sup> With this in mind as well as his traumatic experiences during the SAW and the German culture he grew up in, Weichardt decided to throw his weight behind Germany and fight for the Imperial German army against the British and its allies.<sup>208</sup> It is interesting to note that Weichardt's brother - Karl, also fought for the Germans in WWI. This demonstrates the link between the Weichardt and Germany as well as their connection to the Afrikaners in South Africa.<sup>209</sup> This also explains why Weichardt felt that his experience in the best land army in the world (German ground forces) would be valuable when he goes back to South Africa in the future.<sup>210</sup> Weichardt had the belief that the armed Boer Rebellion would be a lengthy affair and that he can return in the future to help the Boer side, with his newly acquired skills in the German army.

Weichardt thus signed up and was accepted to fight in the *Bayerische Ersatz Division* (BED) (Bavarian Ersatz Division) on 6 August 1914, which was a division of the German army during WWI.<sup>211</sup> The BED was only formed at the outbreak of WWI in August 1914 and dissolved a month before the end of WWI on 6 October 1918. When the division was established it was out and out a Bavarian formation but it soon contained non-Bavarian units as well, meaning that manpower for the division did not just come from Bavaria but other German states as well such as Prussia and Saxony.<sup>212</sup> Weichardt fought as an infantry man in the BED in the following units: *Ersatztruppenteile der Infanterie Regimenten in dem 14. Bayer Infanterie-Regiment (Nürnberg) 1. Ersatz-Bataillon* (1<sup>st</sup> Replacement Battalion in the 14<sup>th</sup> Bavarian Infantry Regiment of the 1st Ersatz Battalion);<sup>213</sup> *Ersatztruppenteile der Infanterie Regimenten in dem 11. Ersatz-Bataillon/14. Bayer. Infanterie Regt. (Nürnberg)* (1<sup>st</sup> Replacement Battalion in the 14<sup>th</sup> Bavarian Infantry Regiment of the 2nd Ersatz Battalion);<sup>214</sup> and in *Reserve Infanterie Regimenten in dem Bayer Reserve Infanterie Regiment Nr. 20 Nürnberg* (Reserve Infantry Regiment of the 20<sup>th</sup> Bavarian Reserve Infantry Regiment).<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> J. Bottomley, "The Rebellion of 1914", paper presented at the African Studies Seminar at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1982; for a thorough work on the 1914 Rebellion see; N. Fox, *A bullet in the back: 1914 Afrikaner Rebellion*,

<sup>208</sup> M. Shain, *Roots of anti-Semitism...*, p. 143.

<sup>209</sup> Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv; München; Abteilungen IV Kriegsarchiv. Kriegstammrollen, 1914-1918; Volume: 19757. Kriegstammrollen.

<sup>210</sup> South African Jewish Board of Deputies, *Jewish Affairs* (Volume 58-59), p. 79.

<sup>211</sup> United States General Staff Military Intelligence Division, *Histories of two hundred and fifty-one divisions of the German army which participated in the war (1914-1918)*, p. 14.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.

<sup>213</sup> Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv; München; Abteilungen IV Kriegsarchiv. Kriegstammrollen, 1914-1918; Volume: 6309. Kriegstammrollen: Bd 4.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, Volume: 6388. Kriegstammrollen: Bd.2.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, Volume: 3280. Kriegstammrollen: 1 Kompanie, Bd: 1.

Weichardt also participated in a *Garnisons Bataillon in dem 2 Garnisons-Bataillon III/6 Nürnberg* (Garrison Battalion in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Garrison Battalion),<sup>216</sup> and fought in an *Infanterie Regiment in dem 14. Bayer. Infanterie Regiment* (Infantry Regiment of the 14<sup>th</sup> Bavarian Infantry Regiment).<sup>217</sup> Karl Weichardt, Louis' brother, fought in the same divisions.

During WWI Weichardt experienced some of the most destructive and gruesome battles. The first taste of action of the BED was during the Battle of the Frontiers which refers to the series of battles fought in southern Belgium and eastern France from 6 August 1914 until 6 September 1914.<sup>218</sup> The main battles took place in Lorraine, France and the Belgian Ardennes. The Battle of the Frontiers consisted of 68 German divisions with the BED being one of them against 74 Allied divisions, 62 being French and 12 being Britain. The result was a German victory, with the Allied forces taking ± 360 000 casualties and the German forces ± 305 000 casualties.<sup>219</sup> The BED also participated in the Race to the Sea which took place right after the Battle of Frontiers from 17 September until 19 October 1914.<sup>220</sup> The Race to the Sea consists of the Allied forces halting the German offensive in the west with the First battle of Marne (5-12 September 1914) and the First Battle of Aisne (13-18 September 1914).<sup>221</sup> After the Race to the Sea Weichardt and his fellow military comrades took up trench warfare in the area. The most notable battles which Weichardt was involved in was the Battle of Verdun and Somme. The Battle of Verdun consisted of the allied forces repulsing a massive German offensive near the Meuse River, France.<sup>222</sup> The battle lasted from 21 February until 18 December 1916. The Battle of Verdun turned out to be one of the bloodiest battles on the western front, resulting in 336 000 to 434 000 German casualties and 140 000 killed and 378 000 allied casualties with 160 000 killed.<sup>223</sup>

The Munich War Archives in the Bavarian State Archives also indicates that Weichardt fought in the Battle of the Somme from 24 August 1916 until 11 November 1916 (**Appendix E**).<sup>224</sup> This Battle was fought along the Somme River in France from 1 July until 18 November

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<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, Volume: 11262. Kriegstammrollen: Bd. 1.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, Volume: 1426. Kriegstammrollen: 10 Kompanie, Bd. 1.

<sup>218</sup> K. Deuringer, *The first battle of the First World War: Alsace-Lorraine*, pp. 10-50.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>220</sup> G.H. Perris, *The Battle of Marne*, pp. 220-231.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>222</sup> I. Morris, *War what is it good for? The role of conflict in civilisation, from primates to robots*, p. 250.

<sup>223</sup> A. Axelrod, *The Battle of Verdun*, pp. vii-ix, & 1.

<sup>224</sup> Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv; München; Abteilung IV Kriegsarchiv. Kriegstammrollen, 1914-1918; Volume: 11262. Kriegstammrollen: Bd. 1.

1916, turned out to be a slaughter house of men. To put the Battle of the Somme into perspective will go a long way to understand how it influence the men who fought in that Battle.

On the first day of the battle (1 July 1916) the Allied Forces under British command launched an offensive numbering 120 000 men.<sup>225</sup> The result was striking; 20 000 British soldiers were killed in the first hour. Every 4, 4 seconds a British soldier was killed in action making it the bloodiest day in British history. A total of three million men took part in the Battle of the Somme, with a million casualties and 400 000 killed in only four months. What made this battle even crueller than the shear bloodshed was the fact that after 4 months of fighting the British who initiated the fight only advanced five miles from their starting point.<sup>226</sup> Weichardt's future idol, Hitler also took part in the Battle of the Somme for the 16<sup>th</sup> Bavarian Reserve Regiment, and got wounded in the leg on 7 October 1916.<sup>227</sup> Hitler described the Battle of the Somme as "more like hell than war".<sup>228</sup>

In October 1917 the BED was sent to the eastern front in the Ukraine.<sup>229</sup> This is probably where Weichardt got seriously wounded because the military records indicates that he was proclaimed military unfit and discharged with a third of his pension at the beginning of 1918.<sup>230</sup> Weichardt's military career in the German army thus stretched for three years and three months.<sup>231</sup> During the time, Weichardt got injured three times, attained the rank of corporal and received military decoration which could not be verified if true or not. Nonetheless, the Allied intelligence forces wrote after the war that "The Bavarian Ersatz Division is a very mediocre division".<sup>232</sup>

After WWI, Weichardt decided to return to South Africa.<sup>233</sup> When Weichardt returned to South Africa it was anything than a warm welcome, he was immediately arrested on charge of treason for fighting against the British Empire of which he was a subject.<sup>234</sup> After Weichardt's arrest he turned his back for the time being on South Africa and returned to Germany in 1919. It should also be kept in mind that because Weichardt was born as a British

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<sup>225</sup> G. Sheffield, *The Somme*, p. 41.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41-69.; J.P. Harris, *Douglas Haig and the First World War*, p. 271.

<sup>227</sup> J.F. Williams, *Corporal Hitler and the Great War 1914-1918: the List Regiment*, p. 157; and Hitler, p. 173.

<sup>228</sup> P. Jenkins, *Great and holy war: how World War One changed religion forever*, p. 57.

<sup>229</sup> United States General Staff Military Intelligence Division, pp. 14-15.

<sup>230</sup> Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv; München; Abteilungen IV Kriegsarchiv. Kriegstammrollen, 1914-1918; Volume; 11262. Kriegstammrollen. Bd. 1.

<sup>231</sup> Hattingh, p. 43.

<sup>232</sup> United States General Staff Military Intelligence Division, p. 15.

<sup>233</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 122 "pamphlet describing Weichardt's early life".

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*

subject, under the laws of Paarl he was eligible for the death penalty.<sup>235</sup> However, Weichardt's uncle<sup>236</sup> who fought with Smuts during the SAW pleaded and requested Smuts, the then Prime Minister of South Africa, to drop the case. Smuts, not for the first time dropped a charge of treason against somebody, thanks to a third party plead from a fellow SAW veteran.<sup>237</sup> Weichardt, feeling like a stranger in his own country, decided to move back to Germany at the start of 1919. Smuts' decision to drop the charge of treason against Weichardt enabled him to return to a turbulent Weimar Republic and develop a pro-Nazi worldview which he brought back and implemented in the South African political landscape.

### *3.2.3 How the socio-political atmosphere of post-WWI Germany influenced Weichardt's ideological underpinnings, 1919-1924*

Weichardt stayed in Germany from 1919 until 1924. It was in these five years that Weichardt experienced the turbulent era of the Weimar Republic which shaped his National Socialistic worldview and his admiration for the Nazis. It is thus of the utmost importance to analyse the social and political atmosphere of Germany especially in the years 1919 to 1924. The signing of the armistice on 11 November 1918 effectively ending WWI, came as a massive shock to the German soldiers and civilians.<sup>238</sup> The reason for this is because after 1916, Germany effectively became a military dictatorship under Field Marshals Erich Ludendorff and Paul von Hindenburg.<sup>239</sup> Ludendorff and Von Hindenburg withheld the negative reports coming from the various fronts, with the result that bad news never became widespread news in Germany. When the military situation became hopeless, Ludendorff and Von Hindenburg jumped into action to create the 'stab in the back' myth. The top echelons of the German military which included men like Ludendorff and Von Hindenburg established and widely propagated the lie that Germany never lost the war on equal terms but was rather betrayed on the home front by anti-nationalistic elements which included the socialist, communists and Jews. The stab in the back myth became one of the most notorious lies to be distributed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The effect of it was enormous majority of the far-right movements, including the Nazis bought into the lie and it became the cornerstone of their anti-Semitic outlook.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> Hattingh, p. 43.

<sup>236</sup> The sources as of yet does not specify the uncle's name.

<sup>237</sup> Robey Leibbrandt, the South African boxer, and admirer of Hitler received training by the Nazi intelligent forces. The mission he got was to assassinate Smuts himself. However, he failed and was arrested. Smuts let the death penalty go because he knew Leibbrandt's father during the SAW. See Blake, pp. 180-192.

<sup>238</sup> B.C. Hett, *The death of democracy*, p. 3.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-33.

<sup>240</sup> G.S. Vascik and M.R. Sadler (eds.), *The Stab in the back myth and the fall of the Weimar Republic*, pp. 77-93 & 203-210.

Thus, the new democracy that was created in Germany after WWI in the form of the Weimar Republic was highly distrusted. This was because the new democracy was seen as representing the un-nationalistic elements which brought on the defeat of the German army, the so-called “backstabbers” or as the Nazis later called them the “November Criminals”.<sup>241</sup> The stab in the back myth planted the seeds of anti-democratic and totalitarian tendencies among the German population.<sup>242</sup> The most prominent carrier of the stab in the back myth was the Nazis who dominated the politics in Munich directly after WWI, and recruited many veterans of WWI. Soldiers returning from the war included Hitler, who had participated until he got blinded by mustard gas while fighting the French and British, were ripe for picking for the Nazis because they too believed in the invincibility of the German army they fought for.<sup>243</sup> Weichardt, based on his German education and subsequent stay in Germany, also believed in the invincibility of the German army and nation. He founded himself in Munich straight after the war, a hot bed for far-right movements. The stab in the back myth had a significant impact on the development of Weichardt’s anti-Semitism and distrust of democracy.

The first direct challenge to the Weimar Republic barely after its founding came when a group of communists and anarchists under the leadership of Kurt Eisner and Eugen Levine<sup>244</sup> respectively overthrew the Bavarian government in Munich and proclaimed the Bavarian Soviet Republic on 1 April 1919.<sup>245</sup> To counter the communist takeover in Munich, the *Freikorps* (Free Corps) were established.<sup>246</sup> The *Freikorps* consisted of veterans of WWI who mostly joined far-right groups within Germany. They (*Freikorps*) quickly moved into Munich on 1 May 1919, and brutally suppressed the communist takeover there. When the fighting between the *Freikorps* and the Bavarian Soviet Republic was concluded at the end of May, 600 people were killed most being civilians. A further 1000-1200 communist in Munich would also be put on trial or simply be murdered by the *Freikorps*.<sup>247</sup> The effect of the Munich communist revolution and the subsequent repression of it by the *Freikorps* left an immense impression on Weichardt. The effect of the violent revolution of 1919 radicalised the Munich population by making them ardently anti-communists and anti-Semitic.<sup>248</sup> This is a reason why Dwight

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<sup>241</sup> Hitler, pp. 175-198.

<sup>242</sup> Kershaw, pp. 72-81.

<sup>243</sup> Stone, pp. 181-192.

<sup>244</sup> Both Eisner and Levine were Jews, which certainly help to play into the hands of the far-right and their anti-Semitic propaganda, which always stated that communism and Jews are intrinsically linked.

<sup>245</sup> A. Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria, 1918-1919: the Eisner regime and the Soviet Republic*, pp. 72-96.

<sup>246</sup> R.B. Kane, *Disobedience and conspiracy in the German army, 1918-1945*, p. 43.

<sup>247</sup> Mitchell, pp. 242-258.

<sup>248</sup> DK Travel, *DK eyewitness travel guide: Munich and the Bavarian Alps*, p. 49.

Eisenhower, future Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe during WWII and president of the USA, stated that “Munich is the cradle of the Nazi beast”.<sup>249</sup>

The radicalisation of the Munich public after the revolution becomes observable if one looks at the number of anti-communism and anti-Semitism far-right groups that sprung up there.<sup>250</sup> The most notable was the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (DAP) established in 1919 by Anton Drexler and in 1920 became the NSDAP under Hitler.<sup>251</sup> The *Freikorps* units who made Munich and the Bavarian state their home also reads like the who’s who of future Nazis. For example, *Freikorps von Epp*, consisted of Franz Ritter von Epp, who became Reich commissioner of Bavaria under the Nazis.<sup>252</sup> Ernst Röhm, served as Hitler’s right hand man and leader of his powerful para-military group - the SA.<sup>253</sup> Rudolph Hess became Hitler’s chief of staff.<sup>254</sup> Hans Frank became Governor-General of the General Government of Poland in 1939 oversaw the deportations of Jews from the General Government to the various Nazi death camps.<sup>255</sup> Greggor and Otto Strasser (both would hold important positions within in the Nazis in the future) were also in *Freikorps von Epp* and both became in charge of the Nazis political organisation.<sup>256</sup> It is clear that many of *Freikorps* members joined Hitler’s NSDAP and its branches such as the SA.

Out of the ranks of the *Freikorps* were also established the various para-military wings of the far-right movements which came into existence after the Munich Revolution. Weichardt who was deeply influenced by the patriotism and efficiency in which the *Freikorps* restored order, threw in his lot with them and pledged his support of the group. His experience of the violent communist revolution which hit Munich laid the foundation for his aversion of communism. This explains why he found a spiritual home in the Nazis, who embodied the anti-communist block in Germany post-WWI. It is thus no surprise that Weichardt thus modelled his anti-communism along the lines of the Nazis. The radical atmosphere dominated by the Nazis in Munich also contributed to Weichardt’s anti-Semitic worldview. The *Protocols of the*

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<sup>249</sup> J. Mayo and E. Craigie, *Hitler’s last day: minute by minute*, p. 240.

<sup>250</sup> Some of the far-right groups which sprung up in Munich following the revolution is: Bavarians People Party (BVP), Thule Society Munich, German Völkisch Freedom Party (DVFP), and the *Deutschvölkischer Schutze-und Trutzbund to name but a few*. Numbers vary when it comes to establishing precisely the amount of far right groups in Munich after WWI, but the accepted figure is between 100 and 150. See DK Travel, p. 49.

<sup>251</sup> D. Orlow, *The Nazi Party 1919-1945: a complete history*, p. 12; D. Mühlberger, *Hitler’s voice: organisation and development of the Nazi Party*, p. 25.

<sup>252</sup> R.S. Wistrich, *Who’s who in Nazi Germany*, p. 54.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>254</sup> R. Bessel, *Nazism and war*, p. 119; J. Wilson, *The Nazi Nuremberg rallies*, p. 145.

<sup>255</sup> W.W. Beom, *The Holocaust in Eastern Europe: at the epicenter of the Final Solution*, p. 6.

<sup>256</sup> A. Nicholis and G. Nicholis, *Adolf Hitler: a biographical companion*, p. 253.

*Elders of Zion*, a forgery of a document created in 1903 in Tsarist Russia widespread in Germany and became especially popular in Munich in 1919.<sup>257</sup> It contained 24 protocols detailing how the Jews were aiming at world domination.<sup>258</sup> It further contained sections explaining the methods used by Jews in their quest for world domination such as controlling the stock market, advocating for majority rule, and ownership of the press.<sup>259</sup>

Hitler and the Nazi ideologue, Alfred Rosenberg who acted as propagandists for the DAP in 1919, widely distributed the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.<sup>260</sup> It became a sacred document for the Nazis and their anti-Semitic worldview.<sup>261</sup> Weichardt was convinced by the fake document or believed in its benefit as propaganda, because he distributed it widely through his future Greyshirt movements. Furthermore, a commentary on the document frequently made its way into the Greyshirt's official newspaper, *Die Waarheid – The Truth*.<sup>262</sup> Weichardt and the Greyshirt leadership would later in 1934 be sued by a Jew on accounts that the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* constitutes as slander.<sup>263</sup> This culminated in a trial that would be discussed in detail in the chapter 4. The Kapp Putsch of March 1920 was executed by Wolfgang Kapp and 5000 fellow *Freikorps* members against the decision by the Weimar government to disband the *Freikorps*.<sup>264</sup> The most notable attempted violent overthrow of the Weimar Republic came in the form of the Nazis under Hitler.<sup>265</sup> The attempted putsch in Munich by Hitler became known as the Beer Hall Putsch of November 1923.<sup>266</sup>

The strikes and attempted violent overthrow of the Weimar Republic are only a drop in the bucket of the total chaos experienced in Germany during the Weimar Republic, especially in the years 1919-1923 when Weichardt was still there. In the same years, another nine notable putsches were implemented by both the right and left, but mostly by communist movements.<sup>267</sup> By 1922, 400 political assassinations have occurred, mostly implemented by the right-wing

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<sup>257</sup> B.W. Segel, *A lie and a libel: the history of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, p. 28.

<sup>258</sup> S.L. Jacobs and M. Weitzman, *Dismantling the big lie: the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, pp. 12-54.

<sup>259</sup> For a thorough explanation of *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* see: V.E. Marsden, *the Protocols of the meetings of the learned Elders of Zion*, pp. 19-61. The latter was the version of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* which Weichardt distributed.

<sup>260</sup> W.M.Z. Utrup, "Why the Jews? The impact of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion on Nazi ideology and policy" in E. Webman (ed.), *The global impact of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion: A century-old myth*, p. 70.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71-88.

<sup>262</sup> *Die Waarheid – The Truth*, 20.04.1934 and 31.05.1935.

<sup>263</sup> *Die Burger*, 11.07.1934; 12.07.34; 14.07.1934; 17.07.1934.

<sup>264</sup> H.J. Gordon, *Hitler and the Beer Hall Putsch*, p. 191.

<sup>265</sup> D. King, *The trial of Adolf Hitler: The Beer Hall Putsch and the rise of Nazi Germany*, pp. 2-13.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>267</sup> R.A. Beaumont, *The Nazis' march to chaos: the Hitler era through the lenses of chaos-complexity theory*, pp. 99-105.

parties.<sup>268</sup> Mussolini, the Fascist leader of Italy also took power in 1922 with his March on Rome.<sup>269</sup> It thus does not come as a surprise that Weichardt who lived in this atmosphere, developed a grave mistrust of democracy seeing the instability of the Weimar Republic and its failure to secure unity and security. Is it also then any surprise that Weichardt would embrace an ideology of totalitarianism which was seen by many in Germany and especially the Nazis as a better alternative to democracy? In an interview with the historian Hattingh, Weichardt admitted that he made a study of the variety of attempted putsches in Germany and Mussolini's March on Rome and contemplated a "March on Pretoria", but realised the impracticability of it.<sup>270</sup>

To fully emphasise the contributing effect the chaotic years of the Weimar Republic had on Weichardt's ideology, it would be most relevant to study the election results of Germany in the years 1928, 1930 and 1932. Political parties and movements on a national stage of a country represents what the wishes and fears of the population are, and these movements can also inspire similar movements abroad to be established. **Table 1** below indicates how anti-democratic, pro-totalitarian and anti-Semitic attitudes have become popular in the political arena in Germany over the years 1928-1932 and how this could have influenced Weichardt to think about creating a movement similar to that of the NSDAP. This dissertation does not wish to simply repeat the election results of 1928-1932 in the Weimar Republic for its own sake. This has been done countless of times in the academia. However, the study wishes to place emphasis on the extraordinary political rise of the Nazis from 1928-1932 and how this success was one of the factors which drove Weichardt to create a similar movement to that of the Nazis.

**Table 1: Reichstag Election results from 1928 to 1932.**<sup>271</sup>

Party	Support in percentage		
	20 May 1928 From 21 321 700 votes	14 September 1930 From 26 165 600 votes	November 1932 From 35 885 000 votes
SPD	29.76%	24.53%	20.43%
DNVP	14.25%	7.03%	8.34%
CENTER	12.07%	11.81%	11.93%
KPD	10.62%	13.13%	16.86%
OTHERS	30.67%	25.25%	9.35%
NSDAP	2.63%	18.25%	33.09%

<sup>268</sup> H.M. Sachar, *The assassination of Europe, 1918-1942: a political history*, pp. 1-45.

<sup>269</sup> S.F. Zamponi, *Fascist spectacle: the aesthetics of power in Mussolini's Italy*, p. 2; and S.G. Pugliese, *Fascism, anti-fascism, and the resistance in Italy: 1919 to the present*, p. 52.

<sup>270</sup> Hattingh, p. 56; Hattingh's interview with Weichardt in 1983,

<sup>271</sup> Designed by the researcher from statistics obtained in: Longerich, pp. 93-120; see also D. Nohlen and P. Stöver, *Elections in Europe: a date handbook*, p. 762; and Gellately, pp. 198-211.

Four out of the top five political parties in the September 1930 election, namely the NSDAP, KPD, CENTER and DNVP were at their roots anti-democratic, anti-capitalistic, pro-totalitarianism and anti-Semitic with the exception of the KPD not being overly anti-Semitic.<sup>272</sup> This means for the 1932 elections, a total of 17 587 900 people in Germany or 50, 2 % of the electorate voted for parties which stood fundamentally for the overthrow of the very institution which they are participating in.<sup>273</sup> In addition, all top five parties had para-military groups which frequently used violence means to push their political agendas.<sup>274</sup> The November 1932 election continued to show the extraordinary rise of the Nazi, with the Nazis now becoming the biggest party in the Reichstag with 33.1% of the vote. Quite a rise from only 2.7% of the vote the Nazis received in the 20 May 1928 Reichstag election.

Although Weichardt was already back in South Africa when the elections took place between 1928-1932, the foundation stones of these movements were provided by the stormy years of 1919-1923 and onwards which Weichardt experienced. Half of Weichardt's family from his wife side also stayed in Germany and he had a business in Germany as well. This meant that he kept contact with Germans a lot after he came to South Africa in 1924 and travelled a stayed in Germany through the years 1924 up until 1939; he was actually in Berlin when the Nazis invaded Poland.<sup>275</sup> German nationalistic influence thus still had an influence on Weichardt after he left Germany in 1924 which will be explained in the following section.

The radical right politics of Munich was not the only influence on Weichardt's worldview. In 1920 Weichardt left Munich to go work in the small city Solingen ,which was located in the North Rhine-Westphalia, south of the Ruhr.<sup>276</sup> Weichardt soon married Therese Elfriede Kirschbaum on 23 January 1923 in Solingen.<sup>277</sup> Therese's father, Ernst Kirschbaum was co-owner of massive and successful factory called *Weyersberg, Kirschbaum & Cie* (renamed to *WKC Stahl und Metallwarenfabrik* in 1922) which specialised in the production

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<sup>272</sup> E. Kolb, *The Weimar Republic*, p. 107; for a comprehensive explanation see; J. Hiden, *The Weimar Republic*.

<sup>273</sup> C.W. Coleman, *Why Adolf Hitler? A political study of the Weimar Republic, 1918-1922*. (D.Phil. Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1958), pp. 46-50.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>275</sup> Hattingh, pp. 116-117.

<sup>276</sup> Ancestry.com. South Africa, Biographical Index, 1825-2005 [database online]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com operations, Inc., 2016.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*

of knives and ceremonial swords.<sup>278</sup> Weichardt certainly worked alongside his stepfather, because travel records has Weichardt's occupation as *Kaufmann*/Merchant, and when he arrived in South Africa in 1924 he established a branch of his stepfather's business in Cape Town.<sup>279</sup> In January of 1923 the French and Belgium governments decided to send in troops and occupy the industrial heartland of Germany, the Ruhr valley on 11 January 1923 until 25 August 1925.<sup>280</sup>

This occurred when Germany failed to deliver enough timber, coal and other minerals as part of their reparations Germany had to pay to France as stipulated in the Treaty of Versailles.<sup>281</sup> As mentioned earlier, the Ruhr valley was the industrial heartland of Germany and the backbone to the economy. Therefore, it is only expected that its occupation was disastrous for the economy of Germany.<sup>282</sup> Weichardt and his father-in-law's business thus felt the pinch of European politics firsthand. His father-in-law's business which Weichardt was working for needed raw materials such as steel, silver and timber to produce their ceremonial swords and knives. The Ruhr valley just to the south of Solingen where their factory was located, was thus vital to the survival of the business. It is then no doubt that the business did suffer in those two years of occupation just like all other spheres of German life. Based on these developments, it is justifiable to assume that this period in Weichardt's life contributed to his anti-Semitic and anti-capitalistic worldview.

Weichardt was already pushed in the camp of the Nazis during his stay in Munich. Once again, the Nazis and the far-right blamed the capitalistic system of which the Jew was in charge as the reason for the occupation of the Ruhr. As has been demonstrated above, Weichardt and his family suffered economically because western democratic/capitalistic nations which Weichardt saw as being run by Jews as the cause of his misfortune. Besides, he continuously spelled out in articles which appeared in *Die Waarheid – The Truth* that the Jews were

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<sup>278</sup> G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, Great Britain Royal Commission for the Paris Exhibition, p. 179; Hattingh, p. 44; and WKC – Stahl und Metallwarenfabrik, "History of the Fabriken von Weyersberg, Kirschbaum & Cie.", <http://www.wkc-solingen.de/en/wkc/history>, s.a.

<sup>279</sup> Staatsarchiv Hamburg; Hamburg, Deutschland; Hamburger Passagierlisten; Volume: 373-71, VIII A 1 Band 314; Page 189, Microfilm No.: K\_1855; and Hattingh, p. 44.

<sup>280</sup> W.A. McDougall, *France's Rhineland Policy, 1914-1924: the last bid for a balance of power in Europe*, pp. 250-286.

<sup>281</sup> The Treaty of Versailles was the peace treaty following WWI. The treaty is characterised as extremely punitive against Germany.

<sup>282</sup> The result was that by February of 1923 Germans could get 1 US Dollar for 20 000 German Marks. By September of the same year, that figure rose to 60 000 000 Marks to 1 US Dollar and by November of 1923, a German could get 1 US Dollar for an astounding 4.2 Trillion Marks. See F. Taylor, *The downfall of money: Germany's hyperinflation and the destruction of the middle class*, pp. 1-37.

responsible for the occupation of the Ruhr in an effort to exploit the various nations involved.<sup>283</sup> The influence Germany had on Weichardt's worldview can be summed up best in the pamphlet he wrote which was distributed to the various Greyshirt movements. In the pamphlet he wrote that the Jews were responsible for the chaos and revolution he experienced in Germany.<sup>284</sup>

There are no records available indicating why Weichardt suddenly decided to return to South Africa in 1924. One can assume that the occupation of Ruhr and the economic slump generally in Germany could be the reasons he returned to South Africa. Weichardt may have seen South Africa as financially more stable than Germany in 1924. Another reason may also be that he wanted to expand his stepfather's business to a more financially stable market with South Africa being the obvious choice because of Weichardt's knowledge about his place of birth. Or maybe he just wanted to go back to his place of birth or a combination of all the factors above. **Appendix F** contains evidence that Weichardt and his wife Therese left Hamburg, Germany for Cape Town, South Africa on the *Adolph Woermann* ship on 24 May 1924.<sup>285</sup>

### *3.2.4 The socio-political atmosphere of South Africa and how it contributed to Weichardt's ideology, 1924-1933*

During an interview with the historian, Hattingh, in 1983, Weichardt argued that three aspects present in the socio-political context of South Africa led him to establish a movement based on National Socialism and Nazism. These three aspects are: the poor-white problem, economic conditions and the inability of party-politics to rectify matters for the benefit of the whole nation, especially Afrikaners.<sup>286</sup> When he made his way back to South Africa with his wife Therese, he encountered the same problems as in 1918 when he returned from Germany. Once again on arrival Weichardt was arrested on the account that he came into South Africa illegally. This charge proved to be correct because on the passenger list of the ship he travelled to come to South Africa, he did not write his surname but used a made up one, which is; *Kommen* as reflected on **Appendix F**.<sup>287</sup> Weichardt was thus found guilty of coming into South Africa illegally and released on bail of £200 and told not to leave Cape Town.<sup>288</sup> Consequently, he went into the political sphere of South Africa for the first time in 1924. He held a public event

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<sup>283</sup> *Die Waarheid – The Truth*, 20.04.1934.

<sup>284</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 145, "Die plan en die man"

<sup>285</sup> Staatsarchiv Hamburg; Hamburg, Deutschland; Hamburger Passagierlisten; Volume: 373-71, VIII A 1 Band 341; Page 189, Microfilm No.: K\_1855.

<sup>286</sup> Hattingh, p. 56. Weichardt's interview with Hattingh.

<sup>287</sup> Staatsarchiv Hamburg; Hamburg, Deutschland; Hamburger Passagierlisten; Volume: 373-71, VIII A 1 Band 314; Page 189, Microfilm No.: K\_1855.

<sup>288</sup> Hattingh, p. 44.

in Paarl whereby he announced his support for Hertzog's NP. He also went on to rant about the unfair treatment he twice received from the government when he tried to return to South Africa in 1918 and in 1924.<sup>289</sup> His public support for Hertzog and the NP did not go unnoticed. When Hertzog came to power after the June elections, he pardoned Weichardt for his illegal entry into South Africa.<sup>290</sup> It was twice that Weichardt had escaped justice in South Africa because of the help of Prime Ministers – Smuts and Hertzog.

The first factor which motivated Weichardt to establish a movement based on National Socialism and Nazism was his experiences in his own business. In 1924 Weichardt started a glassware business in Cape Town which later expanded to hairdressing supplies, cutlery and medical equipment. The business was called *Weichardt & Kirschbaum* and was a branch of the business he co-owned with his father-in-law's business in Solingen. Weichardt deposited all of his savings into the business. It proved difficult start to the business because he lost a lot of his inheritance money trying to get back into South Africa. As a result, he described the business world of South Africa as having "...little room for honest business practices that almost everything was controlled by the power of big capital and that trade was mainly in the hands of alien elements."<sup>291</sup> Weichardt's above-mentioned description of South Africa's business world clearly indicates to what extent his worldview was shaped by National Socialism, which also proclaimed that the economic sphere of countries are in the hands of alien elements whereby the Nazis meant the Jews.

By 'alien elements', one can assume, he meant the English and the Jews. Most of his clients were either English or Jewish. Hattingh observed that as Weichardt's interest in politics and the ideology of National Socialism and Nazism became public he also began to face opposition from the public and that arguably directly influenced his business. To support this view, the English and Jewish communities which consisted of the majority of his clients, began to threaten him by arguing that if he did not drop his anti-Semitic and Nazi ideals, they would no longer do business with him.<sup>292</sup> The pushback Weichardt received from his clients based on his views intensified his already existing anti-Semitic views. The worldwide economic crash of 1929, known as the Great Depression, further intensified Weichardt's anti-Semitic views

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<sup>289</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>291</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 145, "Die plan en die man"

<sup>292</sup> Hattingh, pp. 56-58.

and his urge to create a National Socialist movement.<sup>293</sup> The international economy was thus in a calamitous state by 1932 and the key question was whether South Africa should depart from the gold standard.<sup>294</sup>

Weichardt got worried that he would suffer great damage if South Africa left the gold standard because his business like many other businesses made use of undisclosed amounts of loan capital.<sup>295</sup> He was convinced that because of their economic power, the Jews would play a deciding role in getting South Africa off the gold standard. When South Africa eventually left the Gold Standard on 27 December 1932, it served as the first motivation for establishing a movement to counter the influence of the Jews, as Weichardt saw it. The financial struggles of Weichardt's business during the Great Depression and after it was decided by the Union government to abandon the Gold Standard, were all seen by him as the work of the Jews. Nevertheless, South Africa departing from the gold standard actually improved the economy on a whole and economic expansion resulted from it.<sup>296</sup> Weichardt always stayed in a prominent well of position because of his businesses, the departing of the Gold Standard was just a useful anti-Semitic propaganda tool to ease his own anxieties about his financial security.

The second factor in South Africa which led Weichardt to embrace National Socialism and establish a movement based on it was the poor white problem. The poor white problem or rather the poor Afrikaner problem was the most pressing issue in Afrikaner nationalistic circles until the late 1940s.<sup>297</sup> The Afrikaner politicians of the 1930s-1940s were judged on the solutions and strategies they had to the poor Afrikaner problem. For example, Verwoerd rode to prominence among many Afrikaners with his shrewdness, willingness and practical strategies to solve the poor Afrikaner problem. Firstly, it would be a folly to state that there were no poverty problems among the Afrikaners, more than 250 000 Afrikaners in 1920, a quarter of the Afrikaner population was living in severe poverty.<sup>298</sup> Secondly, in an effort to turn South Africa to a white-man's country ruled by the Afrikaner, you cannot have the Afrikaner living in poverty.<sup>299</sup> The poverty of the Afrikaners was thus politicised and

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<sup>293</sup> The Great Depression, is the name given to the stock market crash in the USA which plummeted the USA and subsequent countries in a suffocating economic recession.

<sup>294</sup> The Gold Standard is a monetary system whereby a currency unit is kept at the value of a fixed amount of gold. Leaving the gold standard meant that the South African government and banks gained power to cause price inflation, more uncertainty in international trade because the gold standard provided fixed patterns of exchange rates globally. Giliomee, pp. 334-347.

<sup>295</sup> Van Heerden, p. 37.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid*;

<sup>297</sup> Giliomee, pp. 312-332.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 312.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 340-370.

scapegoats were looked for to explain the poverty problem among Afrikaners. The result was that those who have were seen as the exploiters of those who do not have. This is why the Jews were seen as the exploiters of the Afrikaners by men like Weichardt. In the 1930s Afrikaners like Weichardt saw that they were exploited by Jewish monopoly and that South Africa was controlled by Jewish finances. Today, various politicians in South Africa still see white monopoly as the driving force behind the high unemployment rate in South Africa.<sup>300</sup> The poor-white problem just justified suppressive measures taken by the government against the majority black population between the 1920s all the way through to the fall of apartheid in 1994.

A third factor which convinced Weichardt that the time was ripe to establish a National Socialist movement was a political reason. When coalition between Smuts and Hertzog took place in 1933, Weichardt concluded that Hertzog, who he followed in the political sphere as the father of the Afrikaner people, has turned his back on them.<sup>301</sup> What made the coalition so unacceptable to Weichardt was that the NP, which got its inspiration from within South Africa, could throw it all away and go into a coalition with the SAP which got their inspiration predominately from Britain. This led Weichardt to the realisation that the future transformation of South Africa and more specifically the Afrikaner could not be found in party politics. He preached this view far and wide to his acquaintances in South Africa. He also spread his views through among other things, the German churches and German schools such as the DSP and Neu Hanover as well as holding small to medium size events at places such as the *Koffiehuis* in Cape Town where his ideas began to take root with some people.<sup>302</sup> The news that Weichardt was planning to create a movement based on the Nazis even reached the Nazi branch in South West Africa (modern day Namibia), which was generally receptive to the news given that there were still pro-German sentiments there after WWI. The Nazis gaining power in 1933 also showed Weichardt that National Socialism has the potential to generate widespread support. The Nazis thus coming to power in 1933 was the final step which pushed Weichardt to establish a movement based on Nazism.

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<sup>300</sup> Furlong, pp. 101-103.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>302</sup> Hattingh, p. 46.

### 3.3 Weichardt's establishment and spread of the pro-Nazi/Fascist movements in South African and reaction to it

#### 3.3.1 *The establishment of the South African Christian National Socialist Movement (SACNSM)*

On 26 October 1933 Weichardt held a successful meeting at the Afrikaner *Koffiehuis* situated in Cape Town.<sup>303</sup> Hattingh estimated that around 7000 people gathered in and around the *Koffiehuis* building.<sup>304</sup> There, Weichardt made his idea of establishing the Greyshirt movement public for the first time.<sup>305</sup> During his speech he continually glorified National Socialism and emphasised the point that he does not speak as an agent of another country or movement but rather of a movement that exerts its influence worldwide.<sup>306</sup> He was referring to National Socialism and the Nazism which he endorsed and this shall be demonstrated in the subsequent sections of this dissertation. Despite asserting that he was not influenced by external forces, for a start, his movements adopted various symbols, groups and ideologies based on that of the Germany and the Nazis. Thus, proclaiming that he did not speak as an agent of another country or movement, he was disingenuous. With this being said, he also followed the anti-Semitic tendencies of the Nazis. For instance, he continued his speech at the *Koffiehuis* by explaining that National Socialism wanted to bring to light major issues that must have been addressed long ago such as the exploitation of the masses by Jewish monopoly. He then suddenly stated that the Jewish question was a minor issue in National Socialism but then also immediately contradicted himself by spending the majority of the time talking about the “Jewish danger” in South Africa.<sup>307</sup>

He explained that while the Jews in South Africa only made out 4.5 % of the white population, they controlled 90% of the hotel businesses, 100% of the wholesale business, 90% of retail and the Jews also owned all the theatres in South Africa.<sup>308</sup> He indicated further that 65%-70% of all advocates, lawyers and medical practitioners were Jews and that the stock

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<sup>303</sup> The *Koffiehuis* was next to the Groote Kerk/Church in Cape Town, a short walk from parliament. It was a regular meeting place for Afrikaner nationalists. V.B. Smith *et al*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century: an illustrated history*, p. 88. See also J.L. Duffy, *The politics of ethnic nationalism: Afrikaner unity, the National Party, and the radical right in Stellenbosch, 1934-1948*, p. 80.

<sup>304</sup> Hattingh, p. 47.

<sup>305</sup> G. Saron, *Jews of South Africa: an illustrated history to 1953, with an epilogue to 1975*, p. 136.

<sup>306</sup> *Die Burger*, 27.10.1933.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>308</sup> *The Star*, 27.10.1933.

exchange was completely in the hands of the Jews.<sup>309</sup> These statistics by Weichardt are not far off the mark if one examines the position of the Afrikaner in the 1930s. For example, by 1939, six years after Weichardt's *Koffiehuis* speech, only 3% of people in prestigious positions such as owners of companies, self-employed manufactures and directors were Afrikaners.<sup>310</sup> Of the white population, Afrikaners made up only 3% of engineers, 4% of accountants, 11% of lawyers, 15% of the medical practitioners and 21% of journalists. This was the case even though the Afrikaners made up 56% of the white population in South Africa while making only 60% of what the English and Jewish white population made in 1935. The non-agricultural sector was dominated by the white population from either British or Jewish descent.<sup>311</sup>

In addition, Giliomee noted that in 1936, only 3 Afrikaner businesses of any significance was operating in the whole of Johannesburg, the publishing house called Afrikaner Pers with its struggling newspaper *Die Vaderland*, Volkskas which was a bank located on the second floor of an old building and a struggling clothing shop which was soon to go bankrupt.<sup>312</sup> It should be kept in mind that at the time both the English and Afrikaner populations saw South Africa as a white-man's country. This is why when economic troubles were discussed the white population was discussed and not the non-white population (blacks, Coloureds and Indians) which combined was in the majority. The backward position of the Afrikaners economically was thus a major reason why Weichardt embraced National Socialism and Nazism. He saw it as a model which can be applied to the Afrikaners.

Weichardt also stated disingenuously during his speech in *Koffiehuis* that 95% of all communist agitators were Jews and 80% of the leaders constituting trade unions were Jewish. When the South African government first started to list officers, members, office bearers and active members who were supporters of the CPSA they collected a total of 435 names.<sup>313</sup> A total of 66 people out of the 435 were Jews, another 61 are white non-Jews. The remaining 308 people out of the 435 were blacks, coloureds and Indians. This meant that only 15% of the 435 people active or passive in the CPSA were Jewish, contrary to the 95% of Weichardt.<sup>314</sup> Maybe Weichardt was referring to his statistics internationally. For instance, the Jewish population in

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<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>310</sup> Giliomee, p. 405; see also Marx, pp. 246-260.

<sup>311</sup> A. Blake, *Witterroriste: Afrikaner-saboteurs in die Ossewabrandwagjare*, p. 18; for an in-depth history of the Jews in South Africa see; R. Mendelson and M. Shain, *The Jews in South Africa: an illustrated history*.

<sup>312</sup> Giliomee, p. 405.

<sup>313</sup> Pike, p. 213.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid*; for a full understanding of Jews involvement in Communism in South Africa see; G. Shimoni, *Jews and Zionism: the South African experience, 1910-1967*, pp. 150-152, 227-234, 286, & 295.

the Russia Empire when the 1917 communist revolution broke stood at 5.2 million roughly 4.2% of the entire population.<sup>315</sup> A total of five of the twelve members present at the Bolshevik Central Committee meeting on 23 October 1917 were Jewish.<sup>316</sup> The Politburo who took charge of the revolution had seven members, three of whom were Jewish. During the Russian Civil War (1918-1921) which followed the communist revolution one quarter of the Central Committee was Jewish. Therefore, it is thus not that all communist agitators were Jewish but one quarter of their leadership in the first ten years after the 1917 Bolsheviks Revolution in October 1917 were Jewish, which gives the impression that all the communists were Jews.<sup>317</sup> With regard to the trade unions, by the early 1930s there were 118 trade union organisations in South Africa with only 18 of the 118 being led by Afrikaners. This indicates that there was clear disparity with regards to leadership in the trade unions but there is no indication that 80% are headed by Jews.<sup>318</sup>

Weichardt's call at the end of his speech was for the creation of a movement which will uplift the whole white community especially the Afrikaner community out of its dire circumstances, specifically the poor-white problem. In doing so, foreign elements of exploitations such as the Jews, Weichardt explained, had to be eradicated along with the rotten institutions of democracy which was seen as the Jewish weapon used to divide nations. To do this, Weichardt explained that all the "*Christians of Aryan*" blood needed to unite to check the Jewish, communistic and liberalism threats.<sup>319</sup> Generally, his speech generated significant enthusiasm for the establishment of a movement that will address the problems facing Afrikaners in South Africa at the time. A day after the meeting on 27 October 1933, twenty-seven people met at the invitation of Weichardt to create the SACNSM.<sup>320</sup> The existence of the SACNSM was a short-lived one of only six months, because Weichardt thought the time ripe for the establishment of a political movement to contest the upcoming elections. From the moment of establishment in October 1933, there was fierce opposition to the anti-Semitic and totalitarian ideas which SACNSM embodied.

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<sup>315</sup> Gellately, p. 67.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>318</sup> Giliomee, p. 423.

<sup>319</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 122, "1934 congress speech given by Weichardt recounting the Koffiehuis speech and summarising it".

<sup>320</sup> Louis Theodore Weichardt as leader, J.H.H. de Waal jr as organisational secretary, F.J. du Toit as secretary, H.V. Inch, J.von Moltke, Isak le Grange.

In addition to the governmental critique against Weichardt and his SACNSM, the opposition press *Die Burger*, *Cape Times*, *Cape Argus* also joined the critique by labelling Weichardt and his movements as being not nationalist but rather a movement which gets their inspiration from a foreign country. On the other hand, support from the general public tended to be good as request flew in from all across South Africa for Weichardt to attend meetings and give speeches. It appears the public wanted to hear more from Weichardt. The para-military wing of the SACNSM the Uniformed Greyshirts was created alongside the SACNSM modelled on that of Hitler's SA – another example to show that he acted almost like an agent of the Nazis in South Africa. His oratory turned out not to be the best practical manner to spread his word and new movement, the SACNSM own newspaper became a priority.<sup>321</sup> Thanks to generous financial support from Afrikaans and English-speaking businessmen, the SACNSM was able to establish their own bilingual newspaper named *Die Waarheid – The Truth*. Its first edition was released on 16 December 1933.<sup>322</sup> The publication would appear every two weeks (see **Appendix G**).<sup>323</sup>

### 3.3.2 *The purpose and endeavours of the SACNSM*

In the 23 December 1933 issue of *Die Waarheid-The Truth*, a concept programme of the SACNSM was published. It propagated that the South Africa Weichardt and his SACNSM had in mind is one where all Christians are united under a Christian National Socialist state, where the national interest would take precedence over self-interest.<sup>324</sup> Besides propagating that the individual should be subordinate to the state, it added the claim that democracy, parliament and party politics are rotten and should be abandoned. This new Christian National Socialist state would also emphasise the expansion of state welfare, which includes better old age pensions, government subsidised programmes in tackling unemployment and especially the poor-white problem. Afrikaans and English as a language would be placed upon an equal footing and given equal rights.<sup>325</sup>

When it comes to the aims expressed by the SACNSM regarding race, Weichardt saw the Christian National Socialist state that will come to being under his leadership as exclusively white minority ruled. The SACNSM advocated for the introduction of strict and conclusive

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<sup>321</sup> Hattingh, p. 48.

<sup>322</sup> The date chosen (16 December) may have been a strategic decision by Weichardt. The 16 December is a very important Afrikaner nationalistic date which the Afrikaners in particular hold dear. It is on 16 December that the Afrikaner voortrekker leaders defeated King Dingaan's Zulu forces at the Battle of Blood River.

<sup>323</sup> Van Heerden, p. 46.

<sup>324</sup> Hattingh, pp. 488-50.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

immigration laws, which will prevent access to all foreign races that cannot be assimilated by the white races in South Africa; that South African nationality would not be granted to any foreigner who entered South Africa after 1 November 1918. If naturalisation certificates had already been issued to such foreign immigrants since 1918, their certificates would be declared null and void.<sup>326</sup> The choice of date had to do with the end of WWI. The end of WWI on 11 November 1918 saw empires collapse and various nationalities and peoples displaced. It also led to a large increase of Jewish immigration and refugees who were dispersed throughout Europe including Britain and her dominions. Many Jews thus immigrated to South Africa WWI ended in November of 1918. If Weichardt takes away the citizenship of all the Jews who came to South Africa after the date proposed (1 November 1918) that would have meant that a sizeable portion of the Jewish population would have effectively become illegal immigrants in South Africa.

The sudden illegality of the sizeable part of the South African Jewish population would have placed Weichardt in a position to deport, financially exploit the Jews or both. The results of the before mentioned anti-Semitic proposal by the SACNSM can be determined by a similar law that was enacted in Romania. The pro-Nazi leader of Romania, Octavian Goga enacted a law on 22 January 1938 which stripped Jews who came to Romania in the period 1918-1919, from their Romanian citizenship.<sup>327</sup> The result was that 250 000 Jews or a third of Romania's Jewish population suddenly became illegal in their country and was directly or indirectly forced to flee to neighbouring countries resulting in the confiscation of their property by the state.

In the issue of *Die Waarheid – The Truth* on 20 April 1934, a few columns were dedicated to further explain the SACNSM and the Uniformed Greyshirt's aims. The leader of the SACNSM explained, among other things, that the movement aimed to create a spirit of social cooperation within the existing political wards for the mutual benefit of the country's people.<sup>328</sup> It was also the objective of the movement to prevent exploitation by any alien people (meaning Jews and communists) who entered such wards, whether for social, trade or political purposes. The designation "Christian" or "Gentile" in the name of the SACNSM movement was an attempt to unite all Christian nationalities in a pure nation. It included all the Nordic peoples, namely the Dutch, English, Germans, French, Scandinavians and people of Roman

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<sup>326</sup> *Die Waarheid – The Truth*, 23.12.1933. "Die Suid-Afrikaanse Christelike Nasionaal-sosialistiese Beweging", The South African Christian National Socialist Movement".

<sup>327</sup> Macdonogh, p. 2.

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*

and pure Slavic descent but exclude other nationalities and races such as the Jews, blacks, Indians and Asians.

The SACNSM also wanted to put an end to all financial and political exploitation by the non-Nordic (which includes nationalities outside the Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxons, Germanic, French, Greece and Italy) financiers. The founders of the movement were also unanimously concerned about the ever increasing financial and political control exercised especially by the Semites (Jews) in South Africa. They were also convinced that the so-called democracy had become a bureaucracy of capitalist interest and that the interest of the majority of the people were disregarded.<sup>329</sup>

### *3.3.3 Analysis of the aims and purpose of the SACNSM*

At the centre of SACNSM was an ideology of totalitarianism - a belief that the needs and rights of the individual are subordinate to those of the state. This ideology opens the door for widespread violations of human rights to run rampant, because the end would always justify the means. The intrusion of privacy, mass censoring and even murder of persons that may be innocent are seen as justifiable because it serves the greater good which is the state's interest. The state's interest will always be forced on the population.

The totalitarian and anti-democratic foundation of the SACNSM as well as Weichardt's future movements had their roots in his earlier life. His early life was surrounded by German influence, from his family to schools and his business. This justifies why he admired the German culture along with its love of authoritarianism, anti-Semitism and distrust of democracy. These values got strengthened by the time Weichardt stayed in Germany from 1919-1924. Those years were characterised by the revolutionary atmosphere present in the Weimar Republic which pushed many people like Weichardt into the camp of far-right groups such as the Nazis. The political division of Afrikaner politics further built on the already anti-democracy stance of Weichardt.

The SACNSM was also a racially exclusive movement and this is reflected in its aims and purposes. Weichardt himself admitted that SACNSM stood for and accepted racial division as a principle of nature and requirement for world peace as well as order.<sup>330</sup> It therefore strove for the purity of the white race, for white rule and for the government's unlimited authority

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<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>330</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 122, "SANSB bied aan: Die plan en die man vir die volk van Suid-Afrika".

over other races.<sup>331</sup> Thus, it advocated for a native policy that would ensure self-development of the black, coloured and Indian nations in their own national character. This policy was used to justify the later segregation of the black population in restricted sections of the country called ‘reserves’ and later Bantustans or homelands. The policy also restricted the coloured and Indian communities to the outskirts of towns and cities.<sup>332</sup> Whereas Hitler wanted to unite all Germans of Aryan descent, Weichardt wanted to unite all Christian people in South Africa of Aryan descent, excluding nationalities which Weichardt saw as backward, which included the black, Indian, coloured, Slavic and Jewish nationalities. These nationalities, in Weichardt’s views, were unable to assimilate in the white population of South Africa.<sup>333</sup>

Weichardt also hoped to achieve a state of autarky or self-sufficient for South Africa.<sup>334</sup> He would achieve this by copying how the Nazis dealt with these problems. This included the creation of a State Bank which will be free from foreign influences and the creation of state lotteries to keep the money in South Africa. Weichardt wanted to uplift the Afrikaner population by implementing the economics of Nazi Germany and National Socialism. Furthermore, the SACNSM stands for the notion that it is the duty of the state to provide work for the people, especially work for the Afrikaners. It also sought to introduce national medical insurance and create national work projects to eliminate unemployment among the Afrikaners. This was similar to the autobahn’s projects of the Nazis where the state funded massive national projects to reduce unemployment and increase the labour force.

### 3.3.4 *The establishment of the Uniformed Greyshirts*

Hattingh noted that the Uniformed Greyshirts was established “out of the members of the SACNSM”<sup>335</sup> and Pike added that it served as the SACNSM’s military as well as all of Weichardt’s other movements which he would later form.<sup>336</sup> Members of the SACNSM who inspired to join the Uniformed Greyshirts had to fill in the prescribed form and were accepted or rejected based on the discretion of the given authority figure. One of the Greyshirts’ information pamphlet specified the requirements of new members. It noted that applicants had to be wise, morally pure, be spiritually and physically healthy; be free from any major obligations which will hamper his duties inside the Uniformed Greyshirts; be white from

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<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>332</sup> Giliomee, pp. 333-344.

<sup>333</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 136. “Programme of principles and constitution of Weichardt’s movements SANP”.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 117, “Overview of movement’s party congress 1934”.

<sup>335</sup> Hattingh, p. 51.

<sup>336</sup> Pike, p. 209; Marx, pp. 244-246.

western European ancestry but not be Slavic and Jewish, be willing to submit himself and abide by its rules, regulations and disciplinary codes, be motivated in combating communism, liberalism and the Jewish threat and be able to do active service as soon as possible.<sup>337</sup> Accepted applicants received registration number and were notified through a document called the G.H.2.<sup>338</sup> In an ideological driven movement such as the SACNSM and their para-military wing (Uniformed Greyshirts) moral fitness was determined and measured by the member's political, religious and racial soundness. For instance, a potential member who held left leaning or liberal ideas was deemed morally unfit to be a member of the SACNSM or the Uniformed Greyshirts.

The final step in becoming a member of the Uniformed Greyshirts was to swear an oath of allegiance and confidentiality which read:

I swear allegiance to Louis Theodore Weichardt, in his capacity as Leader of the S.A. Greyshirts (Uniformed) and to the principles he personifies, and that I will keep all negotiations and discussions strictly secret forever. I pledge to do everything in my power and help to fulfil the duties imposed upon me as a member of the S.A. Greyshirts.<sup>339</sup>

Apart from information regarding individual members, it is also interesting to note the structure of the Uniformed Greyshirts. The division of members was divided into four main categories. First, there was a Group, which consisted of seven members and a leader who is referred to as the Group Leader. Next, there's a Troop, which consists of seven groups and a leader who is referred to as the Troop Leader. Then comes the Section, which consists of seven Troops and a leader who is referred to as the Section Leader. Lastly, there was a Division. There were four Divisions which were spread out in four provinces of South Africa. Division A was in the Cape Province, Division B in the Orange Free State Province, Division C in the Transvaal Province and Division D in Natal Province.<sup>340</sup> At the head of each Division stood the Division Leader, and the head of all four Divisions was known as the Senior Division Leader. The rank above the Senior Division Leader was the Deputy Leader and he stood directly under the Head Leader, Weichardt. The highest authority of the Uniformed Greyshirts was the Executive Council (EC), which was headed by Weichardt and consisted of Division Leaders, leaders of a high rank and personal appointments made by Weichardt himself.

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<sup>337</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 132, "pamphlet Greyshirt information".

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 137. "Oath of Greyshirt member".

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 136 and 137, "Greyshirts constitution programme of principles: Information regarding Greyshirt movement".

The uniform of the Uniformed Greyshirts consisted of a grey shirt, pants and socks, black tie with swastika pin, belt and shoulder strap, the necessary badges, swastika armband and a cap. These were worn with strict dress code and standards. The swastika was worn on the left shirtsleeve so that it faces halfway to the front and halfway to the outside; on no account was it allowed that it be facing all the way to outside or to the front. Special emphasis was given to neatness and self-discipline of members, hairstyles for instance was to be kept short and neat so as not to present a bushy appearance. The grey shirt, black tie with swastika pin, belt and shoulder strap, armbands, necessary badges and cap was provided by the Uniformed Greyshirt's' EC and these remained properties of the EC. The rest, such as the grey pants, grey socks and black shoes was bought by the individual himself and was his property.<sup>341</sup> To see how the uniform looked, see **Appendix H**. The wearers of the uniform had to always respect their fellow citizens and had to possess personal qualities such as self-confidence, self-control, athleticism, loyalty, obedience and mental vitality. Members were thus encouraged not to seek any honour or favour but will always be ready to show favour and honour.<sup>342</sup>

Furthermore, members of the Uniformed Greyshirts were forbidden to go into a bar wearing their uniform or drink liquor while wearing uniform. Simply smelling alcohol also constituted drinking in uniform. Members were encouraged to face conflict directly and not talk behind someone's back. Leaning against pillars and walls was also strictly forbidden along with disobeying orders and disturbing the peace. Members were encouraged to always treat women with respect while at the same time also avoiding physical touch with women while in uniform.<sup>343</sup> These are some of the noteworthy rules that had to be abided by amongst many more.

The Uniformed Greyshirts also had their own flag and salute. The flag was a round disc with a swastika in the middle, and written around the disc the name S.A. Greyshirts. The symbolic salute had three forms. The ceremonial salute, the honour salute and the service salute. The ceremonial salute was used on the arrival and departure of the leader of the movement at general meetings, ceremonial affairs and festivities. This was done by stretching your right arm out in front of you, then opening your hand with your fingers firmly against each other with the fingers facing directly forward so that the hand is about 6 inches higher than the shoulder.<sup>344</sup> When there is an inspection by a high-ranking leader and during a funeral

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<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 144, "Greyshirt rules and regulations".

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*, Hattingh, p. 52.

<sup>343</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 144, "Greyshirts rules and regulations".

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 137, "different salutes of the Greyshirts".

procession the honour salute was used. This was done exactly the same as the ceremonial salute but the only difference was it will only be the leader of the Group, Troop, or Section that will salute. The service salute was used when on active service, after receiving orders from a leader and between fellow comrades with the vocals Heil! This salute consisted of the individual raising the hand with a quick motion to the right shoulder so that the palm of the hand points forwards and the fingers upwards.<sup>345</sup>

The Uniformed Greyshirts also had their own anthem called *Vir Bloed en Bodem* (For Blood and Soil), written by Isak le Grange in 1934.<sup>346</sup> It is worth highlighting the Uniformed Greyshirt's song because it will give the indication to the reader what their central worldview was (**Appendix I**). The song below was also sung by the SACNM:

Watch in the world the swastika  
The sign of awakening nations!  
The Greyshirts march in South Africa  
To free us from Jewish exploitation!  
Cast of now your fear let's unite now at once  
Down with foreign domination and down with our bonds  
Heil, Greyshirts, Heil  
Heil, Greyshirts, Heil!

Watch in our country the rising tide  
Of Greyshirts determined and faithful!  
The Greyshirts march bravely to free and unite  
The country they love and they treasure!  
If British, if Dutch ----Be South African now  
But the Jews in our nation we do not allow!  
Heil, Greyshirts, Heil!  
Heil, Greyshirts, Heil!

Now then, South Africans come along,  
And join in the world's great endeavour!  
"Sunny South Africa" must belong

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<sup>345</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 132, "Constitution of Greyshirts"

<sup>346</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 135, "Greyshirt song copy".

To White men and Gentiles for ever!  
Come forward, fight bravely your Dear ones to guard  
Ours is the victory! Ours the reward!  
Heil, Greyshirts, Heil!  
Heil, Greyshirts, Heil!<sup>347</sup>

Various South African historians such as Visser, Pike and Welsh has fallen into the pitfall of classifying para-military groups in South Africa in the 1930s and 1940s as simply a plagiarised form of Hitler's SS or SA. For instance, the para-military wing of the OB, the SJ was widely classified as a copy of Hitler's SA or SS. The historian Visser stated that: "Just as the German Nazi Party had the *Schutzstaffel* (SS), so had the *Ossewabrandwag* [OB] the *Stormjaers* ready to storm forward as their militant action front when the time seemed ripe".<sup>348</sup> However, this was not the case. Hitler, especially, intended the SA to serve as a propaganda tool for the Nazi Party and he emphasised this in *Mein Kampf*<sup>349</sup> but the SJ was not intended to carry out propaganda, and was secretive by nature - something Hitler said he did not want for the SA.<sup>350</sup> The SJ's main tasks was to carry out acts of terrorism against the Smuts government, and to establish a strong footing in South Africa after WWII with the eye on their republican ideal.<sup>351</sup> However, when studying the Uniformed Greyshirts, one reaches a conclusion that Weichardt was directly inspired by the various para-military groups which sprung up everywhere in Germany during the Weimar Republic era. Additionally, he was inspired especially by Hitler's SA and modelled the Uniformed Greyshirts after them. If one was to hypothetically put the Uniformed Greyshirts in Germany it would certainly not be out of place.

It is notable that the Uniformed Greyshirts and the SACNSM adopted the swastika as their main logo. Weichardt however, defended the use of the swastika by explaining that it had various uses over the years.<sup>352</sup> He was correct. T. Wilson provided rich analysis and evaluation of the history and uses of the swastika in his book titled *The Swastika: The Earliest Known Symbol, and its Migrations: With Observations on the Migration of Certain Industries in Pre-Historic Times*. Wilson argued that the swastika has been around for a thousand years and was

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<sup>347</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 137, "The Greyshirt song".

<sup>348</sup> G.C. Visser, *OB: Traitors or patriots*, p. 29; Pike, pp. 200-215; Welsh, pp. 146, 418-428 & 464.

<sup>349</sup> Hitler, pp. 490-498.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 501.

<sup>351</sup> Van der Schyff, "Verset teen Empire-oorlog" in Van der Schyff (ed.), *Die Ossewabrandwag: Vuurtjie in droë gras*, pp. 224-231.

<sup>352</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 150, "Newspaper clippings regarding Swastika".

used by religious, social, political and even pageants as their logo.<sup>353</sup> Although the influence of German Nazism and their swastika on Weichardt cannot be ignored, it is important to note that South Africa is part of where the swastika migrated and Weichardt was driver.

The Uniformed Greyshirts used the Heil salute just as the Nazis does, they even speak the word “Heil” which is German and foreign, this indicates the foreign influence of the Nazis in his organisation. Its members also greeted and signed their letters ‘Heil Weichardt’ and this indicates that Weichardt served as its undisputed leader.<sup>354</sup> In addition, the Uniformed Greyshirts song, *Blood and Soil*, was a slogan used by the Nazis to express their ideal of a racially defined nation.<sup>355</sup> Further, the Uniformed Greyshirts’ main purpose was propaganda, especially anti-Semitic propaganda.<sup>356</sup> Members of the Uniformed Greyshirts attacked individual Jews, distributed large amounts of anti-Semitic propaganda, and victimised Jewish businessmen by sending threatening letters and more often than not resorting to violence against the Jewish community of South Africa.<sup>357</sup>

### *3.3.5 The spread of the movement and reactions from the public and Jewish population in South Africa*

After the *Koffiehuis* meeting and the subsequent founding of the SACNSM there were intense reactions from many spheres in South Africa. These reactions were probably quite understandable given that the Nazis had seized power in Germany just a few months earlier. The popular Afrikaner nationalistic newspaper in the Cape Province, *Die Burger*, explained that the central point to the *Koffiehuis* meeting was anti-Jewish propaganda<sup>358</sup> while Weichardt saw it as the beginning of a movement which is destined to play a big part in South Africa with the help of Hitler’s ideology National Socialism, especially when anti-Semitic feelings starts to spread among the population.<sup>359</sup>

To simply write off the possibility that the SACNSM along with their para-military (Uniformed Greyshirts) could win field would have been naïve. The almost uncontrolled influx of Jews to South Africa prior to the adoption of the Immigration Quota Law, did bother most

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<sup>353</sup> For more information on the history of swastika, see T. Wilson, *The Swastika: the earliest known symbol, and its migrations: with observations on the migration of certain industries In Pre historic times*, pp. 765-791.

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>355</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 137, “Greyshirt song”;

<sup>356</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 148, “Purpose of the Greyshirts”.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 157-158, “Newspaper clippings on Greyshirt political activities”.

<sup>358</sup> *Die Burger*, 27.10.1933.

<sup>359</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 145, “S.A.N.S.B. Bied aan: die plan en die man, vir die volk van Suid-Afrika”.

Afrikaners in the political context and this favoured the Greyshirts.<sup>360</sup> Hattingh warned that the rapid increase of Jews who were believed to find it difficult to assimilate in favour of Afrikaners posed a danger in the minds of the latter. He argued that it challenged the already fragile Afrikaner economic sphere and could have sparked a new racial struggle in South Africa.<sup>361</sup>

*Die Burger* regarded the Greyshirts as *Volksvreemd* (alien to the Afrikaner nation) that depends on violence and oppression. A similar reaction came from the prominent Cape Town Jew, Morris Alexander. After the *Koffiehuis* meeting and the founding of the SACNSM in 1933, Alexander presented documentary evidence of propaganda produced by the Greyshirts against the Jewish community in Cape Town and other places in South Africa.<sup>362</sup> He also expressed his concern about the influence that the propaganda of the said movement may have on South Africa's trade and industry as a whole. He further argued that it will not only be costly for the Jewish industrialists but also for the non-Jewish workers who would then be unemployed. Alexander also objected to the nomination of Weichardt's apprenticeship chair in the haircut industry at the end of September 1933. He ensured that a petition was sent to the Minister of Labour objecting to Weichardt's apprenticeship chair in the haircut industry.<sup>363</sup> The objections to Weichardt holding the position also reasoned that his anti-Jewish political activities disturbed the harmony within the haircut industry.<sup>364</sup> The outcome of the objections resulted in Weichardt turning his back on the haircut industry. Alexander however expressed his appreciation for the column in *Die Burger* that sought to prevent racial agitation from overseas from being introduced in South Africa.<sup>365</sup>

As a result of the above complaints, the government had to respond, especially General Smuts, then Minister of Justice. He became aware of Weichardt's activities:

Information reaches me from various parts of the country that attempts are being made to work up anti-Jewish feeling among the public by the dissemination of leaflets and in some cases even by holding meetings...it is possible that in some cases these chargers are merely expressions of private spite and prejudice. Unfortunately, there are also indications that they represent an organised

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<sup>360</sup> Hattingh, p. 54.

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>362</sup> There was to the horror of the Jews, pamphlets being distributed to the public as well as Jewish shopkeepers and politicians. The pamphlets contained Nazi slogans and the Swastika. Letters were also sent via the mail to Jews. A lot of the letters contained the letters "W, SR, GR, SH and O" which probably meant that the letters mainly came from the Woodstock and salt River Greyshirts Organisation. *The Star*, 27.10. 1933

<sup>363</sup> Hattingh, p. 54.

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.10.1933.

<sup>365</sup> *Die Burger*, 28.10.1933.

movement and are the beginning of a campaign to foster, exacerbate and exploit race feeling and class antipathy among our people.<sup>366</sup>

In reaction, Smuts called on all South Africans to distance themselves against such a sinister movement with a dangerous character. Smuts' warning was welcomed by the English and the Jews in South Africa. The Afrikaners were divided in their reaction to Smuts' warning. For instance, even though the NP also regarded the Greyshirts with contempt they saw the warning by Smuts as an umbrella term to suppress the larger Afrikaner population. Following the warning from Smuts, *Die Burger* reported that the Department of Justice was allegedly finalising legislation that would specifically target the Greyshirt movement in an effort to finish them off.<sup>367</sup> When Smuts was approached for his comments on this he was vague. He apparently did not intend to make the legislation public or final but to have it only as a precautionary measure so that when things went wrong, he was ready to carry the legislation through.<sup>368</sup> Smuts precautionary tactics proved to be correct. When WWII broke out in 1939, he almost immediately started cracking down on any organisation which was suspected of being pro-Nazi Germany. It turned out that many Afrikaner organisations and movements such as the OB had pro-Nazi tendencies and many of their members were locked up in internment camps.<sup>369</sup>

The anti-Semitic propaganda waged in South Africa was also discussed at the conference of the South African Institute for Race Relations<sup>370</sup> (SAIRR) from October 1933- February 1934.<sup>371</sup> During the conference Alexander argued that pro-Nazi movements like the Greyshirts are nothing else than pure race hate and barbaric.<sup>372</sup> In defence of the anti-Semitic propaganda, Prof. L.J. du Plessis<sup>373</sup> pointed out that the condemnation against the Jews in the countryside had to be attributed to the fact that the Jews owned almost all the shops, hotels and liquor stores. He went on to explain that the Jews were busy pushing out the Afrikaners and English-speaking small business owners.<sup>374</sup> The SAIRR during the meetings came to the conclusion that it stood

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<sup>366</sup> *The Star*, 1.11.1933.

<sup>367</sup> *Die Burger*, 20.03. 1934.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>369</sup> Blake, pp. 227-240.

<sup>370</sup> SAIRR, was founded in 1929, and is a classical liberal think tank and advocates of the rule of law, equality and fighting unjust racial actions. None-governmental organisation which played a part in the anti-apartheid campaigns later.

<sup>371</sup> Hattingh, p. 59.

<sup>372</sup> *Die Burger*, 24.01.1934.

<sup>373</sup> Prof. L.J. du Plessis was a professor of constitutional law at the University of Potchefstroom, politically active and prominent member of the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB). Pelzer, pp. 9-49.

<sup>374</sup> Hattingh, pp. 58-61.

against any movement including the SACNSM that could disturb the racial peace in South Africa.<sup>375</sup>

There were also reactions from the public and from public figures. Sir Abe Bailey, a Jew himself and a leader in the Jewish community, was convinced that the anti-Jewish influence in Germany also found a severe downpour in South Africa.<sup>376</sup> Bailey argued, among other things:

[...] that the protests by bodies such as the Greyshirts, the countermeasures taken by the Jews, the increasing hostility between the Afrikaner farmer and the Jewish merchant in the countryside, the difficulties the press is apparently facing in maintaining its financial independence in the clash between the Jew and his opponents, are storm signs that should not be overlooked.<sup>377</sup>

Bailey continued to explain; that the Jew has a decisive role in this and ~~he~~ pointed out that the complaint that the Jew could not assimilate was often justified. He warned that irreconcilable attitude on both sides would only cause great friction between the Jewish community and the Greyshirts. Bailey concluded by saying:

The leaders among the Jews should convince their fellow believers that, as far as politics are concerned, their first duty is to the country to which they belong by choice, otherwise the suspicion will increase that the Jews believe they occupy a peculiar and untouchable position under the citizens. Such a suspicion cultivates Hitlerism.<sup>378</sup>

In Port Elizabeth, Jewish leaders seriously objected to the Greyshirts, which they referred to as an ‘unfair movement that was against them’ and they mobilised to push back. They did so by blocking any attempt by the Greyshirts to organise meaningfully in public. They were offended by Greyshirts’ banners and called on the public to fight against these foreign powers that ignited the flame of anti-Jewish sentiment with any kind of fraud.<sup>379</sup> Their resistance campaign was successful to some extent. For instance, when Weichardt and Hamman du Toit representing the Greyshirt booked the Town Hall in Worcester for the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of March 1934, five out of six Town Council members voted on 6 March 1934 against the renting of the Town Hall to them.<sup>380</sup> P de Vos, a Town Council member who voted in favour of the applicants, defended his vote by stating:

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<sup>375</sup> *Die Burger*, 24.01.1934.

<sup>376</sup> Hattingh, p. 60.

<sup>377</sup> *Ibid.*, see also: *Die Burger*, 19.02.1934.

<sup>378</sup> *Die Burger*, 19.02.1934.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.01.1934.

<sup>380</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 156-158, “Newspaper clippings”.

We have never refused the hall to anyone who wishes to hold a meeting. We cannot suppress this man [referring to Weichardt] by refusing him a hall. I am not interested in what he has to say, but allow him to speak openly, and then he can be openly refuted.<sup>381</sup>

De Vos's notion was not seconded. A. McAlister moved that the application be refused. He reasoned:

We all know Mr. Weichardt's propaganda. It is a form of Hitlerism. We have enough problems of our own in this country without importing foreign ones. We are custodians of the Town Hall on behalf of all the ratepayers equally. In the interest of the peace of the town and the community we cannot allow abuse of the use of the hall.<sup>382</sup>

During a massive meeting of the Greyshirts that took place in early January at the *Veremarksaal* in Port Elizabeth where Weichardt was the speaker, there were scenes of uproar when young Jews and Greyshirts attacked each other with sticks, Sjamboks and chairs.<sup>383</sup> There were about 3000 people inside the hall and another 500 waiting outside.<sup>384</sup> Blows started to be exchanged and a general brawl developed, things seemed serious at one point when a group of young men with guns in their holsters walked into the hall. A police force of about 30 officers was left with the task of establishing calm and order.<sup>385</sup> This led to the prosecution of 25 men on charges of public violence and the *Cape Times* reported that only 3 of the 25 men were known to be adherents of the Greyshirt movement.<sup>386</sup>

The result of the violent clash between the Greyshirts and the Jewish population during the *Veremarksaal* meeting in Port Elizabeth led to the creation of formal organisations which stood to counter the growing spread of anti-Semitic propaganda by the Greyshirts. One such movement was the League Against Fascism and War which was established in March 1934.<sup>387</sup> Alexander, one of the most outspoken public figures against the Greyshirts, emphasised the need for drastic legislation in order to curb the increasing Greyshirt activities.<sup>388</sup> He also pointed out that it was becoming a popular cry to lay all that was bad at the door of the Jews, referring to the popular but false notion that the Jews were responsible for WWI. According to him the fascist movements like that of Weichardt drew their inspiration from the Nazis and

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<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 152, "Newspaper clippings".

<sup>382</sup> *Cape Argus*, 07.04.1934

<sup>383</sup> *Die Burger*, 30.01.1934

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>385</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.01.1934.

<sup>386</sup> *Cape Times*, 17.02.34.

<sup>387</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 158, "Newspaper cuttings and pamphlets form Greyshirt era".

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid.*

were spreading fast around the globe. He went on to state that “[a]ll over, the doctrine is being preached that salvation lies in the destruction of the Jews”.<sup>389</sup>

In another attempt to block the Greyshirts from holding public meetings, the Masonic hall in Newlands in Cape Town was also refused for the Greyshirts on 14 March 1934. The meeting then, for convenience’s sake, was moved to the chairman of the SACNSM, ME Sauerlander. For Weichardt, these obstructions in the first few months of his new movement was evidence that the Jews are everywhere and control everything for their benefit. In response to this, Weichardt explained that the movement would move along the constitutional path towards the ultimate goal, that is, to free South Africa from foreign parasites and domination. Furthermore, he declared that they would have to make use of the decaying weapon of democracy by nominating candidates at the next general election.<sup>390</sup> Weichardt thus made the same move Hitler made when he realised that the given movement was going nowhere. He decided to participate in the very institution (democracy) he wished to overturn. The pushback from the Jewish community cannot be seen as a reason for changing the SACNSM to a political movement. Weichardt knew that his movement which is anti-Semitic would receive backlash from the Jews in South Africa. The new political movement of Weichardt would encompass all the ideological underpinnings of the SACNSM as well. So, the Jews did not play a role in the ending of the SAGNSM.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

The factors which shaped Weichardt’s National Socialistic worldview and the creation of a movement based on Nazism and National Socialism are various and complex. The seeds of Weichardt’s admiration of the Nazis were planted from a very young age. German influence was high for the first thirty years of his life. Weichardt’s grandfather from his mother side was German, he instilled the earliest admiration for the German culture in Weichardt and no doubt shaped his strong Christian views which was present in his future movements. Weichardt intellectual life was also greatly influenced by Germany. He was sent to the DSP and later a German school in New Hanover. The curriculum of these schools instilled in Weichardt the intellectual underpinnings of Germany, the glorification of their military, monarchy and superiority of the Germans.

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<sup>389</sup> *Cape Argus*, 09.03.1934. See also; R. Hodes, “Free fight in the grand parade: resistance to the Greyshirts in 1930s South Africa”, *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 47, 2, 2014, pp. 188-194.

<sup>390</sup> *Die Burger*, 30.03.1934.

German influence further intensified when the Weichardt family moved to Germany in 1912, where he furthered his education and business training. When WWI broke out, Weichardt eagerly joined and fought in some of the fiercest battles in history. His participation on the German side during WWI made him believe in the invincibility of the Germans and made him ripe pickings for the Nazis. Weichardt also stayed in the turbulent Weimar Republic from 1919-1924. During these five years, he stayed in the hotbed of the Nazis, Munich, from whence he witnessed countless strikes, violence and attempted putsches. It became clear that his stay in the Weimar republic contributed the most to his anti-democratic and pro-totalitarian worldview. Upon his return to South Africa, the socio-political atmosphere (poor-white problem and coalition politics) was also ripe for him to establish a movement based on Nazism. Weichardt's challenges as a businessman in South Africa intensified his anti-Semitic views. He saw National Socialism and the economic model of the Nazis as a solution. The result was the creation of a movement which will be modelled on that of the Nazi Party - the SACNSM, with its para-military group, the Uniformed Greyshirts. The movement stood for a racially pure South Africa with the Afrikaner and other whites from Aryan descent ruling.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **THE RECONFIGURATION OF THE SACNSM INTO A PARLIAMENTARY MOVEMENT, 1934-1939**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The years 1934-1938 saw the reconfiguration of the SACNSM from a mere South African nationalistic movement to a South African nationalistic parliamentary movement known as the SANP. This chapter examines the establishment of the SANP and the factors which led to the idea of transforming the SACNSM into the SANP. The ideology, organisational structure and leadership of the SANP will be analysed to determine how it differed from that of the SACNSM. Following the establishment and ideology of the SANP, the controversial and public relation nightmare of the various lawsuit cases against the SANP in 1934 and 1935 respectively would also be examined. The two-party congresses of 1934 and 1937 would also be presented to indicate the changes the SANP brought about in their ranks. The SANP as a

political entity would also be scrutinised by observing their participation in elections and their general support from South Africans. The SANP's relationship with the NP would be discussed, to determine the overall attitude the two parties had with one another. Throughout the chapter, efforts would also be made to analyse the continual spread of the SANP in the four provinces of the Union of South Africa (Cape Colony, Transvaal, Natal and Orange Free State).

#### **4.2 The transformation of the SACNSM into the SANP and the underlining factors which led to this transformation**

The decision and announcement to transform the SACNSM into the SANP came suddenly when the organisational secretary JHH de Waal Junior, announced in the *Koffiehuis* hall in Cape Town on 7 May 1934 that the SACNSM henceforth would stand as a political party.<sup>391</sup> Its standing leader, Weichardt, also became a *de facto* leader of the newly created SANP. The paramilitary group the Uniformed Greyshirts would also form part of it. These decisions were greeted by loud cheers and enthusiasm by the large crowd of approximately 600-1000 people that gathered in the hall. The significance of the occasion was observed by the presence of Weichardt, secretary of the new party FJ du Toit and De Waal Junior (Deputy to Weichardt) all in uniform for the first time.<sup>392</sup> Therefore, Nazi symbolism and historical influence was not abandoned with the reorganisation of the SACNSM. For example, the three main leaders of the Greyshirt movement, Weichardt, Du Toit and De Waal Junior, were all donned in uniform attached with a swastika. This indicated they also retained militarism character derived from the Nazis ideology. It is plausible that as an admirer of Hitler, Weichardt most certainly took a page out of Hitler's book when it came to politics. As with one of the Nazis' 25 points which pointed out that there will be no compromise with any political parties, Weichardt echoed the same thoughts when he concluded his speech at the *Koffiehuis* stating that he and his followers certainly did not want anything to do with other political parties.<sup>393</sup>

There are two main events that influenced Weichardt's decision to reconfigure the SACNSM in order to establish a political party in 1934. First, there were the events during the coalition and then merging of Hertzog's NP and Smuts' SAP. Malan, a prominent figure in the NP, was already forming a block around him as leader, who was planning to break away from the NP. The coalition government between the NP and SAP were already a hard pill to swallow

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<sup>391</sup> Hattingh, p. 63.

<sup>392</sup> All three were dressed in a fieldgrayshirt, trousers with a wide leather belt and shoulder strap. On the left sleeve was an orange swastika against a white background with a blur strap around. *Die Burger*, 08.05.1934; *Die Waarheid – The Truth*, 08.05.1934.

<sup>393</sup> *Die Waarheid – The Truth*, 08.05.1934.

for hardliner Afrikaner nationalist in the NP, whose anti-British sentiments made ideological clashes inevitable with the pro-British SAP.<sup>394</sup> It was around this time that Jan de Waal Senior (father of De Waal Junior) Speaker of the Volksraad, realised that a merge between the NP and SAP would leave a vacuum in the Afrikaner political sphere. De Waal Senior thus approached Weichardt and urged him to create a political party. Weichardt immediately called together the Greysshirt EC and stressed to them the need to transform the SACNSM into a political party.<sup>395</sup>

There was a strong belief that a merger between the NP and SAP was bound to leave a power vacuum in the Afrikaner political sphere. Therefore, this possible void was going to be filled by a pro-Afrikaner nationalist political party led by Weichardt. The EC was convinced and unanimously agreed on the transformation of the SACNSM and its wings. Nonetheless, the envisaged vacuum did not materialise to the extent Weichardt and his comrades anticipated. This is because Malan, who totally rejected the idea of a merge, decided to split away from Hertzog's NP and establish his own independent Afrikaner nationalistic party - the Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party (GNP) which henceforth would be referred to as simply the NP.<sup>396</sup> Thus, the newly established NP filled that political vacuum. This led to De Waal Senior urging Weichardt to drop the idea of forming a party. Weichardt, however did not back down and stuck with the decision to transform his Greysshirt movement into a political party. This predictably brought backlash especially from Malan's NP who saw Weichardt as further dividing an already divided political context of South Africa.<sup>397</sup>

The second factor was the para-military Orangeshirt Movement which was created by FC Erasmus in Cape Town. Erasmus served as secretary for the NP in Cape Town.<sup>398</sup> The creation of the Orangeshirt Movement had the goal of making membership in the NP more attractive to the younger generation by means of wearing a uniform during political gatherings. The Orangeshirt Movement strove for the same ideals as the Greyshirts, with their main aim of fighting all capitalism not just Jewish capitalism.

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<sup>394</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 14. "Letter from J.H.H. de Waal Sr to his son J.H.H. de Waal jr"

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid*; Hattingh, p. 65.

<sup>396</sup> Koortz, pp. 353-358.

<sup>397</sup> Hattingh, p. 65, personal interview with Weichardt, 1983.

<sup>398</sup> Marx, pp. 155, 243, 325; Debates of the session of the parliament of the house assembly, (Volume ), p. 7687. See also F.J. van Heerden, *Nasionaal Sosialisme as factor in die Suid-Afrikaanse politiek, 1933-1948*. (D.Phil. Thesis, University of the Free State, 1972).

Weichardt was attracted to idea of combining a political party with a para-military movement just as the NP and the Orangeshirt movement did in Cape Town.<sup>399</sup> It could also be that being an admirer of Hitler Weichardt saw how the Nazis used political institutions to gain power as a blueprint for his own political movement. The political divisions among the Afrikaner ranks in the 1930s had profound consequences for the political arena of South Africa. Firstly, as mentioned above the division in the Afrikaner ranks most notably in the ensuing split between Hertzog and Malan, led to the absence of a unified Afrikaner core. Secondly, this vacuum coupled with the un-heard of political rise of the Nazis in Germany created fertile soil for the growth of Afrikaner nationalistic movements mixed with European fascism and Nazism to fill this vacuum. It is not far off to argue that Weichardt imagined his new party will climb to power soon after its establishment.

It is then no surprise that the division in the Afrikaner political arena and the rise of the Nazis in Germany was one of the major contributing factors that led to the creation of movements such as; the Greyshirts, *Suid-Afrikaanse Nasionale Volksbeweging* (People's Movement) also known as the Blackshirts, and the National Workers Union known as the Brownshirts, Orange Shirts, NO and OB. All these movements were heavily oriented towards Nazism and fascism in general and most were established from 1933 when Nazi Party in Germany was popular. This pro-Nazi wave in South African politics should not be taken for granted as one of the leading historians on radical Afrikaner nationalism Professor Marx states:

While they should not be overrated, their small membership should not be taken as a sign of weakness of right-wing support in the white population either. On the contrary, and the reason that the first right-wing wave did not attract large numbers can be put down mainly to poor organisation and the fact that the ideology had yet not been adapted to suit the South African situation. Only once it was stepped in nationalist phraseology did the right wing became [sic] attractive and begin to capture the imagination of large numbers of nationalists who belonged to the NP.<sup>400</sup>

### **4.3 The main aims and ideology of the SANP**

#### *4.3.1 Main aims of the SANP*

The newly created SANP had six main aims which stands as the following: The blending and fusing of the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking elements of the people and of the white Christian population generally, so as to form a South African national unity. This would be

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<sup>399</sup> Marx, p. 343.

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.

formed on the basis of a self-existent nationhood in which both elements shall participate equally, with a respect for the national-historical rights and privileges of each.<sup>401</sup> The awakening and cultivating in every possible way of a national consciousness and national pride, in other words the development of strong South African nationalism both economically as well as culturally. The stimulating of a spirit of comradeship and cooperation among all groups and branches of the South African people. Along with standing against the spirit of sectionalism and provincialism, and of all unnecessary and artificial class distinctions.<sup>402</sup> The implanting in the people of a strong spirit of self-reliance and independence, and the education of the people to become worthy citizens who shall faithfully fulfil their responsibilities and duties towards the state.<sup>403</sup>

The SANP also aimed at upholding of Christian civilisation and the protection of Christianity against the presumed attacks of communism, Judaism and international capitalism.<sup>404</sup> The establishment of the South African nation and state on a firm basis of righteousness which involves putting down all corruption, exploitation, injustice and oppression. Along with the implementation of Practical/Positive Christianity (church as religious mouthpiece of the state) throughout the public and private life of the public.<sup>405</sup> The setting up of a National Socialist form of State-constitution along with the governing of South Africa under such constitution on the principles of responsible leadership and developing people based on their strong point and letting them go in that vocational direction.

#### *4.3.2 The SANP's main ideological underpinnings as distinguished from that of the SACNSM*

The SANP adopted most of the ideology of the SACNSM. This means that it aimed to follow a totalitarian form of government which was anti-democratic. Like its predecessor, it will be highly racists, anti-Semitic, and advocate for the territorial segregation of non-Whites, deny those political rights and exploitation of their labour. Although the economic policies of the SANP stayed the same as its predecessor, it advocated for nationalisation of South Africa's mineral resources and the protection and promotion of private property. The party however stood for strict regulation in the free market, and may intervene at any time when they see it as necessary. The party's whole economy policy is designed to make the future South Africa an

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<sup>401</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 141; "National Socialism and the Christian religion"

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 117; "The programme and principles and constitution of the SANP".

<sup>403</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 138; "pamphlet on the inspiration of the Greyshirts"

<sup>405</sup> *Die Waarheid – The Truth*, 18.05.1934.

autarky. The SANP's economic policy was thus socialist in nature, with a lot of bureaucratic interference.

A major difference between the ideology stance of the SACNSM and the SANP came in the intensified emphasis being placed on anti-British sentiments by the SANP. Whereas, the SACNSM did not go into much detail regarding the Afrikaner's attitude towards the English-speaking population of South Africa in their manifestos, except calling for equality of both Afrikaans and English, the SANP, however adapted and took to heart the revived republican ideal of the Afrikaner. The republican ideal, prominent among the Afrikaner nationalists' movements in the 1930s- and onwards until 1961, was adapted as one of the main pillars of the SANP. The SANP thus recognised and accepted the connection of the Union of South Africa with Britain and the British Commonwealth of Nations as a purely voluntary connection, which existed only by virtue of historical factors and in view of international relations. The fight for the self-determination of South Africa was thus at the forefront of the party.<sup>406</sup> The SANP was in favour of cutting all colonial ties South Africa has with the British Empire. This was seen to be the only way to achieve total independence and transform South Africa into a republic, except for keeping informal ties with the commonwealth for the benefit of all, which includes aspects such as trade.

As seen above, the SANP stood for the republican ideal which could be achieved by cutting all direct colonial ties with Britain. There were however, additional qualms which the SANP emphasises throughout their existence. These were; the SANP standing against the English-speaking population of South Africa which still referred to Britain as "Home". The unassimilated or not fully assimilated English population was singled out here. The SANP was against the use of the British flag (the Union Jack) and called for the use of independent South African flag, the use of South Africa's own national anthem, the disbanding of the post of the Governor-General and the implementation of legislation that would make the interference in the law by the British impossible.<sup>407</sup> According to Weichardt the political system imported to South Africa and the being "oppressed" by it was why he decided to attack these systems through republicanism which was the centre ideology of Afrikaner nationalism and the SANP.

With respect to the Indian population, the SANP in essence wanted them repatriated back to India. According to the SANP the Indian population's presence in South Africa created

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<sup>406</sup> *Die Waarheid – The Truth*, 18.05.1934.

<sup>407</sup> *Ibid.*

an additional racial problem, and moreover the Indians habitually render themselves guilty of miscegenation. Indians were thus seen as posing more of a threat of blood contamination according to the SANP. The biological racism embodied by the pseudo-scientific field of eugenics (discussed in chapter 2) was widely embroiled in the ideology of the SANP. The Indians are not just a nuisance to the social order of South Africa according to the SANP, but also classify as a group of the unwanted, unproductive and injurious. The “Indian problem” was thus seen differently from the “black problem”. Unlike Indians, the black population was seen as a vital almost inexhaustible reservoir of labour that can be exploited. Both the attitude towards the Indian and black population was undoubtedly racist, but it indicates the different forms racism can take. Therefore, the party pledged itself to carry out a policy of repatriation of the Indians by means of friendly negotiations with the Indian government.<sup>408</sup> Furthermore, the party adopts a policy of segregation of the Indians, and likewise a policy which will render any miscegenation on their part punishable, wherever possible with deportation.

With respect to the Jewish population of South Africa, the SANP’s policy toward them was much more expanded. It classified the Jews as a race of oriental and Semitic origin, non-Christian and anti-Christian group with a national identity of its own, which maintains its distinctive racial qualities and religious traditions and as an internationally consolidated and organised group.<sup>409</sup> To address the Jewish question, the SANP suggested stringent legislation designed to control absolutely all future immigration of Jews to South Africa. Additionally, it proposed a legislation designed to settle the social, economic and political position of the Jews in South Africa. This entailed barring Jews from state service and of owning real estate, either directly or indirectly.<sup>410</sup> The SANP aimed for the complete destruction of the existing Jewish domination and the limitation of Jewish influences in every context, to the end that this will secure an unhindered Afrikaner hegemony in South Africa. Clearly, the SANP laid out, in a much more practical means, the manner in which it was to deal with the Jewish problem, whereas the SACNSM did not.

The SANP views on blacks, Coloureds and Indian populations of South Africa as inferior to the white population, were mainstream thought between the Afrikaner and English-speaking populations of South Africa at the time. Where Weichardt’s views on racial issues differs from mainstream South African thought is when it comes to the Jews. Although the NP certainly

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<sup>408</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No 117; “die man en plan”.

<sup>409</sup> *Die Waarheid – The Truth*, 13.07.1934.

<sup>410</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 117; “die man en die plan”

displayed anti-Semitic values in their years before 1948, the SANP most certainly got their anti-Semitic ideology straight from the German Nazis. It displayed is a much more intolerable anti-Semitism views than other parties such as the NP who were also anti-Semitic but in a subtler manner. The obvious Nazi influence on their racial views was explicit. The SANP intended to keep checks on the intellectual, cultural and social life of the non-Whites in order to detect any “threat” to the state.<sup>411</sup> Thus, Weichardt’s South Africa in essence would have been a police state.

#### *4.3.3 Organisational and administrative structure of the SANP*

The SANP consisted of properly enrolled and accredited members of both the SACNSM and the Uniformed Greyshirts. Membership was opened to all white adults, provided that each new entry had to be approved by the executive to determine members’ race. Membership applications could be denied without given a reason for doing so.<sup>412</sup> When it came to leadership, the SANP was under the authority of the appointed leader (Weichardt) and his decisions was most highly valued and accredited. He could stay on as leader of the party until in death or retirement provided that the executive still has confidence in him. The cardinal principle in the constitution of the SANP was that every member must show unshakable obedience to the leader. The leader thus had the authority to immediately dismiss any member from the party.<sup>413</sup>

It was not easy to contest Weichardt’s power or to challenge him. This is because he appointed all twenty members of SANP executive. The executive branch of the SANP was thus powerless and served as a type of institutionalised henchmen support staff. The constitution also outlined that the party would always act in the confines of the law of South Africa. If any member were to be caught breaking the law it will make his membership of the party void. The organisation of the SANP and Uniformed Greyshirts stood as follows;

Groups, were the smallest, though most important units in the organisation of the party. Groups are formed in cities (in one’s street or immediate neighbourhood) towns and neighbouring farms. At the head of any group stood a group officer.<sup>414</sup> Next there was Sections, which was composed of adjacent groups. In cities, sections were formed from groups of adjacent wards. The same principles applied to the towns and farms. The section officer was in

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<sup>411</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 117; “die man en die plan”

<sup>412</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 144; “Newspaper articles of the Waarheid”

<sup>413</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 146; “Various documents about the Greyshirts”

<sup>414</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 136; “Greyshirt organisation map”

charge of all the affairs of the section as well as ensuring the cooperation between the different groups making it up. Districts were next in the organisational line and are formed of a combination of sections. In big cities such as Cape Town and Port Elizabeth a city district could include an entire constituency, while in the countryside it can include a town or towns with the adjacent farms. The district officer is in charge of a district and wielded a lot of power in the party. Divisions, are composed out of adjacent districts. The divisional officer handled the oversight of the districts within his division. He was responsible for the administration and for the uniform, homogenous and parallel execution of all commands and orders. Provinces, as compiled by the SANP would correspond in area with the existing provinces of the Union of South Africa. Divisions and provinces all fell under the rule of the executive and Weichardt himself.<sup>415</sup>

As mentioned earlier members of the newly created SANP came from the ranks of the old SACNSM and Uniformed Greyshirts, but there were stricter rules for aspiring members. They must accept the party's organisation and subject themselves to the discipline thereof. They must also accept the principles and aims of the party and bind themselves to order their lives and activities in accordance with the Party's creed and along the lines of sound discipline. Membership card could also only be issued by an officer who was nominated to do so by the executive. Only members who can show their membership cards would be recognised as SANP members.<sup>416</sup> Each district officer also had to submit regular and meticulous submissions to the number of members in his district. The membership fee was £2 and 6 pennies (25c) per year, but members were also encouraged to contribute a fee of 10c a month as well. All financial contributions would be acknowledged in the form of receipt stamps, dated and initialled.<sup>417</sup> The district officer once again was heavily involved in this area and it's also his job to monitor these aspects as well as members who are behind in payments.

Resignation by members had to be in writing and given to the relevant group officer, and membership card must be returned along with the resignation. Any member could also be dispelled from the party without been given any relevant reason for doing so. An old member had to wait a total of 12 months to join the party again.<sup>418</sup> District officers had to keep a card system in all cases with full details of all members on it, the card system had to be updated as

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<sup>415</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 137; "information regarding Greyshirts"

<sup>416</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 136. "organisational principles"

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>418</sup> *Ibid.*

often as possible. There were precise instructions regarding correspondence, financial transactions, accounting and inventories.

Emphasis was placed on system prudence and with this the greatest cost savings had to be practised.<sup>419</sup> Districts officers and other high-ranking officials were required to raise funds. Finances to the party mainly thus came from these high-ranking members through giving speeches and asking for fees, through concerts, and bazaars at churches. Donations were also welcomed.<sup>420</sup>

#### **4.4 The courts cases against Greyshirt officials: major setbacks to the support of the SANP**

##### *a) The defamation lawsuit by A. Levy against three prominent Greyshirt officials*

With the nature of SANP as a militant and pro-Nazi party, it would be expected that they will find themselves on the wrong side of the law of the country from time to time. A case of extraordinary importance commenced in July 1934 in the Grahamstown High Court. Abraham Levy of Port Elizabeth, leader of the Jewish community and “acting Rabbi”<sup>421</sup> in the Synagogue there, sued Johannes von Moltke, Harry Inch and Dawid Olivier for alleged defamation. All three men; Von Moltke, Inch and Olivier were the highest ranking Greyshirt officials in the Eastern Cape.<sup>422</sup> Levy claimed that a month ago (June 1934) in front of an audience of 500 people, von Moltke slandered him by presenting to the audience a falsified document claimed to be stolen out of the synagogue of Port Elizabeth where Levy acted as Rabbi. The falsified document was written in Hebrew. On it, Hebrew was written from right to left, whereas Hebrews is always written from left to right.<sup>423</sup> This documents Von Moltke presented to the audience contained aspects of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and made slanderous remarks and allegations proclaiming the conspiracy theory that the Jews wish for the control and exploitation of the world. The previous chapter explained how Weichardt in his years in Munich was exposed to the anti-Semitic Nazi propaganda document called the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. It’s clear that Weichardt and his Greyshirts movement believed

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<sup>419</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 14; “membership forms and regulations”

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>421</sup> Inch was not officially a rabbi but served that role in the Synagogue in Port Elizabeth. The broader community also knew him as a rabbi and identified him as one, although not being officially one.

<sup>422</sup> Hattingh, pp. 85-86.

<sup>423</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

and used it as propaganda tool just like the Nazis did.<sup>424</sup> Levy dismissed the document as a fake out of hand.

Furthermore, Levy accused Von Moltke of further slandering him during a meeting in Aberdeen, where Von Moltke made the following allegations against the Jewish community in Port Elizabeth: that they displayed hostility towards Christians there and elsewhere and were hell-bent on destroying Christianity; they planned an armed uprising against every Greyshirt meetings; that large parts of the media was financed by the Jews with the aim of spreading false news aimed at undermining Christianity and Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa; and that Levy was receiving direct instructions from his communist and Jewish benefactors in Moscow to his Synagogue in Port Elizabeth.<sup>425</sup> Von Moltke argued that the document he presented to the public was stolen from Levy's position in the Synagogue. In response to Von Moltke's accusations, Levy contended that the attack by Von Moltke was personal and therefore sued him for defamation of character for £2000 and another £2000 each for Olivier and Inch for assisting him.

In response to Levy's charges, Von Moltke argued that the Greyshirts' aim was to fight Jewish influence whenever it was spotted especially in South Africa and that he was not personally attacking and spreading lies about Levy but Jews as a whole. The three men especially Inch still insisted that the contested document was indeed stolen from Levy's synagogue and that he was entertaining the ideas of Jewish world domination and that that was dangerous towards the local population.<sup>426</sup> In that case, Levy was the Plaintiff represented by Adv. HG Reynolds and E. Stuart against the three defendants; Von Moltke, Olivier and Inch. Levy stated under oath that he has never seen the said document before and has never received similar documents. During the trial of Von Moltke, Inch and Olivier, ruled over by Judge Sir Thomas Graham, Levy continually made the point that the document is false and rejected the allegations made in the document. Zionism according to Levy only meant the ultimate desire of the Jewish race to have a homeland (which was realised in 1948 in the form of Israel) and not to meddle in other areas with the aim of world domination.<sup>427</sup>

CF Davidson, who served as one of the witnesses for Levy showed the court a letter which Inch typed for the South African Railways. They compared the letter Inch typed with

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<sup>424</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 157; "Newspaper clippings regarding the Inch case"

<sup>425</sup> *Ibid*; Hatting, p. 86.

<sup>426</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 157; "Newspaper clippings regarding the Inch case"

<sup>427</sup> *Ibid*.

that of the contested/falsified document. Grammar, manner of speech, everything was analysed and Adv. Reynolds argued that Inch was by all probable means the writer/falsifier of the document. Another of Levy's witnesses, a maid in the synagogue, testified that documents would not normally just be laying around as it will be stored in a safe place. According to Inch's testimony he took a leisure visit to the Emmanuel Hall in Port Elizabeth in April 1934. While he was there he was approached by two men who he claimed were "gentiles" (Christians) but he did not know their names but would recognise their faces. According to Inch these two men gave him two copies of the contested document and ran away. When he read the two copies that was stuffed in his hand, he thought that original document would be in the nearby Synagogue. Early the next morning Inch stated that he broke into the Synagogue and saw a similar copy on the table, he then proceeded to steal it. Inch then continued by coming into contact with the District Constable, Robert Cairnes, and pleaded with him to authorise a search warrant of the whole Synagogue and suspected Jewish ringleaders who were plotting destruction against Christians.<sup>428</sup> Constable Cairnes responded by explaining to Inch that he does not have the necessary evidence to pursue the matter at that stage. It should be noted that Inch said he firmly believed that the document was an original, and he swore under oath that he stole it from the Synagogue.<sup>429</sup>

Inch's story was a farce as the facts surrounding the so-called break-in soon became known to the court. Constable Cairns, proceeded to inspect the synagogue from the inside and out, and saw that there was wire in front of the windows and no one could have gotten in without breaking the wire (which was all still intact) and that there was no further evidence of forced-entry. This meant that the documents could not have been stolen from the synagogue as Inch claimed. During the trial throughout July, it was established that the third accused, Olivier, was oblivious to the scheming of Von Moltke and Inch. Reynold thus asked the judge to be lenient towards Olivier.<sup>430</sup> The trial was concluded on 31 July 1934 but the three accused men had to wait another couple of months until August to hear their verdict. The reason was that the judge presiding over the case was away in Port Elizabeth to personally go and inspect the Synagogue.

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<sup>428</sup> *Die Burger*, 24.07.1934.

<sup>429</sup> M. Alexander, *a biography*, p. 168; S. Lazaroff and M. Rodger, *History's greatest deceptions and confidence scams*, pp. 70, 88, 101.

<sup>430</sup> Hattingh, p. 92.

*b) Forgery and perjury: The second case against Inch*

A new case was opened up by the state against Inch for falsifying documents, lying under oath and theft. It still has to be proved that Inch falsified the document because the letter he wrote to the South African railways was not conclusive enough. Levy thus continue to argue that he did not even own a typing machine and that his correspondence was always in English. Levy argued that no Jew would make the mistake to refer to the Talmud Torah<sup>431</sup> as just a book as was done in the document. Apart from the seriousness of the case, Levy's witnesses stated that the document is ridiculous and that no informed person would take them seriously.<sup>432</sup> Mr. GF Dingemans, a Professor of languages, who specialises in the Hebrew language and languages in general from Rhodes University, also testified that no Jew could have compiled this document. He further argued that an educated Jew would know Hebrew, think more coherently and write in the grammatical rules of Hebrews and not English.<sup>433</sup> There were also indications that all the documents were written and falsified by the same person. This could be established by the continued presence of spelling errors and the wrong use of capital letters on all documents. Additionally, the habit to emphasise certain letters over other were also picked up from the documents.<sup>434</sup>

Dingemans further testified that he found that Inch had compiled the documents as his other correspondence showed the same features as seen on the document. Inch seeing all the evidence against him, eventually admitted that he also believes that the documents were falsified but that he was tricked in believing it was real. This implies that he thought that he was being set up. He indicated that two unknown men handed him the documents and ran away and he believed it was real. The jury did not buy his story and Inch was convicted of falsifying documents and perjury. It turned out that Von Moltke had the falsified documents in his position first, and even showed it to Weichardt, who immediately spotted it as a fake. The leader, Weichardt, replied by urging Von Moltke and Inch to throw the document away immediately as he also saw that it was a fake. Inch was sentenced to six years and three months of hard labour but was reduced to two and a half years. The severity of the sentence can be explained by the large-scale violence and danger Inch conspiracy documents could have wrecked on South Africa.<sup>435</sup>

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<sup>431</sup> The Talmud Torah is the special name given to the first five books of the bible.

<sup>432</sup> *Die Burger*, 29.01.1935.

<sup>433</sup> Hattingh, pp. 90-93.

<sup>434</sup> *Ibid*; *Cape Argus*, 03.02.1935.

<sup>435</sup> ARCA, P.V. 136, *C.J.W. Adendorf-collection*, File No. 136 2/1.1.3; Personal Correspondence".

Inch's sentence had interest of many people, mostly from the Afrikaner circles. The supporters of the Greyshirts generally felt that the sentence was too harsh.<sup>436</sup> *Die Burger* and *Cape Argus* were also against the sentence and called for a nationwide petition to challenge the harsh sentence received by Inch. Weichardt and the SANP backed by *Die Burger* and *Cape Argus* agreed that perjury was a serious offence but insist that he was motivated by political aspects and not from a criminal's temperament.<sup>437</sup> One of the reasons why newspapers like *Die Burger* (mouthpiece of the NP) went along with the SANP in their condemnation of the harsh sentence, had to do with propaganda. The harsh sentence imposed on a fellow Afrikaner nationalist gave political parties such as the NP the moral high ground and propaganda material to attack their main opposition party, the UP.

In the summer of 1935 Weichardt personally visited Smuts, who served as Minister of Justice at the time, and pleaded to him for a reduction in Inch's sentence. Besides Smuts being his biggest political enemy, he did see in Weichardt's point and reduced Inch's prison sentence by three years.<sup>438</sup> Months later, in May of 1935 Weichardt gave a speech at the Koffiehuis, where he stated that the Inch case is long not solved and no stone will be left unturned until he was free.<sup>439</sup> Meanwhile, a petition was already doing the rounds with more than 20 000 signatures which was sent to Smuts on 3 May 1935. The correctional services of South Africa acknowledged that they received the petition and that it was currently being discussed with superiors. It turned out that the petition worked and Inch sentence of three years, after Smuts halved it, was again reduced by one year by Smuts. This meant that he left with two years and two months. The fact that Weichardt was present at the individual case against Inch, the promise to meet him personally when he is freed and the financial and social support provided for the family all showed what Inch meant for Weichardt and the SANP.<sup>440</sup> Weichardt was a man who saw the importance of public relations and using an unfortunate event for personal gain through propaganda. Just as Hitler used his treason trial in 1924 as a propaganda coup to turn a negative event into his advantage, so too did Weichardt with the Inch trials try and implement a propaganda coup by exposing the SANP to publicity.

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<sup>436</sup> *Die Vaderland*, 05.02.1935.

<sup>437</sup> *Die Burger*, 04.02.1935; *Cape Argus*, ARCA, P.V. 136, *C.J.W. Adendorf-collection*, File No. 136 2/1/1/3 "Personal correspondence"

<sup>438</sup> Hattingh, p. 93.

<sup>439</sup> *Die Burger*, 03.05.1935.

<sup>440</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 3; "personal notes and letters"

Unfortunately for Weichardt, he did not have a sympathetic judge as Hitler did and the damaging trails of Von Moltke and Inch from July 1934 – March 1935 was just that, damaging to the image of the SANP. The Inch and Von Moltke trails were public relation disaster for the newly established SANP. Not a lot of independent voters and people, some of whom already were sceptical to the foreign ideology of fascism and National Socialism, wanted to be associated with a movement which falsified documents and present them to the public as truth. This came at a time when a party was supposed to present a fresh alternative to the Afrikaner camp in the South African sphere of politics. The press had a field day with Weichardt and the SANP. The major news outlets of the time; *Die Burger*, *Die Vaderland*, *The Herold*, *Cape Argus* and *Cape Times* warned the public of the dangers of associating with a party like the SANP and labelled them out and out Nazis.<sup>441</sup>

The biggest blow to Weichardt's SANP did not come from the public but from within his own ranks. Weichardt was extremely displeased with Von Moltke because he did not take his advice to destroy the document and not make it public. As punishment for his disobedience, Weichardt dismissed Von Moltke from the party. Displeased Von Moltke, then started his own para-military movement modelled on the Greyshirts called the South African Fascist Movement in May 1935 and it lasted until the end of 1937. The Greyshirts and their stronghold in the Eastern Cape was effectively been split into two. The S.A Fascist Movement of von Moltke attracted a few hundred members, some of the Greyshirt members but due to poor organising and lack of support the movement soon fizzled out at the end of 1937.<sup>442</sup> The damage, however was done, the Levy case against Inch and Von Moltke and the subsequent trail involving Inch again, was a public disaster. This was aggravated by the dismissal of Von Moltke which resulted in a split of an organisation that did not have convincing support base. It was a combination of factors discussed above that affected Weichardt's aspirations of ruling South Africa along the line of Nazism and National Socialism. The opposition Weichardt faced from the local population, the court cases against him and his political experiences which all reinforced his already existing anti-Semitism and National Socialism.

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<sup>441</sup> Hattingh, p. 83;

<sup>442</sup> *Ibid*; *Die Burger*. 30.07.1934.

## 4.5 The spread and activities of the SANP in South Africa, 1934-1938

### 4.5.1 Activities and support in Natal

The spread of the Greyshirts was well underway by the second half of 1934 in parts of Natal and various meetings took place there. RK Rudman, organisational secretary of the Greyshirts in Natal, Weichardt and FJ du Toit gave continuous speeches to crowds numbering normally more than hundred people at places like Vryheid and Estcourt.<sup>443</sup> In their speeches the three men emphasised the political and class disunity being spread about in South Africa by the Jewish population. Rudman often claimed during the speeches that when the farmer needed money the Jewish financier would lend him money at high interest rates resulting in the farmer not being able to pay his Jewish financier back. These attacks by the SANP on the Jews in Natal are such baseless anti-Semitic attacks that it is almost laughable. When a particular farmer takes out a loan with a Jew or any one by that matter, whether the interest rate is 1% or 100%, the farmer is the one signing the dotted line and taking responsibility to pay it back. No Jew was holding a gun to the head of the rural farmers and forcing high rates on them. The result was that the Jewish financier could pick up the piece of land for next to nothing then.

The *Newcastle Advertiser* and *Northern Post* both reported the first successful Uniformed Greyshirt rally in Newcastle on November 1934 Weichardt, Du Toit and T. Stoffberg who was district leader of the party in Vryheid, were present at that rally.<sup>444</sup> The rally took place in the city hall and speeches were given in both English and Afrikaans. Stoffberg's main message was directed at the youth who he encouraged to support the party and the Uniformed Greyshirts which was incorporated into the party. He also went on to state that the media paints the picture of the SANP as movement hell bent on stoking on racial hate and violence.<sup>445</sup> The historian must be cautious to judge historical events or criticism in hindsight. However, by looking in hindsight, the media was correct in its condemnation of the SANP as stoking racial violence regarding its spread in Natal and other provinces. The SANP was by no means a liberal and tolerant movement, but one steeped in fascism and a violent racism. Stoffberg, however claimed that the real aim of the SANP was to ensure the successful unity

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<sup>443</sup> *Die Vaderland*, 27.07.1934.

<sup>444</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>445</sup> Hattingh, p. 99.

of the Afrikaans and English community and protect them from exploitation by “foreign elements”.<sup>446</sup>

Weichardt during his speech in Newcastle still criticised the coalition and finally the merging of the NP and SAP into the UP. He argued that the NP and SAP displayed hate between each other for over twenty years and all of a sudden everything was forgotten and working together became a priority.<sup>447</sup> The disdain for party politics by the SANP is evident among these comments and it is cloaked in ant-British sentiments, but in reality, it was the imported fascist disdain for party politics which led the SANP to hammer the coalition point. Weichardt continued his speech by stating that the Jew always made money out of the conflicts between the Afrikaner and Englishmen. He provided an example that when the Afrikaners and English were fighting over the gold the Jews ended up controlling most of it. He then said that the aim of the SANP was to stop the “parasitic” exploitation by the Jewish community in South Africa.<sup>448</sup>

The support of the Natal population toward the SANP however, was strong and financially the branch in Natal did well, receiving up to £70 per meeting, which was a decent amount of money back then (middle class estimates).<sup>449</sup> The Natal population was also supportive of Weichardt’s SANP, the more you move inland in the Natal such as Weenen, Vryheid and Newcastle. Weichardt and the SANP enjoyed support in Natal because the English-speaking population in the area was sympathetic to Weichardt, who went to school there and knew a lot of people and communities in the province. Weichardt thus had the communication networks to spread his message to influential people. The SANP ended its tour in Durban, and as Weichardt arrived along with his 20-person bodyguard when armed protesters were waiting for them.<sup>450</sup> Fortunately, nothing happened and Weichardt went long to give his speech in front of 150 people in Durban.

The SANP was best placed in the Natal Province, whereby most of their supports came from. Their reason for this is that historically German settlement was prominent in Natal and today’s Eastern Cape. The largest Jewish communities was also to be found in Natal. The opposition the SANP encountered in Natal province in places such as Newcastle was not as

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<sup>446</sup> ARCA, P.V. 136, *C.J.W. Adendorf-collection*, File No. 2/1/1/3, “Personal letters and correspondence”

<sup>447</sup> Hattingh, p. 100.

<sup>448</sup> ARCA, P.V.29, *L.T Weichardt-collection*, File No. 2. “Correspondence between various Greyshirt branches 1930s”.

<sup>449</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>450</sup> *Ibid.*

extensive in other provinces. The opposition centred on local towns halls such as in Newcastle, forbidding the SANP to hold public meetings<sup>451</sup>

#### *4.5.2 Activities and support in the Orange Free State and Cape Colony*

The SANP also made ground in the OFS, and meetings were held in the capital, Bloemfontein and towns such as Ladybrand, Reitz, and Kroonstad where PB Salzwedel was the SANP provincial leader. The meeting in Ladybrand on 13 September 1934 was held in front of the city hall because the board members of the city hall refused to lend the hall out to the SANP because of the latter's anti-Semitic views. There were 250 people present at the meeting in Ladybrand.<sup>452</sup> In Reitz on 6 November 1934, they were allowed to rent the town hall. However, protest by the Jewish community against accommodating movements based on anti-Semitism such as the SANP, made the town council to reverse the decision. The result was that the SANP had to use a side hall where 60 people arrived who were interested in the SANP.<sup>453</sup>

The hostile attitude received by the SANP as they expanded were also notable in Kroonstad at the end of 1934. In Kroonstad the local magistrate, implemented an old standing law of 1914, which has the power to disband public meetings and gatherings in town, if they are considered a danger to the welfare of the local community.<sup>454</sup> The magistrate activated this legislation when it was known that the Greyshirts were planning their first meeting there. The treatment received by the Greyshirts were the order of the day on other towns as well, it is then evident that the spread of the Greyshirts with their Nazism was a cause for concern for the local communities which were confronted by them.

Further tours throughout the Orange Free State Province by Weichardt and members of the SANP were conducted early in May 1935. The spread of the SANP into the Free State was not so successful. The SANP leadership in the Free State under Salzwedel and Wessels could not conduct propaganda openly and freely for fear that the public won't look favourable on them or harass them. Another reason was that the OFS during the 1930s and onwards was a stronghold for other more popular Afrikaner nationalistic movements such as the renewed NP and later the very popular OB. Weichardt and the SANP thus went into highly contested

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<sup>451</sup> Hattingh, pp. 101-102.

<sup>452</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>453</sup> *Die Vaderland*, 14.09.1934; 6.11.1934.

<sup>454</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 157; "collection of newspaper clippings regarding the event".

territory steeped in strong Afrikaner traditions which founded the ideology of fascism alien to them.

#### 4.5.3 Activities and support in the Transvaal (TVL)

During March 1935 and March 1936, Weichardt travelled through West-Transvaal and had a total of eleven meetings. The Party was on a healthy footing there because of strong Afrikaner nationalism and the hotbed for anti-Semitism in the Transvaal at the time.<sup>455</sup> There were multiple Greyshirt meetings that were crashed by the surrounding Jewish communities, just like meetings held at the other provinces by the SANP. A meeting in Pretoria in May 1935 was cancelled when 200 Jews and pro-communistic agitators were standing in front of the entrance of the town hall.<sup>456</sup> The situation was seen as extremely dangerous and Weichardt was taken out of harm's way, far away from the angry crowd. Erasmus, secretary of Weichardt, addressed the crowd when the 200 anti-Weichardt protestors started to push. The result was that blows were exchanged but the police quickly came and restored calm. Occasional fights between the pro-SANP crowd and the 200 Jews and communists started, with one person getting stabbed in the back and Weichardt's car was almost set alight.<sup>457</sup>

The Jews from the neighbouring community waited for Weichardt's car on the side of the road as it was about to pass. The police got there in time and chased the assailants down. When the SANP was in Heidelberg in August 1935 they once again had to call in the police for assistance. This happened when five cars packed with Jews, according to Weichardt Collection, pulled up ready to disband the meeting.<sup>458</sup> No evidence exists that all were Jews or mere pro-Jews protesters who may have been Afrikaners and/or the English, or opposition parties' supporters. Heidelberg, depressingly only had one constable on service and the Greyshirts had to pull their own weapons on the protesters.

Weichardt undertook another Transvaal tour to small towns in early 1936.<sup>459</sup> He was accompanied by his tour organisation secretary, Mrs. A. Marshall. The meetings were held at Potchefstroom, Nylstroom and Vereeniging were well attended and Weichardt was well received.<sup>460</sup> Weichardt reported in *Die Waarheid – The Truth* on the successful meetings he held in the afore-mentioned towns. There were anti-fascist protests in these towns which can

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<sup>455</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 120.

<sup>456</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>457</sup> Hattingh, p. 141.

<sup>458</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 2.

<sup>459</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>460</sup> Hattingh, p. 143; ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 2 "details about Weichardt tour".

be attributed to the political context of the Transvaal at the time. The Transvaal was a hotbed for radical movements and anti-Semitic rhetoric. In the biggest areas like the city of Pretoria there were heavy clashes between the SANP and armed anti-fascist organisations, like the Anti-Fascist Organisation of South Africa. They stood against movements like the Greyshirts and also used violent actions to further these agendas.<sup>461</sup> Weichardt described the above-mentioned clash in the following way when he stated that

500 fascists arrived from Johannesburg fully armed with batons, revolvers, knuckle-dusters etc. the Greyshirts stood their man although hopelessly in the minority. I, leading the battle, received a terrific blow between my legs with an iron, but only collapsed for a few seconds and feel now perfectly fit for the next meetings, willing to meet terror with terror.<sup>462</sup>

What can be taken from Weichardt's tours and his future endeavour in by-elections in small towns, is the fact that the support Weichardt enjoyed largely came from the rural small towns, and as soon as he tried something in a bigger city there were major pushbacks.

The LP used its annual congress in 1934 to also warn people about the dangers of parties like the Greyshirts who preach a dangerous political doctrine of National Socialism and totalitarianism and their violent anti-Semitism. Leader of the LP also raised the alarm to the knowledge that a lot of members of his party are also in the SANP. Lastly, the LP would attempt to pass legislation to block the spread and influence of the SANP. Mr. F Lopes (supporter of Weichardt) indicated in *Die Burger* and *Die Waarheid - The Truth* that Weichardt was successful in spreading and familiarising the ideology of National Socialism in South Africa. He further argued that the propaganda of the Greyshirts turns out to be quite effective over the long run and there is not a place in South Africa which has not experienced their propaganda yet.<sup>463</sup>

The news from government officials was making the round that legislation had to be put in place to decrease the rapid spread of anti-Semitism and Nazism. The Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Smuts government, JH Hofmeyr, also entertained the idea of this legislation and saw the Greyshirt as "a demonic growth of indifference and racial struggle".<sup>464</sup> He concluded that in a space of two and a half years of the existence of Weichardt's movements, anti-Semitic

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<sup>461</sup> *Die Waarheid - The Truth*, 29.05.1936.

<sup>462</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 3; "letter from Weichardt to F.J. du Toit"

<sup>463</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 157; "Copy of *Cape Argus*, 29.10.1934." *Die Burger*, 29.10.1934; *Die Waarheid - The Truth*, 30.11.1934.

<sup>464</sup> *Die Burger*, 29.10.1934; *Die Waarheid - The Truth*, 30.11.1934.

propaganda had become a pandemic and succeeded in inspiring similar movements to mushroom in South Africa.<sup>465</sup>

#### 4.6 The SANP congresses of 1934 and 1936

##### 4.6.1 First party congress of 1934

The first congress of the SANP was attended by 25 delegates and 15 interested individuals, and was held from the 18 to 20 December 1934 in Cape Town.<sup>466</sup> There were representatives from all four of the provinces of South Africa, and FJ Erasmus served as secretary of the congress. Weichardt gave a summary of the movement since the establishment of the SACNSM on 27 October 1933.<sup>467</sup> He did not hesitate to blame the media for the unfavourable image the media painted about the SACNSM and then the SANP. The Greyshirts was presented as a bunch of agitators while it just strove to unite all Christian white South Africans and stop the exploitation by foreign elements, argued Weichardt.

With regard to the role the Uniformed Greyshirts would play in the SANP, Weichardt had the following to say:

The South African National Party, on the one hand, seeks through its political platform to remove the 150 double-sided gramophone records in parliament. The Greyshirts on the other hand, are the body guard of the party, not every member of the party can be or is a Uniformed Greyshirt man, but every Uniformed Greyshirt man is a member of the Party.<sup>468</sup>

The leader of the Party (Weichardt) automatically became the leader of the Uniformed Greyshirts as well. This was formally declared on the congress, and otherwise previously it was accepted as self-evident. On proposal of I. Zuidmeer, member of the executive, Weichardt was confirmed as leader of the SANP and the Uniformed Greyshirts. It just shows the uselessness of the executive when it was presented as a democratic institution by some sympathetic to the Greyshirt cause. The reason is that the next party congress was only held in 1937, from 1935-1937 Weichardt was leader without any consultation with the executive or vote from them.<sup>469</sup>

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<sup>465</sup> *Die Burger*, 29.10.1934; *Die Waarheid – The Truth*, 30.11.1934.

<sup>466</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 118; “Congress notes”

<sup>467</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>468</sup> *Ibid.*, File No 121; “Weichardt SANP congress speech.”

<sup>469</sup> *Die Waarheid – The Truth*, 10.12.1934.

The first party congress also discussed the Inch case and what the repercussions of it was for the party. Von Moltke was fired from the party because of his role in the falsifying of the document after he was given a written warning not to do so even before the case started. After the case Weichardt travelled to Grahamstown and talked to Von Moltke under the arbitration of HH Beamish.<sup>470</sup> Weichardt gave Von Moltke the chance to return to the party as long as he keeps the headquarters in the know how with everything. Von Moltke turned Weichardt's proposal down. The reason for it was that Von Moltke could not forgive Weichardt from kicking him out of the party.

#### *4.6.2 Second party congress in 1937*

The second party congress of the SANP (Greyshirts) took place between 12 and 14 April 1937, in Pretoria. Weichardt, as an opening monologue to the congress, gave a summary of the growth of the party since its first congress back in 1934. Stoffberg leader of the SANP in Natal served as the chairman of the congress and head secretary of the SANP and Du Toit as secretary. In 1934, Weichardt addressed the congress in English, this time he did in Afrikaans. Both Afrikaans and English speakers were equally present in the congress. Weichardt argued that after 1933 the media went out of their way to put the SANP in a bad light. Regardless, the party still grew to make itself a pain for the Jewish communities and have a small but significant effect on local politics. Even persons who tried to dismantle the party from within such as Von Moltke who broke away and created his own movement did not succeed according to Weichardt.<sup>471</sup>

The Greyshirts were still according to Weichardt unwilling to have any compromise with any political party. However, in 1937 the SANP and NP did reach out to each other to discuss working together in the 1938 general election. The SANP's still strived for the overthrow of the democratic system of South Africa to make way for a one-party rule, which will serve to unite the Afrikaans-speaking Christians of South Africa. Weichardt warned the delegates of the danger of other shirt movements such as the Brownshirts and Blackshirts. According to Weichardt, movements such as the shirt movements that came after them and the S.A fascist of von Moltke all represented a 'roadblock' to the ultimate aims and goals of the SANP.<sup>472</sup>

With the general elections and by-elections coming up in 1938, the SANP announced that they will only be contesting elections that will be held in constituencies where they at least

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<sup>470</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No 121; "Weichardt SANP congress speech."

<sup>471</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>472</sup> Hattingh, p. 125.

had a chance such as in the Cape and Natal. The SANP also argued that when it comes down to influencing an election, the SANP would through in its lot of the NP candidate against the UP candidate.<sup>473</sup>

#### **4.7 The SANP's electioneering and participation in elections, 1934-1938**

##### *4.7.1 Participation of the SANP in the Port Elizabeth by-election*

During December 1935 it took part in their first parliamentary by-election of Port Elizabeth and nominated Weichardt as candidate.<sup>474</sup> Four parties contested the seats, namely, the UP, Dominion Party (DP), the SANP and the LP.<sup>475</sup> *Die Burger* predicted that the SANP would not do well at all and estimated that it would only get 200 – 300 of the 7800 votes.<sup>476</sup> In an election speech in Port Elizabeth, Weichardt said that he is running in the by-election of Port Elizabeth because of request from the local branch of the SANP. He thus ran his election by attacking the existing democratic institutions while advocating for a one-party rule. He also emphasised that the National Socialistic model was best suited to deal with South Africa's problems because it tackles the race issue as well as the Jewish question, two problems which are important in South Africa in his view.<sup>477</sup>

The problem for Weichardt was that an outsider in Port Elizabeth, he was the only candidate who was not a resident there. His ideology of National Socialism was also received as somewhat foreign by the majority in Port Elizabeth.<sup>478</sup> It were on the aforementioned background that *Die Burger* did not see it faring well in the by-elections there. It transpired that the UP and their candidate, H. Johnson won with 1889 of the votes, narrowly beating CA Retief from the LP who received 1799 votes. The DP with W. Stuart as their candidate received 1682 voted which placed them third. It turned out that the prediction of *Die Burger* about SANP's performance was not far off. The SANP only got slightly more votes (498) which *Die Burger* predicted the SANP would get (200-300). Non-the-less that SANP still had the poorest showing between all the parties.

A significant contribution to the defeat of the SANP can be attributed to their continual violent clashes and disruptions at town hall meetings during their election campaigning. The

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<sup>473</sup> Hattingh, p. 125.

<sup>474</sup> *Die Waarheid – The Truth*, 03.12.1935.

<sup>475</sup> Hattingh, p. 127.

<sup>476</sup> *Die Burger*, 09.01.1936

<sup>477</sup> Hattingh, p. 128.

<sup>478</sup> *Ibid.*

SANP dismal performance should not be taken at face value. If the SANP did not participate in the Port Elizabeth by-election of 1935 any of the other three parties could have won if they picked up the votes of the SANP. The SANP thus adopted the strategical idea that they will participate in other by-elections as well in an effort to stop the ruling party from winning.<sup>479</sup> On 7 February 1936 the SANP official mouthpiece, *The Waarheid – The Truth* justified Weichardt and SANP choice of Port Elizabeth by stating.

Mr. Weichardt selected Port Elizabeth North as the scene of the first attempt of our Party to obtain parliamentary representation, precisely because it was virgin soil, in order to show what we could do under the most unfavourable conditions, and from this aspect the result certainly justifies the effort.<sup>480</sup>

#### 4.7.2 SANP participation in the by-election of Piketberg

At the beginning of 1938 Weichardt stepped in as candidate of the SANP for the parliamentary by-election of Piketberg. Piketberg is a small town in the Cape Province in today's Western Cape. During a political meeting in Piketberg just before the coming by-election, he argued that he was not just simply fighting against the nationalist or the UP or against Malan and Hertzog, but against the existing form of state.<sup>481</sup> He also declared that he believes in the rule of the whites over non-whites and that his party is in full support of segregation policies.<sup>482</sup> As expected, he made numerous comments about the Jews. When he attended an event of the Sons of England where he gave a speech, Weichardt stated that the Jewish Board of Deputies are a state within a state and that it cannot go on like that any longer. He then said that the Board does not stand for the rights of the Jews in South Africa but for all the Jews around the world.<sup>483</sup>

Weichardt further stated that the *Swaziland Settlement Corporation* was only created to settle Jews in Swaziland who were rejected from entering the Union, and that it was all financed by the Jewish Board of Deputies. Weichardt also warned that more than 178 000 Jews has fled Germany to England since 1930 and they will have nothing stopping them from coming to South Africa after they get their British citizenship. *Die Burger* was critical against the SANP by saying Weichardt's candidacy stands against Afrikanerdom and the NP. It is no wonder *Die Burger* came down hard on SANP, because the editor of *Die Burger* was Malan, who's NP is

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<sup>479</sup> *Die Waarheid – The Truth*, 07.02.1936.

<sup>480</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>481</sup> *Die Burger*, 13.01.1938.

<sup>482</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.03.1938.

<sup>483</sup> *Ibid.*

participating in the election.<sup>484</sup> *Die Burger* was pro-nationalist even before Malan became its editor. While Malan was editor and afterwards it mostly served as a pro-NP newspaper.

Weichardt's by-election strategy in Piketberg and the surrounding communities like Porterville was to warn the respective Christian communities against the Jewish communities, by stating that the Jewish community are hostile toward the Christian faith. The first part of the strategy was thus simply anti-Semitic propaganda. The second part involved Weichardt attacking the NP and its candidates' stance on the Jews, because anti-Semitism was also rife in the NP.<sup>485</sup>

The results of the Piketberg by-election concluded with the NP winning by an absolute landslide with 3357 votes, and the participation of the SANP had no profound impact on any part of the election. The SANP once again had the poorest results with 452 votes. Their performance at Piketberg with that of PE and the SANP could not go beyond 500 votes. However, it does show that groups of people in a lot of towns are sympathetic towards the ideology of the SANP.

#### *4.7.3 SANP participation in the 1938 general election*

The SANP did not fare much better in the general election of 1938 as well. The SANP only got a total of 2775 votes out of a total of 821 808 votes that were cast.<sup>486</sup> The votes were split between 1407 votes in the Cape Province and 1368 votes in Natal Province. The Greyshirts thus won no seat in the general election. The following are the election results for the Greyshirts in the 1938 election at Vryheid, Weenen and the Cape Plains.

The SANP's general election result in Vryheid was consistent with their previous two by-elections at Port Elizabeth and Piketberg, meaning that the SANP could still not muster more than 500 votes. The SANP and their candidate, Stoffberg came last with 418 votes. Mr. D. du Toit of the NP came in second with 1324 votes. The UP was by far the party which received the most support with 2658 votes going to their candidate, EG Jansen. In Weenen there was only two contesting parties, H. Abrahams from the UP and GLS Cherry representing the SANP. The SANP fared better (votes wise) in Weenen, crossing the 500 threshold and receiving 950 votes. However, the SANP was still soundly beaten by the UP which received 2949 votes. Four parties participated in the election in

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<sup>484</sup> Koorts, pp. 120-132; *Die Burger*, 13.01.1938.

<sup>485</sup> *Die Waarheid- The Truth*, 28.01.1938.

<sup>486</sup> *Die Burger*, 04.02.1938.

Cape Plains. The contestants were JW Emmerich from the LP, RJ du Toit from the UP, HE Sedgewick from the DP and WR Laubscher representing the SANP. The SANP performed better as regards to previous elections and gained the second most votes with 1407, still fairly behind the UP who received 3289 votes. The LP came in third with 905 votes and the DP had the poorest showing with 637.<sup>487</sup>

The elections of Vryheid, Weenen and the Cape Plains saw the SANP thoroughly beaten by their hated opposition, the UP. The SANP was so soundly beaten, that not even their original strategy of participating in an election in order to sway voters which will then influence the election worked. For instance, the election in the Cape Plains, even if the SANP got all the votes of the other two parties (LP and the DP) it would still not have enough votes to win the seat. The same can be said about the election results in Weenen and Vryheid.<sup>488</sup>

The elections which the SANP participated in from 1935-1938 was in the Natal or the Cape Province which were historically prominent in English and German especially in Natal. It made sense that Du Toit (later, Chief of Staff to Weichardt) regarded the SANP as 50/50 English and Afrikaans.<sup>489</sup> However, his words ring hollow, the heightened anti-British rhetoric proclaimed by the SANP can hardly have won them favours among the English communities, and the election results showcase this. Observing the composition of the SANP/Greyshirts 56 branches nationwide. Only 14 branches out of the 56 were English.<sup>490</sup>

#### **4.8 Attempted cooperation between the SANP and the NP**

The NP and the SANP were polar opposites when it come to their respectable ideological assumptions, Weichardt wanted to install a fascist dictatorship and believed in hothead hyperbole and stood against the notions of democracy. Whereas Malan did not.<sup>491</sup> Malan saw National Socialism and Fascism as suitable systems for the betterment of Germany and Italy's problems but as not workable for South Africans. Malan, cherished the idea of democracy and rule of law as brought in by the French Huguenots centuries earlier and enshrined into the psyche of the Afrikaner (even though Malan's concept of democracy is white minority rule).<sup>492</sup>

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<sup>487</sup> Hattingh, pp. 88-100.

<sup>488</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>489</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>490</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 157; "newspaper clippings from *Die Burger*".

<sup>491</sup> Scher, p. 60.

<sup>492</sup> Koorts, pp. 355-256.

Malan argued that the ideology of totalitarianism clashes with the Afrikaner traditions of freedom, republicanism, and love for democracy are in direct contrast to the ideology of the SANP.<sup>493</sup>

It was however with the Jewish question that some in NP leadership positions such as Verwoerd and Strydom<sup>494</sup> were on the same page as the SANP.<sup>495</sup> Although the NP did not emphasise anti-Semitism as their central ideology like the SANP, it still believed that the Jews in South Africa were a big contribution to the problems of the Afrikaner as much as Malan believed that the exploitation of the Afrikaner was committed by the British Empire under the leadership of Jews. It is also important to note that in 1937, the NP in the Transvaal barred Jews from becoming members of the NP in the Transvaal. The secretary of the NP in Transvaal, J. de Klerk thanked Weichardt “for drawing attention of the people to the Jewish problem, which has indeed assumed very threatening dimensions”.<sup>496</sup> In addition the NP also withheld NP membership from Jews in Natal and Orange Free State. The Executive Council of the NP in Cape Town, the powerhouse of the NP at the time, never entertained the idea of a formal election agreements with SANP.

The first indication that there may be informal support and cooperation between the NP and SANP came when Malan announced to the *Volksraad* on 8 January 1937 that “something seriously be proposed to tackle the Jewish immigration influx”.<sup>497</sup> With this statement, Malan opened a door of cooperation with Weichardt and his SANP. As a result of Malan’s views on the Jewish immigration question, the SANP threw in its informal support for the NP and its Jewish stance. This softened up of the relationship between the Greyshirts and the NP. This became clear when Verwoerd (NP member and future Prime Minister of apartheid South Africa) made a statement in the *Transvaler*, a newspaper he was an editor of, that “there are close ties between the worldview of the Greyshirts and nationalists regarding the Jewish question”.<sup>498</sup> A further indication that there may be cooperation between the NP and SANP came when Weichardt announced in the second party congress of 1937 that he wished to have

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<sup>493</sup> Marx, p. 322.

<sup>494</sup> Other prominent NP members who held anti-Semitic views was J.F.J. van Rensburg who was a prominent member of the NP before becoming leader of the Afrikaner nationalistic and pro-Nazi OB movement. Oswald Pirow was also a prominent NP member and leader and founded the pro-Nazi movement the NO. The same is the case with B.J. Vorster (future prime minister of apartheid South Africa) was in the para-military wing of the pro-Nazi OB. However Vorster said that he was not pro-Nazi but anti-British. See Pike, pp. 210-220.

<sup>495</sup> Hattingh, p. 132.

<sup>496</sup> *Ibid*; G.M. Carter, *The politics of inequality: South Africa since 1948*, p. 437.

<sup>497</sup> Hattingh, p. 125.

<sup>498</sup> H.K. Kenney, *Verwoerd: architect of apartheid*, p. 98.

tighter cooperation with the NP in certain aspects of the 1938 general election. This led to the trading of correspondence between the organising secretary of the SANP, Laubscher and the organising secretary of the NP in the Cape, FC Erasmus.<sup>499</sup> However, Laubscher was not aware that Malan drafted all the letters and Erasmus just typed and signed it himself.<sup>500</sup> The exchange of letters between the two indicates that potential talks were considered and even made a priority by the NP. The main thorn in the side of the NP however remained the other ideological differences with the SANP, especially the fascistic and militaristic nature of the SANP as well as the fact that the SANP proclaim to no compromise with any party.<sup>501</sup>

The potential talks never happened because when the NP saw the programme of principles of the SANP and its aims, the NP were convinced that the SANP cannot be distinguished from the Nazis in Germany. The NP claimed that Weichardt's Greyshirt movements held historical ties with the Nazis, even being created in the same year (1933). The NP who stood as an Afrikaner nationalistic movement first and foremost thus could not be connected to a movement which got its inspiration from the outside.<sup>502</sup> The SANP on the other hand was not willing to let go of its stance on no compromise with any political party, but it didn't see it as a hurdle between them and the NP's relationship. Weichardt still saw it as more important for the SANP and the NP to put away their differences and work together to defeat the UP. Weichardt's political ambitions was clear, his party was on the fringes and he saw the NP as an easy ride to power. It is for this reason that cooperation of the two was all left up to the NP. Erasmus informed Laubscher that the NP cannot negotiate in formal talks with the SANP because the SANP stands against the democratic institutions the NP wish to uphold and promote in South Africa.<sup>503</sup>

The correspondence between the NP and SANP ended when Laubscher wrote a letter to Erasmus blaming the NP for missing the chance of working together to defeat a common enemy.<sup>504</sup> He went on to write that cooperation between the two does not mean to change one's ideological stance. Weichardt took on Malan when the NP held a meeting in Piketberg in 1938. Weichardt said the NP first promised to cooperate and then suddenly withdrew the idea but

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<sup>499</sup> Hattingh, p. 133: ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 3; "Letter from Erasmus to Laubscher, 01.09.1937".

<sup>500</sup> ARCA, P.V. 27, *M.P.A. Malan-collection*, File No. 2/12/1/1/1; "Letters in Malan's handwriting which Erasmus typed over and signed himself".

<sup>501</sup> *Die Waarheid- The Truth*, 5.11.1937.

<sup>502</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No 3; Letter from Erasmus to Laubscher, 28.09.1937".

<sup>503</sup> ARCA, P.V. 27, *M.P.A. Malan-collection*, File No. 2/12/1/1/1; "Letter from Erasmus to Laubscher, 25.10.1937".

<sup>504</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 3; "Letters from Laubscher to Erasmus, 15.10.1937, 25.10.1937".

Malan replied that the NP cannot make peace with the fascistic and National Socialistic ideology of the Greyshirts.<sup>505</sup> Although Malan was responsible for introducing the *1930 Quota Act* which restricted Jewish immigration to South Africa, Weichardt said that it was not enough to curb the Jewish influx. The reason Weichardt stated that the Jewish *1930 Quota Act* was not enough is because it did not make provision for the Jews escaping Nazi Germany and Austria.<sup>506</sup>

Weichardt also made it known that he was not pleased about the fact that Jews could become members of the NP in the Cape. He was angry because in the Transvaal, Jewish were forbidden to join the NP and also stated that many smaller branches of the NP also rejected Jews from being members. He mentioned that he cooperated well with the NP on small local levels but found it got impossible on the national stage.<sup>507</sup> The reason for Malan's soft stance on the Jews in the Cape compared to their stance elsewhere, was due to the fact that *Die Burger* was dependant on the money coming in from Jewish advertisements in the paper.<sup>508</sup> The NP had thus to be careful not to distance their Jewish customers and population while keeping the anti-Semitic rhetoric of the other branches alive, this is what irritated Weichardt.

#### 4.9 Conclusion

The final merge of the NP and the SAP into the UP in 1934 created a vacuum in the Afrikaner political context of South Africa. Coupled with the ever-increasing popularity of Hitlerism abroad and in South Africa, all contributed to Weichardt creating a political party, which will fill this gap, with a hybrid Afrikaner nationalist and pro-Nazi party. The SACNSM and the Uniformed Greyshirts were all incorporated into the SANP with Weichardt still as its undisputed leader. The aims and ideology of the SANP is more or less exactly the same as it was under the SACNSM. The SANP thus believed in a totalitarian government, fervently racist who called for the segregation, exploitation and deportation of the black, Indian, coloured, Jewish and Asiatic populations in South Africa. However, there were some distinct differences. For instance, the SANP put the republican ideal and separating ties with Britain as one of its main pillars and a deportation plan regarding the Indian population.

The SANP represented by Weichardt after its inception in 1934 fanned out across South Africa to organise the spread of his party in the four provinces. At the end of the party in 1938

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<sup>505</sup> *Die Burger*, 26.01.1938; Hattingh, p. 135.

<sup>506</sup> Koorts, p. 310.

<sup>507</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 118; "Personal reflections"; Scher, p. 60.

<sup>508</sup> Hattingh, p. 135.

the SANP had 56 branches across South Africa with the most being in Natal and Transvaal, with all the SANP's leadership most likely being in the range of 5000-10000 members. The SANP had the held the political sway in Natal and the Transvaal because in these two provinces there was a considerable presence of radical, totalitarian and fascist movements. However, being more at home between other fascists groups will not ensure success in the by and general elections the SANP participated in. In the by-elections of Port Elizabeth and Piketberg the SANP could not muster more than 500 votes and came in last in both by-elections. The SANP did not fare much better in the general election of 1938 in Vryheid, Weenen and the Cape Plains. In Vryheid the SANP could once again not cross the 500 threshold and came in last. In Weenen and the Cape Plains the SANP doubled and tripled the votes they were normally getting but still could not overturn the contested seat in these two areas.

The overall lack of any real massive support for the SANP and Greyshirts as a whole can be attributed firstly to the foreign nature of their National Socialistic and fascistic ideology. This is observable if one observes the attempted cooperation between the SANP and leading Afrikaner nationalistic party, the NP. The negotiations for cooperation broke down because the NP could not come to an understanding with the NP who represented totalitarianism and no compromise in party politics. Secondly, the continued violent clashes with members of the Jewish public and general provocation. Thirdly, the disastrous cases and lawsuits against Von Moltke and Inch, all prominent members of the Greyshirts seriously damaged their already fragile reputation.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SANP INTO THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL SOCIALIST UNION (SANSU) 1939-1947**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

As a 'political party' the SANP enjoyed little success and was transformed back into an imagined 'non-political' movement called the SANSU in 1939.<sup>509</sup> This chapter, following the logic of the preceding chapter, will thus focus on and discuss the reasons why the transformation of the SANP took place between the end of 1938 and beginning of 1939 and what the results were.

The chapter will also deal with the envisaged aims and ideology of the SANSU and emphasise where necessary the differences from Weichardt's preceding movements, the SACNSM and the SANP. The same formula will be used when discussing the organisational structure. Special emphasis will be given to the supposed reorganisation of South Africa along vocational ends which the SANSU had envisioned. This will be followed by an investigation into the relationship Weichardt and his movements had with Nazis in Germany and South West Africa (Namibia) especially during WWII. The internment of Weichardt in the early 1940s would also be discussed and how it affected the transformed Greyshirts. The SANSU's stance against South Africa's participation in WWII would also be looked at to indicate how far their republican ideal and pro-Nazism went. Lastly, what the SANSU did in the two years after WWII will be looked at.

#### **5.2 The second transformation of the Greyshirts/SANP and the underlying factors that caused it**

After the conclusion of the 1938 general elections where the SANP's performance was far below expectations, a secret meeting was held at its headquarters at 166 Longmarket Street, Cape Town.<sup>510</sup> Weichardt was not invited or made aware of it. The meeting was called by Laubscher who served as the organisational secretary of the SANP. He was joined by 38 other Greyshirt members on 21 May 1938. The men gathered at the meeting had one grievance in common, that they were there to voice their dissatisfaction with Weichardt's leadership and the lack of success by the SANP since its establishment. The meeting was chaired by Louis van

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<sup>509</sup> The South African National Socialists Union (SANSU) were also formally known as the S.A. Greyshirts or simply just the Union. In the subsequent chapter, the researcher will use the abbreviation SANSU.

<sup>510</sup> Hattingh, p. 149.

der Merwe, member of the Greyshirts' EC.<sup>511</sup> The fact that the meeting was held in secret and without the presence of its leader indicate the levels of mistrust within the ranks of SANP. The various grievances were levelled by disgruntled men against Weichardt.

First, they argued that Weichardt was despotic and impulsive. This critique stemmed from the alleged overbearing need to micro-manage every aspect in the movement, that is, the need to know everyone's movements, doings and thoughts. A case in point was the one whereby Weichardt 'unjustly' sacked one of Greyshirt leaders, Zuidmeer on 17 February 1936.<sup>512</sup> They argued that Zuidmeer was continually harassed by Weichardt through his spies who reported to him everything Zuidmeer said and did. Zuidmeer at the beginning of 1936 let a criticism of Weichardt slip regarding Weichardt's lack of leadership and organisational qualities. This resulted in Weichardt kicking them out of the SANP.<sup>513</sup> To the men that gathered at the meeting, the whole saga portrayed Weichardt's despotic behaviour of dismissing a member without reporting the matter to other high-ranking members of the SANP. Although they may be justified in their claims, it is ironic that members of a movement which advocates authoritarianism and fascism would expect to be consulted by its leader about every matter. Nevertheless, dismissing a member from the party is arguably a serious decision that need top leaders to join heads and hearts.

Second, Weichardt was accused of being liable for the poor financial status of the SANP. Their argument was that he failed to recruit more members which would have increased fee subscriptions and donations.<sup>514</sup> The poor financial status of the SANP cannot just be attributed to Weichardt's poor leadership, but the poor financial showing of the SANP also resulted from the continuous lawsuits against Greyshirt members, financial support given to families of the accused, high operating costs of the movement (buying of uniforms, frequent clashes resulting in damage amongst other petty cash costs). Additionally, the fervently anti-capitalists' stance of the SANP scared away most potential donations from the business class, who understandably saw it as counterproductive.<sup>515</sup>

Third, Weichardt was accused of giving false reports and not being realistic enough regarding certain political realities of the SANP and of being over opportunistic. This criticism

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<sup>511</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt – collection*, File No. 120. "Letters of Weichardt".

<sup>512</sup> *Ibid.*, See also File No. 121; "Criticism of Weichardt".

<sup>513</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>514</sup> Hattingh, p. 150.

<sup>515</sup> As was discussed in the previous chapter, the SANP had to pay a lot of money during the court cases as well as aid to members impacted which shot upwards towards £10 000 which Weichardt then had to pay for aid costs and costs of the cases. ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt – collection*, File No. 161. "Weichardt personal documents"

stemmed from the fact that in most of his meetings and correspondence with members, he boasted about the “stronghold” the Greyshirts held in the Natal province.<sup>516</sup> He was overzealous about the support of the Greyshirts in Natal and this was interpreted to imply that the Greyshirt movement was the most popular in Natal. This thus gave a false sense of security, success and overconfidence regarding the SANP’s support in the Natal, and probably in other provinces such as the Cape Colony. Hence the shock and disgruntlement over its poor election results. Equally and stemming from aforementioned point, it can be added that Weichardt and the SANP fell victim to their own propaganda.

Last, but also in addition to the above accusation, Hattingh added that Weichardt ignored advices. For instance, he was also advised by the then organisational secretary of the SANP, Izak Le Grange, to wait five years before contesting any elections because that was the time needed to effectively build up the organisational mantle of the SANP.<sup>517</sup> Nonetheless, Weichardt opted for the participation in elections even though they were awfully underprepared for election campaigns, as was articulately shown in the previous chapter.

As expected, the next day Weichardt found out about the secret meeting. Four days later on 25 May 1938 he expressed his views about a secret meeting and the grievances levelled against him in a meeting at the SANP headquarters in Cape Town. He displayed indignation towards the fact that a meeting of such importance was held behind his back. He also stated that he would not ignore these grievances and that he will address them and put forth his plan regarding the future of the SANP during a conference planned three months later from 19 to 20 August 1938.<sup>518</sup> Subsequently, on the 19-20 of August 1938 the SANP held a conference in Pretoria where Weichardt addressed these grievances.<sup>519</sup> The authoritarian nature of Weichardt made itself evident during the conference. He did not take full responsibility for of the problems experienced by the SANP and attacks against him. With regard to a poor performance of the SANP in the general elections, he protested that it cannot be placed on his shoulders but on external factors such as the Jews who wished to destroy him and the Union Government which according to him blocked any growth with “nefarious legal actions and intimidation”.<sup>520</sup> This shifting of blame by Weichardt does not hold up. If the Jews and the Union Government did in

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<sup>516</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt – collection*, File No. 12; “meeting minutes”

<sup>517</sup> Hattingh, p. 150.

<sup>518</sup> Scher, p. 62

<sup>519</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt – collection*, File No. 122. “Newspaper clippings, documents related to the conflict”.

<sup>520</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 117.

fact use their respective powers to undermine the growth of fascism in South Africa, then it must be asked why the pro-Nazi OB was able to grow to 400 000 members at their peak in 1942.<sup>521</sup>

The secret meeting held on 21 May 1938 was obviously still fresh in Weichardt's mind. He used the platform at the conference to once again show who was in charge and went on to expel Laubscher<sup>522</sup> and Van der Merwe from the SANP. He also announced that he will use his opportunity at the third scheduled SANP congress (24-25 March 1939) to announce the transformation of the SANP into a non-political one, which received the unanimous support of those present.<sup>523</sup> This was an eventual admission of failure. The sudden agreement to reconfigure the SANP into a non-political movement gives the hint that Weichardt as well as other members of the SANP and Greyshirts in general wanted to get rid of the SANP as a political entity. However, in the broader framework the impending transformation from the SANP gives the indication that Weichardt acceded to the pressure coming from within his party.

After the conference, Weichardt ordered his secretary, Fourie Brand, to draw up a circular which included the most important talking points and aspects of the conference, and requested that it be sent to each member of the SANP.<sup>524</sup> On 14 October 1938, Weichardt personally wrote another letter that was sent out to all members. In the letter he once again emphasised the fact that the SANP as a political force was simply a spent force, it had no hope directly challenging elections and being a big ball player in the political context of South Africa. He also urgently requested that all members let headquarters know before 1 November 1938 if they still want the Greyshirts to continue as is or to reconfigure it again.<sup>525</sup>

Thus, when the third and final SANP congress commenced on 24 March until the 25 March 1939, it was unanimously decided to get rid of the cadaver that was the SANP and transform it back into a non-parliamentary entity. The SANSU was thus formed at the very conference as a replacement of SANP. However, non-parliamentary entity in the case of the

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<sup>521</sup> Quite a substantial number, if you take into reckoning that the enfranchised groups in South Africa at the time constituted mostly white male and later women. The white population only accounted for a minority of the population. 400 000 out of an electorate of a very small minority is a substantial number and shows the OB's widespread influence and reach. See Van der Schyff (ed.), pp. 330-373. See also: C. Marx, "The Ossewabrandwag as a mass movement, 1939-1941", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 20, 2, 1994, pp. 195-197.

<sup>522</sup> Laubscher did not wait on him and he was already planning to leave the party by himself. Hattingh, p. 151.

<sup>523</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt – collection*, File No. 122. "Letters between Greyshirt members".

<sup>524</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>525</sup> *Ibid.*

newly formed SANSU only means that Weichardt and the SANSU stopped participating in parliamentary politics which included participating in elections. The SANSU was still essentially a political entity, meaning that they cooperated with other political movements such as the NP to further certain political aims such as extra quotas on Jewish immigration which would decrease the influx of Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi Germany and Austria, which the NP agreed they would implement. Additionally, the newly formed SANSU adopted the leadership of the SANP, meaning that members who was in a certain leadership position within the SANP would hold on to that position in the transformation to the SANSU.

### **5.3 The ideologies and aims of the South African National Socialist Union (SANSU)**

The ideologies of the SANSU are more or less exactly the same as that of the SANP. It still believed in anti-Semitism, totalitarianism, anti-capitalist and pro-welfare state with big government regulation. However, there are a few new highlights which will be emphasised and their meaning analysed. The only real difference is that the SANSU would stop participating in parliamentary politics like contesting elections or by-elections. However, in theory and in practice the SANSU would still have political inclination because of their political aims of cooperating with other political parties and their political ideology of republicanism. It also got involved in political debates. It stood against the war effort of South Africa during WWII and its aim was to sabotage the war effort of South Africa in any possible means.<sup>526</sup> It proclaimed that it will give its full support to the Malan's NP. Further, it encouraged cooperation with other cultural organisations which are similar in their aims, for example, the OB. The main change of the SANSU ideology with relation to that of the SACNSM and the SANP was thus evident, more cooperation with like-minded groups, something the SACNSM and SANP was averse to in the past. This change in stance by the SANSU can be attributed to South Africa's participation in WWII whereby the republican ideal came to the forefront and a variety of Afrikaner nationalistic groups whether pro-Nazi or not had a common enemy (Britain) in sights.

It would also be worth it to present the plan the SANSU had with the reorganisation of the whole structure and functionality of South Africa. The SANSU promoted the notion that South Africa should be divided up into a total of 50 wards. Inside each ward the citizens would be organised into 15 groups based on occupation as suggested in **Appendix J**.<sup>527</sup> In every one

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<sup>526</sup>ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt – collection*, File No. 121 & 162; “Newspaper clippings on the Greyshirts”; *Die Burger*, 15.06.1939; *Cape Argus*, 16.06.1939. See also Hattingh, pp. 161-164.

<sup>527</sup> These 15 occupation groups were as follows: (1) all farmers which were active food producers or corporations and firms which import and export foods; (2) all small businesses, which are in the fields of exports and imports,

of the 50 wards one local farmer would have been chosen to serve as the head-farmer of the specific ward, thus there were 50 head-farmers (one from each ward) from all across the country. These 50 head farmers would form a Great Council and came together at a central place, more often than not in the OFS because of its geographical favourable position (right in the centre of south Africa). The Great Council got the name the *Great Council of Farmers in South Africa*.<sup>528</sup>

The Great Council would then proceed to nominate 5 members which they saw as the ablest, these five members from the great council would then form the *Upper Council of Farmers*. The five members of the *Upper Council of Farmers* was then to be presented to the national leader, Weichardt, who proceeded to choose one who would serve as his ‘agricultural minister’. This same process would be repeated with all the other 14 occupation groups as identified by the SANSU Greyshirts in **Appendix K**.<sup>529</sup> The reorganisation of South Africa by the SANSU can be defined as state corporatism. State corporatism is closely linked to fascism whereby members of a specific economic sector are enticed to join a designated interest group. These interest groups in turn attains public status and participate in national policy making under the state. Fascist Italy under the dictatorship of Mussolini practised state corporatism so too did Austria under the leadership of the authoritarian and anti-Semitic Fatherland Front (1934-1938). Fascist Portugal under Salazar was also characterised as a corporate state.<sup>530</sup>

It is significant to note what Weichardt and his movement had in mind regarding the radical organisational reconfiguration of society both socially and economically. Underneath these radical plans lay the authoritarian nature of the movement. If the SANSU had come into power in South Africa under the leadership of Weichardt, it would have implemented a totalitarian state that oversaw every sphere of its citizen’s lives. This is evidenced by the

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the health sector which includes doctors, pharmacists, medicine etc. Hotels, liquor stores and real estate; (3) all oral teachers, lectures, professors, teachers, arts and culture, psychologists; (4) road, air and rail services; (5) all businesses which are not yet mentioned in points 1-4; (6) the justice service, includes lawyers, judges, etc.; (7) primary sector with emphasis on raw materials such as mining materials; (8) defence, includes army, navy, air force, police secret services; (9) non-government organisations; (10) segregation officials, wards appoint these people to oversee the enforcement of strict segregation laws; (11) religious and spiritual vocations, includes theology students, priest, brothers, nuns, the wider religious administration, etc.; (12) banks, Insurance agencies and state bonds; (13) every ward needs to appoint certain individuals or publication to serve as the official distributor of news throughout the ward; (14) these occupation group includes foreign workers or businessmen which has no fix setting in a ward; (15) all scientific research vocations. See; ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt – collection*, File No. 136. “Detailed presentation of corporate state”.

<sup>528</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>529</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>530</sup> H. Wohnout, “A chancellorian dictatorship with a “corporative” pretext: the Austrian constitution between 1934-1938” in G. Bischof et al (eds.), *The Dollfuss/Schuschnigg era in Austria: a reassessment*, pp. 143-160.

reorganisation plans the SANSU had in store for South Africa. The organisational scheme the SANSU had planned for South Africa has a variety of cons. Firstly with any strict organisation of a society based on designated interest groups are bound to be wasteful in resources or at least the resources of South Africa would be underdeveloped. This is because in a strict organisational scheme as presented above, there are no place for individual freedom, entrepreneurship and motivation. Secondly a corporate state will be unable to adapt to challenges such as globalisation which transcends national boundaries.<sup>531</sup>

#### 5.4 The organisational structure of the SANSU

##### 5.4.1 Different forms of groups inside the SANSU

The SANSU distinguished between five types of groups inside the movement, namely, the so-called *Uniformed*, *Active*, *Private*, *Secret* and *Junior* groups. Firstly, the *Uniformed group* consisted of men only, who were willing to be subjected to a strict set of disciplinary codes. They were required to wear a uniform, similar to that of the Greyshirts explained in chapter 3, and serve as “shock troops” and security during SANSU public gatherings and meetings.<sup>532</sup> Secondly, the *Active group* consisted of men and women who wanted to be actively involved but would not or could not wear a uniform.<sup>533</sup> The reason why some individuals would just be active members and not wear a uniform can vary from person to person. It can be personal (not everyone is fond of wearing a uniform) and also professional (certain state institutions like the civil service during the late 1930s and during WWII forbade their employees from joining pro-Nazi movements such as the OB and the SANSU. Individuals who served in this group engaged in activities which involved speaking at gatherings, fund-raisers and the spread of propaganda literature or some who worked at the administration level of the SANSU.<sup>534</sup>

Thirdly, the *Private group* consisted of men and women who wanted to be active members but not publicly, for fear of intimidation. They would thus work behind the scenes where people of the general public would not easily see them as members of the SANSU. Fourthly, there was a *Secret group* which was made up of men and women who were not known to other members in general or the wider public. The difference between the Private and Secret groups within the SANSU was with the level of secrecy. With regards to Private groups they

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<sup>531</sup> A.C. Pinto (ed.), *Corporatism and fascism: the corporatists wave in Europe*, pp. 78-100.

<sup>532</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt – collection*, File No. 133. “Distributed pamphlets discussing organisation”.

<sup>533</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 118; Organisational structure, aims and ideology”; Hattingh, p. 159.

<sup>534</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt – collection*, File No. 133. “Distributed pamphlets discussing organisation”.

were still recognisable by other members and their activities were known to other members of the movement. People in the Secret groups are not even known to other members of the same group and movement, and their tasks would be more sensitive than those of the Private groups. Individuals in the Secret groups served nefarious ends, operating as stool pigeons and spies inside the Greyshirts. The case of Weichardt spying on Zuidmeer is an example where informants overheard comments made by Zuidmeer against Weichardt and conveyed it to him. Lastly, there existed *Junior group* which consisted of young members under the age of 18, which would serve as the youth wing of the SANSU.<sup>535</sup> The nature of these groups within the S.A. Greyshirts displayed the illegality and secretive nature of the Greyshirt movement.

#### 5.4.2 *The structure and hierarchy*

The organisational structure of the SANSU had not changed significantly from that of the SANP, the framework stayed the same but the finer details changed. The new structure of the Greyshirts consisted of seven components known as *Groups, Wards, Districts, Circles, Sections, Region* and *Supreme Council*. *Groups* consisted of eight members with a group leader at its head. The group leader was appointed by either a ward leader or a district leader.<sup>536</sup> *Wards* was a combination of eight groups with the ward leader as the authority figure. The ward leader was appointed by the district leader. The eight wards under the leadership of a district leader were what constituted *Districts*. Its leader was appointed by a *Circle* leader. *Circles* were headed by leaders who were recommended by a section leader to the headquarters of the SANSU where it was screened by Weichardt himself.<sup>537</sup> A leader commanded eight districts under him. *Sections* consisted of eight circles with a section leader at its head. A section leader was recommended by a region leader to headquarters where the decision was once more made by Weichardt. *Region* was led by a regional leader who commanded eight sections. He was also appointed directly from headquarters. The *Supreme Council* – consisted of Weichardt, the vice-leader (Stoffberg) and two regional leaders of each province, and it thus consisted of ten members.<sup>538</sup>

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<sup>535</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt – collection*, File No. 133. “Distributed pamphlets discussing organisation”.

<sup>536</sup> *Ibid.*, File No. 132; “Organisational structures of Greyshirts”.

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid.*; Hatting, p. 170.

<sup>538</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 122. Newspaper clippings, documents such as booklet of programme and principles.

## 5.5 Weichardt's and other pro-Nazi's relations with the Nazis 1930s-1940s

### 5.5.1 Background to Afrikaners dealings with the Nazis before and during WWII

Famously or rather infamously, certain Afrikaner groups had a rather strong connection to Nazi Germany. One can just glance over some of the prominent Afrikaner historical figures of the 1930s and 1940s and somewhere find a glimpse of German ties and/or pro-Nazism. For instance, take the leader of the OB, Van Rensburg; he obtained his MA in German at Stellenbosch University in 1924; and travelled on multiple occasions between 1933 and 1937 to Germany. Van Rensburg, as he himself stated throughout his career, was heavily influenced by the upsurge of enthusiasm and nationalism produced by the Nazis when he travelled to Germany as Secretary of Justice under Smuts in 1933.<sup>539</sup> When WWII broke out Van Rensburg still kept in contact with Nazis in Germany through his contacts namely; Lothar Sittig, Hans Masser, Emma Maritz, At Stadler and Hans Rooseboom.<sup>540</sup> All these names were either Afrikaners or Germans who served as middlemen in contacting the Nazis on behalf of the OB. The OB also made direct contact with official Nazis such as von Epp who served as the Nazi shadow minister for colonies. The OB also made use of South African civilians such as Will and Marietjie Radley to make contact with the Foreign Minister of Nazi Germany, Joachim von Ribbentrop. During these communications between Van Rensburg/OB and the Nazis a variety of cooperation was established such as military secrets of South African's military being supplied to the Nazis via the OB and potential military assistance from the Nazis to the OB.<sup>541</sup>

Nicolaas Diederichs, who was a philosophy professor at the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein was leader of the ultra-rightist student movement - ANS from 1934, and his student Meyer was secretary from 1937.<sup>542</sup> Both men were members of the *Afrikaner Broederbond* (AB) and the NP.<sup>543</sup> Diederichs and Meyer organised that the students of the ANS go on special tours to fascist Italy and Nazi Germany from 1933 until the outbreak of WWII in 1939 where they went on a skiing trip with Rudolph Hess at the Bavarian Alps.<sup>544</sup> These two

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<sup>539</sup> Marx, pp; 162, 242-244 & 252.

<sup>540</sup> Van der Schyff (ed.), pp. 305-333.

<sup>541</sup> Blake, pp. 176-231; L.H. Gann, "Review article: South Africa and the Third Reich", *JSTOR: Journal Storage*, Vol. 14, 3, 1992, pp. 518-520.

<sup>542</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>543</sup> Marx, pp. 478-500.

<sup>544</sup> Rudolph Hess was probably one of Hitler's closest associates during the Nazis early years. While Hitler dictated *Mein Kampf*, Hess jotted it all down in the book form. Most probably schizophrenic, he fell out of favour after in

men (Diederichs and Meyer) were even invited to the 1938 congress of the NSDAP. The German diplomats noted that the Nazi revolution impressed many Afrikaners.<sup>545</sup> Oswald Pirow another prominent political figure of South Africa, served in multiple ministerial positions as Minister of Justice and Defence, he also travelled to Germany and met Hitler personally and was impressed. He went on to inspect a *Luftwaffe* (air force) and *Wehrmacht* (army) parade while he was there (see **Appendix L**).

Upon his return to South Africa, Pirow went on to establish the Pro-Nazi movement, the NO in 1940.<sup>546</sup> Additionally, Robey Leibrandt, was a resident of Bloemfontein and Olympic participant in Nazi Germany in 1936 and after the Olympics he stayed on in Germany and later joined the *Brandenburgers*, which was a German Special Forces unit in the *Abwher* (military intelligence of Nazi Germany).<sup>547</sup> Leibrandt's Nazi-backed mission was to be dropped back into South Africa and disrupt the war effort by assassinating Smuts. He successfully made it back into South Africa but his stubborn, impulsive and insubordinate character led to him being exposed in the end.<sup>548</sup>

It is also interesting to note other Afrikaners who also served directly in the Nazi military during WWII. At the beginning of 1944 the Waffen SS (Military wing of the SS) established the British Free Corps (BFC), whose ranks was filled by sympathetic POWs from the British Commonwealth countries such as South Africa.<sup>549</sup> The commander of the BFC was Douglas Cecil Mardon who joined on Christmas day 1944 as a *SS-Mann* (equivalent to Private) and later promoted to *SS-Unterscharführer* (equivalent to Sergeant) on 8 March 1945.<sup>550</sup> After WWII he was fined £375 for treason by the Union of South Africa. The others were; Pieter Andries Hendrik Labuschagne, Lourens Matthys Viljoen and a Van Heerden. All held the rank of *SS-Mann*, joined the BFC at the beginning of 1945 and survived except for Van Heerden who went missing.<sup>551</sup> William Cilliers who was a *Hiwi* (SS Foreign Volunteer), fought in the *1<sup>st</sup> Panzer Division Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler* (LSSAH) as a flak detachment.<sup>552</sup> The

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the 1930s and were completely cut off after he jumped in a plane and flew to Britain to make peace. See Kershaw, pp. 610-616.

<sup>545</sup> Marx, p. 164-171.

<sup>546</sup> Blake, pp. 174-200.

<sup>547</sup> Van der Schyff (ed.), pp. 300-340.

<sup>548</sup> Leibrandt's instructions from the *Abwher* was to make contacts with the pro-Nazi movement (OB). Marx, pp. 253-255.

<sup>549</sup> J. Böhrer & R. Gerwarth, *The Waffen-SS: a European history*, p. 62.

<sup>550</sup> P. Dickens. "The British Free Corps: South African Nazi in the Waffen SS British Free Corps", <<https://samilhistory.com/tag/the-british-free-corps/>>, s.a.

<sup>551</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>552</sup> The LSSAH started out as the personal bodyguard of Hitler, throughout the war it grew in size and was later transformed into a division under the Waffen SS. Kershaw, pp. 309-310.

LSSAH was led by the brilliant but equally ruthless *SS-Obersturmbannführer* (Lieutenant-Colonel) Joachim Peiper, under him the LSSAH committed countless war crimes, murdering a total of 5000 POWs the most notable being the Malmedy Massacre in France at the end of the war.<sup>553</sup> The Afrikaner who served in the most high-ranking position in the German military was Heinz Werner Schmidt who served as the *aide-de-camp* (adviser) to Field-Marshal Erwin Rommel (Desert Fox) in North Africa.<sup>554</sup> Schmidt even fought against his own country, South Africans in the Battle of Sidi Rezegh on 23 November 1941. With his return to South Africa he settled in Natal and founded the companies Pineware en Gedore which sold household appliances and tools.<sup>555</sup>

#### *5.5.2 Weichardt's relations and ties with the Nazis in Germany and German South West Africa (Namibia)*

The Nazis had a foreign organisation which was founded on 1 May 1931 in Hamburg called the *Ausland-organisation NSDAP* (Foreign Organisation of the NSDAP) henceforth known as AO/NSDAP and lasted all the way to the end of the WWII. The Nazis preferred to spell it out with their hyphen at the end (**see Appendix M letter top right corner**). The aim of the AO/NSDAP was to set up Nazi branches and encourage pro-Nazi movements in countries beyond the German borders. The most notable leader of the AO/NSDAP was Ernst Wilhelm Bohle who served as the Nazi representative in South Africa and helped coordinate the Nazi branch in German South West Africa (Namibia) in 1932. Bohle also served as a professor at the University Cape Town (UCT), and was later in 1945 sentenced to five years in prison for war crimes during the Nuremberg Trails.<sup>556</sup>

Bohle stayed in South Africa from 1906 to 1936 and was the link with the Nazis in Germany and a certain Major Weigell was put in charge of the newly founded Nazi branch in Namibia.<sup>557</sup> By 1934 the world was still in shock about the failed attempted coup by the Austrian NSDAP against the Austrian government in Vienna that June.<sup>558</sup> This failed putsch by a Nazi organisation outside of Germany's borders certainly put other European countries,

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<sup>553</sup> Beevor, pp. 37, 57, 799, 803, 811.

<sup>554</sup> D.M. Green, *Rommel in North Africa: quest for the Nile*, p. 170.

<sup>555</sup> P. Dickens. "The British Free Corps: South African Nazi in the Waffen SS British Free Corps", <<https://samihistory.com/tag/the-british-free-corps/>>, s.a.

<sup>556</sup>The Nuremberg Trails was conducted from 20 November 1945 – 1 October 1946 whereby top leaders from the Nazis stood trial for war crimes and crimes against humanity. Pike, pp. 189-210.222-231; Marx, pp. 240-260, 470-550;

<sup>557</sup> D.J. Walther, *Creating Germans abroad: cultural policies and national identity in Namibia*, p. 166; Hattingh, p. 114.

<sup>558</sup> Macdonogh, pp. 16, 31, 40 & 78.

especially Britain and the commonwealth countries under her under high alert of any foreign Nazi movement that may be threatening her empire. In general, whether independent or under British rule, countries started to feel the insidious spread of the Nazi doctrine were coming all the closer to home. This is certainly not paranoia, because in the previous chapter the emphasis was put on the sudden rise of pro-Nazi movements as soon as Hitler came to power, the Blackshirts, Greyshirts themselves and the ANS. This heightened tension led to the Union Government alongside the government of Namibia orchestrating a raid on the NSDAP branch in Windhoek, Namibia in 1934. The findings just intensified their fears and confirmed existing ones that the Nazi was in contact with groups within South Africa.<sup>559</sup>

The letters seized by the South African and Namibian governments clearly indicated that Weigell as head of the Nazis in Namibia contacted Bohle in South Africa. They aimed to formalise official cooperation between the Nazi branch in Namibia and the pro-Nazi movements in South Africa, with Weichardt's Greyshirts being one of those movements.<sup>560</sup> This episode confirmed the Union of South Africa's fear that the Nazis are spreading their insidious movements around the world and threatening countries such as the attempted coup by the Austrian NSDAP. In his correspondence to Bohle and his colleagues in Germany, Weigell mentioned the Greyshirts as a group that needed the Nazis attention because they are pro-Nazi and that they will contribute to the division in the political environment of South Africa which would in turn cause problems for Britain <sup>561</sup> Among the letters from Weichardt to the NSDAP in Namibia were also letters from fascist Italy (**see appendix N**) which had to do with articles that may be of propaganda use for the Greyshirts.

Weichardt was consistent that he and his various movements, the SACNSM, SANP and the SANSU, never had any direct cooperation with the Nazis in Germany or one of the Nazis' foreign organisations. However, the findings at the raid in Windhoek in 1934 proved otherwise. It came to light that Weigell in correspondence with the AO head office in Hamburg in May 1934 explained the following:

Perhaps it would be possible to make provisions for a nominal amount, say several hundred pounds, out of some political fund which one could then place in some suitable form at the disposal of the Greyshirt movement along devious ways. It is obvious that I must avoid any open fraternisation with the South

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<sup>559</sup> Hattingh, pp. 114-117.

<sup>560</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>561</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt – collection*, File No. 131. "Correspondence".

African sister movement. Support of the movement can only take place through intermediaries without any direct connection with us.<sup>562</sup>

In other documents seized during the raid established that Weigell asked for £500 for the Greyshirt movement. The request by Weigell for £500 gives the indication that the NSDAP in Namibia started to really grow interested in Weichardt and his movement so far that they requested money from the Nazis in Berlin to fund the Greyshirts.<sup>563</sup> Why would Weigell ask his superiors in Germany for money for a movement if Weichardt was not aware of that, and, more importantly, Weichardt had to know about the amount it too get his permission and maybe approve the said amount. Weigell was also in contact with Hermann Bohle, explaining to him that it would be of the utmost benefit to the Nazis if Weichardt's movement progressed in South Africa.<sup>564</sup> Bohle was also requested by Weigel to come into contact with Weichardt with the aim of creating a united front between the Greyshirts and the Nazis in South West Africa. Further correspondence between the two also shows that copies of *Die Waarheid-The Truth* was already sent to Windhoek the headquarters of the AO/NSDAP branch in South West Africa.<sup>565</sup> The South African Military Intelligence Report of 1942 noted that Weichardt had open contact with German consulates in South Africa. Weichardt and the Greyshirts also continued to receive Nazi Propaganda through the anti-Semitic organisation, Fichte Bund.<sup>566</sup>

Suspicion is that they discussed the amount to be requested from the Nazi Party. There is a letter addressed to Weichardt and the Greyshirts on 11 January 1936 (**See Appendix M**) which was addressed from the AO/NSDAP in Namibia. In the letter the NSDAP in Namibia is asking for copies of the Greyshirt newspaper to be sent to Namibia and distributed there too.<sup>567</sup> This indicates that Weichardt and the Nazis in Namibia were in communication. There is practically no way that Weichardt will not be aware of this communication.

Later in 1964, when Weichardt served as NP senator in apartheid South Africa he had a business meeting with a certain Mr. Otto Skorzeny (**see Appendix O and P**).<sup>568</sup> This meeting may seem out of the ordinary to the naked eye, but one may establish further links Weichardt had with the Nazis by looking attentively at the person involved in the said business meeting.

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<sup>562</sup> P.J. Furlong, *Between crown and swastika: the impact of the radical right on the Afrikaner nationalist movement in the fascist era*, pp. 92 & 100-105.

<sup>563</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>564</sup> C. Riess, *Total espionage: Germany's information and disinformation, 1932-1940*, pp. 202-204.

<sup>565</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 112 and 114: "Letters from the NSDAP/AO to Weichardt"

<sup>566</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>567</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 112; "letters from the NSDAP/AO to Weichardt".

<sup>568</sup> *Ibid.*

Skorzeny was known by the euphemism “*the most deadly man in Europe*”.<sup>569</sup> He was Hitler’s trusted man for all daring and especially secret and sensitive missions. Some of Skorzeny’s missions involves rescuing Mussolini out of enemy hands in an abandoned castle without firing a shot. He also kidnapped President Horthy’s son from Budapest when the Hungarians did not cooperate in the killings and deportations of the Jews in 1944.<sup>570</sup> Skorzeny was also used for high end assassinations and when the Allied commanders-in-chiefs such as Eisenhower, Churchill or Stalin knew that Skorzeny was screening the nearby areas, they always increased their security.<sup>571</sup>

Keeping the above-mentioned special operations of Skorzeny in mind, in the year 1934 a certain Walter Paul Kraizizek (a SS officer) came to South Africa and made contact with the various pro-Nazi movements in South Africa, most notably the OB and Greyshirts. However, in the end he was more interested in the OB because of the numbers and popularity of the OB.<sup>572</sup> Nonetheless, Kraizizek was directly employed by the most second most powerful Nazi after Hitler, *Reichsfuhrer SS* (head of the SS) Heinrich Himmler. Kraizizek was deported back to Germany in 1944 by the South African government and there he joined Skorzeny’s special military forces.<sup>573</sup> Weichardt could thus have learned to know Skorzeny through Kraizizek during WWII, which places Weichardt and Skorzeny’s later business meetings in context and that they knew each other beforehand. It is also interesting to note Skorzeny’s post-WWII activities. He was head of *Der Spinne* (The Spider) which was a sub branch of the Nazi organisation ODESSA which objectives included, helping SS officers to escape justice, to provide economic assistance to them and their immediate families.<sup>574</sup> Skorzeny also established the Paladin Group in 1970, Spain. It was an international company its function was to operate and recruit military and security contractors to fight and prevent the spread of communism. One of the clients of Skorzeny’s Paladin Group was South Africa’s Burro for State Security (BOSS) headed then by Hendrik Van den Berg.<sup>575</sup>

These cases and the finding of a letter once again addressed to Weichardt from an unknown man (letter had no name no address nothing) which stated to Weichardt that he was

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<sup>569</sup> Blake, p. 168; A. Beevor, *The Second World War: 6 years, 60 million lives lost not a life untouched*, pp. 608, 780 & 798.

<sup>570</sup> Kershaw, pp. 445-475.

<sup>571</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>572</sup> Blake, pp. 174-200.

<sup>573</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>574</sup> A. Molnar, *Mission: Alpine redoubt*, p. 250;

<sup>575</sup> S. Smith, *Otto Skorzeny: The devil’s disciple*, p. 312; S. Christie, *Granny made me an anarchist*, p. 216.

a “Nazi agent” and that the Greyshirts must carry out an assassination against Ernst Oppenheimer. The reason for the specific target was because he was a Jew and that is where it will hurt them according to the anonymous writer. The reason why it would “hurt” them is because Oppenheimer was Jewish and a financial giant in the economic activities of South Africa, thus the most obvious target which would have caused as much uproar as possible according to the “Nazi agent”.<sup>576</sup> If the letter found in the personal collection of Weichardt in the archives surely indicates that the Nazis trusted him enough to be approach with such a suggestion. There must have been a mutual relationship going around. However, it could also be a hoax or a fake letter, because as was mentioned there were no names of the author/s. Then again who would keep a fake letter or a hoax in your personal possession?

### **5.6 The internment of Weichardt and the twilight of his career as a National Socialist**

The Union Government during WWII was extremely hard on any national socialistic groups. For instance, Smuts passed various laws such as banning civil servants from being Greyshirt or OB members and forbidding the Greyshirts and the OB from marching in uniform in public. The punitive legal actions taken against pro-Nazi movements by Smuts made sense in a national security framework. The allied countries who fought against the Nazis such as South Africa and Britain were anxious about any potential fifth column threats within their country.<sup>577</sup> However, it was not easy for Smuts to persecute the leaders of the pro-Nazi movements because men like Van Rensburg and Pirow still held a lot of power both publically and in Pirow’s case, politically. Persecuting any one of those would have martyred them and this would have produced sympathy from future generations, this is why Smuts never interned van Rensburg even though he ran one of the biggest ‘terrorist’ groups in South Africa’s history - the *Stormjears*.<sup>578</sup>

However, when it comes to Weichardt it was another case. He did not hold the massive public support enjoyed by Van Rensburg and the OB or the political power of Pirow in parliament. This made Weichardt an easy target for Smuts. These internment camps were either old barracks that were transformed into internment camps or built from scratch when WWII broke out in September 1939. The most notable internment camps were Zonderwater located just 43 km outside Pretoria, Baviaanspoort also located just outside Pretoria, Koffiefontein

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<sup>576</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt – collection*, File No. 13 and 114; “letters and financial dealings”.

<sup>577</sup> Fifth column can be defined as any group or groups who threatens a larger group from within and would side with the potential enemy. For instance the Greyshirts can be seen as a potential fifth column, it is a smaller group who threatens the larger group (South Africa) and they may side with the enemy which was the Nazis at the time.

<sup>578</sup> Van der Schyff, p. 310.

internment camp which could be found just outside the town of Koffiefontein in the OFS, Ganspan and Andalusia (near modern day Jan Kempdorp) located in the then Cape Province in modern-day Northern Cape Province. These camps were specially built at the start of WWII too house anyone from local pro-Nazis to Prisoners of War (POW) from North African war theatre.<sup>579</sup> There were already one male EMEB. Harms who was locked up in Koffiefontein's internment camp in the Free State for two years 1942-1946.<sup>580</sup> Two female members of the SANSU, a certain MA Wilz and her daughter M. Wilz, were already in internment camp in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) for nine months in February 1944.<sup>581</sup>

Weichardt knew that his arrest was coming. He complained that the only reason the Union Government would arrest him was because he was a National Socialist. Based on what has been discussed in preceding sections of this dissertation, the Union Government was justified to be suspicious of him. As we have seen Weichardt had flirtations with the Germans on multiple occasions. As Blake observed, because the apartheid regime could arrest and lock up an individual for up to 90 days without any due course, no trial no defence, so too did the Union Government lock up anyone who they suspected as leaning too much in the direction of the Nazis without due course either.<sup>582</sup> This is exactly what happened to Weichardt. He was on his way to Piet Retief in the Natal province when his car was suddenly stopped near Moolmanstasie where 5 detectives arrested him and took him to the Central Correctional Services in Pretoria on 2 November 1944. He was then taken to the Andalusia internment camp near the Botswana border on 13 November 1944. During August of 1945 Weichardt was moved from the Andalusia internment camp to the one in Koffiefontein.<sup>583</sup>

Weichardt's initial impending release from the internment camps on 11 November 1946 did not go off without drama. When he was about to be released he was required to sign a document which consisted of 17 demands that needed to be agreed upon before he could be released.<sup>584</sup> These demands included him swearing that he will not enter politics ever again, creating new political movements and speaking in public. When Weichardt was presented with the document he tore it up. This resulted in him being held for another three months in the internment camp. After the three months passed Weichardt was once again presented with a

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<sup>579</sup> Van der Schyff, p. 310.

<sup>580</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, *L.T. Weichardt – collection*, File No. 6. "Newspaper clippings and notes".

<sup>581</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>582</sup> Blake, p. 100

<sup>583</sup> Hattingh, pp. 173-174.

<sup>584</sup> *Ibid.*

document containing three demands he had to fulfil for his release to be approved. The three demands were that he should keep away from politics, he would stay in the vicinity of Cape Town and not move beyond it, and that he would not publish anything in any newspaper.<sup>585</sup>

Once again Weichardt tore it up. The punishment this time was much more severe. Then suddenly on the night of the 11<sup>th</sup> of February 1946 a Captain J. Cunningham walked into Weichardt cell and told him that he will need not sign the document and he is free to go. Weichardt's time in the internment camps proved to be the final nail in the coffin of his idea of a National Socialist movement in South Africa. This was exacerbated by post-WWII worldview about the ideology of Nazism and National Socialism. No one after WWII could be taken seriously on the political stage when they still believed in Nazism or National Socialism. These ideologies were decisively defeated and so were the pro-Nazi movements and proponents. In South Africa, those that previously espoused these ideologies started wittering away or got absorbed in the NP.

Weichardt was interned from 1944 until 1946. In those years the Greyshirts stagnated until the point where they were disbanded and transformed to the *Blanke Werkers Party* (White Workers Party) known by the abbreviation (WWP) whose existence was short-lived from 1948-1950.<sup>586</sup> It mostly operated collaboratively with the NP but it was not pro-Nazi and National Socialist. They were disillusioned after 1945 and shall not be scrutinised further because they do not fit in with this study that aims to deal with the rise and fall of National Socialism and the Greyshirts movements specifically under direct influence of Weichardt in South Africa.

## 5.7 Conclusion

The continued lawsuits, clashes with the general public and the abysmal performance in the elections, all spelt doom for the SANP, and the Greyshirts. Disunity and lack of respect inside the SANP exacerbated the situation and suffocated it such that it will not live longer. This culminated in senior members of the SANP holding a meeting without Weichardt notice, criticising Weichardt for mishandling the finances, despotism and for poor leadership and organisational qualities. The lacklustre way in which Weichardt handled these grievances did not help the situation. This was further aggravated by confusion which was caused by lack of continuity and fluidity in approaches and organisation in the Greyshirts. It changed names and restructured within just over a decade of its existence. Blaming external factors such as the

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<sup>585</sup> Weichardt was put in what people call the "hole" (a metre by metre room) for at night its freezing and through the day it's hot. Scher, p. 67.

<sup>586</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29. *L.T. Weichardt-collection*, File No. 116; "constitution of the WWP".

Jews and the Union Government was the only excuse Weichardt could forward. The result of this turmoil inside the SANP as well as external factors led Weichardt to ultimately transform the SANP from a parliamentary to a non-parliamentary movement.

The new movement was called the South African National Socialist Union (SANSU) and it kept their underlying fascist and National Socialistic nature as well as keeping the Uniformed Greyshirts as the SANSU's para-military wing. There were a few distinct differences with the newly formed SANSU that to its predecessors such as the emphasis on secrecy and the promotion of a Corporate State. The SANSU and their Greyshirt para-military wing established clandestine cells within their movement such as secret and private groups with a variety of strict codes of confidentiality and secret dealings. An interesting development with regards to the SANSU was their ideal of arguably perfectly sorted society based on a Corporate State. However, their dystopian vision showed the totalitarian aspects of the SANSU and Weichardt. They wanted to control every aspect of the individuals' life. This, and their ideologies, approached and relations with international Nazism, negatively affected their popularity and exposed them to scrutiny by the Union Government which was basically anti-Nazism. The final nail to the coffin of the Greyshirts movement was the interment of Weichardt between 1944 and 1946. This proved to be catastrophic for his idea of a National Socialistic movement in southern Africa. The end of WWII then sealed the fate of Nazism and National Socialism as these became discredited as pariah to international morality and order.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS OF THE STUDY**

The emergence of National Socialism in South Africa are best explained and understood by analysing the dualistic factors which influenced Weichardt, which ultimately led him to create the Greyshirts. These dualistic factors are firstly, 19<sup>th</sup> century German intellectual and cultural history, Weichardt's experiences in fighting for Germany in WWI and his subsequent stay in the Weimar Republic of Germany from 1918-1924. Secondly, the historical Afrikaner republicanism, the radicalisation of South Africa in the direction of anti-Semitism and totalitarianism in the 1920s and 1930s. The experience and combination of these above-mentioned aspects instilled a National Socialistic worldview in Weichardt, leading ultimately to the practical manifestation of this worldview in the form of the Greyshirts.

The intellectual and cultural history of Germany in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was characterised by the spread of ultra-nationalism, nihilism and scientific racism throughout Germany. These factors emphasised the superiority of the German race, their culture, place in the world and Prussian militarism. As well as a rejection of common held morality and societal beliefs. This was further inflamed by racists' pseudo-scientific fields such as Social Darwinism and Eugenics. Social Darwinism and Eugenics took the studies of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution and placed it in a racial framework. Meaning that a racial hierarchy was established with the Aryan and German race at the top whereas the Asian, Slavic, black and Jewish people were to be found at the bottom of this so-called racial hierarchy. Resulting in groups of Germans who came to believe that those at the top was superior and had the right to suppress and exploit the races on the bottom. This twisted theory was later adopted by the Nazis and used to justify their racist, murderous and anti-Semitic policies. Weichardt, whose parents are both from German descent was exposed to these values from an early age by going on various holidays in Germany, receiving an education at the DSP who emphasised German culture in their curriculum as well as studying in Germany himself after the age of 18.

It can be deduced that Weichardt was certainly influenced by the ultra-nationalistic ideals of Germany during his early and adolescent years and his loyalty was not to South Africa but Germany. The reason for this is can be observed at the outbreak of WWI, Weichardt as a South African citizen did not join the South African war effort but rather fought for the German army during WWI. After WWI from 1919-1924, Weichardt lived in Germany under the turbulent Weimar Republic. It was his stay during these years, along with his German

influenced upbringing that further strengthened his National Socialism worldview. The Weimar Republic was characterised by multiple communist and far-right coups which culminated in a bloody civil war; economic deprivation was rampant, with inflation making the German currency effectively worthless; along with collective guilt placed on the German's shoulders by the Treaty of Versailles; and all along the Weimar Republic was struggling to cope with these growing pressures causing widespread distrust in democracy. The result was an increase of movements such as the Nazis who eagerly exploited this atmosphere to their advantage. The Nazis exploited the dire situation that Germany was finding itself in by presenting their National Socialistic ideology as an explanation and solution to these problems.

For example, the communist coups in places such as Munich, Saxony and Bremen made fear of a widespread communist takeover in Germany popular. They played on Germany's emerging communist fears by presenting National Socialism as the biggest bulwark against communism with the promise being made that if the Nazis came to power they would ensure the annihilation of communism. The economic distress of Germany was explained away by the Nazis by using anti-Semitism, according to them it was the Jews who was exploiting the German people and instigators of Germany's economic disaster. The failure of the Weimar Republic and the growing mistrust of democracy in Germany was also exploited by the Nazis by presenting National Socialism and its form of state, totalitarianism as a better alternative to democracy. The Germans widespread insecurities and shared troubles was effectively manipulated by the Nazis, resulting in the Nazis coming to power in 1933 through the ballot box, indicating that a large portion of the population was supportive of National Socialism. Weichardt was one of those people, as he later stated that his years in the Weimar Republic influenced and laid the foundation of his National Socialistic worldview.

The above-mentioned paragraphs emphasised the first part of the dualistic influences which shaped Weichardt's National Socialistic worldview which focused on Germany and Weichardt's subsequent stay in the Weimar Republic. However, there was also distinct aspects in South Africa's history which contributed to Weichardt National Socialistic worldview. Firstly, it is important to emphasise Afrikaner republicanism and Anglophobia that goes along with it. Afrikaner's republicanism sprung from the Great Trek which was Afrikaners trekking into the interior of South Africa to fulfil their ideal of self-governance. It was realised with the establishment of the ZAR and OFS republics in 1852 and 1854 respectively. However, British imperialism more seldom than not threatened Afrikaner republicanism in various stages in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Culminating in the SAW (1899-1902) between the British and the two

independent republics of the ZAR and OFS, whereby the British would make themselves guilty of setting up concentration camps where 22 000 women and children would perish. Thus before and during WWII (1930s and 1940s) many Afrikaners became pro-Nazis and established pro-Nazi movements with the hope that the Nazis who were also anti-British would grant Afrikaners their independent republic. Weichardt was deeply shaken by the scenes of the SAW he experienced as a little child and planted the seed of Afrikaner republicanism and Anglophobia in him. This is one of the factors which led Weichardt to embrace National Socialism, the shared hatred he of the British he shared with the Nazis and the hope of the latter granting Afrikaners their independence under a pro-Nazi movement.

The socio-economic context of South Africa after WWI also reinforced Weichardt existing worldview which was shaped by the Weimar republic and the Nazis. The Nazis put the blame of the economic woes of Germany during the 1920-1930s solely on the Jews. According to National Socialism the Jews through capitalism and communism exploit the German people. In South Africa during the 1930s, there existed the widespread belief among Afrikaner intellectuals and politicians that Jews too was contributing to the dire economic positions of many Afrikaners. With increased attention in the 1930s on the large poor Afrikaner population, known as the poor white problem, many explanations and causes was sought after. One of the central explanations given by Afrikaner nationalistic circles at the time named the Jews as a significant factor which contributed to the poor white problem. The continued anti-Semitism which Weichardt was exposed to both in Germany and in South Africa was a sure reason why it became central to his later worldview.

The rise of anti-communism and the fear of a communist takeover in South Africa in the 1920s and 1930s similarly reinforced Weichardt's anti-communism worldview he gained in Germany. Just like in many other countries after WWI South Africa too experienced a surge in labour unrest. Culminating in the 1922 Miners' Strike in Johannesburg. The reaction of the strike speaks a lot about the prevailing mood of South African politicians at the time. Afrikaner nationalists such as Malan and the NP said it was the result of Smuts and his Jewish capitalist "bloodsuckers", whereby Smuts in returned stated that Malan was pro-Bolshevik. The strike was thus seen as either the work of a Jewish capitalist or communist. There was also in the early 1920s small scale communist takeovers of local town halls in South Africa, which further inflamed anti-communism in South Africa. These events had a historical parallel and analogy in the Weimar Republic. There were also large-scale strikes which was either blamed on the Jews, communist or both. There were also communist take overs of cities such as Munich.

When Weichardt thus returned from his stay in the Weimar Republic his already National Socialistic ideology and its underlining components of anti-communism/capitalism and fervent anti-Semitism would not have been out of place in the political context of South Africa. There was also a growing distrust and divide within the political environment of south Afrika which opened the door for men such as Weichardt which had the ambition to exploit those divides. The political divide was the result of Hertzog and the NP going into a coalition with the SAP of Smuts at the time. This was seen as unacceptable by many Afrikaners and individuals such as Malan broke away from the NP with his own nationalistic faction. This also inflamed Weichardt and was one of the push factors which led him to create the SACNSM and later enter parliamentary politics with the SANP.

The above-mentioned discussion highlights the events and historical factors which contributed to forming Weichardt's National Socialism worldview and which made him pro-Nazi. Thus on 26 October 1933, National Socialism gained its practical manifestation in South Africa with the establishment of the South African Christian National Socialism Movement (SACNSM). The SACNSM was a non-parliamentary movement which stood for a totalitarian form of governance, tackling of the South African "Jewish problem" by stripping many Jews of their citizenship, banning them from certain economic activities and physically intimidating them. The SACNSM adopted many slogans and symbols of the Nazis such as the swastika, Heil greetings and slogans such as Blood and Soil. The SACNSM also stood for strict racist policies to ensure the purity of the Aryan and Afrikaner race. All other races of South Africa such as the black, Jewish and Asian communities were to be segregated from the white population and laws implemented which banned interracial sexual or marriage relations.

The SACNSM also emphasised their stance against communism, which the SACNSM feared would influence the black population and result in a takeover of power for them. This is way the SACNSM stipulate in their programme of principles the implementation of a police state which would ban all communist literature from being distributed between the black populations of South Africa. The SACNSM also stood against capitalism and propagated a corporate elite state that would ensure an autarky South Africa. Along with the establishment of the SACNSM, came the creation of its para-military wing, called the Uniformed Greyshirts. The Uniformed Greyshirts was modelled on that of the para-military wing of the Nazis, the SA. The official mouthpiece of the SACNSM and all the subsequent Greyshirt movements was *Die Waarheid – The Truth*.

However, the SACNSM was short-lived and was transformed into a parliamentary party called the SANP in April of 1934. The reason for the transformation from non-parliamentary to parliamentary is not from Weichardt's respect for democracy or new found love for democracy. Weichardt and his movements always believed in no-compromise with any political party and totalitarian form of government. Weichardt was going into parliamentary politics because of the preceding political split in Afrikaner politics, because of the merge between Hertzog's NP and the SAP under Smuts in 1934. Weichardt thus saw a gap to gain power in the upcoming elections, but as soon as the Greyshirts would've gained power they would have disregarded democracy and made it a one party rule.

The SANP gained little no success in the various by-election and general elections which they participated in. the main reasons for their poor showing in the elections of South Africa has to do firstly with various legal disputes. Legal disputes such as the Inch case severely damaged their financial and public position in the eyes of many South Africans. Secondly, many Afrikaners such as Malan felt that National Socialism was a foreign ideology not suited for South Africa or the Afrikaners. The totalitarian nature of the SANP and subsequent Greyshirt movement also estranged a lot of potential voters. It was not the anti-Semitism or anti-communist stances of the SANP and Greyshirts which did not strike a chord, because the NP also held anti-Semitic views, it was because of their authoritarian and totalitarian ideals. This much is observable if one analyses the attempted cooperation between the NP and SANP.

Men in the NP leadership such as Verwoerd, Malan and many more had common ground with the SANP regarding the Jewish question in South Africa, the poor white problem, republicanism and their shared hatred for communism. However, cooperation was never going to happen if the SANP clung to their totalitarian nature which was unacceptable to many voters. The unacceptability of their totalitarian and racial anti-Semitism can be glanced by the amount of public resistance they encountered through protests and agitators. More-or-less everywhere the Greyshirts expanded, the Transvaal, Natal, Cape or Free State they encountered protest in one way or another.

Weichardt also publically stated that him and his Greyshirt movements never cooperated or had connection with the Nazis in Berlin or Namibia. This proved to be false because archival sources from the private collection of Weichardt at ARCA indicated that Weichardt had a line of communication open with the Nazi branch in Namibia and that the Nazi circles in Berlin was discussing potential financial support for the Greyshirts. All these

aspects tainted the SANP, and it was decided at the end of 1938 to transform it back into a non-parliamentary movement called the SANSU. The SANSU quickly drifted out of importance because Weichardt was arrested and interned until 1946. In 1948 the SANSU would transform into the White Workers' Party.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A

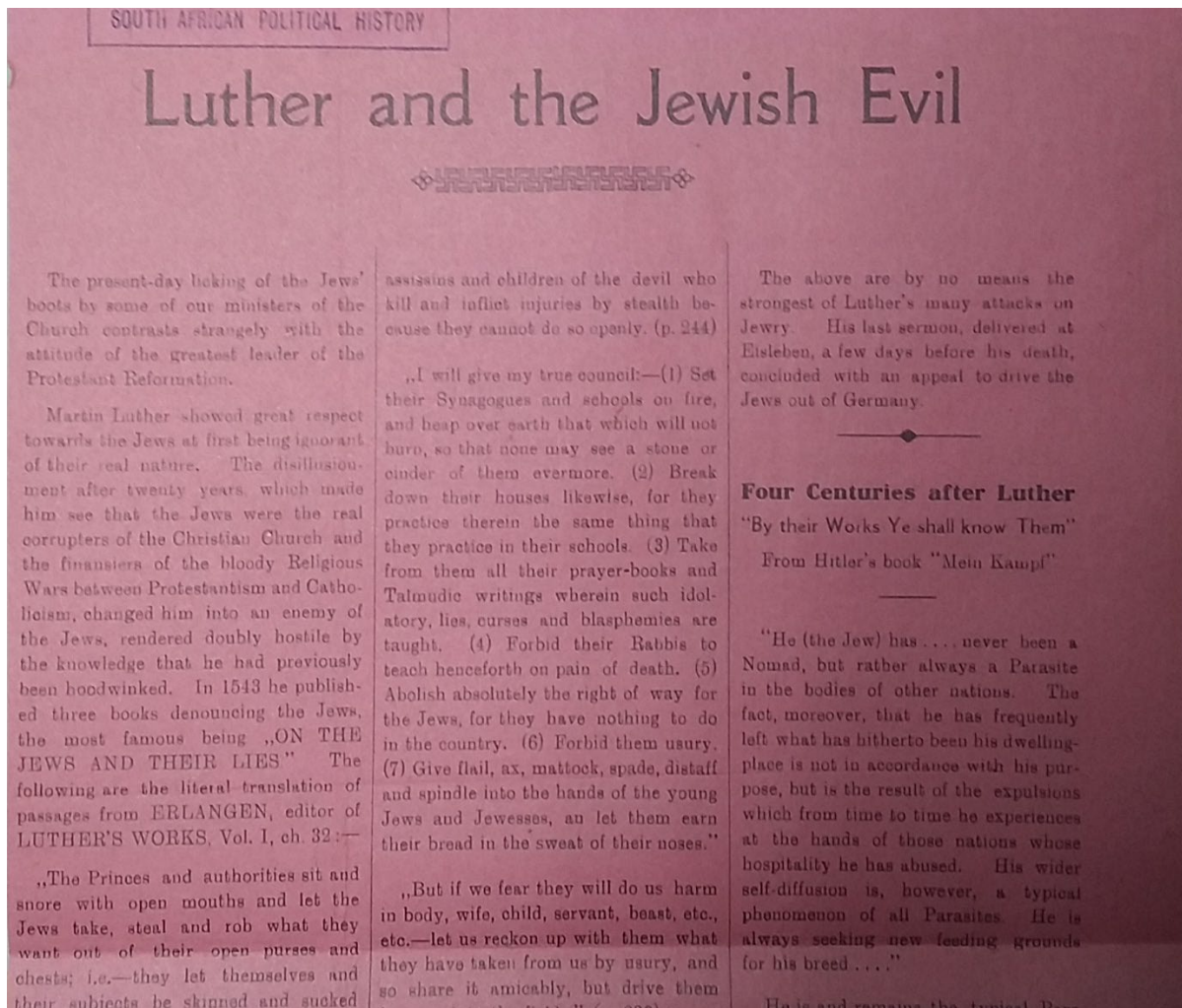


Louis Theodore Weichardt (1894-1985), leader of the Greyshirts, a movement modelled on that of National Socialism and Nazism, the first of its kind in South Africa.<sup>587</sup>

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<sup>587</sup> The Observational Post, “South Africa’s Nazi Party; The Gryshemde”, [www.http://samilhistory.com/2016/01/16/profiling-south-africas-pro-nazi-organisations-the-sanp-greyshirts/](http://samilhistory.com/2016/01/16/profiling-south-africas-pro-nazi-organisations-the-sanp-greyshirts/), 16.01.2016. (Accessed: 10.08.2020)

## Appendix B

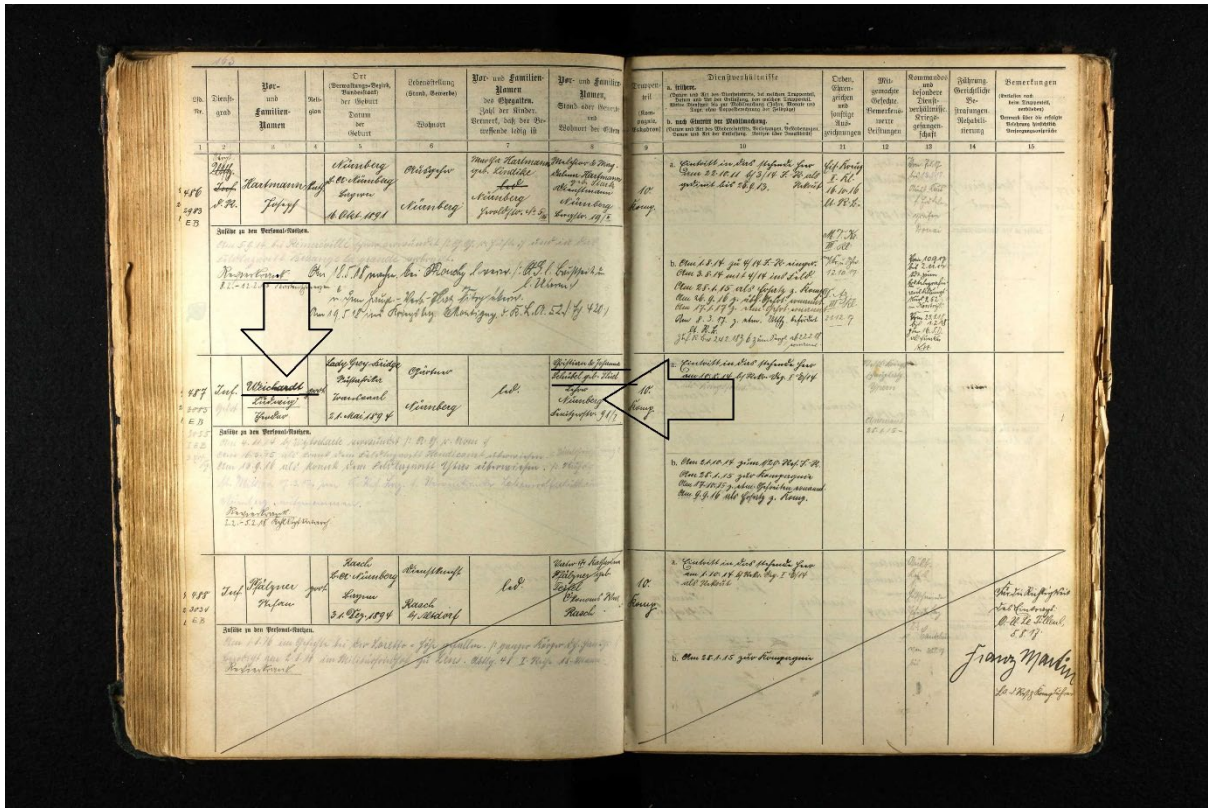


Pamphlet distributed by the Greyshirts in 1934. The pamphlets contain anti-Semitic arguments made by Martin Luther the founder of the Protestant faction of Christianity. Luther's anti-Semitism may have been transferred to Weichardt from an early age from Weichardt's grandfather who was a committed Protestant from Germany.<sup>588</sup>

<sup>588</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, L.T. Weichardt-collection, File No. 143, “Pamphlets Martin Luther and the Jewish Evil”.



**Appendix D**



The name in the middle row clearly shows that it is Louis Theodore Weichardt, born in South Africa on 21 May 1894. If you turn to the 8<sup>th</sup> column on Weichardt's name, it shows that he indicated his relatives as Johanna Weichardt and his stepfather Christian Schübel. Schübel was his principal at the DSP.<sup>590</sup>

<sup>590</sup> Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv; München; Abteilung IV Kriegsarchiv. Kriegstammrollen, 1914-1918; Volume: 5933. Kriegstammrollen: Bd. 1.



Appendix F

DEUTSCHER AFRIKA-DIENST  
 Deutsche Ost-Afrika Linie  
 Deutsche West-Afrika Linie A.O.

470/1  
 T. Klaus  
 Passagierliste.

1894

in Hamburg abgehenden  
 von Hamburg abgehenden

Reederei: *Voormann-Lauritzen A.G.*

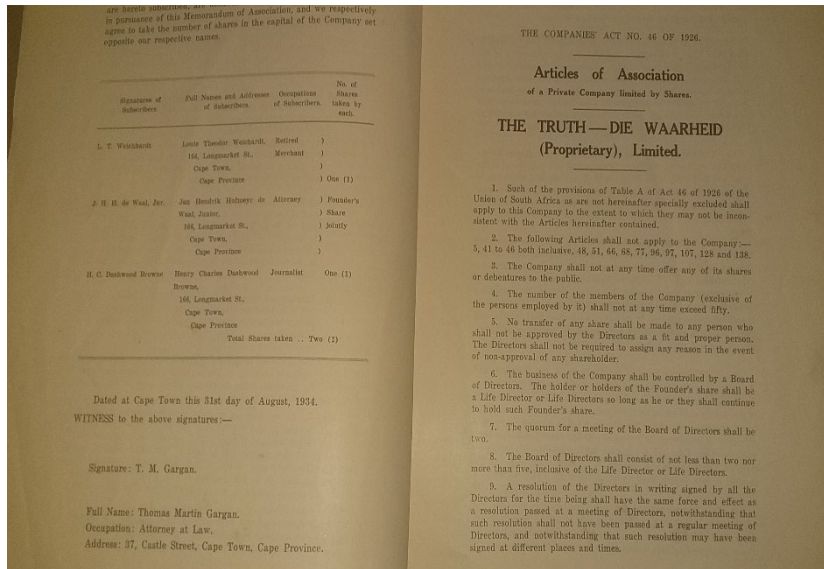
Nr.	Fachname	Vorname	Geburts- ort	Alter	Geburts- jahr	Nationalität	Sexus	Hausort (Geburtsort)	Bestimmungs- ort	Bestimmungs- ort	Bestimmungs- ort
1	Albers	Anton	Bremen	27	81	Preuss.	M.	Wien	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
2	Borch	Paul	Berlin	22	57	Preuss.	M.	Berlin	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
3	Brauer	Alfred	Sachsenhausen	21	52	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
4	Braun	Carl	Berlin	22	57	Preuss.	M.	Berlin	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
5	Brück	August	Hamburg	22	51	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
6	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
7	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
8	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
9	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
10	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
11	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
12	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
13	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
14	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
15	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
16	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
17	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
18	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
19	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
20	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
21	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
22	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
23	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
24	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
25	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
26	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
27	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
28	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
29	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
30	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
31	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
32	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
33	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
34	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
35	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
36	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
37	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
38	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
39	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
40	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
41	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
42	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
43	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
44	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
45	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
46	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
47	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
48	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
49	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi
50	Brun	Walter	Hamburg	22	48	Preuss.	M.	Hamburg	Adelphi	Adelphi	Adelphi

D. B. B. W.  
 P. M. A. G.

Passenger list of the Adolph Woermann ship, leaving Hamburg harbour for Cape Town, South Africa. Right page, second column, 12<sup>th</sup> name is Theodore. Weichardt lied about his Surname because he didn't possess the necessary documents to immigrate to South Africa.<sup>592</sup>

<sup>592</sup> Staatsarchiv; Hamburg; Hamburg, Deutschland; Hamburger Passagierlisten; Volume: 373-71, VIII A 1 Band 314; Page 189, Microfilm No.: K\_1855.

**Appendix G**



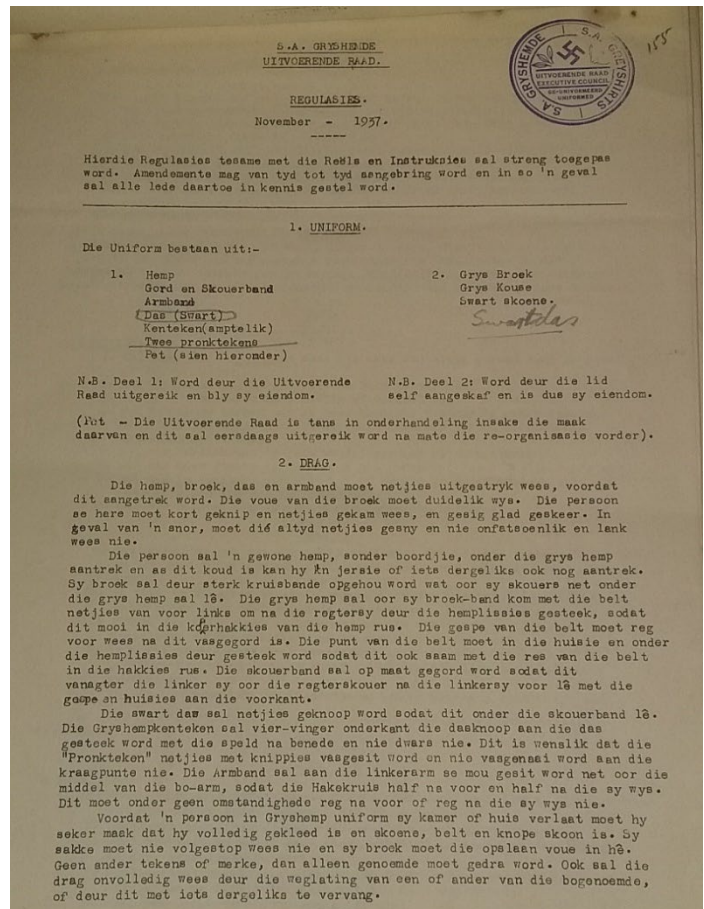
**Top:** Registration of the Greyshirt's official newspaper, *Die Waarheid – The Truth*.<sup>593</sup>

**Bottom:** Copy of *Die Waarheid – The Truth*.<sup>594</sup>

<sup>593</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, L.T. Weichardt-collection, File No. 15 & 144, "Registration forms of *Die Waarheid – The Truth* and attorney papers".

<sup>594</sup> The Observational Post, "South Africa's Nazi Party; The Gryshemde", [www.http://samilhistory.com/2016/01/16/profiling-south-africas-pro-nazi-organisations-the-sanp-greyshirts/](http://www.samilhistory.com/2016/01/16/profiling-south-africas-pro-nazi-organisations-the-sanp-greyshirts/), 16.01.2016. (Accessed: 10.08.2020)

## Appendix H

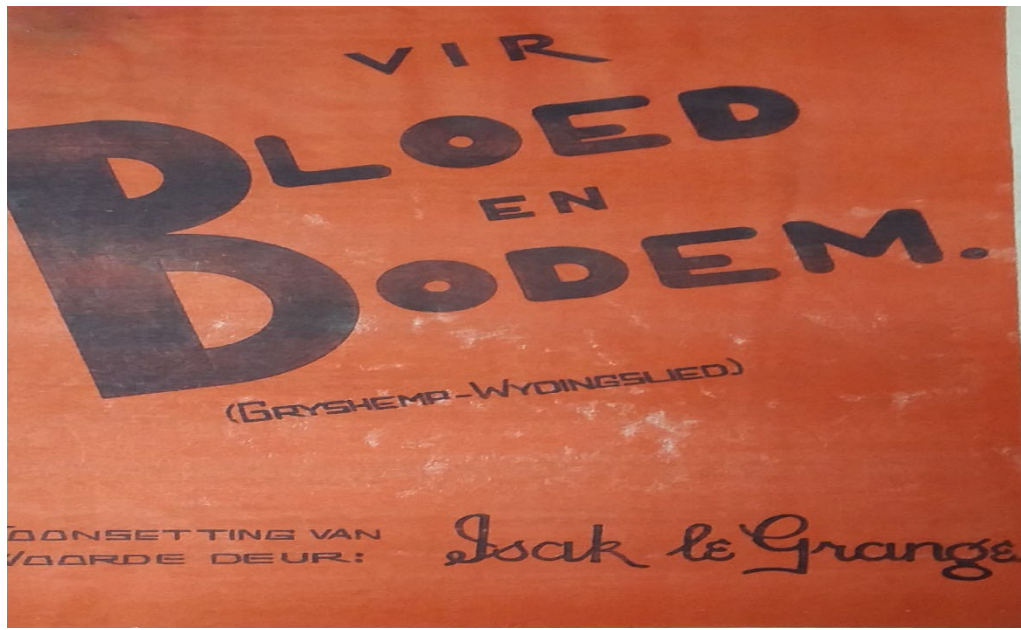


**Left:** Picture of the uniform the Uniformed Greyshirt's wore. The Grey jacket, with a Swastika armband and their flag with the swastika as symbol. Weichardt was clearly inspired by the Nazis that he adapted their symbols as well.<sup>595</sup> **Right:** Pamphlet that was distributed to new members of the Uniformed Greyshirts, it specifies the specific clothes that will be needed and how to wear the uniform correctly.<sup>596</sup>

<sup>595</sup> The Observational Post, "South Africa's Nazi Party; The Gryshemde", [www.http://samihistory.com/2016/01/16/profiling-south-africas-pro-nazi-organisations-the-sanp-greyshirts/](http://samihistory.com/2016/01/16/profiling-south-africas-pro-nazi-organisations-the-sanp-greyshirts/), 16.01.2016. (Accessed: 10.08.2020).

<sup>596</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, L.T. Weichardt-collection, File No. 144, "Pamphlet on dress code of Greyshirts.

## Appendix I



**Top:** Cover of the official Greyshirt song, “*Vir Bloed en Bodem*” Blood and Soil a reference widely used by the Nazis. **Bottom:** Notes as performed by the orchestra of the Greyshirt song.<sup>597</sup>

<sup>597</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, L.T. Weichardt-collection, File No. 144, “Pamphlet on dress code of Greyshirts.

## Appendix J



Map of South Africa which presents how South Africa would be restructured socially, economically and especially vocationally.<sup>598</sup>

<sup>598</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, L.T. Weichardt-collection, File No. 144, "Pamphlet on dress code of Greyshirts.



## Appendix L

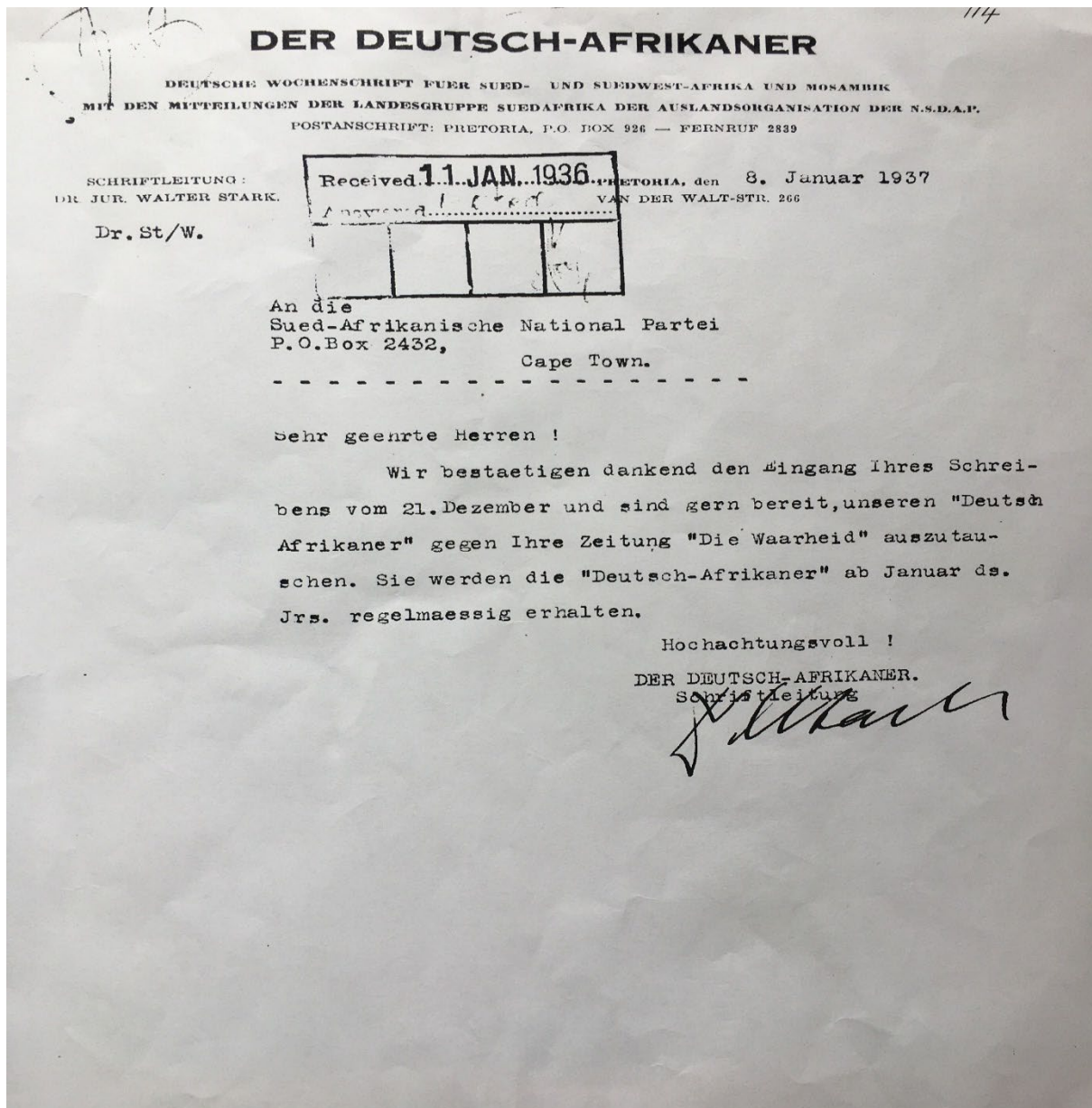


Oswald Pirow (middle) present in Nazi Germany during a Luftwaffe (air force) and Wehrmacht (army) parade. On Pirow's left is Admiral Wilhelm Canaris head of the Abwehr (1935-1944), the intelligence service which trained Leibbrandt. To Pirow's right is Major General Ernst Steifer mayor of Berlin.<sup>600</sup>

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<sup>600</sup> The Observational Post, "South Africa's Nazi Party; The Gryshemde", [www.http://samilhistory.com/2016/01/16/profiling-south-africas-pro-nazi-organisations-the-sanp-greyshirts/](http://samilhistory.com/2016/01/16/profiling-south-africas-pro-nazi-organisations-the-sanp-greyshirts/), 16.01.2016. (Accessed: 10.08.2020).

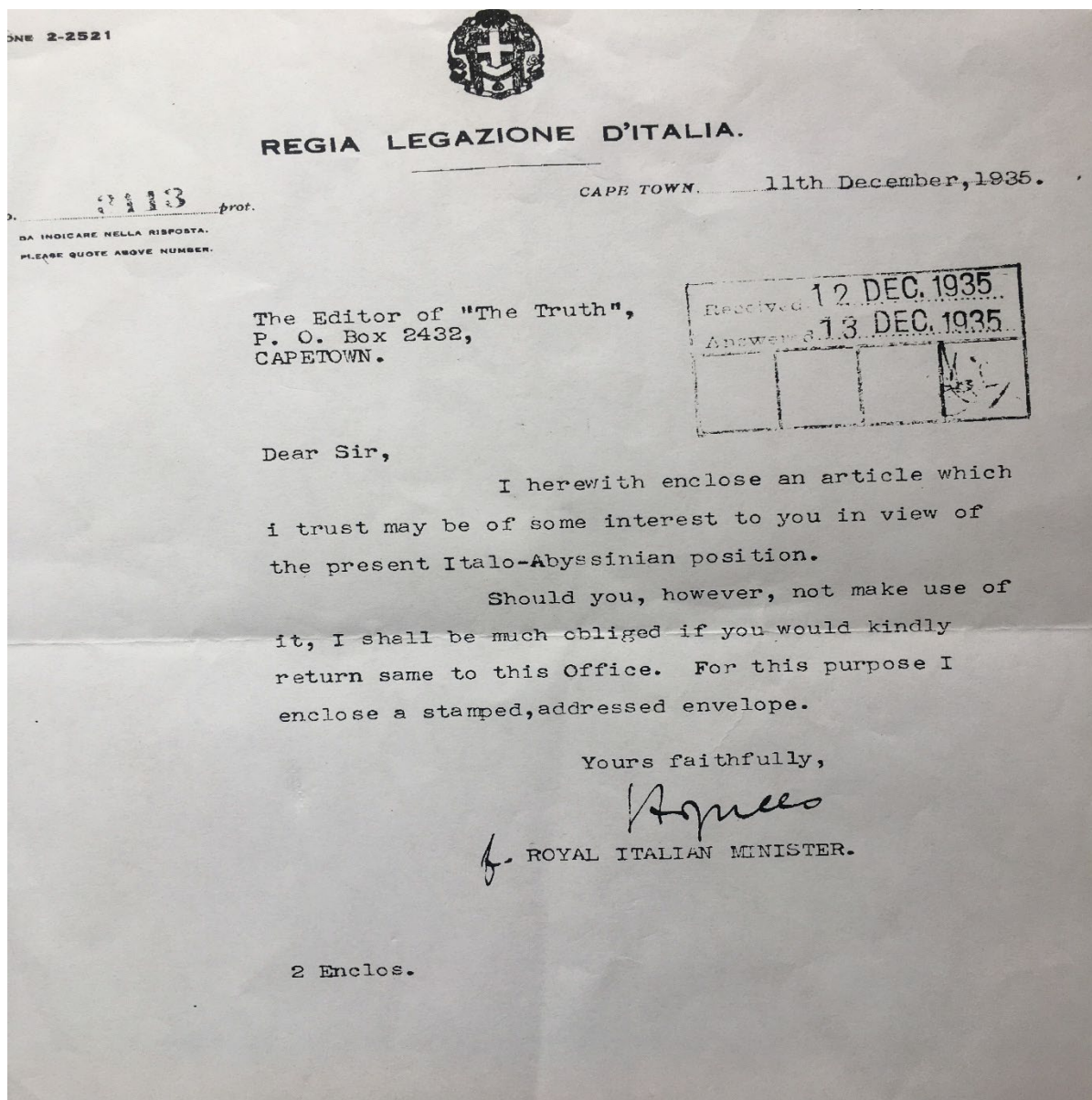
## Appendix M



A letter from the foreign organisation of the NSDAP addressed to Weichardt. The contents reads in German that the NSDAP in Namibia is asking for Weichardt to send them copies of their official newspaper, *Die Waarheid*.<sup>601</sup>

<sup>601</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, L.T. Weichardt – collection, File No. 112 and 114. "Correspondence"

Appendix N



Correspondence between fascist Italian newspaper talking about an interesting article that may be of some use to Weichardt and his newspaper.<sup>602</sup>

<sup>602</sup> ARCA, P.V. 29, L.T. Weichardt – collection, File No. 112 and 114. "Correspondence"

## Appendix O



Otto Skorzeny (the most dangerous man in Europe) *Obersturmbannführer* (Lieutenant colonel) in the Waffen SS. He met Weichardt personally years later as business partners. Skorzeny and Weichardt were business partners after WWII, which poses the question did they know each other during WWII.<sup>603</sup>

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<sup>603</sup> J. Huggler, “Hitler’s commando Lt-Col Otto Skorzeny worked as a assassin for Israeli intelligence”, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/03/29/hitlers-commando-lt-col-otto-skorzeny-worked-as-an-assassin-for/>, 29.03.2016.

## Appendix P



Otto Skorzeny meets Hitler October 1943. Hitler rewards him further military decorations after rescuing Mussolini in a daring mission.<sup>604</sup>

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<sup>604</sup> D. Raviv and Y. Melman, “The Nazi who became a Mossad hitman”, <<https://www.google.com/amp/s/forward.com/news/336943/ht/%3famp>>, 27.03.2016.

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