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The Jewish question and Verwoerd: editorship of the die Transvaler 1937-1948

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CHAPTER 1: Context and Historical overview

Introduction

The 1930s and 1940s in South Africa mark a pre-apartheid era that remains of scholarly interest. It is regularly revisited, specifically in relation to the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and the impetus this gave the Nationalists coming to power in 1948, as well as the formation of its apartheid ideology.

The period is defined as tumultuous - it marks a time when many political agendas came into play: extra-parliamentary groups, the Purified Nationalists, the United party and others all vied for public support. It is also against the backdrop of key world events that during these exact two decades the political moves and positions taken by the leaders of the time indelibly effected the social, political and economic reality of all South Africans, subsequently altering its course for decades to come.

When the ruling National Party, led by General J.B.M. Hertzog, merged with General Jan Smuts's South African Party in 1934 to form a new Fusion Government, named the United Party (with Hertzog as leader), Dr D.F. Malan broke away to form the Purified National party, which then became the official opposition (Gilliomee 2004:360). After Hitler's armies invaded Poland on Friday, 1 September 1939, both Britain and France declared war on Germany. In South Africa, when the House of Assembly[1] voted that the Union sever its ties with the German Reich, Hertzog resigned his public office in protest and Smuts became Prime Minister, effectively ending Fusion (Stultz 1974:61).

Malan's Purified Nationalists aligned themselves to politically further and promote the interests of the Afrikaner and promulgated a broad spectrum of political, economic and cultural interventions. Especially the upliftment of the Afrikaner was of primary concern. The economic depression that followed the Wall Street crash of 1929 coupled with a severe drought locally meant that the poor white problem had intensified. The 1932 Carnegie Commission report on the poverty of white South Africans found that over 300,000 whites, mostly Afrikaners, out of a total population of about 1,8 million, were 'very poor' (Kenney 2016:11).

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[1] The House of Assembly was the lower house of the Parliament of South Africa from 1910 to 1981.

It was exactly the plight of the poor white Afrikaner that set Verwoerd on the course to a more active involvement in politics. As Professor of Sociology at Stellenbosch University (previously of Social Work before switching disciplines), his welfare work meant that he was closely familiar with their condition - unemployed and uneducated. He saw the improvement of the economic condition of the Afrikaner through government means, namely state involvement, as the solution to their upliftment.

Verwoerd helped organise the 1934 Dutch Reformed Church Congress[2] where he delivered a forceful, passionate address on economic reform. The basis of it was that if a person had to be unemployed, white or native, it would be better in the circumstances and with existing differences in living standards more economical if it was the native that is unemployed. An appointment as deputy chairman of the Congress's continuation committee followed and in this position he successfully pressed the United Party government to establish a Department of Social Welfare. From hereon he saw his future lying in *volksdiens*[3] and viewed politics as the best strategy to achieve it (Kenney 2016:11-12).

His advocacy of the poor white question brought him to the attention of the Nationalist party leadership.

It was not a far stretch from 'unemployed natives' to 'unemployed Jews' if it served the Nationalist ideal to uplift the poor Afrikaner. The Nationalist ideology toward solutions for economic reform to solve the 'poor white problem' was subsequently seen more clearly when, in 1936, Verwoerd, along with fellow Stellenbosch University academics: Dr. J. Basson, Dr. C.G.W. Schumann, Dr. J.A. Wiid and Dr. C.G.S. de Villiers, protested against the arrival of the Stuttgart, carrying Jewish immigrants that would, according to him, present a further problem to the economic opportunities of urban whites. It was his part in the protests that subsequently garnered him further attention with a front page article in the Nationalist Afrikaans daily, *Die Burger*[4].

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[2] In Afrikaans: *volkskongres.*

[3] Translation: service to the *volk.*

[4] *Die Burger*, 5 November 1936.

Just a year later Verwoerd would, as editor of the newly formed Nationalist Party paper *Die Transvaler*, write his much-quoted polemic lead article on the Nationalist viewpoint on the 'Jewish Question[5]'. He had been carefully selected by a group of Cape town-based Afrikaner businessmen and politicians, including Dr. D.F. Malan, to push the Nationalist agenda and grow support in the North through the formation of a new Afrikaans daily newspaper.

'The Jewish Question' in the context of South African politics was rooted in the rise of antisemitism during the 30s. The rhetoric of the shirtist movements[6] found traction against the backdrop of drought, depression and increasingly black economic competition which meant that an anti-Jewish sentiment quickly found its way into mainstream Afrikaner nationalism and calls were made for more programmatic action (Shain 1998:80).

The threat of a deluge of Jewish immigrants escaping to the country from Europe further brought anti-Jewish rhetoric to a fever pitch. In his capacity as Minister of the Interior, it was Malan who had introduced the Quota Bill of 1930, which immediately halted Eastern European Jewish immigration to the country. Malan was well-versed in using antisemitic propaganda for electoral traction. As he would later tell *Die Burger*, of which he was previously the editor, that it was easy to 'rouse a feeling of hate towards the Jew.'[7]

The Quota Act though did not prohibit German Jews which meant that this 'loophole' needed to be addressed by government to curb immigration. Agitation against the Jewish refugee 'influx' was pronounced with different groups seemingly vying for control of the debate. The Greyshirts held protest rallies, the Nationalists pushed for government action and similarly staged protest meetings. The Stuttgart Affair, as it became known, was resultant of these tightened immigration controls. The liner, which carried German-Jewish refugees, was chartered to arrive in South Africa before the Aliens bill regulations would take effect from November 1936 onwards. The Aliens Act of 1937 would effectively bar all Western European immigration.

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[5] More universally it would be used for any agenda that referred to the existence of Jews and the 'problems' it posed to the state.

[6] Radical right political and social movements influenced by Fascism in Europe and Nazism in Germany.

[7] *Die Burger,* 2 November 1931.

The fact that immigration figures now dwindled significantly did not end the anti-Jewish rhetoric. Antisemitism had become a key component of the *völkisch* and exclusivist Afrikaner nationalism and was to form an integral part of the Purified National Party's political programme. It provided a unifying factor for the Afrikaner against the alien Jew and foreigner who could perform the role of scapegoat, helping to gloss over class divisions within the Afrikaner society (Shain 1998:81).

The promulgation of the Jew as scapegoat for the economic situation of the poor white Afrikaner is perpetuated by Verwoerd in his lengthy, polemic piece in the first edition of the paper *'The Jewish Question from the Nationalist Party standpoint'.* The key message was to advocate, from the Nationalist camp, for demographic representivity, namely the introduction of economic race quotas that would see Jews not hold professional occupations beyond their demographic representation in the white population, namely that of 4%.

The choice of opinion piece for the first edition of the paper is striking notwithstanding its open conflict of interest from an editor's point of view, albeit it is reflective of an Afrikaans party political paper of this era. In terms of 'news', the *Stuttgart* had arrived almost exactly a year prior, therefore the purpose of the article was clearly to not only fan the fears of a repeat 'immigration influx,' but to introduce and present the economic quota system as a 'solution' to the Afrikaner's economic woes. This is the first incident of the lines being blurred between person (editor) and party (Nationalist). Despite the paper being established as the mouthpiece of the party, which would warrant the introduction of these themes, we see that as editor, Verwoerd, significantly foregrounds himself to champion this agenda. His life, prior to leaving the paper and entering full time politics in 1948, had been inextricably linked to the 'Jewish Question' and it weaves a trail throughout: from the *Volkskongres* on the Poor White Afrikaner, to active political involvement to push for economic reforms for the Afrikaner, to anti-immigration protests, to the lead article cited above. It follows onto the war years, when he would file a personal libel suit against *The Star* newspaper, its editor and its publisher for accusing him of an omission from an official news report and claiming that he furthered Nazi propaganda through *Die Transvaler*. He subsequently lost the lengthy court case, which played out publicly in the pages of his own newspaper.

Aim and Rationale

The research aims to investigate *Die Transvaler's* coverage of the 'Jewish Question' when the daily newspaper was edited by Verwoerd. It analyses articles, editorials and any other news items published on the Jewish issue to ascertain how it was portrayed and whether, and in what ways, the treatment of this question could be linked specifically to the mobilisation of Afrikaner nationalism.

It seeks to examine all the data against the backdrop of local socioeconomic and political conditions during this time and look at Verwoerd's role as editor in informing and promoting the Nationalist agenda in relation to the 'Jewish Question'. It will further track how, and if, the party political narrative is used to link the issue to local concerns through the use of propaganda, stereotypes and other motifs representative of antisemitic discourse.

With this aim, a period of twelve years, 1937 - 1948, of daily editions of *Die Transvaler,* will be perused to track the occurrence of the 'Jewish Question' in articles, editorials and letters. The analysis will focus on local South African politics that include the political agendas of the different political groups whose jostling for power marks this era: fascist, extra-parliamentary organisations, the opposition parties and the ruling government party.

The period under review is lengthy including key periods in South Africa before, during and after the Second World War. It is dealt with chronologically under each theme, in terms of South African politics, but also touches on key world events that shaped the politics of this country.

Since *Die Transvaler* was a party paper, it is understood that it is a mouthpiece used to spout Nationalist ideology and as such essentially serves the purpose of a propaganda paper with Verwoerd as the puppet master. Its role in growing Nationalist party support in the North cannot be excluded, although this could not be verified since data, such as readership figures or profiles on South African press and specifically Afrikaans press during this period is extremely limited. This research will look at the role of *Die Transvaler a*s part of the opposition press and as part of the Afrikaans news media under the Nationalist umbrella. Verwoerd's treatment of the 'Jewish Question' is viewed through these lenses.

His agenda is influenced by key developments and themes in Afrikaner politics during this period and the party ideology he espouses is meant to solidify the Nationalist ideal. Afrikanerdom had to be unified to a much larger extent for the Nationalist party to come into power, and Afrikaner nationalism was the driving force behind this unity.

In addition, the court verdict of the libel court case will also be reviewed since it includes valuable information that relates to Verwoerd's editorial practice during the Second World War and details exact instances of falsifications and misrepresentation in *Die Transvaler.*

Main Research Question

How did *Die Transvaler*, under the editorship of Dr. H.F. Verwoed, treat 'The Jewish Question', and in what way could this be linked to the mobilisation of Afrikaner nationalism pre-1948.

Research limitations

It was beyond the scope of this research to add a comparative study of other English and Afrikaans dailies during this period or to peruse Verwoerd's personal papers (of the court case for instance). Any references made thereof were obtained from secondary sources. Due to the length of the period and subsequent scope of the findings, it was necessary to exclude an analysis of press on the birth of the State of Israel and the Palestinian Question, since it is outside the scope of this study.

CHAPTER 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This research, which sits within the context of a media history project, draws from three areas of scholarship namely the history of Afrikaner nationalism in South African politics, the study of anti-semitism during the 1930s and 1940s in the country and writing on the 'Jewish Question' specifically and lastly, South African media historiography. These act as a frame to the research project and the researcher seeks to ultimately add to them through the contribution of this project.

2.1 Afrikaner Nationalism

The rise of Afrikanerdom and Afrikaner nationalism took place during this period and is seen as the contributing factor to the narrow election win of 1948. Afrikaner nationalism as a political ideology was also evolving and being shaped to reflect the political, cultural and economic aims of the Afrikaner Nationalist party, by whom it was used to mobilise and unite the Afrikaner *volk*.

In reviewing the rise of modern Afrikaner nationalism in the period of the thirties and forties, emphasis is placed on the following social, political and economically influencing factors: poor whiteism and the upliftment of the Afrikaner, the Afrikaner intelligentsia, Afrikaner Broederbond and Afrikaner symbology. Each sub-section is predominantly discussed and treated with relation to Afrikaner nationalism.

2.1.1 Social, political and economic milieu of the 1930s and 1940s

Shifting socioeconomic conditions in the country and a tumultuous political landscape meant that the 1930s and 1940s can be described more as fluid and multi-layered then fixed or moving towards a certain trajectory - depending on the historical-political lens through which it is viewed.

For the Afrikaner, the period was marked by deep fears and feelings of insecurity and resentment. They were displaced by rapid urbanisation and dislocated from their rural origins. They found themselves in a society dominated by different values, urban and capitalist. Also, as the poorest white group, they were perceived as backward and culturally unsophisticated. This only served to deepen their resentment and attracted them to politicising along racial lines. The Afrikaner middle-

class, which included educators and clergy propounded a strategy of ethnic mobilisation towards actualisation through group identification (Giliomee in Dubow 1995:196). This strategy of ethnic mobilisation was through the vehicle of Afrikaner nationalism.

Afrikanerdom in the early 30s was markedly different from the united social reality it is presented as later. Most scholars in the past have described Afrikanerdom as divided by a class disparity in the thirties with the poor white problem being the most obvious reflection of this struggle. Split into different groups with varying political agendas and more importantly separated by class divisions it was the educated, elitist intelligentsia that acted as the aggressors pushing for state intervention.

It was the war that gave the 1940s specifically its sense of fluidity and whereas most British dominions had entered the war supported by the electorate, in South Africa entry to the war split the government, and with the country divided it added political turmoil to its domestic politics. These periods have enjoyed regular scrutiny since they lead up to apartheid, but the Malanite[8] ascendancy that followed it was not necessarily preordained and so the teleological assumptions that underpin these periods need to be evaluated (Dubow 2005:1-2).

A drive worldwide towards a society shaped for the better followed on from the Depression and the aftermath of the First World War. It resulted in a vision of a new type of state reformed to systematically take on more additional powers and responsibilities and to which economic and social life would be subject. In South Africa the drive presented itself in the form of economic and social upliftment programmes. Subsequently, one of the outcomes was the effort to remedy the poor white problem (Posel in Dubow 2005:65). This drive towards state intervention and programmes to uplift the poor brought the intelligentsia into direction opposition with the state as it brought to the fore the inadequacy of the government to action solutions to alleviate poor whiteism.

Two events in the early thirties further brought the welfare of the poor white to the forefront. The first was the Carnegie Commission report on the poor white problem published in 1932 and the second was the Dutch Reformed Church *volkskongres*[9] organised in 1934.

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[8] Dr. D.F.Malan as leader of the Purified National Party.

[9] Literally: congress of the nation (specifically the *volk).*

2.1.2 Poor whiteism and Afrikaner Nationalism

Besides the political jostling reflective of this period, the plight of the Afrikaner was of great concern not only to the Dutch Reformed Church, but also to the state. The Carnegie Corporation had commissioned a study on poor white poverty in South Africa in 1929-1930 the results of which were published in 1932. It found that over 300,000 whites, majority Afrikaners, out of a population of about 1,8 million, were 'very poor.' The report's recommendation was that poor whites, during a period of transition, be protected against competition so that they could adapt to the new conditions (Kenney 2016:11).

The downward mobility of the whites and the fears of racial integration and miscegenation is attributed by most historians as the trigger that led to more cohesive political interventions. The belief that whites should be protected by social institutions gained ground.

White poverty and its growing visibility was a sensitive issue that led to more of a growing divide between the moderates and the radical members of the Afrikaner community. Leaders were unanimous that social upliftment was the key, but the more radical - like Verwoerd - blamed poor whiteism on the social exclusion of a capitalist system that was dominated by English and Jews as foreigners and this issue subsequently was a key mobilising factor in the Afrikaner nationalist movement (Dubow 2006:227).

Besides the loss of racial pride for the intelligentsia, politically the plight of the poor white Afrikaner presented a real threat of a class-based mobilisation across racial lines. This would derail any hope of a future Afrikaner Nationalist party victory. Some scholars cite this as reason that the petty bourgeoisie therefore campaigned along racial lines, and not class-based. This explanation of a class analysis that lit the fires of extremist, Afrikaner ethnonationalism is also being revisited, with Giliomee (1995:196, 204) for instance being one of the historians that attaches separate weights to the factors of ethnicity and class, since the orthodox analysis of class does not adequately explain why Afrikaner nationalism, in its 'purified' form, became such a driving force within such a short time. This differs and conflicts again with the class-conflict Marxist view of Afrikaner nationalism that says this differentiated form did not emerge from a purely ethnic mobilisation to provide psychological security and not material benefits, but is located in the development of Afrikaner capital

and the context of Afrikaner social class conflicts and economic conditions of this formative period (O'Meara 1983:12).

It was at the 1934 Dutch Reformed Church Congress that Dr. H.F. Verwoerd would deliver a forceful address lobbying for economic reform and campaigning that the Afrikaner should be uplifted at the expense of the native. He was already closely familiar with the welfare of the Afrikaner through his position as Professor of Sociology, and previously Social Work, at Stellenbosch University. As part of the young Afrikaner intelligentsia, he already enjoyed a measure of status and recognition, but the Congress brought him to the attention of party leadership (Kenney 2016:11-12).

It would be the Afrikaner intellectuals who would emerge as strong interventionists who allied themselves with *volkediens*[10] and with Afrikaner nationalism as a movement in the 1930s and 1940s. It was also the intelligentsia that lent legitimacy to the proposed social order and sought to mobilise the Afrikaner factions into a social compact through the idealisation of 'a perfect state', the solution to the socioeconomic and political challenges and concerns of this period.

2.1.3 Afrikaner intelligentsia

The increasingly large number of Afrikaner intellectuals, who emerged from academia, the Dutch Reformed Church and other institutions lent legitimacy on intellectual grounds to Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid. This alliance between the Afrikaner intellectuals and a political movement during the rise of Afrikanerdom in the 1930s and 1940s, is an example of strong interventionism (Babbie & Mouton 1998:537-538).

There is some debate whether the Afrikaner intellectuals who returned from overseas study at German universities had been influenced by eugenics and Nazi ideology and whether that influenced the formation of apartheid ideology. Moodie (1975:165) writes that young, Afrikaner intellectuals (he mentions Verwoerd as one of them) were coming home after doctoral study in Europe inspired by the ideals of neo-Fichtean nationalism which he defines as a slightly broader context of nationalism including the views of German romantics such as J.D. Herder, F.E.D Schleiermacher and Fichte himself. This claim is countered by Marx (2013:91) who says that allegations of an ideologi-

[10] Literally 'service to the nation'

cal influence of German nationalism on Verwoerd has been repeatedly mentioned in historical literature, but remain unsubstantiated. He marks Verwoerd's interest in the different fields of psychology as stemming from a longstanding involvement with poor whiteism.

Fichte's writings are defined as a 'glorified authoritarian nationalism that presents an idealised notion of the volk as an organic entity that was God-willed with a unique historical destiny' (Kuperus 1999:68) and that Neo-Kuyperian Calvinism and neo-Fichtean (secular, Germanic, romantic) ideologies 'influenced the development of Christian-Nationalism, Afrikaner nationalism, and apartheid through their notions of culture, nation, sovereignty, and several other ideas' (Kuperus 1999:68).

The leaders and nationalists were responding to the 'dislocation of Afrikaners due to urbanisation industrialisation and the crisis in agriculture,' to poor whiteism. G. Cronje and N. Diederichs, leader of the Nationalist Party in the Free State, were named as intellectuals who had been exposed to these ideas and brought neo-Fichtean ideology to South Africa in the 30s (Kuperus 1999:68).

The intellectual elite were unable to leave the laager of Afrikanerdom since their right-wing ideological position locked them into a network of overlapping memberships, which was their *volksdiens* and this also helped to co-ordinate the formulation of Afrikaner opinion (Gordon in Babbie & Mouton 1991:89).

The most illustrious and secretive of these memberships was the Afrikaner Broederbond, formed in 1918 and whose membership included cabinet ministers, future prime ministers and Verwoerd, who would serve on its executive. The resurgence of Afrikaner nationalism in the 30s is further attributed to the inner workings of this organisation.

2.1.4 Afrikaner Broederbond

The Broederbond was originally formed in 1918, but prior to 1927 its role was not as clear and for most of the 20s it functioned mostly culturally. The political catalyst of 1934 that Fusion and Coalition presented - disassociating the petty bourgeoisie from previous political ties - transformed the Board into a 'war council' (Pelzer 1979:12 in O'Meara 1983:63) of Afrikaner nationalism and they started recruiting political leaders to join their ranks (O'Meara 1983: 59, 62-63) which was already

largely made up of the petty bourgeois. By 1936, Verwoerd was already a member of the Broederbond (Kenny 2016:12).

The Bond believed that only when Afrikaners felt they belonged to an exclusive *volk* would they mobilise to pursue party goals which was to safeguard the future of Afrikanerdom (Giliomee 1995:197). Economically and socially, poor white Afrikaners had to be helped and their welfare improved. The Broederbond saw the upliftment of the Afrikaner as a combined strategy of ethnic mobilisation and the advocating of *volkskapitalisme*[11]. The material and cultural foundation of Afrikaner nationalism was therefore laid systematically to carry out group identification within all levels of Afrikaner society. The Broederbond's role in the organisation of the Afrikaner economic movement was calculated and the ideology of this movement (O'Meara 1983:17) played a specific role in the development of Afrikaner nationalism.

Again, the threat was that the existence of this very large group of poor whites presented a danger that they would mobilise along class lines and this would undermine any mass mobilisation of Afrikaner nationalism. This obsession with class division and the threat of class mobilisation as well as the need to unite Afrikanerdom are major themes of the Bond ideology in the 30s. The major problem was that Afrikaners were excluded from any sector of the economy other than agriculture and one of the blocks to entry for economic dependence was language - the opportunity to trade and do business in their mother tongue. The petty bourgeois were also dependant on other classes and the Bond strove to break this dependence entirely through the provision of Afrikaner capital. A change in the economic position of the Afrikaner was paramount and his entry to economic welfare needed to be given access to by language. Afrikaner language and culture would be used to ideologically redefine Afrikanerdom and Afrikaner nationalism in the 30s and 40s (O'Meara 1983: 65-66).

The Bond planned to use the Great Trek Centenary celebrations[12] (*Eeufees*) of 1938 as a means to mobilise Afrikaners and create the most receptive environment within which to launch the economic *volkskongres* of 1939. The aim was for the volk to be receptive to its ideas and proposals so that they could realise in what destitution a large portion of them lived and actively support and partici-

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[11] Afrikaner capital

[12] 100 year celebration of the Battle of Blood River of 1838

pate in the economic plans and programmes that was being mapped out and prepared by the Bond as part of its economic movement in the 40s (O'Meara 1983:107-108).

2.1.5 Afrikaner Culture - symbolism of a 'shared past'

Even though the leading theme during the *Eeufees* celebrations, to mark the centenary of the Battle of Blood River of 1938 with the symbolism of an ox-wagon *trek*[13], was or had become economic in part because of the Broederbond involvement, the cultural event was able to unite Afrikanerdom across class into an unprecedented social unit since it was ethnically driven and motivated. Since the celebrations spanned the whole country, from Cape Town to Pretoria, the symbolic ox-wagon festivities gripped every Afrikaner and evolved into a mass cultural mobilisation into every town.

It is pointed out that a neglected aspect of revisiting the history of the Nationalists' advent to power is the manner in which popular nationalism or everyday Afrikaner nationalism was constructed. It was the ethnic character of popular pursuits and interests that helped solidify social unity. The *Eeufees* reunited Afrikanerdom, by presenting the power of the past, in a moment of cross-class mobilisation. It provoked such a degree of emotion, penetrating all classes and in some sense even bordered mass hysteria (Grundlingh in Dubow 2005:192).

Similarly and significantly, Diederichs saw the *Eeufees* as divine deliverance from class divisions: 'The ox-wagon made us one again' and that what 'has been united will never again be sundered' (O'Meara 1983:108).

The political leaders were quick to latch onto this unique sense of unity amongst Afrikanerdom. They used the cultural symbolism of the event to link it to the present day struggle of the *volk,* arming them with a new sense of solidarity. The language, religion and struggle of the *Voortrekkers* and re-enactment of a 'shared' past created a common bond which the Nationalists were swift to capitalise on. Championing economic reform, both Verwoerd and Malan's speeches at the event merged the theme of the poor white Afrikaner with the symbolism of the past with the aim to mobilise Afrikaner nationalism. Malan spoke about the poor white that was fighting his own, new Blood

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[13] Literally 'arduous journey', but more reflective of the Afrikaans Voortrekkers' ox-wagon means of transport in the Great Trek

River[14] in the cities and that the *volk* must hear their cries. He quoted from the Carnegie Commission report to illustrate the dire conditions of the Afrikaner, their numbers and the dangers of miscegenation (Koorts 2014:347-348). Verwoerd said that the message that the 300,000 poor whites, who were descendants of the *Voortrekkers,* was sending was to 'Afrikanerise the cities and assume your rightful place in commerce and industry' (O'Meara 1983:108).

2.2. Antisemitism and the 'Jewish Question' in South Africa

Historians have often attributed the influence of Nazi propaganda and the antisemitic rhetoric of the radical right 'Shirtist[15]' movements as an explanation for the flagrant antisemitism of this period. This view is countered by Shain (2000:77) who argues that it was not simply a foreign import, but instead its roots could be traced as far back as the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when vulgar cartoons of 'corpulent and avaricious' Jews appeared in the local press mirroring those of Europe. The lack of historical memory of any disharmony between Jew and non-Jew and the suggestion that antisemitism was only as a result of upheavals in South Africa and Nazi propaganda at the time is to ignore the deeply entrenched anti-Jewish sentiment that existed prior to 1930 (Shain 2000:88).

Certainly, the existence of immigration legislation during the 30s would support this picture and a climate of anti-Jewish prejudice and sentiment certainly existed when Dr. D.F. Malan campaigned so vociferously for the introduction of a bill that would stop further immigration. The Quota Act of 1930 was aimed at curtailing the influx of Jews from Eastern Europe.

After 1934, Malan's new Purified National Party continued to perpetuate an anti-Jewish rhetoric. *Die Burger* on 18 June 1936 quoted Malan as saying that the Nationalist Party was not anti-Jewish, but pro-South African (Joubert 1990:226) obviously in response to accusations of antisemitism.

The persecution of Jews across Europe raised fears of being swamped by immigrants in large numbers, a 'danger' perpetuated through the media, specifically the Afrikaans press. The rise of the radical right movements in the country furthered stimulated anti-Jewish agitation. The more stringent

[14] The Battle of Blood River, between the Voortrekkers and the Zulu Army took place on 16 December 1838.

[15] Radical right, fringe movements in the country.

Alien Act of 1937 which sought to close a loophole of the earlier Act, in that it only curbed immigration from Eastern Europe, was enacted to now also block immigration from Germany and Britain.

The seemingly 'large' presence of Jews in the country, who formed an indelible part of the South African population, played an important part in the *verhoudingspolitiek*[16] in the 30s (Joubert 1990:224). It was voiced in an article in *Die Burger* on 21 October 1936 that only a certain percentage of Jews should be accommodated in the Union without harming the country (Joubert 1990:226-227).

This precise discourse, advocating economic ratios for Jews, would one year later form the central theme of Verwoerd's first article in the opening issue of *Die Transvaler* as well as subsequent editorials, but it also illustrates that it was not a proposal first introduced by him, but formed part of the Nationalist collective discourse.

Joubert (1990:225) argues that the struggle[17] of the Nationalist Party and *Die Burger* to limit further Jewish immigration to the country needs to be seen in relation[18] to the economic awakening of the Afrikaner *volk*. He noted that there was at least one letter published per month in *Die Burger* from readers that were disillusioned by the 'influx of Jews' which illustrated *Die Burger's* aim of keeping it at the forefront of the Afrikaner consciousness through its selection of letters to make public.

The anti-Jewish discourse helped to consolidate a united Afrikaner identity and gloss over class divisions and differences that existed within Afrikaner society. The status of the poor white Afrikaner and his inferiority position in society could now be explained along racial or ethnic considerations. Through a racial antisemitic discourse the Afrikaner could be raised. It also explained why even when there was an upturn in the economy mid-30s (which would then discount a purely economic reason for antisemitism) this discourse still continued to be present in Afrikaner political discourse (Shain 2000:86-87).

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[16] Literally: the political relations between groups.

[17] In Afrikaans: s*tryd.*

However, the agitation and antisemitic rhetoric of the far-right movements during the thirties specifically and early forties meant that the anti-Jewish rhetoric that had become part of the Nationalist narrative could be lost to the fascist fringe movements who were more vehement.

Even though antisemitism had its roots in South African society before the 30s, the advent of the Nazi movement after 1933 encouraged a more virulent form of antisemitism amongst shirt movements. This in turn meant that the Nationalists picked up on this ideology especially with the aim to unite the poor white Afrikaner. Since the shirt movements were most active along their constituencies namely blue collar workers they followed to adopt a harder line antisemitic message (Furlong 1991:26-27).

But this is an aspect that Malan had already been aware of, since he pushed through the Quota Act at the beginning of the period, before the rise of the shirtist movements and their zenith at the end of the 30s, early 40s. The Greyshirts (The South African Christian National Socialist Movement) were formed in 1933, so any earlier anti-Jewish agitation could not be attributed to the influence of this specific movement, who however very quickly had a large following and were extremely active and able to organise large protests and rallies from 1934 onwards.

Hoggenheimer-depiction in the media of a greedy, Jewish capitalist which *Die Burger* illustrated in cartoons since 1915 reflected the growing antisemitism in Afrikaner society parallel with Europe. Max Hoggenheimer, a Jewish millionaire, was the name of a stage character in a 1902 West End play 'The Girl from Kays'. Subsequent productions of the play in South Africa followed by the amplification of a cartoon character by D.C. Boonzaaier, a cartoonist that worked for *Die Burger*, but also several other newspapers, firmly entrenched this 'vulgar, bloated and Semitic-looking caricature' as personifying mining and international capital 'bent on self-aggrandisement' (Shain, M. "From Hoggenheimer to the Guptas." *Die Burger*, 7 April 2016).

The Hoggenheimer figure was popular with Afrikaner nationalists, hence its appearance in the Afrikaans press. The public understood the reference as a figure representative of the Jew, since they had been educated by its cartoon presence in the media. The editor of *Die Burger,* A.L. Geyer, attacked the Hoggenheimer figure in the press on 15 November 1934 in an editorial titled 'The

chief enemy in the Nationalist struggle'. In his notes he wrote: 'But Hoggenheimer has no patriotism and no National feeling at all. Not the interests of the volk nor even of humanity, but self-seeking and own interests pure and simple control his actions' (Furlong 1991:36-37).

Protest against Jewish immigration, along with the rise of antisemitism provided the background to Malan's advocation for a Quota Act to curb immigration (Bradlow in Koorts 2014:329).

In the lead up to the 1938 elections, Malan tried to balance the appeal of the antisemitic rhetoric of the Greyshirts with his own, to avoid the threat of losing a part of his electorate. Anti-Jewish proposals were also included in the 1938 Election Manifesto: 'with a view to South Africa's specific problems, (the Party will) take measures to end immigration of Jews, to act against the use of name-changing, to exercise stronger control over naturalisation, and to create an occupational permit-system for unnaturalised aliens' (Furlong 1991: 64-66). The result was that fundamentally, anti-semitism now formed part of mainstream politics.

Early 1939, on the back of the euphoric *Eeufees* celebrations of 1938, the *Ossewabrandwag* (Ox-wagon Sentinel) was formed. Its aim was to separate itself from party politics, but unite Afrikanerdom by further building on the centenary celebrations. Smuts accused it of being a 'secret military organisation masquerading as a culture movement' (Shain 2015:237-238).

Again, Malan felt threatened by the tremendous growth of the *Ossewabrandwag* in a relatively short space of time since it could undermine the influence of the Nationalist party. An agreement with the *Ossewabrandwag* late in 1940 where they agreed to confine themselves to non-political activities meant a lesser threat. In addition, another internal conflict within his ranks now came from the Nationalist Socialist New order, founded by Oswald Pirow who pressed for a South African national socialism and the exclusion of Jews (Shain 2015:240-241).

Other radical right movements, like the South African Fascists, the Blackshirts, and so on, all identified with anti-Jewish discourse. The danger that all the antisemitic radical right activists posed to the Jewry in South Africa is reflected in the Jewish Board of Deputies pressing the government for legislation to protect against defamation as a criminal offence. The *Zionist Record* lamented that

Jew-hatred had now become part and parcel of the social and economic philosophy and political programme (Shain 2015:84-86).

2.3 Afrikaans press in the 1930s and 1940s

Research on South Africa press during the pre-apartheid decades is limited, whereas studies on the press in the apartheid era abound. The thirties and forties for instance are slimly treated in South African media historiography. Accurate circulation figures are not available for this period since no legislation existed to make it public prior to 1947 (Lindsay-Smith in Joubert 1990:6). *Die Transvaler*, which is categorised under Afrikaans press, sat on the side of opposition prior to 1948, and thereafter formed part of the government press.

The formation and the development of the Afrikaans press during the first part of the twentieth century was heavily politically motivated and in contrast with English newspapers, were not started as commercial ventures. This aspect of the Afrikaans press as subservient to political affiliations rather than profit, meant that the papers could be entirely dedicated to a political cause and viewpoint. The papers were created to further cultural (language especially) and political ambitions and as a vehicle to unify Afrikanerdom.

This subservience to the Nationalist cause meant that the Afrikaans press were filled with an evangelical zeal which differed in content and form from the English papers; they really began to grow in the 1920s onwards when the growth of Afrikaner nationalism became more of a political force in South Africa (Potter 1972:27, 31). The subsequent chasm that existed between the two language papers in the 30s and 40s can be attributed to the fact that the Afrikaans press was mostly linked to Afrikaner nationalism and the task of promoting the interest of its speakers (Joubert 1990:3).

The Afrikaans newspapers formed part of a monolithic unit: ‘church, politics[19], culture and newspaper were all allies[20] in an Afrikaans national institution. Out of this period emerges the ex-

[19] In Afrikaans: *politici.*

[20] In Afrikaans: *bondgenote*

traordinary bond between the Afrikaans newspaper and the political pursuit[21] of the Afrikaner' (Herbst in Joubert 1990:13).

The political origin of Afrikaans newspapers and its devotion to *volksdiens* (service to its people) to serve the Afrikaans culture along political delineations established it firmly as party political press.

Die Transvaler specifically came with a 'calling' and was promoted by *Die Burger*, effectively its sister newspaper in political affiliation, as the property of the *volk* and as such to only interpret the will of the *volk* (Carter in Joubert 1990:13).

The English-language press had settled into two main publishing groups namely the Argus Printing and Publishing company and the smaller South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN). *The Star* (Johannesburg), *Cape Argus* (Cape Town), *Daily News* (Durban) and *The Friend* (Bloemfontein) was published by the Argus group. Other important English papers included the *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg), *Cape Times* (Cape Town) and the Port Elizabeth papers, the *Eastern Province Herald* and the *Evening Post* (Le Roux in Joubert 1990:6).

The *Nasionale Pers Beperk* was the leader amongst the Afrikaans press companies, with *Die Burger*, the most influential paper. They also published *Die Volksblad* in Bloemfontein and *Die Oosterlig* in Port Elizabeth (Joubert 1990:5). Other Afrikaans dailies supported the United Party for most of the period under review. *Die Vaderland* and *Die Volkstem* was mostly published in the Transvaal and the Free State. *Die Suiderstem*, a direct competitor to *Die Burger*, was published by the *Unie-Volkspers Beperk* (Patterson in Joubert 1990:6).

An outcome of the newspapers' party political affiliations was the way in which news was reported between the separate language presses. News was specifically tailored to an audience and papers negatively portrayed whichever party or leader they did not support. None of the English press supported the Nationalist Party's viewpoint, and when they did differ with the governing party, they would rather support no party or like the *Natal Mercury* and *Daily Dispatch* after Fusion, support the *Dominium Party* (Joubert 1990:4, 5, 29).

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[21] In Afrikaans: s*trewe.*

The problem this presented was that the English speakers could not understand their Afrikaner counterparts, in contrast with the Afrikaans speakers who could read both newspapers and was thus able to develop a broader political view (Scholtz in Joubert 1990:4). This language issue also translated to the editors. The position and behaviour of the editors of the English press and Afrikaans press differed widely, with Afrikaans editors being hefty opponents due to their utter commitment to their task. They were also more influential than their English counterparts, who were often overshadowed and dictated to by their business managers (Patterson or Calpin in Joubert 1990:8). An English journalist was quoted as saying: 'They can talk as well as write. They can pass from Afrikaans to English with a facility that leave English editors standing in contrast to the Englishman who admits in speech that he, a leader of the public opinion, knows so little Afrikaans that he can neither read editorial comments of the Afrikaans Press nor answer the Afrikaans challenge in an editorial conference' (Calpin in Joubert 1990:8).

Another key differentiation was that the Afrikaans newspapers did not have professional journalists as editors, they focused on positioning papers to promote Afrikaner politics, and not primarily concerned with commercial interest (Fourie 2007:35).

The Afrikaans press as such owed its development purely to political factors (Scholtz in Joubert 1990:12). This was certainly the case with *Die Transvaler*.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This historical research project involved heavy archival research, examining large data sets of hard copies of *Die Transvaler* held in the National Library in Cape Town. The archives of this newspaper, which is not available electronically, meant physical handling of over three thousand newspapers. The main focus was on the content of this primary set of data, which was then supplemented with selected secondary sources where necessary to elucidate evidence, as in the case of the Verwoerd vs. Paver libel case.

The advantage of this method was that a primary set of evidence was obtained that could be analysed first hand, without any prior subjectivity or influence. It meant also that as a reader, effectively, the researcher could notice repetition of themes and more readily grasp the context that they appeared in.

A chronological approach meant that data was analysed over an extended time frame, which highlighted and lifted topics and themes relevant to the period and important to the aim of this research.

3.1 Research Design and Methodology

Designing a methodological toolkit to match the sample period that spanned more than ten years and included a very large data set proved challenging.

Initially, quantitative content analysis was used to select texts for the sample, but it soon became apparent that there would be a substantial number of texts to analyse and that already regular themes were constantly and consistently emerging. The disadvantage was that purely using content analysis in this instance yielded an inordinate amount of data for further in-depth treatment. Content analysis was therefore first used primarily to collect the material and this was followed by thematic analyses to organise the set into recurrent themes.

The advantage of the thematic approach meant that the material was organised into themes, presented chronologically and this allowed the researcher to more effectively analyse the data.

3.2 Sample period

The time period covers the duration that Verwoerd served as editor of *Die Transvaler*, thus from 1 October 1937 to 31 December 1948.

3.3 Data set and collection

Die Transvaler newspaper appeared as a daily, which meant that the period scrutinised yielded approximately three thousand newspapers to peruse. The *National Library of South Africa* holds the hard copies of *Die Transvaler* for the entire period and the collection is in a very good condition. No microfilm or digital archive of *Die Transvaler* exists, which meant that for the aim of this research, each hard copy had to be physically ordered, handled and perused, which was incredibly time intensive.

Since the library furthermore does not allow any photographs to be taken, it meant physically copying large sets of texts from the physical copies.

This research paper includes scanned copies of selected texts ordered with the permission of the library.

3.4 Data selection

Since *Die Transvaler* is not available on microfilm and no digital search of words could be done the quantitative phase entailed physically searching for the appearance of the following words in the source text:

Primary word(s): Jew(s), Jewish, the Jewish (Question), Jewish (Problem).
Secondary words: antisemitism, Nazi, Hitler, Palestine, Israel, Zion(ist)/(ism), Hoggenheimer.

The primary words were selected as the most suitable key words to successfully produce a data set for the sample. Secondary words were selected as possibly elucidating or pointing to the viewpoints

of the editor in its placement or portrayal. They were also selected due to their possible association with or relationship to the primary word(s). This meant that articles could be selected that were manifestly about issues related to 'Jews.'

From the outset, it became apparent that the frequency of the appearance of especially the primary key words would yield a very large set of data, especially also considering the sample period of nearly a decade. The methodology therefore needed to be adjusted to facilitate the analysis of such a large data set.

The initial content analysis revealed a pattern of appearance of the primary and secondary key words in the structure of the newspaper. It was therefore most logical to unitise the volume of data accordingly, and collapse it into three treatable units:

a) Editorials written by Verwoerd, which were normally placed on page four or on a later page if the issue was larger than standard for the day.
b) Articles featuring local and current news which were mostly placed on the front page if considered newsworthy.
c) Articles featuring international news which were also normally placed on the front page. These were supplied by SAPA, Reuters and international news agencies of the time, which constituted the placement of a news report. Attention was given to where the news report was placed in the paper and how it was captioned.

In addition, cartoons that included any of the primary or secondary words were included.

The researcher further collapsed the data set loosely into three chronological units, namely the periods 1937-1939, 1940-1945 and 1946-1948 respectively organised into pre-war, during war and post-war periods for analysis.

In classifying the data set into units, patterns of themes that occurred regularly and related to the research question, were already uncovered. These patterns could be analysed further by coding the data into themes. The data would then be analysed thematically and further condensed into relevance to the research question and the aim and rationale of this paper.

3.5 Translation

All quotations from *Die Transvaler* cited in this study was translated from Afrikaans to English by the researcher. The translation followed a faithful translation process with the greater emphasis on context, as opposed to style. Where idioms are used, these are footnoted with the source text. Where the translation does not wholly succeed in conveying the more nuanced and layered meaning of the source text, the original is cited in the footnotes. For instance in the case of '*vreemd*' it does not mean its equivalent of 'strange,' its use was more to denote 'stranger' or 'foreigner' by implication. Or vice versa, where a word in the source text does not have a suitable equivalent, it is italicised in the body text and a suggested translation footnoted.

3.6 Research limitations

Due to the scope of the study, it was not possible to peruse and analyse other newspapers during the same period other than citations contained in secondary sources obtained during research of and preparation for the literary review and theoretical framework.

In addition, data obtained from the international news stories had to be eliminated from the study due to the extensive data already obtained in the local news sections and in addition, it not being essential data to the research question of this paper. It would however provide data for a research aimed at, or centred around, the birth of the State of Israel and the Palestinian Question.

PART B: RESEARCH FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 4: THE ECONOMIC WELFARE OF THE AFRIKANER

Introduction

At the beginning of the period of review for analysis, namely 1937-1939, a wave of antisemitism was seen rising in the country, running parallel with the persecution of the Jews in Europe. The increased immigration that followed in turn increased antisemitism in South Africa partly due to the politicians using it as a political tool to garner votes at rallies, but also through the portrayal in the media that the country is being swamped by 'the danger' of immigrants. Already the Quota Act had been pushed through in 1930 by Malan to curb the immigration of Eastern European Jews and the more stringent Aliens Act of 1937 had followed to block the immigration of German Jews as a result of protests, especially heightened by the *Stuttgart* affair. 'The Jewish Question' was brought into the public sphere with the anti-Jewish rhetoric of radical right movements and National Party politicians carrying this forward into mainstream media, especially the Afrikaans press.

It was a topic and cause that Verwoerd considered most noteworthy to attach his name to in the first edition of *Die Transvaler*. It had garnered him front page attention of the foremost Nationalist paper in the South, namely *Die Burger*, during the *Stuttgart* protests the year before[22]. The article, headlined *'*Jews especially a threat to English speakers' spoke of protests against 'Jewish mass immigration' in Stellenbosch and Paarl, where Verwoerd was one of the speakers. Under the sub-heading 'The Question' Verwoerd sketched the transition of South Africa into an industrialised country and demonstrated how the Jew from out of a lower rank had risen to a position of power in trade and industry: 'The cardinal question of this Jewish colonisation is the fact that the hope of the Afrikaner lie in the fact that he should take the influential positions in trade and industry, according to the portion that he constitutes of the population.'

Die Burger article appeared less than a year earlier than the one Verwoerd then penned as editor of *Die Transvaler,* and in it he repeated the same main themes, but this time he at length crafted the building blocks that led to 'the Nationalist' viewpoint.

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[22] *Die Burger*, 5 November 1936.

The quotations about economic quotas are most often lifted from this first article that Verwoerd wrote for *Die Transvaler*, therefore it was necessary to look at it in more depth to explore its main themes.

4.1 The Jewish Question from the Nationalist viewpoint

The very first edition[23] of *Die Transvaler*, positioned it firmly as a party political paper. This larger first issue reads like the who's who of Nationalist party politics and featured articles (clearly representing the political agenda at this juncture and significantly illustrating each politician's individual cause) penned by Dr. D.F. Malan ('Nationalist Party's road to a republic'[24]), Advocate C.R.Swart ('Not HATE towards English, but LOVE for what is your own'[25]), Dr. N.J. van der Merwe ('The Union and the Rest of Africa: *Kampvegter*[26] for the White Population, but no lackey[27] of British imperialism'[28]), Mr. Eric H.Louw ('Realisation of the Union's Sovereign status', 'Fight against British Diplomacy and the shirkers in our midst' [29]), Advocate J.G.Strydom ('Maintaining the White population in Union; Nationalist Party therefore wants segregation of natives[30'31]) and lastly an entire page dedicated to Dr. H.F.Verwoerd's opinion piece: 'The Jewish Question from a Nationalist viewpoint, a possible solution.'[32]

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[23] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

[24] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937. Page 20.

[25] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937. Page 23.

[26] Translation: champion or fighter.

[27] In Afrikaans: *handlanger*.

[28] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937. Page 25.

[29] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937. Page 27.

[30] In Afrikaans: *naturelle*.

[31] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937. Page 27.

[32] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937. Page 32.

The lay-out of the article included a photo of the ocean liner, the *Stuttgart,* and a separate photo that depicted the protest at the harbour captioned 'The sign of danger'. In the centre, a picture of the editor appeared flanked on either side by two of his colleagues, who were Stellenbosch professors at the time. Under Verwoerd's photograph the caption 'They took the lead on themselves' to 'awaken the nation's consciousness[33]' appeared. See Appendix 1.

The introductory paragraphs denied any racial hatred towards Jews as Verwoerd sought to define it as 'natural and obvious' for the Afrikaner to promote self-interest. He drew a parallel to a time when the accusation of racial hatred was brought against the Afrikaner when in pursuit of his interests, the Afrikaner also found himself in conflict with the Englishman. He argued that the same kind of enforcement of rights and promotion of self-interest by the more nationalistic Afrikaner, which is now in conflict with another population group, the Jews, was branded by the same Englishman and his Afrikaans-speaking allies as presumptuous and born of hatred. He then set out to what he termed as 'unequivocally' explain, without ambiguity, the attitude of the Nationalist towards the Jew so that he could counter those using accusations for political gain or those who 'quite honestly believe that the Nationalist's view alone was born of hatred against the racial group[34]'. Verwoerd wanted to leave no doubt as to his meaning: 'The Nationalist does not hate the Jew - just as little as he supposedly hates the Englishman or German or Russian or whoever. The Jew did not in any way[35] attract the attention of the Party, or come into play in the development of the latter's policy, on grounds of his race or religion.[36]'

He said that the National Party's 'beliefs and policies' towards this question were driven by only one major motivation, namely 'the love of its members to their *volk*[37]*.'* And that this 'love - not a

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[33] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

[34] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

[35] In Afrikaans: *verste verte.*

[36] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

[37] Literally, *volk* means 'nation', but used here it refers more to Afrikaans speakers as a whole.

negative attitude[38] of hatred' drove the Nationalist towards 'positive action' wherever his people's interests clashed with other groups.

This Verwoerd defined as patriotism, the 'noble dedication to the nation' and questioned how it could be viewed as racial hatred when it existed in the 'heart of the Afrikaner[39].' He related it to the Jew, who he said, especially with 'all the sense of injustice he might feel, should understand this urge from another *volk*, as with the Jew *volkstrou*[40] is deeply ingrained[41]' and that Jews 'formed a race and religious unit of unprecedented solidarity.[42]' Since this same driving force and motivation that existed 'in a special way' in the Jewish community existed with the Afrikaner, a clash of interests would naturally be sharpened.

Verwoerd berated the 'small minority group' in the country that in the interest of their people, was landing in a fight with the larger majority of the population.[43] He said that the fact that they sacrificed self-interest, because they thought their people's honour was being violated and to support their race and people - 'how wildly strange they might be' - was evidence of how the Jew first stood by his people in the same way the Nationalist would like to see every Afrikaner do towards their kin.[44]

Next, in order to elucidate the National Party's policy towards the Jew, Verwoerd outlined its historic background: 'The Afrikaner was at first mainly rural and mostly satisfied with farming, but when with the discovery of diamonds and gold and the first exploitation of minerals, aliens - mostly English or Jews - entered these operations, a few Afrikaners tried to benefit from it, although most preferred a life outside the city. At this point, there was no conflict for the Afrikaner farmer since he

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[38] In Afrikaans: *gemoedstoestand*.

[39] In Afrikaans: *leef in die hart van die Afrikaner.*

[40] Translation: Faithfulness to a nation (*volk*).

[41] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

[42] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

[43] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

[44] In Afrikaans: *landgenote.*

had no desire to share in these trades or take the part of the travelling hawker[45], of whom 'even the poorest hawker could enjoy the hospitality of the Afrikaner.'[46]

He mentioned that some had lamented the move of the Afrikaners to the city, but that there was reason to bemoan the fact that they had not made the move 80 years earlier, since if he had the Afrikaner would have had his rightful share, especially in what Verwoerd described as the early days when urban development had just started and other population groups were entrenching themselves in trades in the city.

He said it should not be forgotten that many of the *vreemdelinge*[47] had no capital, little education, and often not much knowledge of commerce. In the competition that followed, the Afrikaner would therefore have had certain advantages, as in knowledge of the country's languages and circumstances and that the Afrikaner would also then have possessed the one important characteristic of the *vreemdeling,* namely his ability to adapt to the demands of urban life.[48]'

At this point, he reiterated, no conflict existed between the Afrikaner and the other population groups, since the former and most of the population of the country chose a lifestyle and a profession on which the latter infringed very little. Over time, he noted, a cause of friction developed against the newcomers[49], who had been hospitably received and had increased in wealth, when they started to 'make claims on the political rule in the country of their hosts.' He explained that this mutual say in the country's affairs was desired, not so much to work together towards the country's interests, but to promote self-interest. The Afrikaner however saw this more political clash of interests as a clash between them and English speakers. The Jews, who stood together with them (the English) as

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[45] In Afrikaans: *smous.*

[46] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

[47] Translation: Stranger or Alien.

[48] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

[49] In Afrikaans: *inkomelinge.*

fellow city dwellers[50], were not viewed as a separate group. Race and religion as such, in other words, played no part.'[51]

Verwoerd went on to note a new development that followed shortly before the *Vryheidsoorlog*[52]. Since the whole farming system had changed from being self-sufficient into a large scale industry, with farming production for the open market, it resulted in an increasing proportion of the rural population having to look for their livelihood elsewhere. Access to careers that could be acquired through eduction or scholarship was open to the Afrikaner as in the professions of minister, physician, lawyer, teacher or civil servant. Those, who on the other hand, sought refuge as an artisan, had to face greater difficulties, since English speakers, who were mainly craftsmen, protected their interests through the organisation of trade unions. Therefore, the struggle of the Afrikaner to, in his own country, get access to skilled and semi-skilled trades presented a clash of interests with specifically more the English speaking part of the population, but that the development of a communistic spirit amongst certain Jewish leaders (in the trade unions) was now changing this.[53]

He pointed to the economic conditions that had forced the Afrikaans speaking population to leave the *platteland* after the First World War. They were in search of further means of income, trade and industry being the most desirable, but they could no longer access at an early entry without capital or knowledge. The Afrikaner had to become a lackey or subordinate in these industries, often at a meagre wage since they found a well-established trade and industry in the hands of those who had started forty-six years earlier, now capital-rich and learned.[54]

Verwoerd bemoaned the fact that if the Afrikaner had been employed in businesses that had an Afrikaans origin, their chances of promotion would have solely depended on their ability, but now they had found the businesses and industries in the hands of *vreemdelinge* - what he termed as English speakers and later mostly Jews. He said that they kept the atmosphere of their businesses

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[50] In Afrikaans: *mede-stedelinge.*

[51] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

[52] Translation: Anglo Boer War.

[53] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

[54] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

vreemd, despite the fact that they owed the basis of their existence to a mainly Afrikaans speaking population and that in the case of some Jewish shops, to some extent, the business morals and methods were different to those of Christians.[55]

In this *vreemde* atmosphere then, among *vreemde* employers, he said, the Afrikaans 'sons and daughters' found themselves only to discover that Jewish owners were privy to nepotism. They had given the most important positions to their kin, whether relation, racial connection or because they had more confidence in their business skills. He countered that it was true that some Afrikaners had received promotion, even to senior posts, but attributed that to, in the case of English firms, to often only happen to a person that had betrayed their *volksverband*[56], or where it happened in the case of Jewish firms, it appeared to be viewed as a good way of attracting Afrikaans-speaking buyers to the businesses.[57]

In proceeding to his concluding argument, Verwoerd moved to single out the Jews as focal point. He stated that the Afrikaner *volk* had started to realise with an ever-increasing clarity that it was mostly the Jewish community who held access to industries that presented the best chances of financial wealth[58], and that the Afrikaners would therefore only obtain subordinate positions. This population group, the Jews, therefore stood hostile towards the national aspirations of Afrikanerdom and also stood in the way of their economic prosperity. He said that since this group, a minority within the population, had obtained a prevailing position in trade and industry, they were not only able to make access difficult for the Afrikaner, but were also able to take over other professions that the Afrikaner had entrenched himself in. This resulted in the Afrikaner starting to feel that: 'the Jew has a stranglehold on his survival[59].[60]'

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[55] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

[56] Connection with their group, referring to an Afrikaner who is anglicised.

[57] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

[58] In Afrikaans: *voorspoed.*

[59] In Afrikaans: *wurggreep op sy voortbestaan.*

[60] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

He concluded that this economic clash of interests was the premise for the policy of the Nationalist Party since they wanted to make sure that their *volksgroep*[61] would proportionately share in all the possibilities and privileges that the country offered. However, he noted, an additional factor was added to this. Since the future of a country was determined in many ways by its government and also in terms of the general aspirations and economic prospects of the *volk*., an additional factor was added when most of the Jewish community did not sit side by side with the Afrikaner and his future ideals for the country and its *volk*. They were interested in what happened politically, only in so far as it was for personal gain. Since the Jewish community had become politically active within the country's struggle their political activities were directed towards the cause of Nationalism[62]. They tried to exert influence on governments through the means of the English press and political parties and that they did this with the help of capital they gained from exploitation of this country's resources. He noted that this conflict of interest was not immediately noticeable and had developed gradually over a number of years, but that it 'only dawned on the *volk*, in all its entirety, when it had already existed for a long time.[63]'

He said the events in Germany and the development of organisations that got their 'inspirations from there' contributed to bringing about the realisation of this condition that already existed in the Union. He cited evidence of the attitude towards immigration out of South and East-Europe during 1926-1930: 'despite the advocacy of leading Jews, the general population objected strongly against the immigrants of this time, not because they were mostly Jews, but because they were an illiterate, unwanted class of people, whose entry were also blocked by the United States, after personal experience.[64]'

The consciousness of the clash of interest between the Afrikaner and the Jew, he said, on the other hand reached the stage the year before that when further immigration threatened, namely those of

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[61] Literally means 'group that forms part of the population', but refers to the Afrikaans group.

[62] In Afrikaans: s*aak van Nasionalisme.*

[63] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

[64] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

Germans who he described as people who were in a different class[65], the subsequent response was protest against their entry, because they were Jewish.[66]

Verwoerd was talking here about an evolution of antisemitism that had developed in the country. From initial protest against unsuitable immigrants, to eventual protest against all Jewish immigrants. He explained that protest did not occur, because the immigrant was a Jew by religion, or as a member of this race as a person unpleasant, but because the arrival of the Jew threatened to worsen the struggle of the Afrikaner to retain a hold on his professions and to gain an entry into trade.

He accused the Jewish community of overreacting to the previous year's protests (of which he formed part) and of making a tactical error 'of the first rank'. He saw their defence of the German immigration as 'over-emotional resistance to the expressed desire of the majority of the country's inhabitants' and blamed their action of rejecting the appeal made by the Stellenbosch professors (of which Verwoerd himself was one) as wanting to protect their own interests and join in the protests. These actions he said helped people realise as a whole that this clash of interests existed. He ended by saying that these were therefore the sober facts out of which the attitude of the Nationalist towards the Jewish Question was born.[67]

4.2 Pro-Afrikaner: rightful portion of economic life

The opinion piece that Verwoerd penned in the first edition of the paper, was followed by a flurry of articles along the same theme in October and November 1937 with negative headlines and subheadings: 'Oppression of Afrikaner in business world'[68], 'Dr. Malan identifies enemies of the National Party'[69], 'Jewish organisations and support of opposition'[70], 'Jewish danger in the Union: the

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[65] In Afrikaans: a*s mens heelwat hoër, soms selfs baie hoog, gestaan het.*

[66] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

[67] *Die Transvaler,* 1 October 1937.

[68] *Die Transvaler*, 4 November 1937.

[69] *Die Transvaler*, 4 November 1937.

[70] *Die Transvaler*, 4 November 1937.

country is not a marketplace'[71], 'A warning to Jewish population'[72], 'The economic battle against the National Party will complicate the position.'[73]

Defending his first lead article whilst at the same time attacking the United Party's 'Pro-Jewishness'[74](which would become a regular occurrence), Verwoerd threateningly wrote: '*Die Transvaler* had expressed its views calmly yet decisively about the policy that should be followed in terms of the so-called Jewish Question in its first edition.' He then summarised the article as pro-Afrikaans and that the key idea was that a focus should not be placed on a racial group, but on the struggle of the Afrikaner to participate in his rightful measure of leadership in economic life.

The 'solution' that Verwoerd had expounded was that the number of Jews in an occupation should be reduced to a quota that reflected their demographic in the country (just over 4 percent) to allow the Afrikaner to take up his 'rightful' place, effectively propagating economic antisemitism. The argument was positioned, as it would be consistently, that the Afrikaner had lost something that was rightfully theirs (it did belong to another 'racial group') and that through 'evolutionary means' of redistribution (of the different occupations that Jews filled in the country), not 'revolutionary means', a solution would be found.

The anti-Jewish narrative that *Die Transvaler* presented from its first issue, must have led to accusations of antisemitism, since it already led to an advertising boycott. Verwoerd retaliated with: 'this struggle is belittled if called anti-semitism[75]'. He called the standpoint on economic quotas for Jews the Nationalist's 'positive pro-Afrikaans policy on trade' and said it was wrong to present this policy as meaningless destructive criticism born out of hate or to call the positive policy antisemitism. He said that the cry of antisemitism was a propaganda tool meant to discourage the *volk* to desire an upwardly mobile Afrikanerdom and that it was also born out of the fear that these individuals had

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[71] *Die Transvaler,* 5 November 1937.

[72] *Die Transvaler,* 18 November 1937.

[73] *Die Transvaler*, 18 November 1937.

[74] *Die Transvaler*, 1 February 1938.

[75] *Die Transvaler*, 12 March 1938.

since they were aware of what the Afrikaner possessed through his *koopkrag*[76] - the key to economic progress.

He defined the Afrikaner again as someone who battles in many ways against an established group who is striving with all its might to keep its monopoly to itself and its own and attributed the root of all the conflict to the competition that existed between the two groups. He said the Jews strove to maintain their powerful position which they have attained despite their small number versus the Afrikaners who as the largest population group strove for this too. He concluded in his signature formulaic logic that the Afrikaner's struggle, not the Jews' struggle, was belittled if it was called antisemitism since Afrikanerdom was struggling against this established group and monopoly.

In February 1938 Verwoerd affirmed again that this view (namely the view that the redistribution of Jews in the different occupations must occur so that the Afrikaner can participate in his rightful measure of leadership in economic life) was not in conflict with the content of communications between the Commercial manager of *Die Voortrekkerpers* and the *Jewish Board of Deputies*. Whether this was unwittingly self-defensive (since Malan was not pleased about the boycott) is not clear, but he did take pride in his position that it was openly stated. He described the expression of *Die Transvaler's* viewpoint as being done calmly, yet decisively.

In 'Discrimination concerned[77]' he berated the English press for their vehement opposition when 'one wretched Afrikaner business arrives to join the abandoned few, scattered here and there' in contrast to the English and Jewish businesses that can compete with each other as much as they liked. He remarked on the rows and rows of English, Jewish and other outlander businesses, endless rows, firms beyond number that you see when you walk the streets of Johannesburg, bemoaned what he described as the intense jealousy imaginable revealed by another population group and threateningly said that if they continued in this vein, the reaction it would elicit from the Afrikaner would include its punishment.

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[76] Literally: collective buying power.

[77] *Die Transvaler*, 22 March 1941.

Verwoerd spoke later in 'On economic grounds[78]' in laudatory terms about the 'beautiful rise of the Afrikaner on economic grounds which is such a painful sight to the leaders of the United Party'. He was responding to press accusations from the United Party against Afrikaners lobbying to support each other in business. He accused the press of being hypocritical since they consistently promoted 'buy British'. He then reminded the reader of when Smuts in 1935 had said that the Afrikaner is not a businessman and hence the Jew was needed in the country.

In early 1943, Verwoerd returned to his original theme in 'Timely warning![79]' with 'the Jews control all the economic life of the Union' and that this is 'out of proportion to the percentage of the white population that they represent' (detailing the figures as 90465 Jews in the census of 1936 which equate to 4.52 percent of the white population). He spoke again of a danger of an influx and remarked that the Jew does not assimilate but remains a separate group[80] in every country of residence.

In 1944, he again pushed the point of quotas championing 'economic unity[81]' through a quota system for certain industry professions to prevent the development of monopolies.

With the establishment of a state health service being considered later in 1944, Verwoerd alluded to quotas again for the medical profession[82]. He mentioned that the increased numbers of Jews in the medical field had already provoked sharp resistance from the English and Afrikaans speaking physicians, and also the general public. He sarcastically remarked that if Jewish doctors wanted to become government officials to take a leading role, then it would not 'take a prophet to predict that the Jewish Question in South Africa will enter into another unpleasant phase'. He wrote that it was already said that Jewish doctors, who earned much more, would welcome a state health service since they were in increasing measure starting to experience difficulty in maintaining private practice due to prejudice and so would pursue the protection of such a service - for example those doc-

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[78] *Die Transvaler,* 19 February 1946.

[79] *Die Transvaler,* 4 February 1943.

[80] In Afrikaans: *bevolkingsgroep.*

[81] *Die Transvaler,* 11 March 1944.

[82] *Die Transvaler,* 20 November 1944.

tors from the *platteland* that would like to become district doctors. Verwoerd repeated the same solution: '*Die Transvaler* has on many occasions pointed to the fact that the sentiment towards the Jew has an economic background and that a solution is possible without violence or unpleasantness, but then there must be preparedness to remove the causes that exist on economic ground.'

In addition to promulgating the policy of economic quotas, Verwoerd started to illustrate the type of trade and business spirit that he envisioned should exist amongst Afrikaners when they do acquire their 'rightful position'. He called it the 'true Afrikaans spirit'[83], so it was revealing that this point to not just a material question, in respect to the welfare of the Afrikaner (which had been the catalyst to Verwoerd's own involvement in the newspaper), but also a spiritual matter.[84] He depicted cultural organisations as needing to mobilise Afrikanerdom to realise that their largest asset is their *koopkrag*[85] and to put 'this weapon to service' towards the nation's progress. He highlighted the development of *volksbanke*[86] and co-operative trade enterprises as of great importance. He scolded that the 'organisation of our *koopkrag* is not undertaken seriously enough' before returning to the 'rightful' and 'Afrikaans spirit' theme once more, adding 'injustice' to his ideology of Afrikaner civil and economic rights: 'The development of enough trade enterprises in the country where a true Afrikaans spirit exists, would do much to rectify the injustice done to the Afrikaner in the spiritual and material area of his own country.'

In '*Trade and Morality*[87]' Verwoerd contrasted the bad example set before, and still being set, by foreign elements with the duty of the Afrikaner *volk* to in the area of trade also uphold those moral concepts[88] that formed part of their salvation in the past and also made of them a Christian *volk* and concluded that trade and moral beliefs[89] must never become two separate worlds for the Afrikaner.

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[83] *Die Transvaler*, 5 March 1938.

[84] *Die Transvaler*, 5 March 1938.

[85] Literally: collective buying power.

[86] Literally: banks owned by the *volk (Afrikaners)*.

[87] *Die Transvaler*, 22 April 1946.

[88] In Afrikaans: *begrippe.*

[89] In Afrikaans: *die handel en die sedelike opvattings.*

Notes

From his first lengthy article on the Jewish Question in October 1937, Verwoerd's argument was two-fold: firstly the issue of Jewish immigration - to end 'friction between population groups by removing the reason for it,' and secondly to deal with the Jews that remained in the country by proposing an economic quota proportionate to their percentage of the white population. One of the key elements of this article was that it used the fears of immigration by illustrating it as the danger of an influx of immigrants that would further effect the economic prospects of Afrikaners, to introduce the proposal for economic quotas for *existing* Jews in the country. The fears of a Jewish influx of foreigners was therefore used to legitimise the proposed action of demographic representation for all of Jewry in South Africa.

His first opinion piece introduces several key themes that are dealt with in this study. The key theme of immigration introduces further themes that are explored and become prevalent in Verwoerd's writing and illustrate clearly his viewpoint as editor. What is believed to be the threat of large scale immigration sparks economic fears and Verwoerd uses this as leverage for fear mongering to push forward the point of Afrikaner welfare and the proposed solution of economic antisemitism.

The theme of antisemitism therefore follows on from this position and reveals how Verwoerd counters accusations of antisemitism with an opportunity to introduce key concepts around Afrikaner nationalistic identity and the awakening of the Afrikaner nationalistic consciousness and how his denial and rebuttal only serves to reaffirm his premise for it e.g. The accusation of antisemitism only belittles the rightful struggle of the Afrikaner and is not antisemitic, but pro-Afrikaans.

It is presented as an awakening of the economic rights that the Afrikaner has lost to the Jews who are depicted as exploiting the country's resources, using capital to influence political parties and governments for self gain and through nepotism and *vreemde* business practices blocking the Afrikaner's ascent or entry into business.

These stereotypical antisemitic tropes are introduced early on in Verwoerd's editorship and further introduces repeated metaphors of exploitation and moral beliefs.

The theme of identity versus assimilation as it relates to foreign elements is used as one of the key components to awaken the Afrikaner's awareness or consciousness of what Verwoerd terms as a clash of interest with Jews economically, but which he continues to flesh out more broadly in terms of further differences, including contrasting moral beliefs and behaviour.

This is a party political paper and the views that Verwoerd are espousing are political views with the aim of promoting the Nationalist party and as a result grow its membership. However, as is characteristic of the party-owned or influenced press of this era, the editor's viewpoints were entirely politicised. Verwoerd is seen as driving a viewpoint home here that is captioned as being that of the Nationalist, but it is relevant to note that he had firstly on his own merit, as part of the protests when he was still professor at Stellenbosch, pushed this agenda. Now he is couching this same viewpoint, formulated under the Nationalist official umbrella, the party political newspaper, and in doing so he is not only espousing their view, but also his own. He is not only crafting their policies, but is crafting his own position as editor and how he wants to present himself. His own personal viewpoint is not separate from that of his political party, namely the Nationalist party. This is key to analysing how Verwoerd treated the Jewish Question as editor since in his treatment of it from an editorial point of view not only does it mirror the Nationalist viewpoint, as he states, but it also clearly reveals his own.

CHAPTER 5: JEWISH IMMIGRATION

Introduction

The fear of a further influx of Jewish immigrants was a major theme of the 1930s and 40s. The legislation of 1930 and 1937, the Quota Act and Aliens Act respectively, was introduced to curb firstly Eastern European immigration and then to close the loophole of Western European (German, British , etc.) immigrants who were escaping persecution in Europe. South Africa's entry to the war divided the country into two factions, pro and anti-war. The Nationalists advocated a position of neutrality which was essentially anti-war. The Nationalist press mouthpieces, including *Die Transvaler,* were therefore highly critical of the governing party, its regulations during the war and the domestic problems that resulted from South Africa's participation in the war.

5.1 Immigration fears

Barely a month after his first lead piece, late November 1937, Verwoerd wrote a strongly worded editorial on British immigration[90]: '*Die Transvaler* hereby wants to, without hesitation express its definite rejection of any possible government support for British immigrants.' He stated three reasons for this position: firstly that British immigration can therefore mean Jewish immigration, secondly that the Union had to offer financial support for this and lastly that an 'anti-Afrikaans spirit' existed within the British immigration schemes.

The preoccupation with the number of Jewish immigrants that would arrive continued to occupy front page news items. In an article 'Question about Jewish Immigration'[91] the Minister of Foreign Affairs was pressed to reveal the number of immigrants that had already entered the shores of the country, but was reported as being elusive. This preoccupation with immigrant numbers was a regular topic: in the first quarter of 1939, several articles on immigration appeared citing arrivals or departures of Jews with the content and focus of the article mostly relating to numbers and whether

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[90] *Die Transvaler*, 27 November 1937.

[91] *Die Transvaler*, 5 March 1938.

details could be obtained regarding permits (permanent, temporary or going to Rhodesia)[92] e.g.'150 Jews arrive in Cape Town with the Pretoria[93]', 'Departure of 500 Jews out of Danzig[94]' with sub-heading 'Fear that they would come to Union', 'Arrival of Jews with the Pretoria' and '180 Jews out of Germany arrive in South Africa[95]' with sub-heading 'Majority will come to Johannesburg.'

Fears that immigrants would enter the Union under false pretences[96] or had not met the conditions of entry meant that the Union's immigration committee came under scrutiny. This escalated with Mr. R. Stuttaford, Minister of Social Welfare, and Adv. Eric Louw, Member of Parliament for Beaufort West (National Party), caught in a heated exchange over the topic of Jewish immigration[97]. The article stated that Louw 'hauled him over the coals again' and implored that not only should the education level be considered with the selection of immigrants, but also ethnographical considerations that would indicate whether the immigrant would adapt and be assimilated. He referred to the 'uninterrupted flow of Jews' citing numbers as 16882 between 1928-1938 before the Aliens Act was passed, 1118 thereafter, but that in the first four months of 1939 already 449 Jews had entered the country on temporary and 528 on permanent permits whilst 306 were in transit through the country. Adv. Eric Louw, continued to vociferously oppose Jewish immigration and regularly introduced the Jewish Question into parliamentary debates[98]. His name was linked to several articles related to the Question during this period.

The term 'the danger' was repeated in June 1938, when Verwoerd wrote: 'the immigration of Jews out of Germany and elsewhere had become a burning question' and 'the danger' existed that an 'excessive number of a British workforce would become another question (in the country) and

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[92] *Die Transvaler,* 4 April 1939.

[93] *Die Transvaler,* 7 March 1939.

[94] *Die Transvaler,* 8 March 1939.

[95] *Die Transvaler,* 4 April 1939.

[96] *Die Transvaler,* 17 March 1939; *Die Transvaler,* 16 March 1939; *Die Transvaler,* 17 April 1939.

[97] *Die Transvaler,* 17 May 1939.

[98] *Die Transvaler,* 15 May 1940.

worsen poverty.' He said that[99] immigration should be stopped and referred to Jews as 'unwanted elements'.

Another component added to the argument against immigrants specifically was of 'rushed naturalisation[100]'. If citizenship were given to German immigrants sooner than the necessary five years, they could end up in intern camps if war broke out between Germany and England - even though as immigrants they might be against Germany.

In 'Do not weaken the Union[101]' Verwoerd accused the government of going out of their way to offer protection to German and Austrian refugees 'mostly of Jewish descent'. In 'New Jewish immigration?[102]' he said that the Dutch and German Jews from the Netherlands cannot be accepted as immigrants here and added 'also not in the form of temporary shelter during the war period' since the after-effects of previous immigrations still existed and were 'indelible to the life and politics of the country.'

In 'The Volk wants to know' he remarked that many Jews had fled to the country and the reason they wanted to remain was to 'share in the prosperity that their race enjoys here'. He accused the Government of hiding this fact: 'The Afrikaner wants to know how many refugees received the right to settle here temporarily and they also want to know how many of the people who were granted the necessary permission stems from which population group.' In 'Afraid of the census[103]' Verwoerd rubbished the claim that the Government had omitted the question of religion on the census questionnaire for the sake of cost saving and accused them of doing it to 'protect the Jews' as it was the only means by which to reveal the exact number of Jews there were in the Union.

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[99] *Die Transvaler*, 23 June 1938.

[100] *Die Transvaler*, 27 September 1938.

[101] *Die Transvaler,* 27 May 1940.

[102] *Die Transvaler,* 28 May 1940.

[103] *Die Transvaler*, 14 March 1941.

In November 1941, an article with the sub-heading 'Influx of Jews[104]' appeared that numbered Jews in 1904 as 38,101, and in 1936 as 90,456. In February 1944[105] it was reported that 1561 permits were given out since the beginning of the war and that 773 people were naturalised the year before.

In March 1944, an article 'Danger of uncontrolled immigration' with sub-heading 'Must not be at cost of own people' appeared. Adv. Eric Louw, in parliament, suggested a 'comprehensive amendment' and read a record from the Jewish Board of Deputies[106] to prove that the Jewish organisations in the country were working together with Jewish organisations abroad to campaign for further Jews to be able to enter the country[107]. Louw said that South Africa already had a too large Jewish population and that, similar to all other countries in which the same had occurred, a Jewish Question was established. He said that plans were being made, as a result of the conditions in Europe, to find a home for Jews in other countries.

In April 1944[108], an article headlined 'Evils of Jewish immigrations' and sub-titled 'Urged to be stopped completely,' Eric Louw said at a Parliamentary meeting that regarding the Jewish Question the Jewish Board of Deputies had defended themselves against the statement that they encouraged Jewish immigration, by saying that the documents from which was quoted (by Louw) were the stolen Von Moltke documents of 1934[109]. He countered that he did not care whether they were stolen, only if they were true and the Jewish Board of Deputies have admitted that they are. In that case, he went on to say they needed to be made public.

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[104] *Die Transvaler*, 17 November 1941.

[105] *Die Transvaler,* 5 February 1944.

[106] The South African Jewish Board of Deputies represented most of the country's Jewish congregations, organisations and societies.

[107] *Die Transvaler,* 1 March 1944.

[108] *Die Transvaler,* 11 April 1944.

[109] Confidential documents that had been stolen from the Board of Deputies with Mr. Von Moltke attempting to publish them into a book titled 'The Jews of South Africa.'

In the same article, under the sub-heading 'Name change[110],' Louw was quoted: 'There is a Jewish Question in the country and this is a Question that was created by the Jews themselves. Regarding this, the English speakers feel now almost just as strongly as the Afrikaans speakers. One way in which to act, is to stop all Jewish immigration.'

In the same meeting, Louw said that the damage was already done since of the 823 medical students at the *University of the Witwatersrand*, 442 of them were Jewish and therefore it would be necessary to introduce a more stringent quota system for occupations in trade and industry. Morris Kentridge's (United Party) response was that if a Jewish Question did exist in South Africa, it was created by Eric Louw and members on his side of the House.

Early 1946, post-war the worldwide question of dislocated Jewish refugees and which countries should absorb them raised immigration fears again. News reports carried headlines of the opposition's (National party) repeated questions in the House of Assembly regarding immigration and whether it would be monitored and regulated. When the discussion of the deportation of German internees as well as Jewish immigration took place simultaneously, heated exchanges were reported by *Die Transvaler's* political correspondent.

Under the sub-heading 'Immigration' and the title of the news story 'Questions that are waiting for answers[111]' the political correspondent reported that the Minister of Foreign Affairs was questioned on whether there had been correspondence or discussions regarding immigration to the Union and whether, amongst other things, the Minister could give his assurance that it would be strictly monitored.

It is clear that when Morris Kentridge (United Party, Troyeville) entered debates with the Nationalists it was normally heated. News reports and editorials followed that reported on the clashes citing choice words on both sides, specifically in relation to the topic of immigration.

A heated exchange between Kentridge and other members in the House of Assembly, including Dr. Malan, was reported on by the political correspondent in an article headlined 'Case of German in-

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[110] *Die Transvaler,* 11 April 1944.

[111] *Die Transvaler*, 21 January 1946.

ternees under discussion[112]' and sub-heading 'Mr Kentridge advocates Jewish immigration[113]'. Most of the attention of the House was occupied with the government's plan to deport German internees, but the correspondent reported that the reaction of a few members of government, together with members such as Mr. Morris Kentridge, who referred to Afrikaners as 'little Afrikaners' allowed members to react hotly. Kentridge expressed the hope that Smuts would on his overseas trip be able to provide a great service to the Jews, not only to open the doors of South Africa widely to immigrants, but also to use his influence to open the doors of Palestine to them[114]. Under the sub-heading 'Little Afrikaners' Morris Kentridge was noted as encouraging Smuts not to fear 'the little Afrikaner in the country'.

When Kentridge mentioned deporting Germans out of South West Africa, Dr. Malan reacted threateningly. The paper noted that he warned people 'such as Kentridge' not to make any pleas to deport Germans out of South West Africa since a strong feeling already existed in the country that Jews should be deported, hence 'Mr. Kentridge's race' should be the last to want to deport Germans.[115]'

On the front page, under the heading 'Jewish immigration[116]', 'Strong representation to selection board' and 'Ministers are also going to plea', the political correspondent of the paper reported that strong pleas were made to the Immigration Selection Board of the Union to ease the immigration of Jews to South Africa. The delegation consisted of several Ministers. Under sub-heading 'Must South Africa open its doors?[117]' and 'Senators discuss immigration' followed: 'Pleas in favour of South Africa throwing open its doors entirely to immigration from Europe and similarly strong pleas for the strict control over immigration were exchanged in the Senate yesterday' and 'the naturalisation of strangers[118] take a lot of effort' and 'South Africa was the only country in the British

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[112] *Die Transvaler*, 23 March 1946.

[113] *Die Transvaler*, 23 March 1946.

[114] *Die Transvaler*, 23 March 1946.

[115] *Die Transvaler*, 23 March 1946.

[116] *Die Transvaler,* 3 April 1946.

[117] *Die Transvaler,* 3 May 1946.

[118] In Afrikaans: *vreemdelinge.*

Empire that during the war allowed strangers to naturalise themselves, provided they joined the Union army.' Senator E.H. Brookes[119] said that the argument that was heard so often in that the Union's colour and racial question will be solved through immigration must be rejected outright as it was unfounded.

On the front page of *Die Transvaler*, 'In order to save the white population[120] [121]' and 'U.P. (United Party) wants immigration on a large scale', the political correspondent reported that the question of immigration to South Africa had been the main topic of discussion and that opposition members (National Party) accused the United Party of only thinking of the white population when it suited them and when they thought they could gain possible support from further immigration.

The probability early 1946 of large scale immigration was seen as a major threat to the National party as it would most certainly effect their voting numbers. Immigrants would rather align themselves with the ruling party then to support the opposition, who wanted to curb immigration.

Further strong protests against immigration followed, and was subsequently given ample coverage in *Die Transvaler.* When Minister Harry Lawrence[122] announced the government's plan to allow Jewish children into the Union, several news stories carried updates about the 400 Jewish children including editorials that Verwoerd wrote in response to the government's scheme: 'Union government hurrying to import orphans[123]' and 'Only has certainty of the arrival of the little Jews (*Joodjies*)'. It was reported that even though the government had approved the scheme months ago, they were still only certain of the arrival of the little Jews (Joodjies) of which 400 would arrive out of the 5000 expected orphans. Minister Lawrence, even though he previously did not allow the adoption of German orphans and stopped an Afrikaner organisation from offering help, had now announced that the Government was planning to allow Jewish children to enter the country. Verwoerd's critical

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[119] A liberal and political activist who was elected to the Senate in 1937 and served in Parliament for fifteen years.

[120] In Afrikaans: *ten einde Blank bevolking te red.*

[121] *Die Transvaler,* 7 May 1946.

[122] Lawrence was Minister of Home Affairs from 1939-1943 and Minister of Justice from 1945 to June 1948 in Jan Smuts's government (United Party).

[123] *Die Transvaler*, 12 August 1946.

response was captured in his editorial.[124] Another front page article followed with '400 Jewish children allowed into Union[125]' and reported that the children aged between two and seven would be allowed into the Union. This was information gathered from a response to a question from Louw in parliament, which was then carried as news.

Verwoerd continued with this topic in his editorials[126], but now used it to issue warning shots to Smuts that this will lead to further antisemitism: 'The sober fact is indeed that a Jewish Question arises in every country where the percentage of this unassimilable group in that country exceeds a certain percentage. Of their leaders said it. In South Africa that limit has already been reached, from there so much unpleasantness in this regard.'

Two days later, he returned to this subject in '400 Jewish children[127]' and recalled the Stuttgart incident (which he was involved in) nearly a decade earlier: 'He (Smuts) forgets however that he does not do his Jewish friends any service by strengthening an anti-Jewish feeling, as such actions can easily bring about. The arrival of the Stuttgart with German-Jewish immigrants before the war, and the feeling it raised, will still be remembered. Furthermore the government forgets to take into account that the anti-Semitic feeling amongst the English part of the population of the Union is much larger than amongst the Afrikaners. Possibly it's the case because there it is suppressed for political and economic reasons. There is no doubt however that any attempt by the Smuts-government to increase the Jewish population by (means of) immigration, will strengthen the antisemitic feeling in the country and deprive the government of support. If that is what he wants, he is now following the best course by which to achieve it.'

The early part of 1947[128] continued with several more news stories on immigration, ranging from discussions on policy in the House of Assembly to the absorption capacity of the Union for immi-

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[124] *Die Transvaler,* 27 May 1946.

[125] *Die Transvaler,* 29 May 1946.

[126] *Die Transvaler*, 27 May 1946.

[127] *Die Transvaler*, 29 May 1946.

[128] *Die Transvaler,* 21 January 1947; *Die Transvaler,* 24 January 1947; *Die Transvaler,* 30 January 1947; *Die Transvaler,* 22 February 1947; *Die Transvaler,* 5 March 1947.

grants to articles on lists of the type of work for which there would be vacancies to reporting that soldiers from the war still sat without work versus the immigration policy. Lead articles also ran quoting Dr. Malan as saying that South Africa is not a marketplace and that he condemned the immigration scheme since the Union must look after its own people first. He said that amongst the uprooted immigrants there would be only Germans and Jews and since the government would not allow Germans, it would follow that there would subsequently be a large number of Jews allowed here. It presented an opportunity for Malan to repeat the Party's position (which he said had not changed since 1938) by clarifying that only suitable persons, who are easily assimilable can be allowed into the Union and 'Jews are not described as the desired type of immigrant.'

The political correspondent reported on the same topic again in 'Immigration motion of Dr Malan closed[129]' and 'Let them come, good, bad and indifferent' - Field Marshall Smuts'. The speaker was Mr. W.D. Brink (Purified Party, Christiana) and he was quoted as saying that the immigration policy of the government was mainly aimed at 'dumping the excess Jews of Europe on South Africa'. He blamed the selection committees in Europe of being a ruse and that as a result Jews can come from England without any effort since Britain is also keen to get rid of 'their excess Jews'. Also that England had relieved its 'Jewish Question' in the 13th century when Jews were banned, but now the same suspicion had started taking root. He asked why South Africa had to be satisfied with the unwanted elements kicked out of Europe. And 'over the past few years, more than enough evidence has been given that the Jews act as campaigners for non-whites'.

Kentridge was quoted mid-1947 as supporting the same vein of debate in favour of immigration, namely that it was the only rescue for South Africa against the 'millions that stare at the country with hungry eyes,' thinking that this line of argument would appeal to the wider white population.

The United Party advocated immigration as a solution to the racial question in South Africa and the National Party advocated segregation. As a result the opposition could refute the line of argument consistently claiming it was unfounded to think that unsuitable immigration (not only from Jews, but also Polish, Italian etc.) would solve the country's problems by enlarging the white population.

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[129] *Die Transvaler*, 4 March 1947.

Significantly it was in response to Kentridge's multiple speeches urging the government to absorb more Jews that Smuts responded that no more Jews should be allowed in South Africa, repeating the oft-repeated statement that one must not overload a country with Jews, since you then get anti-semitism and that South Africa already had its quota.

This was covered by Verwoerd in 'Field Marshall plays acrobatics' and 'Does not want any more Jews in country'. The political correspondent of the paper reported that Kentridge had given four speeches, all of which were of the same scope mainly that South Africa should absorb more Jews, when Smuts was described as 'he found only a minute to answer Mr Kentridge's Jewish *Jeremiades*[130]', and then his words were 'as cold as cold pumpkin[131]'. He was quoted as crying out and this is boldly captioned in the paper: 'Allow more Jews in South Africa? No, we have our quota here. A person must not overload a country with Jews, then you get antisemitism[132].'

Verwoerd had written about these exact themes in his earlier editorial 'The own sons and daughters first[133]' and stated that South Africa had already had enough of the unassimilable stream of immigrants out of the part of Europe that wanted to get rid of an excess, and 'even those from Britain that either stayed British here or just wanted to make money to return 'Home'' and 'Holland, France, Germany and Austria, to not even talk about the Scandinavian countries, are especially possible sources of immigrants to the Union.'

In 'Workers, beware[134]' Verwoerd responded to Smuts wanting to import workers which appeared as a point of contention in several editorials. 'The intention is that Polish, Italian, Jewish or whatever workers the Smuts government can pick up in Europe - good or bad like Gen. Smuts himself has said - must be imported even if the professions concerned have no proven vacancies.'

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[130] In context it means 'wailings' derived from the prophet Jeremiah (*Jeremiades*).

[131] In Afrikaans: *koue pampoen*, here in context referring to a statement that ran flat.

[132] *Die Transvaler,* 15 April 1947.

[133] *Die Transvaler,* 6 May 1946.

[134] *Die Transvaler*, 7 February 1947.

He writes in 'United Party attack tactics[135]' that:'Gen. Smuts's statement that no more Jews should be entering the country and now Min. Lawrence and others' efforts to create the impression that Dr. Malan will change his policy towards the Jews proves this' and 'now, in view of the well-known antisemitism among the English speakers in South Africa, the U.P leadership want to portray themselves in public almost as antisemitic (although they pacify the Jews behind the scenes) whilst they present the Nationalists as turncoats to try to get English voters incited against them on those grounds.'

In 'Smuts no Jewish friend'[136], Verwoerd said that Smuts had similarly abandoned the Jews, just like he had abandoned his own people. 'He was in Britain, but not a single word is heard from him there about the Jewish cause.' In terms of the Jewish orphans that are allowed to come to South Africa: 'that he puts South Africa forward as a receiving station[137] even if it helps to develop a new feeling against the Jews' and 'it is the same as when he let down his own people. Now it is the Jew, but it could very well be the Brit if it suited him.'

Furthermore that: 'The result of this opportunistic policy is that Englishman[138] and Afrikaner in South Africa rebel against the renewed strengthening of the Jewish problem in the Union' and that the Jew must come here to (experience) opposition against this betrayal of his right to Palestine as (his) Jewish home and state.' He ends with: 'Much better is the firm position of the Nationalist' and 'Every nation has its own country' and reject Britain's right to because of its own interests, to interfere with the national aspirations of other peoples. He (the Nationalist) therefore supports the Jew towards his ideal and influence in Palestine, but at the same time also yearns for an increasing exodus of this people to there, to their own state, and not an increasing majority here.'

Verwoerd repeats Smuts's seemingly about-turn in 'A government without insight'[139]: 'An equally interesting study is presented by the statements made by the Prime Minister. When the Nationalists

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[135] *Die Transvaler*, 2 May 1947.

[136] *Die Transvaler*, 22 June 1947.

[137] In Afrikaans: *ontvangsoord.*

[138] In Afrikaans: *engelsman.*

[139] *Die Transvaler*, 25 August 1947.

had spoken out against further Jewish immigration in the past, Smuts saw them as nothing other than oppressors. However, at the last session of the House of Assembly, he openly declared that Jewish immigrants could no longer be allowed here. Against which the Nationalists already warned in 1935, is realised by Field Marshall Smuts only in 1947.'

Notes

From the first, Verwoerd introduced the policy of demographic representation as the answer to what was seen as the economic threat presented by Jews in the country as well as the possibility of further large-scale Jewish immigration.

Exploring the main theme of immigration further in the findings introduces several additional concepts which viewed in respect to how Verwoerd presents it in the newspaper entrenches the viewpoint that anti-Jewish sentiment and portrayal was intentional to further political aims. Fears existed in the country that further immigration would weaken the Union citing an anti-Afrikaans spirit that existed within the immigration schemes and the very real threat that new immigrants would side with the governing party.

Here antisemitic motifs have become a characteristic narrative in the paper. Verwoerd's denials that a policy of economic antisemitism was not based on race or religion, but purely economic are contradicted when the debate around assimilability and naturalisation becomes a key theme. In news articles and editorials, through quotations and citations, Jews are presented as unwanted, unassimilable and politicians, like Kentridge, who argue for large scale immigration, are attacked on the grounds of their race. Previous immigrations are also cited as having indelibly effected the life and politics of the country.

The inclusion of parliamentary debates as news and also driving news items are characteristic of the political press of this era and specifically *Die Transvaler*. Quotations from members like Eric Louw, who as a Nationalist party member most often, vociferously, introduced the Jewish Question onto the parliamentary agenda, would get picked up and engaged with in *Die Transvaler* in its editorial content and news reports. Key agenda items at Nationalist party branch meetings could inform the news especially if it related to immigration and how this would impact the Afrikaner.

The antisemitic narrative, namely that an increase of Jews beyond a certain number or quota would create a Jewish Question, gets promoted in *Die Transvaler* not only through the discourse of the Nationalists, but also when General Smuts exclaims in parliament that the country has enough Jews and has therefore reached its quota.

The Nationalists feared that large numbers of immigrants would influence their electorate numbers since the immigrants would most certainly side with the governing party. The introduction of further metaphors of an anti-Afrikaans spirit that existed in the immigration scheme that would weaken the Union and the representation of Jews as unassimilable in that they support their own community and interests shows that the reportage was often intentional and politically aimed. This supports historians who say that the anti-Jewish feeling was driven by Afrikaner nationalism.

Jews weren't the only foreigners that were targeted, but they were economically a threat and politically a pawn.

CHAPTER 6: NAZI OR FASCIST

Introduction

When the Second World War broke out in Europe a major political change took place in the country. The Hertzog-Smuts coalition fell apart (due to South Africa's decision to participate in the war) and General Jan Smuts became Prime Minister of South Africa. This event split the country into different groups, namely pro and anti-war, pro-Nazi (in the case of Fascist and Nationalist-Socialist groups that sprung up, but also if they were pro-Germany) and anti-Nazi (in the case of Smuts and the severe actions he took against his own people if they were seen as pro-Germany or anti-war).

The Nationalists were anti-war and clearly more in favour of Germany and at least for the first few years of the war, it was not clear whether Germany would actually lose, so Verwoerd advocated, repeated and debated for a stance of neutrality in his editorial columns.

6.1. The Nationalist is not a Nazi and not a fascist

In one of Verwoerd's early editorials, 'The Nationalist is not a Nazi and not a fascist'[140], which appeared in the fourth edition of the paper, Verwoerd responded to accusations that the Nationalist Party was a Nazi-party or that it was Fascist, specifically in relation to the Jewish Question. He explained that though the Jewish Question existed and had been identified in both countries (Germany and South Africa) this was simply auxiliary since the reasons that each country was 'trying to remove it (the Question)' was fundamentally different. The difference being that the Nationalists' organisation and its policies grew out of a wholly South African environment. Therefore, he surmised the Nationalist was not a Nazi and not a Fascist.

His standard pat answer, as it will become clear also with later accusations, was that the position of the Nationalist Party was 'pro-Afrikaans' and therefore it was neither Fascist nor Nazi. Since these sprouted from *Die Transvaler* and the Nationalist Party's treatment of the Jewish Question, he also responded to accusations that the party was antisemitic, arguing that again they were not, but merely pro-Afrikaans.

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[140] *Die Transvaler,* 4 October 1937.

He countered that an accusation of antisemitism belittled the Afrikaner's cause if their struggle for economic rights was defined as antisemitism. These are good examples of the circular reasoning that Verwoerd used in his writings and political arguments.

He continued[141] to defend the Nationalist party as 'pro-Afrikaans': that the Nationalists were not pro nor anti-Nazi or anti-British, but pro-Afrikaans and that they were united to fight against the import of communism or any form of dictatorship in the Union.

News articles reporting on Fascist movements in South Africa were not regularly placed during this early period where right-wing groups were actually at their strongest, nor was it a major focus of Verwoerd's editorials. In an editorial in 1937[142], he mapped some of the key differences between the Nationalist Party and the Greyshirts. He stated that there was a large agreement in respect to the seriousness of the Jewish Question, but that the Greyshirts wanted to follow the Nazi and Fascist governmental systems, and in contrast South Africa could not import this National Socialist system or any other system, which could be quite profitable to Germany, to this country. One news item[143] that was placed reported a clash in Benoni between the Blackshirts[144] and a Jewish group. The Jewish group was said to be at fault for interrupting a gathering and distributing communist literature.

Early 1940, being branded as a 'Nazi' took on a more serious turn when individuals were interned as a result[145]. Several editorials[146] followed wherein Verwoerd wrote about 'pro-Nazi' or 'Nazi' or 'Malanazi', a label for Malan. He was reacting to situations where there seemed to be a tidal wave of name calling and a 'pro-Nazi tendency among some Afrikaners.' He said that some people were

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[141] *Die Transvaler,* 31 August 1939.

[142] *Die Transvaler*, 3 November 1937.

[143] *Die Transvaler,* 14 May 1938.

[144] Radical right movement influenced by Fascists in Europe (Mussolini).

[145] *Die Transvaler,* 3 February 1940.

[146] *Die Transvaler*, 20 January 1940; *Die Transvaler,* 31 January 1940; *Die Transvaler,* February 1940, *Die Transvaler,* 5 February 1940; *Die Transvaler,* 11 March 1940; *Die Transvaler,* 13 March 1940.

taking advantage of this situation (of a Nazi fever) to harm their business opponents by falsely accusing them and that these allegations were made by Jews, according to the complaints received at *Die Transvaler*.

He further blamed the 'Imperialist' for seeing anything he doesn't understand as a sign that someone is a Nazi and if anything was opposed, it was usually and unfairly seen as being anti-British or even pro-Nazi. He wrote about the teachers in double medium schools who were accused of being Nazi and of one teacher in particular that had lost her job when news leaked that her husband had been interned.

When schools on the East Rand were accused of teachers instructing Nazism[147], a commission of enquiry was instituted and a Mr. Ferrar was noted as playing quite a large role in this. Coverage of this affair ran for an extended period in *Die Transvaler*, from January until June, before Ferrar was subjected to a vicious attack of 'tarring and feathering[148]' [149] and forced to state that there were no fifth columns[150] in the country.

In January 1941[151], a notice appeared on the noticeboard of one of Johannesburg's largest businesses asking other businesses not to pledge their advertising support to a list of newspapers and magazines that were branded as 'pro-Nazi' and 'anti-war'. *Die Transvaler* was on the list. At the end of January, it was reported[152] that the boycott against Nationalist-minded businesses had sharpened, which accused 'anti-war' and 'pro-Nazi' newspapers of supporting the *Ossewabrandwag* (Ox-wag-

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[147] *Die Transvaler,* 24 January 1940.

[148]Tarring and feathering was a form of torture, as a means of humiliation and unofficial justice where tar was put on an individual's body followed by feathers.

[149] *Die Transvaler*, 6 Julie 1940.

[150] Fifth column refers to a subversive group who attempt to undermine a nation's solidarity. Credited to Emilio Mola Vidal, a Nationalist Gerneral serving during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).

[151] *Die Transvaler*, 10 January 1941.

[152] *Die Transvaler*, 27 January 1941.

on Sentinel[153]) and the *Reddingsdaadbond*[154]. Both these organisations were accused of conspiring in a boycott against British, Jewish and loyal South African business enterprises across the Union. It escalated in February 1941[155] when both the buildings of *Die Transvaler* and *Die Volksblad* were vandalised and attacked by soldiers. The *Ossewabrandwag* assisted in protecting the buildings and staff during this period, with *Die Transvaler* printing images of damage to both buildings and an image of the *Ossewabrandwag* standing guard outside *Die Transvaler's* premises.

Verwoerd clearly took offence at Afrikaners being called 'Nazi', Malan being called 'Nazi' and as we will see from the result of the libel court case with the Star, at himself being called 'Nazi'. It was an accusation that seemed to particularly grate on him. He regularly and consistently referred to the hypocrisy of being called 'Nazi' throughout his editorials.

After the war, the Nazi label reemerged again, but more in relation to the communist threat the Nationalists pointed towards with post-war unravelling tensions with Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union in a Grand Alliance. When Bevin[156] started calling warning shots about the danger of Russia, Verwoerd was quick to recall in 'What do they say now?[157]' that when the Purified Party met at a congress the year before in order to discuss the Communist danger, they were labelled as Nazis and so now it follows that Bevin should also be labelled a Nazi as he is saying the exact same thing the Nationalists have been claiming all the time.

This presents another example whereby Verwoerd is showing his preference for circular reasoning to prove a point.

In 'Imperialists searching for Allies again[158]', he stated that although the Nationalist's struggle against Communism as a system and a party in South Africa should not be construed as readiness to

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[153] An anti-war and pro-German organisation founded early 1939 by pro-German Afrikaners.

[154] A support society founded late 1939 to uplift poor, white Afrikaners.

[155] *Die Transvaler*, 3 February 1941.

[156] Ernest Bevin was the Minister of Labour in Winston Churchill's wartime Cabinet.

[157] *Die Transvaler*, 4 February 1946.

[158] *Die Transvaler*, 5 February 1946.

assist England if a private battle should start with for example Palestine or the oil fields of Iran, the country would have to stay neutral even as it continued to 'powerfully remove communism'.

Furthermore he charged that 'the Imperialists' should stop accusing the Nationalists of being Nazis when they pointed to the Communist threat, although he doubted they will since 'to this illusion[159] they will cling, because they have nothing else with which to fight against the principles of the Purified Party.'

Notes

In Verwoerd's defensive argument against the Nationalist Party being branded Nazi or Fascist, he introduces further concepts to the theme of nationalistic identity. The concept of local versus foreign is highlighted to illustrate that the systems of Nazism, Fascism or any foreign import, including communism or dictatorship are rejected by the Nationalist Party and therefore by inference by the Nationalist.

Through a careful look at what language he uses to describe the Nationalist's replacement of these foreign systems it is clear 'pro-Afrikaner', 'Afrikaner's struggle for economic rights', 'Afrikaner's own interests', 'no foreign import', 'wholly South African development' is really defining Afrikaner nationalism as the system that fully represents the Party's political ideology and replaces these foreign imports.

The origin of the radical right movements, specifically the Greyshirts for instance, were distinctly foreign in orientation and it would explain one of the reasons the Nationalist Party wasn't keen to partner with them.

It also connects further to understanding Verwoerd's position on antisemitism. He argues that to define the Afrikaner's struggle for their economic rights as antisemitic is to belittle it. The sub-text here is that he believes the accusation itself a moot point since it is the Afrikaner that has lost his

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[159] The word he used was '*pampoenspook*' which literally means 'pumpkin ghost' namely something that does not exist.

rights and need to regain it, and therefore the Jew has no claim to it (being foreign) or call his treatment anti-Jewish (antisemitic).

CHAPTER 7: STEREOTYPES AND REPRESENTATION

Introduction

This section looks at the racial stereotypes that Verwoerd used in articles, editorials or cartoons to perpetuate an anti-Jewish image and representation in *Die Transvaler*, despite his denials that the Jews had not drawn the attention of the Nationalists on account of race or religion, but purely on an economic basis.

Throughout his editorship, Verwoerd showed a proclivity for hyphenated compounds, such as British-Jewish or imperialism or liberalism as British-Jewish imperialism and British-Jewish liberalism as opposed to Afrikaner nationalism and examples mentioned earlier including pro-Afrikaner or anti-. Other than the use of these compounds it also looks at further representation of Jews in editorials and articles where they are negatively presented seemingly without much evidence as is found in the case of news items where communistic ties for instance are highlighted or featured as an example.

During the period under review, *Die Transvaler* covered two elections, namely the 1938 and the 1943 elections. In both elections the Jews were blamed for supporting the United Party financially. In the 1938 elections, accusations of sabotage even occurred (that garages refused to give petrol to Nationalists) and claims that Jewish businesses either paid for their employees to vote or made arrangements for their transport.

7.1 Pro-Jewish, 'British-Jewish' & Imperialist

Pre-elections in 1938, Verwoerd accused[160] the United Party of using its stance on the Jewish Question as a means to garner votes. He classified the party in terms of 'Pro-Jewishness[161]' and 'the Jewish-orientated and supported party.[162]' After the United Party's election win, Verwoerd wrote that it

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[160] *Die Transvaler,* 1 December 1937.

[161] *Die Transvaler*, 1 February 1938.

[162] *Die Transvaler*, 9 May 1938.

was a 'Jewish victory[163]' and attributed the colossal resources that was put to the disposal of the United Party as the reason that they could succeed in a larger victory than expected. He replied sarcastically that since the United Party had its 'Jewish cohorts to thank for its victory' they will now have to 'dance to their pipes'. He contrasted the United Party as a party that protected the Jew[164] with the Nationalist Party that instead worked on behalf of the Afrikaner for him to gain entry into economic positions.

The rise in antisemitism in the country at the time, prompted Minister Jan Hofmeyr (United Party) to weigh in with his defence: 'they improve industrial life and play an important part in South African culture, music and other arts'[165]. Hofmeyr repeated these views at a gathering of Jews and Christians in Benoni[166]: 'I don't only view anti-semitism as unChristian, but also as a negative to the population, because it results in barbarism'. He said that Jews had shown their assimilability by the fact that they held the highest careers in the country and even acted as judges.

These were alternate views placed in *Die Transvaler* during this time, but not on the front page of the paper and even the headlines that were meant to reflect the content of Hofmeyr's speeches were presented more negatively: 'The Jews have enriched South Africa' and 'Minister Hofmeyr sees disaster if they had to leave the Union.'

It illustrates cases where captions to news reports were used to present *Die Transvaler*'s viewpoint. Hofmeyr had meant his utterances as positive and in defence of the Jews, but instead they were represented in the newspaper as negative with an added sarcastic tone.

On election day**[167]** front page news was devoted to report on the thousands of cars the Jews had put to use for the United Party and that prestigious Jewish firms had expected their employees to do the same at the threat of dismissal. Stating 'in no South African election has this ever happened' the ar-

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[163] *Die Transvaler,* 20 May 1938.

[164] *Die Transvaler*, 23 May 1938.

[165] Die Transvaler, 18 November 1937.

[166] *Die Transvaler,* 15 June 1938.

[167] *Die Transvaler*, 18 May 1938.

ticles described ‘the feverish activity of the entire Jewdom against the Nationalist Party’ and that the Jews ‘throw their energy and money in the battle against the Nationalist Party’. In an editorial the day prior[168], Verwoerd already termed it a ‘Jewish-victory’.

These negative representations of South African Jews specifically in *Die Transvaler* was most pronounced and frequent prior to and during election periods, which included the 1938, 1943 and run up to the 1948 elections.

Another type of phrase that was used to link the Jews to the United Party was ‘British-Jewish democracy’. This was used in contexts where the opposite to a Nationalist type of government needed to be illustrated for instance when Dr. Malan was quoted as saying[169] that the British-Jewish form of democracy must be rejected, and that the republican system that was planned could be called ‘true democracy’ or ‘*volksregering*[170].’

Another illustration of this usage was after an event in November 1941[171] where 3000 people protested against the internment of Afrikaners. A Nationalist party member spoke of the British-Jewish treatment of Afrikaners and that they should have the opportunity to be brought to ‘this’ government’s court since ‘the least a person can expect, is that the country will maybe know who the Judases are that for a few silver coins, had reported people.’

His use of ‘Imperialist’ was linked to any English-speakers, but Verwoerd often linked Jewish communists together with British imperialists or just referred to English speakers in South Africa as Imperialists whenever they were seen to support the United Party. In ‘Will Imperialists learn from this?[172]’ he wrote that Jewish community leaders ‘longed for revenge on Germany’ and ‘Jewish communists and British imperialists’ both saw their ‘common enemy in nationalist Germany.’

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[168] *Die Transvaler*, 20 May 1938.

[169] *Die Transvaler,* 5 June 1941.

[170] Translation: democracy governed by the *volk.*

[171] *Die Transvaler,* 7 November 1941.

[172] *Die Transvaler,* 3 January 1940.

Other terms used were 'British-Jewish democracy'[173], 'British-Jewish' and 'British-Jewish liberalism' which he used repeatedly. General Smuts and Col. Reitz[174] are called 'leading imperialists,[175]' because they wanted to mix (plough together)[176] the nationalist-minded Afrikanerdom with British and Jewish immigrants.'

The 'Imperialist' and 'British-Jewish' liberalists and their actions, policies and ideas, were contrasted with the 'Nationalist-minded Afrikaner or Afrikanerdom'. The separation between the camps, British versus Afrikaners, are more pronounced during the War Period.

Verwoerd said in 'Reprehensible attacks[177]' : 'the higher the imperialists' fever for war rises, the greater their hatred towards everything that is Afrikaner' and since the war broke out a 'strong feeling has developed amongst certain imperialistic groups against nationalistic Afrikaners.'

7.2 Hoggenheimer

As outlined in the literary review, 'Hoggenheimer' was a distinctly antisemitic caricature of an overweight Semitic figure that personified mining or international capital and was presented as exploitative.

Malan was quoted in a front page article three days after the election[178] also attributing the United Party win to Jewish support: 'Never before had the organised power of money triumphed so much' and 'never in all our political history did he (Hoggenheimer) spend so much money on an election and did he make so much use of methods of bribery, intimidation and even violence.' Where Ver-

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[173] *Die Transvaler,* 6 June 1940; *Die Transvaler,* 10 September 1941; *Die Transvaler,* October 1941.

[174] Colonel Deneys Reitz was Minister of Native Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister in the United Party government until 1943.

[175] *Die Transvaler*, 2 November 1942.

[176] In Afrikaans: *omgeploeg.*

[177] *Die Transvaler,* 4 February 1941.

[178] *Die Transvaler*, 21 May 1938.

woerd had called it a 'Jewish victory,' Malan called it a 'Hoggenheimer-victory,' the inference being clear.

The use of the term Hoggenheimer or prevalence of the Hoggenheimer antisemitic caricature in Afrikaans press was also found consistently in *Die Transvaler.* Verwoerd used the term 'Hoggenheimer' in *Die Transvaler* specifically in relation to the owners of gold mining companies, news related to them, capitalistic interests or exploitative practices by the mining capital.

In 'Emperor to service' he wrote: 'The current Government conceded to Hoggenheimer's pressure and gave the fully elevated price to the gold mines[179]' and again in 'The Hoggenheimer budget': 'Hoggenheimer's delight coupled with the rise in share prices, is a clear indication that the gold mine capitalist is reading much more into the budget.' The term was often shortened to 'Hoggie.' In 'Baas Hoggie'[180] and 'Anti-Capitalist[181],' 'Where to (the) gold mining industry?[182]' and 'State control over Gold mines[183]' the nickname for Hoggenheimer namely 'Hoggie' appeared. This provided some tongue-in-cheek cartoon captions where both 'Hoffie' (the nickname for Minister Jan Hofmeyr) and 'Hoggie' appeared[184].

There is a recurring theme of the mining companies lobbying for a reduced tax. Verwoerd wrote about it in 'Hoggenheimer's heavy burden[185]' and ridiculed the gold mine owners for being hypocritical - that if the industry was not profitable (the reason given for a reduced tax), they should not continue with it, and it should be state-owned instead.

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[179] *Die Transvaler*, 29 February 1940.

[180] *Die Transvaler*, 7 August 1942.

[181] *Die Transvaler*, 6 January 1943.

[182] *Die Transvaler*, 13 August 1942.

[183] *Die Transvaler*, 31 March 1943.

[184] *Die Transvaler*, 27 February 1946.

[185] *Die Transvaler*, 23 November 1944.

On the issue of the mining industry tax, the familiar term 'Hoggenheimer' appeared again. 'Hoggenheimer did not leave this issue to the mercy of Jan Tax' and 'Mr Hofmeyr is in the position that he must deliver proof on the 28th of who is in charge of South Africa. If it is not Hoggenheimer, he will be treated as an ordinary taxpayer. We'll see.'

In 'Rich man's budget[186],' he berated the 'capitalist-minded Smuts government' for making 'significant tax allowances on gold mine tax[187] that the mining interests 'so agitated against' and for offering nothing that benefits the 'ordinary man, the worker or the low wage earner.'

He blamed the government for wanting to retain or regain the support of the 'capital-strong classes' and said it was clear that the country needed a government that would control the mining industry in the interests of the country and all of its inhabitants and not just the single capital interests and 'those abroad'.

Again, in 'The poor Hoggenheimer[188],' he wrote that the 'foreign capitalist calls for a special privilege' and said that it was the 'normal lamentation on the gruelling tax assessment of the Rand gold mines'. In 'Poor old Hoggie![189],' Verwoerd wrote sarcastically that Hoggenheimer was trying to get 'sympathy and alms from Jan Tax' and ridiculed what the Chamber of Mining and the newspapers, were saying namely that the 'entire country's economy, that after all rests on gold mining, be threatened with a downfall, if the Minister of Finance does not effect significant tax incentives'.

A cartoon captioned 'Jan Tax[190],' 'Guess, guess' and 'In money circles, there are many speculations about what secrets the budget speech of next week contains' featured Hofmeyr ('Hoffie the wizard') and Hoggenheimer ('Big Hoggenheimer'). See Appendix 2.

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[186] *Die Transvaler*, 1 March 1946.

[187] In Afrikaans: *goudmynbelastings.*

[188] *Die Transvaler,* 28 March 1946.

[189] *Die Transvaler,* 16 October 1946.

[190] *Die Transvaler*, 23 February 1946.

With the budget speech results published[191], another cartoon followed featuring 'Hoffie' and 'Hoggenheimer' captioned 'Not even left with a nest egg[192]' and 'Although Jan Tax was pretty charitable in his budget towards Hoggenheimer, other established interests and wealthy people, he had very little compassion on the salary taker that earns a modest wage. They still have to pay much out of very little towards the State.' See Appendix 3.

In an editorial 'Hoggie - the King[193]' Verwoerd wrote: 'but to the economic consequences of his economic slavery he'd alone escape when he gets rid of Hoggenheimer and Smuts and all their actions.' Similarly, in 'Their interests clash' he referred to the 'capitalist powers that control the government' and 'one can't understand how those that are insulted can ever again work with those that are so closely linked to Hoggenheimer interests.'

In 'He (messes with) the worker's bread[194]' he wrote: 'As soon as they are in the presence of Hoggenheimer, they are like a dog that wags its tail when approaching its boss' and 'they actually regard it as an honour to be serviceable to the imperialist and capitalist interests.'

In an article titled 'Mines are the *volk*'s birthright[195],' sub-titled 'Hoggenheimer's system must go' a Nationalist party member, Mr S.J. Wannenburg at the Brakpan-East branch meeting was reported as saying that the Afrikaner was driven to the ground by the 'unhealthy and one-sided Hoggenheimer system' and that the only salvation was the creation of a new order whereby the mines were returned to the *volk*. 'It's our birthright and we require that it is returned to us,' he was quoted as saying.

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[191] *Die Transvaler*, 26 February 1946.

[192] *Die Transvaler*, 27 February 1946.

[193] *Die Transvaler,* 30 August 1943.

[194] In Afrikaans: *hy speel met die werker se brood.*

[195] *Die Transvaler*, 17 January 1941.

Notes

It is clear that Verwoerd used a conscious political narrative where one group is pitted against the other to further his electoral propaganda. The nationalistic Afrikaner that supported the Nationalist Party belonged in one group whereas the imperialist, capitalist, liberalist British-Jewish group was linked to the United Party.

Since imperialism opposed the Nationalists' advocacy for a republic, the term 'British-Jewish imperialism' is used disparagingly in the context of Jews. Liberalism again opposes Christian-Nationalism and the values its civil theology holds. The 'British-Jewish' type of democracy is represented as a faux democracy depicting a government that is not in control of itself but controlled by foreign elements and is contrasted with the 'true' democracy of the Nationalist and Nationalist Party that is not controlled by foreign elements.

It is clear that in Verwoerd's political discourse where the 'foreign element' (in this case South African Jewry) is negatively linked to the governing party and to a system of ideology or to a person in the use of hyphenated compounds it is aimed at separating people into an either/or alignment. It continues the theme of building a nationalistic identity that is formed by contrasting it against an opposite. It also seeks to create the impression of the opposite being the enemy to further unite the Afrikaner into this cohesive unit that needs to fight against the perceived threat.

In these findings, Verwoerd's representation of the Jews became more stereotypically antisemitic. as the Nationalist Party continues to craft its electoral propaganda. When the United Party wins the 1938 elections, the Jews are blamed. The resultant win was called a 'Jewish-victory'. Verwoerd used negative sentiment that existed against the Jews and the British as well as Smuts to unite them and present them as a collective that could be blamed.

The Hoggenheimer stereotype, which was often shown in cartoons as working behind the scenes, is used to illustrate further that the governing party is not fit to govern, since they are controlled by a 'foreign' element in their midst that is *vreemd* (he is depicted as large and looming with clearly antisemitic overtones).

He is also used in relation to the economic welfare of the Afrikaner and presented as a scapegoat - taking away the birthright of the Afrikaner and their 'rights' and privileges and economic prospects. Hoggenheimer is presented as foreign, capitalist, 'self-interest' in direct contrast with the Afrikaner who is represented as nationalistic and 'nation-interest'.

CHAPTER 8: VERWOERD, *DIE TRANSVALER* & THE LAW

Introduction

The background to the libel case was an article that had appeared in *The Star*[196] entitled 'Speaking up for Hitler' and it accused *Die Transvaler* of omitting words from a statement received from the Bureau of Information. The introduction in *The Star* article followed as: '*Die Transvaler*, which is published in Johannesburg, though its spiritual home lies somewhere between Keerom Street and the Munich beer hall, has this week given a rather better example than usual of the process of falsification which it applies to current news in its support of Nazi propaganda.'

The text in the statement read, an assurance which apparently occurred regularly, that Germany did not want to 'force its system of government upon other countries[197]' followed by the Bureau's script remark 'which is belied by what is happening in Europe.[198]' This remark 'which is belied by what is happening in Europe[199]' was omitted by *Die Transvaler* and instead the paper used the Zeesen[200] report's profession of 'benevolent intentions towards the country' as an opportunity to state the fact that Germany would not deny the Afrikaners their republic and that Germany should not be criticised for practising National Socialism in their own country.

The Star called it 'dishonesty' and 'identified *Die Transvaler* so closely with Nazi propaganda' and a 'tool of malignant forces from which the country has everything to fear.[201]'

Verwoerd took offence at *The Star*'s accusation and brought a libel case against the editor, the newspaper's printer and publisher in his personal capacity. In the court hearing, even though the

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196 *The Star,* 31 October 1941.

197 *The Star,* 31 October 1941 excerpt included in full text of the Judgment delivered by Mr. Justice P. Millin in the Supreme Court of South Africa, 13 July 1943.

198 Ibid.

199 Ibid.

200 Official news bulletins from Germany.

201 *The Star,* 31 October 1941.

defendants (*The Star* and its publishers) had denied that the article published was of or concerning the plaintiff (Verwoerd), the judge presiding, Mr. Justice P. Millin, dismissed this by citing appropriate evidence of a previous media case (*Nasionale Pers* vs. Long 1930 A.D.87). Million stated that therefore the article would be read and understood as that Verwoerd as editor would be held responsible for the conduct imputed to *Die Transvaler.*

On 18 May 1943, Verwoerd reported on his own libel case in *Die Transvaler* with the heading: 'Editor of Transvaler files lawsuit' with sub-heading: 'Claimed slanderous article in *The Star* 'Speaking up for Hitler'. He claimed damages of 15,000 pounds. Verwoerd had simultaneously filed a libel claim against Frederic Righton Paver, as editor of *The Star,* the *Argus Printing and Publishing Company Ltd.* as proprietor and printer and the *Central News Agency Ltd.* as publisher.

The court case allows an in depth look at Verwoerd's editorship and how he defends himself against the claim that he supported Nazi propaganda.

8.1. The libel case (*The Star*) and the falsification of news

In the court proceedings, *The Star* had to prove that *Die Transvaler* had falsified news in three different areas: the specific charge of falsification of current news (which was the article that Verwoerd took offence to), general charges of falsification of news (where current news was falsified when restated for comment in editorial articles) and falsification of headlines.

8.1.1 Specific charge of falsification of news

This dealt with the specific charge of falsification of news (cited in the introduction) that offended Verwoerd enough to result in this lengthy libel suit. Verwoerd explained that he felt entitled to omit the phrase since at the time there was 'acute controversy' between the Purified National Party and the *Ossewabrandwag*[202] on the question of whether those in South Africa who opposed participation in the war and demanded dissolution of all ties with Great Britain should embrace National Socialism as a form of government[203].

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[202] Translation: Ox-wagon Sentinel.

[203] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 12.

He said that spokesmen for the Purified National Party contested the belief at public meetings that a 'victorious Germany would show no favour to South Africa unless the country was governed on the National Socialist model' . This is exactly what the *Ossewabrandwag* had claimed and so to counter this they relied on the Zeesen broadcasts to state that the Germans did not desire to force National Socialism onto South Africa[204].

He explained that when he saw the comment in the broadcast 'a statement which is belied by what is happening in Europe' annexed to the sentence 'they stated they did not wish to force their state form upon other countries' in the Bureau's introduction to the Zeesen text, he resented this as an attempt to further United Party propaganda against the Purified National Party, as it was in the United Party's interest not to let the Purified Party have the better of the argument against the *Ossewabrandwag.* He saw the Bureau's comment as an addition 'to give that party feud an angle with which to go against the National Party with[205] [206]' and that it was to the United Party's advantage that there should be a divided opposition (referring to the *Ossewabrandwag* and the Purified Nationalist Party).[207]'

Judge Millin concluded on this charge that in suppressing this warning from the original broadcast it can be said that Verwoerd falsified current news and even though he cited the reason for doing so to have been the better to prove the *Ossewabrandwag* wrong, the effect of it was to support, or further German propaganda. He noted that Verwoerd had pointed out the Bureau of Information didn't complain, but Millin waived this point as irrelevant[208].

This is the first instance where Verwoerd admits openly that it was acceptable to edit and suppress news if it did not suit the party line. Later in the proceedings he will call this 'counter propaganda'.

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[204] Ibid.

[205] In Afrikaans: *'n byvoegsel om daardie partystryd 'n hoek te gee wat teen die Nasionale Party moes gaan.*

[206] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 12-13.

[207] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 13.

[208] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 14.

To him the fact that this broke a journalistic code of ethics was not important. What was important was that he suppressed a line that would have been in favour of the United Party and the *Ossewabrandwag*.

It illustrates to what extent the *Ossewabrandwag* was a threat to the Nationalist party and how propaganda and counter propaganda played a major part in the party political papers during this period. It also highlights the uneasy relationship the Nationalist Party had with the radical right, specifically the *Ossewabrandwag.*

Verwoerd's defence that he resented the Bureau's additional note to the Zeesen text as an attempt to further United Party propaganda and it was therefore acceptable to him to counter it by editing the document reveals to which extent the Nationalist Party ideology held sway over accurate content and truthful reporting. In this case Verwoerd saw it justifiable to take a news bulletin and edit it according to the Nationalist Party viewpoint. It shows to which extent Verwoerd saw the paper more as a manifesto and political document than a newspaper or conveyor of news. If reports did not suit the party line, it could be edited or in the case of Hofmeyr's utterances on the Jews mentioned under Stereotypes and Representation, be provided with captions that promoted a negative sentiment and view.

8.1.2 General charge of falsification of current news

The next section dealt with the **general charge of falsification** of current news and *The Star* submitted several instances of falsifications of news as evidence. The charges that were successful and the single one that was not successful are treated here since it gives us insight into the inner workings of *Die Transvaler* and the specific conclusions that can subsequently be drawn from the actions of its editor.

8.1.2.1 *Voortrekkerhoogte*[209] and the 'Tarring and feathering' assault

The Star accused Verwoerd of 'without proper inquiry, and reckless whether it was true or false, published as news something which turned out to be wholly false[210]' in an incident whereby *Die Transvaler*'s version, on 6 December 1939, was contradictory to their evidence.

Die Transvaler's version of events read that two young Afrikaner men, after one had scribbled comments on a copy of the *Sunday Times*, had been 'tarred and feathered[211]' by a gang of English speakers at an army base and that the Afrikaner men had been dismissed, but the English had got off scot free[212] [213]. The report cited other fellow soldiers, one of whom said: 'Us Afrikaners are deeply shocked and urge the Afrikaner *volk* to support the dismissed Afrikaners in word and deed[214].'

Again, Verwoerd's explanation of the background of this evidence, is insightful and his rationale proves elucidating. He said that the paper received the information from its Pretoria office from people purported to be eye-witnesses since *Voortrekkerhoogte* itself was not accessible. He countered that if he could not publish news 'of this kind' without getting confirmation, the result would be that his views[215] would be 'smothered.'When asked if he had applied to the military authorities, he said: 'The Pretoria men of *Die Transvaler* had to do it. If they did it, or what precisely they did, I do not know' and when asked whether as editor he had verified that inquiries had been made from military sources to validate the eye-witness accounts his answer was: 'No, I did not do it, because I knew that *Voortrekkerhoogte* will not give us the information. It is the sort of information that they

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[209] A prominent military base.

[210] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 15.

[211] See previous definition.

[212] In Afrikaans: *die Engelse het ongestraf daarvan afgekom.*

[213] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 16-17.

[214] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 18.

[215] The record obtained has 'views' crossed through and replaced with 'news'.

try to hide and as Opposition paper it is my duty to try and discover what they are trying to cover up[216].'

His answers appear to be contradictory and show a disregard as editor to follow journalistic protocol. His first answer was that someone else had to check evidence, namely the 'Pretoria men,' but whether they did and what precisely they did, he didn't know. Which, in respect to Verwoerd's lethal attention to detail in other concerns of interest, purely shows a disregard for newsroom proceedings outside of his main objective (to promote the party line). When asked again if he had verified whether evidence had been obtained from military sources, he said he didn't do it, since they would not give him the answers. What he inferred was that his intent was to publish, whether it was true or not, to illicit a response so that he could 'discover what they were trying to cover up.[217]'

Millin found that he had thus 'deliberately restricted himself' to the information on hand without any attempt to make a 'natural and obvious inquiry' as by doing so would have resulted in it shown that it was false information. In addition, on the day the news story was being prepared for publication, the culprits had actually already received military punishment 'of some severity'. His conclusion in this case was therefore inevitable in that when Verwoerd chose to publish false statements as current news he was 'quite reckless about whether they were true or false' and therefore 'exposed himself to the imputation that he had falsified current news.[218]'

Verwoerd had admitted that the publishing of this news might have been harmful to the recruitment of the armed forces in the Union (into the war the country had entered into two months prior) so the publication of this news story did, as Judge Millin found from the evidence, lend support to the enemy in the propaganda he was then making which was to weaken the Union war effort, even if not intended.[219]

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[216] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 19-20.

[217] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 20.

[218] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 20.

[219] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 20-21.

Millin said that even though a correction was placed on the 7th and 8th of December, it could not absolve Verwoerd from the charge that he falsified current news.[220]

Verwoerd appeared to have followed a print first, without getting confirmation of the validity of facts or verifying sources properly, apologise later editorial policy in respect to current news. The reason for doing so is clear. His logic for doing so is contradictory, however. He says it was his duty, as editor, to uncover the truth, but his method of doing so was to print an erroneous news report in order to illicit a response.

This is another incident where clearly for Verwoerd as editor the end justified the means.

8.1.2.2 Defeat of the Union troops with heavy losses

The next case dealt with a report on 23 July 1940 written by Dr. G.D.Scholtz, who was assistant editor at the time, which Verwoerd admitted that he approved after publication. *The Star* contended that it was an instance of falsification of current news since the report stated that there had been a defeat of the Union troops, involving heavy casualties when this was in fact false.[221]

As with the previous case, Verwoerd and Dr. Scholtz admitted that no inquiry had been made to the Defence Department to validate facts prior to the publication of the article. Verwoerd said that when he saw Dr. Scholtz's article he accepted it as a 'very strong form of pressure on the Government not to keep silent where so many rumours were concerned.' He used the analogy of someone hitting a nail with a hammer, with the intent of aiming to 'bully' the Government, to reveal what are the facts.[222] This is also similar to the previous occurrence where Verwoerd published news to illicit a response and that it was more important to portray the ruling party in a certain way than to publish accurate news.

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[220] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 21.

[221] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 21-22.

[222] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 23-24.

Verwoerd vigorously defended this article, and cited the reason that no inquiry was made was that he did not actually believe the rumours and the object of Dr. Scholtz's article was to draw the Government's attention to the rumours to 'strongly encourage it to reveal the facts[223].' [224] Verwoerd or his team must have added that the statement was made in a leading article and not in the news columns as Millin ruled against the relevance of this since it was presented in the newspaper as 'a statement of fact and therefore part of the current news.'[225] He said it was shown to be false, and that Verwoerd was willing to adopt it when he saw it in the paper', even though 'he does not pretend he thought it was true.'[226]

Therefore, he found that it was correct to say that this instance was a falsification of current news which was approved by Verwoerd. It was 'calculated to cause alarm and despondency and it is not open to doubt that it was of great service to the enemy in the way of supporting his propaganda for the damaging of the war effort of the Union.'[227]

8.1.2.3 British Propagandists fear of the Truth

Another incident involving Dr. Scholtz followed, but this case involved his regular feature in *Die Transvaler,* a daily column called '*Sake van die Dag*' (Business of the day). It was explained that this specific article was handed to Verwoerd at the end of the day and that he then read it and approved it prior to publication. It appeared on the leader page and was regarded as an important feature of the paper.

The background to this case is that on 12 September 1940 Verwoerd complained in his column, '*In die Politieke Gedrang,[228]*' of the 'unsatisfactory character of the war news sent by Reuters calling it the 'British propaganda service'. He told his readers that in order to get an accurate view of current

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[223] In Afrikaans: *die doel was om die Regering sterk aan te spoor om die feite te openbaar.*

[224] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 24.

[225] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 25.

[226] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 25.

[227] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 25-26.

[228] Literally: in the political throng.

news they should read the editorial columns. Millin stated that the only cable service *Die Transvaler* received was that of Reuters[229], and yet Verwoerd did not trust it. Scholtz's column, '*Sake van die Dag*' formed part of the editorial columns where readers were advised to look for 'accurate facts.'[230]

Scholtz's article on 28 September 1940 'British Propagandists' fear of the Truth: Big lies still sent into the world' was described as including a play of fancy (a more creative account) in its style of writing e.g. 'It is any hour of the night in London,' etc. 'Here the scene is similar, but on a much smaller scale, as the distance between Berlin and the British air bases is so great that only bombers can go there.'[231] Scholtz then proceeded to criticise news of the air raids (that the extent of the damage in London was not as great) sent to South Africa, as he said, by the British 'propaganda service' namely Reuters.[232]

It appears that in the court proceedings Verwoerd's defence team had tried to present this article as fanciful and therefore could not be taken as a serious discussion of the news or succeed as a falsification in the court case. Millin cited several reports where the extent of the damage (in what is known as the Battle of Britain) was actually reported in *Die Transvale*r itself which contradicted Scholtz's article. He therefore concluded that Scholtz in his haste to 'score against Reuters', misrepresented news and added it as a case of falsification of current news since Verwoerd and Scholtz both knew in this case 'what the actual news was.'[233]

8.1.2.4 Misrepresenting Reuters messages

Verwoerd's distrust of Reuters marks the next incident where he criticised the news agency in his regular column, '*In die Politieke Gedrang*' on 20 March 1941. When the actual Reuters report was compared it showed that its view was misrepresented. Verwoerd said that Reuters itself had made a

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[229] Reuters is an international news organisation.

[230] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 32.

[231] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 33.

[232] Ibid.

[233] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 33-35.

statement as its most recent 'flight into the realms of imagination (meaning 'false')' whereas this was contrary to the Reuters evidence. It therefore counted as a falsification of current news.[234]

Millin treated two further instances where what Reuters was cabling was represented as being said by Reuters itself for instance and both were found to be falsifications.[235]

Since Verwoerd admitted to having a distrust of international news services, and Reuters in particular, his regular practice was to edit them accordingly and draw out his view on affairs rather than purely publishing the report or adding editorial comment to it, as would be objective journalistic practise. Instead he was found to have manipulated the news to suit party propaganda. Since, he viewed Reuters as a 'British propaganda service' again he appeared to have felt justified to misrepresent or engage in what he would call 'counter propaganda.'

8.1.2.5 The valour and daring of the German soldier

Another '*Sake van die Dag*' written by Dr. Scholtz on 3 June 1941 was included as a case of falsification. It related to a passage about the 'valour and daring of the German soldier' and was corroborated by a mention of the London *Times* as also acknowledging the superiority of the German soldier. *The Star* had on 2 June 1941 printed a cabled message from London in which the *Times* was quoted as saying, in a leading article, that the 'incomparable valour' on the part of the British troops in Crete 'did not suffice to withstand immense material superiority'[236].

Verwoerd had explained in his cross-examination that he had been in Bloemfontein when the article appeared, but Millin believed him to be confused about this case, thinking of another, for it was clear from the examination in chief that Verwoerd had passed this article for publication.[237] The judge concluded that he could not say that since Verwoerd had not made it his business to check if

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[234] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 35-36.

[235] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 37-38.

[236] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 38.

[237] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 40.

Scholtz's statement about *The Times* was correct, if it would be right to charge him with falsification of news in this instance. Verwoerd therefore succeeded on this point.[238]

This was therefore a particular instance where *The Star* failed to prove falsification of news. A comparison can then be drawn with the next instance, which was also one involving Scholtz. That Verwoerd would make a mistake in relation to this case is unusual given his attention to detail and his painstaking approach to reading most of the newspapers every morning and then responding to key themes in his editorials. It also seems contradictory in comparison to the next case.

Verwoerd's response at large merely shows a disinterest in following journalistic practice if it did not suit the political agenda. Another case where the end justified the means.

8.1.2.6 British Government's justification of the invasion of Syria

The next incident dealt with another '*Sake van die Dag*' article in which Scholtz tried to set out what the British Government's justification for the invasion of Syria was. *The Star* said that he falsified a news report which had actually arrived in Johannesburg on the day he was writing, 9 June 1941. The article appeared on June 10.[239]

Millin found that in this case 'it is perfectly clear to me that Dr. Scholtz, in order to show that the British Government was not more moral than the German (one), wrote that the British Government had declared that British forces were entering Syria because the Germans were on the point of invading that country.'[240] In this instance therefore Scholtz seriously falsified news of what the British Government's declaration actually said.[241]

In considering whether Verwoerd should be held responsible for this falsification by Scholtz, Millin declared that he was, since in the evidence in chief Verwoerd accepted 'he was in his office on the

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[238] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 40.

[239] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 41.

[240] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 43.

[241] Ibid.

9th of June and saw not only Dr. Scholtz's article, but also the news of Sir Archibald Wavell's proclamation and the British Government's communique as printed by *The Star* that afternoon.'[242]

Verwoerd said that he did not notice anything amiss in the article which did not accurately reflect the British position. In cross-examination Verwoerd also repeated, after a study of the conflicting statements before him, that he took it to understand that Scholtz was stating the British attitude as he saw it. This reason was waived since the plain reading of the article was that it gave the effect of an official British Government declaration and it was therefore found to be a falsification of current news.[243]

In this second section whereby both Scholtz's articles were treated as containing falsification of news, Verwoerd had actually incriminated himself in his own examination and cross-examination stating that he had seen both the Scholtz article and *The Star* article and did not find anything amiss.

The only conclusion that one could draw from this is that either he trusted Scholtz explicitly and did not do a thorough check or was not in the habit of thoroughly checking his work or that he spotted the error or misrepresentation and yet in court said he didn't since from the cases treated in the verdict it is clear that he was actually in the habit of approving items that would tow the party line or be in the party's interest and would therefore take the risk of printing it, rather than not printing it.

8.1.2.7 Churchill speech on War production

Another '*Sake van die Da*g' article of 31 July 1941 was included, which followed the placement of a Reuters report the previous day of Mr. Winston Churchill's speech in the House of Commons to debate the war production. Scholtz in this article wrote that the production of British aircraft was far behind that of the Germans. This was alleged to be a falsification of news since this admission is not found in Churchill's speech.[244]

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[242] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 44.

[243] Ibid.

[244] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 47

Scholtz and Verwoerd subsequently explained that it was not intended to state that Mr. Churchill had made the admission. It was Scholtz's inference from the remark that the general production was one-third greater than at the time of Dunkirk[245]. He said: 'I do not state Churchill's own words here; this is how I state his words[246].' Verwoerd said that if Dr. Scholtz had thought about the fact that there was the possibility of misunderstanding, he would have written it differently, 'as I deduce from Churchill's words[247],' but as it appears he sees it as an 'honest account of what the commentator thought Churchill had said. He doesn't try to put words in Churchill's mouth[248].' Verwoerd's legal team also countered that there could have been no intention to falsify since the speech was printed in extenso[249] on the 30th of July.[250]

Millin did not accept this argument and said that if any reader of the column on the 31st of July might have thought it is a part they had missed in the speech or if many readers had not read the speech carefully or at all in the first place. In support of this judgement he repeated the fact that *Die Transvaler* itself had advised readers to trust the editorial opinions in the paper rather than Reuters cables for real news.'[251]

Millin found that since neither Verwoerd nor Dr. Scholtz said the admission was inadvertent or 'by a mistaken recollection of the contents of the speech attributed to Mr. Churchill,' they in fact by their own explanation or defence had implied that they knew Churchill hadn't made the admission since they 'never intended to say that he had.' This was therefore as a result of their own defensive arguments found to be another instance where the falsification of news was proved.[252]

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[245] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 47

[246] In Afrikaans: e*k stel nie Churchill se eie woorde daar nie; dit is so ek sy woord stel.*

[247] In Afrikaans: *soos ek aflei uit Churchill se woorde.*

[248] In Afrikaans: *eerlike weergawe van wat die kommentator gedink het dat Churchill gesê het. Hy probeer nie om worden in Churchill se mond te lê nie.*

[249] In extended form.

[250] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 48.

[251] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 48-49.

[252] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 49.

Since most of the incidents were related to *Sake van die Dag* articles in this section, Verwoerd's support of Scholtz throughout was illustrative of a shared ideology in their editorial approach and practice. Verwoerd purported to have understood what Scholtz's intentions were and Scholtz clearly had developed the sense and license of generating editorial content that would be acceptable for and carry Verwoerd's editorial approval.

8.1.2.8 Speech made by the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King

The last '*Sake van die Dag*' was noted as 'of the same nature and the matter is even plainer'. The background to this instance was that of a Reuters cable received that included an important speech made by Mr. Mackenzie King[253] in London on 4 September 1941[254]. *Die Transvaler* published the report on 5 September and on 9 September followed it with a discussion in '*Sake van die Dag,*' which was 'devoted mainly to showing how badly the British were faring on the high seas' and included the statement 'but as MacKenzie King unequivocally stated, it can't go on like this[255].'[256]

Millin found that words attributed to the Canadian Prime Minister by inference had not been said by him and that when Verwoerd approved the article he knew this even though he countered that the 'words were not attributed to Mr. Mackenzie King.' Millin found that they were so attributed in plain language and that therefore the charge of falsification was proved.[257]

Verwoerd described the distinction drawn on behalf of the *The Star* as mere hairsplitting and insisted that Scholtz was merely giving his own opinion of the effect of the speech. Millin could not accept this as a line of argument and stated that Verwoerd knew as well as Dr. Scholtz what was in the speech as he did not deny that when he passed the article for publication he knew that the words

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[253] Dominion Prime Minister (Canada).

[254] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 49.

[255] In Afrikaans: *maar soos MacKenzie King onomwonde verklaar het, dit kan nie so aanhou nie.*

[256] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 50-51.

[257] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 52.

attributed to Mr. Mackenzie King were not used by him. His whole defence was that the words were not attributed to Mr. Mackenzie King.

8.2 Falsified headlines: Twelve particulars

In this section of the court hearing, Mr. Roper, editor of *The Star*, was quoted: 'headlines may be a potent means of falsifying news, for there are readers who are content to take the news from the headlines without reading the messages, carefully or even at all.[258]'

From the court documents it becomes clear that the practice within *Die Transvaler* was that headlines were written by the sub-editors who prepared the news messages for publication and so Verwoerd did not see the headlines before the paper went to print. His direction to the sub-editors was to avoid comment in headlines and to keep them as objective as possible. Since the wording or phrasing of the news would include headlines, Verwoerd was reminded once more in the court case that he had stated in his column '*In die Politieke Gedrang*' of 12 September 1940 that readers should view the editorial views and news coverage for a correct or accurate understanding of the news.[259]

Verwoerd said that the meaning of this, as far as headlines were concerned, was that they would indicate to the readers the really significant part of a message as opposed to what may be mere propaganda in it. This comment naturally indicated that the accepted editorial direction at *Die Transvaler* was to highlight, through the means of headlines, significant elements that would suit the party line.

Millin noted that in the course of the period covered by the particulars, thousands of news messages with headlines appeared in *Die Transvaler* and if misleading headlines were very common it would no doubt be fair to say that Verwoerd must have approved of this way of presenting the news. But as only twelve instances were put forward by *The Star*, and most of these were not even arguably cases of falsification, he did not think Verwoerd could be held responsible as a matter of course if

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[258] Ibid.

[259] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 52-53.

such a case of falsification was proved.[260] The result was that he found only two cases out of the twelve that carried misleading headlines.[261]

8.3 Conclusions in the verdict and final verdict

In summary, Millin concluded that besides the specific charge already treated which found that Verwoerd had omitted a phrase in order to falsify news for the sake of propaganda, in all the other cases presented under the general charge against Verwoerd that he falsified current news (in articles or headlines) there was found: two 'very grave cases' that were reckless whether it was true or false (*Voortrekkerhoogte* and the invasion of Syria), six further cases 'on the whole less serious', but still 'clear cases of falsification' (mostly the '*Sake van die Dag*' articles where news originally reported was falsified to misrepresent for editorial comment) and lastly two misleading headlines.[262]

In the libel case, *The Star* newspaper had to prove that Verwoerd falsified news and that he promoted Nazi propaganda (basically mirror the Zeesen themes) in *Die Transvaler*. Since enough evidence was found that the paper did contain a large body of Nazi propaganda he was found guilty of promoting it. Since he knew, and admitted that the themes contained in *Die Transvaler* were similar and closely mirrored those of Zeesen the verdict also stated that he was aware of doing it. From his defence, it is clear that a pro-Germany narrative suited the Nationalist Party line since they were advocating a policy of neutrality and saw peace with Germany as a means to a future republic.

Final verdict statement

Millin in his concluding statements said that what the defendants (*The Star*) proved was that Verwoerd caused this large body of German propaganda to be published and that it was along the same themes as the Afrikaans Zeesen reports which was 'calculated to make the Germans look on *Die Transvaler* as a most useful adjunct to this propaganda service.'[263]

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[260] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 53.

[261] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 65.

[262] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 64-65.

[263] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 78.

The final statement in the verdict ran: 'The plaintiff cannot really deny this (that he supported Nazi propaganda). He says it is not his fault. He appeals to the principles of free speech and a free press in a democratic country as justifying him in writing as he did in support of his policy of neutrality and a separate peace between the Union and Germany as a means towards a republic in South Africa. He argues that if he had to consider whether he would be useful to the Germans the effect would be to silence him; and the law does not compel him to be silent. But the question in this case is not whether the plaintiff should be silenced. His legal right to publish what he did is not in question. The question is, whether when he exercised his legal right in the way he does, he is entitled to complain if it is said of him that what he writes supports Nazi propaganda and makes his paper a tool of the Nazis. On the evidence he is not entitled to complain. He did support Nazi propaganda, he did make his paper a tool of the Nazis in South Africa, and he knew it.'[264]

Notes

Several important points can be drawn from this court case. Verwoerd had created his own justified journalistic practice within the paper which defied media ethics, journalistic integrity or in some cases, hard truth. From his answers in the court proceedings it was clear that he would protect the Nationalist party's interests first and that since *Die Transvaler* was the party's mouthpiece it would not print articles that would favour the opposition. Balanced reporting was therefore not a characteristic of *Die Transvaler* and Verwoerd had no qualms to admit to which extent the paper's news reporting would manipulate news in order to counter its political competition. He said it was his duty as editor of a 'opposition paper' to propagate counter-propaganda against pro-Allied and pro-British propaganda. He saw his role as editor, to bring out the 'truth' and in his words as a 'neutral minded observer' to protect his readers from Allied war propaganda. However, he did this by misrepresenting facts and falsifying news where it suited the party agenda so that to him, as editor, the end often justified the means. Checking facts or evidence or getting confirmation as normal journalistic practice was secondary to advocating party propaganda.

It becomes clear from the court case that Verwoerd as editor was everything but a 'neutral minded observer' and in the instances where his defence was that he wanted to bring out the 'truth' it is not

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[264] Verwoerd v Paver & others 1943 WLD 153 Pg. 78-79.

so much the balanced truth of newspaper reporting, but 'truth' that would support the paper's political position. In the examples of cases where a phrase is left out so that the reader would not be aware of the current situation in Europe, or saying that Britain has invaded Syria when they didn't or reporting that they had losses when they didn't was not bringing out the truth or being neutral minded. It is actively misrepresenting and manipulating the truth to suit a specific purpose which in this case was the protection of the Party position (neutrality in the war and severing of ties with Britain) and the promulgation of Nationalist propaganda.

From the outcome of the court case, we can conclude that *Die Transvaler* was not balanced in its portrayal of news, it favoured partisan journalism and could therefore not be seen as a reliable news source since *Die Transvaler* was entirely partisan to the Nationalist cause and the way that current news was presented and treated in the paper was a supreme example of media advocacy in favour of the Nationalist party.

Another important point that can be drawn is that this court case and its verdict is often cited as proof that Verwoerd was a Nazi himself or that he was antisemitic by default. This is normally further related to his first lead article in *Die Transvaler* introducing the Jewish Question with the proposal of Afrikaner affirmative action. The Jewish Question however, and any other antisemitic mentions or articles that did in fact form part of *Die Transvaler's* antisemitic editorial narrative did not form part of the case in establishing whether he promoted Nazi propaganda.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

Verwoerd was in his late thirties, still a member of the young Afrikaner intelligentsia, when he took office as editor of the Nationalist mouthpiece in Transvaal, *Die Transvaler.* He had been plucked from a plum professorial position at Stellenbosch to take up this hardy task of championing the Nationalist cause in the North, with slim editorial experience, after receiving attention from party leaders for lobbying the governing party to support the poor, white Afrikaner and for his involvement in the Stuttgart-incident, protesting against Jewish immigration. At the end of his editorial career, when he entered full time politics, the Nationalist position in the Transvaal was strongly cemented and shortly thereafter the Nationalist party would come to power in 1948.

The question this research sought to answer was how did Verwoerd, as editor of *Die Transvaler*, treat 'The Jewish Question,' and in what way could this be linked to the mobilisation of Afrikaner nationalism prior to 1948.

Firstly, we need to look at the position of *Die Transvaler* within the Afrikaans press. The role of party political papers in the Afrikaans press of this era cannot be overstated. Neither can the role they played in unifying Afrikanerdom culturally, socially and politically to counter earlier class divisions that had existed. After the war, leading into 1948, the upwardly mobile Afrikaner was now more confident and more defensive about his place in the economic and social life of the country. Cultural organisations had formed to give him a sense of identity and unify him, underground organisations like the Broederbond continued to mobilise, economic institutions like banks and other means for him to receive assistance had been introduced and his language was now more respected. The environment that was built around the Afrikaner politically, economically, culturally and socially put him inside a protective enclave, effectively a laager.

Within a very short space of time, the Afrikaner had solidified his cultural and social reality, followed by a very powerful political and economic reality. It was a very different picture in the late thirties. The main objective of the Nationalists during this time was to unify Afrikanerdom and one of the aspects that was key was the growth of an Afrikaner identity. What is relevant though is that this was not just an Afrikaner identity, but an Afrikaner Nationalist identity that was being shaped.

This is clearly illustrated in *Die Transvaler*, since what Verwoerd consistently managed to do over a period of more than a decade was to position the identity of the Nationalist Afrikaner, socially, politically, culturally, religiously, as a polar opposite to whatever countered or threatened the Nationalist ideology. He built identity through division and separateness and continued to portray the Afrikaner according to Nationalist ideals in order to perpetuate the Nationalist ideology.

The key themes that emerged from the reportage of *Die Transvaler* revealed the social reality of the Afrikaner and his economic fears heightened by the fear of large numbers of immigrants who could more easily adapt to an urban environment. It showed how strongly the themes of immigration, the Jewish Question and Afrikaner identity and nationalism are interwoven into this space. It exposed the Afrikaner's lack of identity at this juncture, how closely this was related to his changing environment and revealed how the political machinery that evolved around him sought to present him with a new reality, where he is upliftment is foregrounded and strongly centred in this Nationalist enclave with its own language, better economic prospects and political clout.

This ideological aspect of *Die Transvaler* is located in the political mission of the paper. It sought to present an ideal of the nationalistic Afrikaner who had found actualisation in all the spheres of life. It sought to unite Afrikanerdom through the perpetuation of Afrikaner nationalism as a political ideology with its ultimate destination a republic free of imperialist and foreign capitalist ties.

Verwoerd excelled at crafting opposites, contrasts and differences in his political discourse. Their own, what belongs to them, inherent to them, separate from, stranger and foreigner, birthright and alien are all typologies reflective in his narratives. In response to Hofmeyr for instance that a *Herrenvolk*[265]-mentality lied at the heart of the country's racial problems, he retorted that equality was not the same as self-preservation, which was so that the Afrikaner could keep his race pure and avoid miscegenation and eventual extinction of the white race in the Union.

In his frequent denial of antisemitism, he would say that the Nationalist was not anti-anything, but pro-Afrikaans. When accused of any position, he would counter with this type of circular reasoning or as defence he would remind of an earlier incident that the person, group, or politician might have

[265] The ideology that one race is innately superior to another.

been involved in or had said that would show hypocrisy. This seemed to have been a Nationalist Party characteristic, since Malan followed suit in his press interviews and speeches.

The paper was steered by a very strong ideologue, namely Verwoerd as editor, who associated himself inextricably with the Nationalist cause. The objective of the paper therefore as a media vehicle was to strengthen and grow the Nationalist base in the North. The ultimate political goal was for the Nationalist Party to come to power. Since the first one effectively meant the success of the other, *Die Transvaler* set about programmatically to dismantle and divide the ruling party's position. The political propaganda driven by the Afrikaans papers, not just *Die Transvaler*, but also *Die Burger*, foregrounded Nationalist politicians who continued to consistently and vociferously vilify the governing party members on every count through the pages of their presses. The participation in the success that the Afrikaans media shared in the Nationalist Party coming to power cannot be underestimated.

If it suited the Nationalist Party narrative, checking sources and evidence as editor fell second to ensuring accurate, objective journalism. Some of the ways in which *Die Transvaler* forfeited ethical journalism and balanced reporting in support of the party line, as seen with the libel case, was through propaganda, misinformation, falsification, alarmist news coverage, fear mongering and from what was reviewed, the introduction of antisemitic discourse enforced further with clearly antisemitic tropes.

The Jewish Question at every turn presented Verwoerd with the opportunity to present the views and ideals of the Nationalist Party, the Nationalist Afrikaner and the economic plight of the Afrikaner in contrast to the position of the Jew who was depicted as a foreigner, alien, capitalist, or *vreemde* immigrant. Jews were presented as the age-old scapegoat at every turn, the tried and tested political tool. Verwoerd's main focus was domestic issues and the Jewish Question was treated specifically in relation to *this* country.

From the first, Verwoerd launched into the maiden edition of the paper with force a polemic piece on the Nationalist viewpoint of the Jewish Question, but more importantly it introduced the theme of demographic representivity. It was effectively affirmative action for Afrikaners, and this theme

would be juxtaposed with another editorially: the economic right of the Afrikaner, depicted as his birthright taken away from him by foreign elements.

In outlining the development of the Jewish Question in the country, Verwoerd at length explained the history of the Jew in the *platteland* and his relationship to the Afrikaner and how over time an evolution had occurred. Verwoerd depicted this as an economic awakening, an awakening of the *volk's* consciousness that the foreigner had taken away the Afrikaner's rightful place. This was the premise used for the Nationalist viewpoint on the Jewish Question and the solution for it introduced as the proposed quota system. The themes of Afrikaner identity and economic reality are merged as immigration fears turn up the antisemitic dial.

This narrative presented every opportunity for Verwoerd to use his penchant for linguistic opposites. His pro-Afrikaner ideology was used to dispute any claims of *anti*semitism or racism. What is illustrative of his narrative, since it is also reflective of the Nationalist narrative, is that the Afrikaner is depicted as having his own rights, but when these rights are violated, or taken away (as in the case of economic positions as 'rights') it is again the right of the Afrikaner to address this imbalance even if it means violating the other group's rights.

This same philosophy is seen in his court statements where he cites duty to the *volk* as an overriding factor for falsification of news which he called counter propaganda.

Verwoerd is clearly seen as introducing a very specific narrative to *Die Transvaler*. Verwoerd's narrative is forming part of the ethnic mobilisation that historians refer to as a strategy to effect group identification. If one then questions what purpose the portrayal of the Jewish Question in *Die Transvaler* has in a party political paper that has proven itself to be entirely devoted to the Nationalist cause and never steers away from this position, it appears that from the consistent, endless reportage that it was meant as a means to an end and that the end justified the means as shown in the court case.

One could argue that it was to sustain an antisemitic discourse to assist in precisely this 'awakening (of) the nation's consciousness' towards their rights as a group that Verwoerd first speaks about. The argument therefore that Nationalists led an ethnic mobilisation to avoid a class one is supported by

evidence. Verwoerd certainly avoided arguing along a racial line, instead claiming that the Nationalists' interest was purely to protect the Afrikaner's material rights. This also bears out scholars who say that Jews were blamed by the radicals for poor whiteism which they said was as a result of the social exclusion of a capitalist system.

It also adds insight to historians who argue that the combination of class conflicts and *volkskapitalisme* brought about a new sense of radical ethnonationalism. Certainly Verwoerd's narrative sought to make the Afrikaner aware of his *koopkrag* and economic potential and his advocacy for Afrikaner economic rights (or the return of what he saw originally belonging to the Afrikaner) largely informed his writings.

The premise of nationalism to a beleaguered ethnic minority is to provide a sense of belonging and unity, to the detriment of other groups especially if the minority feels threatened or is made to feel threatened for instance through the media. The portrayal of the Jewish Question and the antisemitic discourse found in *Die Transvaler* introduced the aspect of the 'other' or hidden enemy that the Nationalistic new identity could fight against and therefore *unite* against e.g. anti-Jewish is pro-Afrikaans; Hoggenheimer is capitalist and controls the United party and therefore the country; anti-Jewish manifestations are deserved since they took the Afrikaner's rightful share; anti-immigration is as a result of the Jewish presence in the country being over a certain number; economic quotas are not antisemitic, but pro-Afrikaans and so on. Compounding these further with the enemies of imperialism, communism and the ruling party only strengthened the dividing line and solidified a common enemy hostile to the Afrikaner.

Gaging from the response to *Die Transvaler's* continued antisemitic reportage which included an initial advertising boycott, reporters banned from Jewish events, listed on a Nazi paper boycott and Jewish students removing the paper from reading rooms all indicate that the paper had firmly positioned itself as hostile to the Jewish community by perpetuating negative anti-Jewish reportage and stereotypes and that this was intentionally part of the official Nationalist discourse.

Verwoerd often used religious slurs in his editorials especially in describing the path of the Afrikaner and his path towards actualisation and parallel to this, the path of the Nationalist Party towards eventual victory. He was completely confident of an eventual win and wrote about it decisively at

every juncture, including the election fail in 1938, followed by the election fail in 1943 and then in 1946 penning 'The Purified National Party will win' claiming that the Nationalist Party was the salvation of the Union out of the abyss that Smuts had veered it into.

He saw it as a fight of faith, but this was faith in the Nationalist party specifically and its ideology, as well as his role in it. He defined a friend of Afrikanerdom at this point as any person who convinced others that Nationalism was fast moving towards victory. This he termed the 'final goal' namely that the Nationalist Party would come to power, driven by Nationalism onto victory: 'he who fights in the faith will reach his final goal first.' He believed truly that the Nationalist party will be the salvation of the people, the Afrikaner foremost, followed by other whites. That they will be empowered, which he called 'freedom' and reach self-actualisation (in business, quality of life , etc.) and that domestic problems could be fixed when the Nationalists came to power.

The Nationalist party was the party of his religion and he saw leading the *volk* as part of his duty and calling (in *volksdiens* initially, but eventually also as political leader). He wrote that it was more important that they come to power when the time was right, when the electorate had been 'converted to their principles' so that they can then fix what was wrong. When he wrote in 'The struggle will become more difficult' that he was aware of the obstacles ahead, he said that since it was the divine will that there should be different races and people, those that break down the walls that separate do not act in accordance with the divine will. He believed this and it was what gave him the conviction to push forward the apartheid policy and the racial solutions he propagated. His philosophy, and eventual policy was entrenched in the belief of separatism which inherently formed part of the civil theology of the Afrikaner. This was part of his political faith. That what had been separated by divine will, cannot be mixed together. They have to be *apart.*

The tenets of this can be seen already in his treatment of the Jewish Question and his portrayal of Jews in general in his editorials. In an editorial three years before the election win 'Their church is out' in response to those ('Imperialists') who were saying that Nationalism no longer had a part to play after the war, he countered that they did not understand it. That it had nothing to do with war or peace. That the task of Nationalism was much bigger and much older. That it embodied the pursuit of republican freedom, of economic independence through the development of its own industries and of racial peace - of pushing through with the segregation policy in respect to non-whites and to

dare to take on the Jewish Question. The Nationalism he spoke of was a mobilising force that was moving fast and reaching for victory. He had placed the Jewish Question on par with racial segregation in the mobilisation of this Afrikaner nationalism.

Similar to the court case, that did not look at whether Verwoerd himself was a Nazi, but whether he caused to be published a large body of Nazi propaganda the question here is also, not whether he himself was antisemitic, but what type of portrayal he gave the Jewish Question in *Die Transvaler* and in what way this could be linked to the mobilisation of Afrikaner nationalism.

From the analysis it is clear that the portrayal was consistently and constantly negative with regard to the South African situation and since *Die Transvaler* was a Nationalist organ we can deduce that the Nationalist party wanted an anti-Jewish narrative to exist in the public sphere since it was an effective propaganda tool to effect a powerful group consciousness.

Verwoerd himself in his explanation had linked the older and bigger task of Nationalism to take on the Jewish Question. Hence, similar to the media court case in which he was found to have promoted Nazi propaganda since he published a great deal of it, we can conclude that he purposefully and consistently perpetuated a negative portrayal of the Jewish Question and this treatment was carried out with the central aim of mobilising Afrikaner nationalism towards a united collective, a united Afrikanerdom built on the principles of a separatist identity.

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