

THE BLACK SASH

NATIONAL CONFERENCE PORT ELIZABETH 1965.

OPENING ADDRESS.

BY

MRS. JEAN SINCLAIR - NATIONAL PRESIDENT.

The Black Sash, this year celebrated the tenth anniversary of its founding. Ten years ago we little thought that the body of women which came together to establish the Women's Defence of the Constitution League, would still be active in the struggle for justice and good government a decade later.

Ten years ago we were sufficiently naïve to suppose that public anger and protest over the Senate Bill would persuade the Government to defer to the disquiet which a very large number of South Africans felt about the rape of the South African Constitution.

With the passing of the Senate Act, the removal of the Coloured voters from the common roll and the subsequent judgement of the Appeal Court confirming the legality of the Senate Act, the Black Sash passed out of the news and entered upon, in the words of Thomas Hardy, "the dull period in the life of an event when it ceases to be news and had not begun to be history"

For us this was a period of reassessment of the function and purpose of the Black Sash. We realised that if the organization were to have any meaning it could not side step the colour question in South Africa. For too many years White South Africans have been concerned with justice and wellbeing only for themselves and have given little thought to the conditions of inferiority to which the Non-White is forced to submit. With the acceptance of the principle that justice is indivisible and the loss of rights by one is the loss of rights by all, the Black Sash took its stand on principle to fight for real justice for all without reference to race, colour or religion.

This was an unpopular cause and the years that followed were difficult. We knew that no short term solution was possible and we knew that we would have to settle down to years of dogged and sustained protest against injustice and discrimination.

I am happy to say that we have survived, that we overcame the difficulties of those years and that now, with our membership consolidated, our activities broadened and sustained by our convictions, we have entered upon our second decade of endeavour to strive for the values and standards in which we believe. We may not yet, have begun to be history, but I am pleased to say that sometimes we are back in the news.

The South African/---

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The South African scene in 1965 has nought for our comfort. The Nationalist Government is more firmly entrenched in power than ever before. It is prosecuting its policy with vigour; its support is increasing among White people; and opposition to its policy is fading away - and so is democracy in South Africa. The menace of totalitarianism has already become a reality and its logical conclusion is a one party state. This has already received the attention of the authorities.

Apartheid is an unnatural dogma : It is a policy which works directly against the logical development of peoples in a complex society. For this reason its implementation must rely on coercion, and when coercion fails, on force. The measure of its failure in South Africa is the steadily increasing degree of force which is required. It can only be applied by an increasingly totalitarian State. Apartheid and totalitarianism hang together because apartheid can only be accomplished by coercion and force - by the stringent application of laws, regulations and decrees which necessarily remove the liberty of the individual in every aspect of South African life, in the economic, the political, the cultural and social spheres. Let us pause a moment to consider some of the everyday effects of the dogma.

In the economic field apartheid interferes with the fundamental rights of employers and employees. It hampers efficiency by preventing the free flow of labour, by adherence to job reservation and the maintenance of the industrial colour bar, by the restrictions on the training of skilled and semi-skilled workers and by the rigid enforcement of influx control and the Group Areas Act.

The labour force is frustrated and bewildered. The African worker spends his life in an effort to comply with the laws. His presence in a prescribed area depends on obtaining the correct stamps in his reference book, a permit to work, a permit to have a house and the right to have his wife and his children living with him. He lives in constant fear of being "endorsed out", or of his wife being "endorsed out". He dare not change his job, however unsuited he may be to the work or however inadequate may be his pay, for unless he is a man qualified to remain in the area by virtue of his long residence there, he will not be permitted to seek another job, and will be sent to a tribal area. The labourer has no bargaining power, his trade unions have no effective power and it is illegal for him to strike for better pay or improved working conditions. He must live miles from his place of work and several hours of every day are spent in the struggle of getting to and from his work, standing in queues at railway stations and bus stops and travelling in over-crowded trains and buses.

Our labour force/---

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Our labour force is, in fact a captive labour force. It is difficult to imagine how our economy can remain stable and the rate of growth be maintained if the above restrictions on the employment of labour and the manifold apartheid controls obtain indefinitely.

It is a fact that in any country politics have a bearing on the economy. Its influence may be for good and it may be for bad ; but when a political dogma interferes with the laws of economics, industrial development and prosperity sooner or later, must suffer. Baaskap apartheid and sound economic growth are incompatible. Dictatorial controls and restrictions, particularly in the labour market, hamper normal expansion, put a premium on skills, increase costs and set the economy on an inflationary course.

There are many other aspects of South African life in the political and the cultural spheres which in the long term must affect adversely our whole way of life. Arbitrary legislation, directives and decrees are destroying our liberty and enforcing conformity.

The jigsaw puzzle of apartheid legislation now appears to be complete, except for the chinks in the armour which keep appearing, which loopholes are systematically closed every year. But as the policy of apartheid has not the consent of the large majority of the population, and is supported only by a majority of the White people and by a very small minority of the non-Whites, it can only be accomplished by enforcing it. Thus the Government must resort to authoritarian methods to induce conformity. Once embarked upon this downward march towards totalitarianism there can be no turning back. The loosening of one little stone in the wall of apartheid will cause the whole edifice to crumble.

Totalitarianism then, is fundamental to apartheid and our liberty, our human rights, justice and the rule of law are sacrificed in an effort to ensure that the existing Government retains control against the tide of history. Only last month the Minister of Defence, Mr. Fouché, said at a Nationalist Party meeting that South Africa meant more than the rule of law. What does Mr. Fouché mean by South Africa? It is not South Africa which means more than the rule of law - it is the Nationalist Party. We loyal South Africans with wider perspectives object to the equation of South Africa with the Nationalist Party.

The liberty of all South Africans is sacrificed on the altar of apartheid; but it is our non-White people who suffer the most. Laws control and restrict their every human aspiration and for them there is very little freedom left. We, who are active in politics are aware and are deeply distressed and perturbed about the effect of the apartheid legislation on our non-White citizens. They are all affected by the Group Areas Act, job reservation and the exigencies of petty apartheid. They have suffered endless assaults on their dignity and the constant humiliation they endure by decrees such as the ban on mixed audiences, is shameful. The fulfilment of the most ordinary ambitions and desires is nearly always dependent upon a permit issued at the pleasure of a Minister.

The Africans/---

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The Africans, particularly those who live and work in the White areas, are hardly dealt with. The Native Urban Areas Act of 1945 with its Amending Acts, the Native Regulations Act, the Bantu Laws Amendment Acts of 1963 and 1964 and all the other apartheid laws direct every process of living. Laws lay down where Africans may go, where they may live, with whom they may live, how they may live and who may visit them; if they may work, where they may work, how long they may work, what work they may do ; how they may be educated, for how long they may receive education, what use they may make of their education where they may be educated; where they may worship, what they may read, what they may hear, what sports functions and entertainments they may attend and with whom; to what organizations they may belong; what political policy they may support and what policies they may not support, to what political parties they may not belong - and so it goes on - There is only one right remaining to them and that is the right to exist and sometimes it would seem that even that is in doubt.

The Coloured community and the Indians are being constantly humiliated. The mania for separateness and for moving people into racial ghettos has brought hardship and mistrust to all the minority groups, including the small Chinese group. None of these citizens have a choice in matters which vitally affect them and they have no means of legitimate protest or redress.

Legislation is pending to prevent Whites from "meddling" in non-White politics. The Government would like to be sure that the Progressive Party will lose its effectiveness and this is, no doubt, because the Coloured people, by electing representatives to the Cape Provincial Council who are members of the Progressive Party, have demonstrated their support for a policy of multiracialism. In order to prevent them from electing Progressives to Parliament in the General election next year, an interim piece of legislation was passed this session extending the period of office of the Coloured representatives and fixing it at five years. In this way the Coloured voters will not be able to exercise their voting rights in next year's general election. Whatever one may think of Progressive Party policy, it is more than sinister that the Government should feel itself entitled to try to silence a substantial body of opinion on a matter which vitally affects the future of the country. Recently too, Coloured teachers, the recognised leaders of their people have been banned from membership of any of the existing and established political parties. The Government's own legislation is working against apartheid and must be changed. In other words, if you lose the game, change the rules.

This removal of the rights of the Coloured voters is also a deprivation of the rights of White people as well. The ^{denial of the} right to choose whom a political party will admit to membership of that party is a gross infringement of the right of freedom of association and it is a step in the direction of a one party state.

It may be/---

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It may be that White South Africans are not really aware to what extent the non-White South Africans have been deprived of their liberty; indeed they seem hardly aware to what extent they themselves have lost their civil rights and liberties. The following list may come as a shock to some :

The most important deprivation of liberty which affects us all is the abrogation of the rule of law. Through legislation the Minister of Justice and his Departments of Justice and the Police have been vested with powers which place them above the Judiciary. This is frightening. The recent Heymann case was evidence of this. Although I am in no position to judge the behaviour of the Special Branch on this occasion, as to whether it did or did not bring the Court into contempt, nevertheless, it seemed to many that the powers of the police were being used to circumvent the jurisdiction of the Court. As Mr. Justice Bresler stated in his judgment on costs in this case, " the police have done a disservice, not only to the force, but also to the Country".

Legislation has placed the Courts beyond the bounds of many people deprived of their freedom by arbitrary action or arrest. Individuals who may be required by the State as State witnesses, people not suspected of a crime, can be incarcerated in prison for up to 180 days. Laws such as clauses in the Suppression of Communism Act specifically exclude the right to recourse to the Courts. Those who have been banned, banished or put under house arrest have no means of establishing their innocence or guilt in a court of law. This kind of thing has been accepted by White South Africa on the grounds that there is no smoke without fire and there must therefore be a good reason for these detentions. This is not always the case, as is evinced by the fact that approximately 16% of people detained under the 90 day clause were subsequently released without charge. We seem, to a large extent to have lost the ability to understand the value which a proper system of law has to every individual in any society.

Other laws too, have transferred the onus of proof from the State to the accused. This is the removal of a fundamental premise of our legal system. It is a sine qua non in any civilized society that the independence of the Judiciary should be held inviolate, that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty and that no one be held in custody for more than a limited and specified period without being charged and brought before a Court.

Statements by banned people may not be published or repeated. Even statements made by people who once lived in South Africa and whose names were listed by the Minister of Justice, but who now live outside South Africa, may not be published. Thus newspapers and periodicals coming into the country are censored and if pages have articles or statements made by any of these listed persons the pages are torn out before the newspaper may be offered for sale. We have thus lost the right to consider the views on important issues of anyone whose ideas are in conflict with Government ideology. Not only have we lost this right but it is an

infringement of the freedom of the Press. There are many restrictions which control the freedom of the press apart from the one mentioned above. There are at least twenty one laws which provide for censorship of one kind or another. The English language press is constantly being threatened with further controls and editors and journalists attacked and discredited. We salute the English language press for its courage and its editors who gallantly carry on exposing injustice and who fearlessly comment on matters which should be of the utmost concern to us all.

Then there is the question of passports. One's passport can be removed and no reasons need be given, neither can one apply to court for redress.

No longer may people of different race attend the same sports meetings or places of entertainment unless a permit is applied for and granted.

Visiting games teams may come to South Africa only if the membership of those teams is composed solely of white people.

The Government decides in which language medium your children may be educated. The universities have lost their freedom. No longer may they decide what students they may teach or by whom they may be taught. Next year we are promised a Bill to prevent lawyers whom the Minister of Justice deems to be communists, from practising their professions.

The Mining Industry was stopped by the Government from proceeding with its experiment to employ Africans in certain more responsible jobs. This decision was taken by the Government after an inquiry, although the Government knew of the experiment before it was started and at least gave its tacit consent, and despite the fact that the experiment was proving to be beneficial to White and non-White miners and to the Industry itself.

From the beginning of this month no employer may have more than one servant living on his premises unless he obtains a permit.

Employers can only engage labour through the labour Bureaux and the employee must be registered in the employers name within three days of engagement. Likewise when an employer discharges an employee, he must notify the authorities within three days.

No one may enter a non-White area without a permit and when making application for that permit one must disclose the reason for wishing to enter the area.

Books are censored and thousands of them have been banned. The plays one may see, the pictures and the sculpture are allowed only within the terms of the Publications and Entertainments Act and are subject to banning at the pleasure of the Publications Board.

Public meeting places such as the City Hall Steps in Johannesburg have been banned for public meetings unless they are bona fide religious meetings.

Sunday sport and amusements are banned if any charge is made for entry.

The Churches are inhibited in their work in many ways, one of which is that those which had missions in African areas were refused permission for White staff to live there as had always been done in the past.

There are many more prohibitions too numerous to mention here. Apart from liberties which have been removed by law or decree other methods are used to make it difficult or impossible to function in certain spheres. Smear campaigns, witch hunts and vendettas are indulged in to belittle and discredit organisations and individuals who are critical of government policy and who refuse to conform. The Government orientated Press, the S.A.B.C., and Government spokesmen are used in these campaigns to intimidate, even to victimise, to induce conformity.

Take as an example the witch hunt of members of the Christian Institute, the smear campaign to discredit the Rev. C. J. Beyers Naude and Professor Albert Geyser and the effort to intimidate the members of the Institute by a raid by the Special Branch. The dissenters from the Dutch Reformed Churches, men who have dissented because of their loyalty to their consciences are enduring persecution akin to the religious persecutions of mediaeval times.

South Africa should be thankful and proud that there are men such as Dr. Naude, Professor Geyser, Dr. Engelbrecht and many others who have given up everything which has meant so much in their lives, their way of life, their livelihoods, their friends and are withstanding the opprobrium of and the victimization by their own people, courageously to uphold their Christian beliefs. These great and brave men will go down in our history among the few in these dark times who took up the cudgels in the cause of justice and humanity.

These campaigns which I have described would seem to indicate that perhaps all is not so well or as secure with the Government as it appears on the surface. This year for example, there has been a notable return to the baaskap apartheid of the Strydom era. The irritating pinpricks of petty apartheid are once again well to the fore.

One can only speculate on the reasons for it. Firstly there is a general election in the offing. There is a break away group in the Nationalist Party, which is even further to the right of the Government. The farmers, having suffered losses through drought are dissatisfied and have been vociferous in their demands for greater government spending in agriculture. The economic boom, with the resultant shortage of skilled manpower made it essential to use non-White labour in jobs usually performed by Whites. Several branches of the Public Service, such as the Post Office and the railways, with their chronic shortage of labour have too, been forced to employ non-Whites in more skilled jobs. There has been a substantial increase in the earning

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capacity of certain classes of Africans - a dangerous development in the minds of the Government as it swells the ranks of the emerging African Bourgeoisie. Cracks have become noticeable in the industrial colour bar.

Despite all the laws, regulations and their rigid application, the number of Africans in the urban areas continues to increase. Although there are more English speaking South Africans now supporting the Government, there are also more so called liberalists than ever before. All these trends if allowed to continue will undermine the foundations on which apartheid is built. This is the Government's worry and I feel that it is a real one.

The recent legislation in the United States of America, outlawing racial discrimination and the active steps which are being taken to integrate the negroes into American society, must have international repercussions. Perhaps this is why Dr. Verwoerd, afraid of this liberal influence, has made statements which one would think were designed to alienate that country. There was the one on the American aircraft carrier, Independence; then the racial composition of Americans working in South African space tracking stations, the attack on what the Prime Minister called the unfriendly activities of four American diplomats, and then the debacle on the Maoris in the New Zealand Rugby team which might be chosen to visit South Africa. All would seem to be tactless and uncalled for outbursts and it is difficult to divine the reasons for them. Possibly, the electorate is once again being impressed with the fearless granite of nationalism.

How have liberty loving South Africans allowed the values and standards of their tradition to disappear? How have we allowed ourselves to be regimented into conformity with so little protest?

As far as the Nationalist is concerned there has been the emotional appeal to the volk - this strong and unreasoning appeal is understandable and the call to the blood is often greater than any other appeal. The desire to be top dog - the Master Race, is attractive. It equates South Africa, its Government and the Nationalist Party with Afrikaners and therefore critics and dissenters are un-South African. But these people are only a minority - why have the rest, English and Afrikaans, South Africans allowed the present situation to come about? In the first place, take young people. It is sad to realise that two generations of school children have now been subjected to guided education and many of these young people are entirely ignorant of the liberal standards and beliefs of the modern world. As far as their parents are concerned, they are apathetic and disinterested for a variety of reasons. Perhaps it has always been a characteristic of the English-speaking South African that he is unpolitically minded, more concerned with making a living to keep himself and his family in comfort, enjoying his privilege, closing his mind to reality and hoping that the good life will last for his day. And yet, though this is true, he is still a fair minded person, kind and just and would not wilfully be a party to injustice. He just does not seem able to realise what is going on all around him. There was a time in the early years of this regime when his anger was aroused and when the

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voice of protest was heard through the length and breadth of South Africa. At the time of the Torch Commando, public opinion was vociferous. Why then has public indignation turned so completely to apathy? There are innumerable reasons. Firstly the shock and disappointment of the increased majorities gained by the Nationalist Party in the 1953 election to be repeated again in 1958, in the referendum of 1960 and the general election of 1961. These defeats caused a feeling of hopelessness and frustration.

Then there was the granite like intransigence of the Government to all legitimate protests and appeals. Events to the north of South Africa, the Mau Mau in Kenya, the goings on in Ghana, the chaos in the Congo and the failure of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland - induced a fear of a Black Tyranny instead of a White one if any concessions were to be made.

The attitude of the rest of the world towards South Africa, the threats of boycotts sanctions and blockades, the humiliation suffered by South African delegates at International Conferences, the resolutions and attacks on South Africa at the United Nations caused them to hasten into the laager.

Happenings at home, the pass law disturbances in 1960 - Sharpville, the Treason Trial, the Rivonia Trial and the outbreaks of sabotage last year, enhanced the fear of revolution. All these factors produced the climate of opinion whereby it was an easy matter to achieve the acquiescence of the general public. It was a climate of opinion ideal for public receptiveness to propaganda.

The Government has a most efficient propaganda machine which it uses to good effect. The most powerful medium is of course, the S.A.B.C. which the Government appears to have taken over, despite the fact that the Broadcasting Corporation is a public utility, maintained by the taxpayer and the licensed listeners.

To-day propaganda broadcast from the S.A.B.C. is quite blatant. The softening process is complete and our minds, cushioned against shock and annoyance, are in the desired condition to accept without question what we are told. The current Affairs talks, broadcast every evening at a peak listening hour, the same talk being repeated on Springbok radio every morning, also at a time of maximum listening, is a public disgrace. By word and inuendo, the anonymous announcer discredits critics of apartheid, inside and outside South Africa. He smears and attacks Britain, the Commonwealth, America and the United Nations. He extols the virtues of all conservative, right wing, illiberal organizations and individuals. He attacks and villifies the English language press, the Christian Institute, the Defence and Aid Fund, the Dutch Government, Sweden, the Nobel Prize, the World Council of Churches, liberalists, sickly humanists, newspaper editors and many other

The threat of Communism is kept constantly before the public and the equation of it with liberalism. It cites the ideal of liberalism and the ideology of communism as the two enemies which, if not stopped will destroy White civilisation in South Africa. In news broadcasts, as well as Current

Affairs and other comment, /---

Affairs and other comment, racial disturbances where ever they occur throughout the world are highlighted and are used to show how different races cannot live together and to prove that South Africa is right with its policy of Apartheid.

The case of the S.A.B.C. is only one of the methods used to disseminate propaganda. Statements and speeches by the Prime Minister, members of the Cabinet, Government spokesmen, the Afrikaans press, the State Information Office and various private and semi-private concerns, frequently put over Nationalist Party propaganda. Every day and in every way it gets worse and worse.

This constant hammering of the public mind has done three things, Firstly it has caused mental confusion; secondly it has increased fear and emotion and thirdly, it has brought about the desired conformity to a very great extent.

The emphasis on the dangers of communism, coupled with the danger of liberalism has induced the state of mind when the average person believes that a liberal and a communist are one and the same thing; that they have the same aims, use the same methods and are a danger to the State. Communism is a danger, wherever it works - how far communism is a danger in South Africa it is difficult to assess, as thanks to the Government's indiscriminate labelling of all its opponents as communists, no one can be sure as to who is and who is not a communist. But liberalism is not a danger, it is the antithesis of communism and is communism's strongest opponent. Where liberal ideas flourish, communism does not succeed. It is true that liberal ideas and beliefs are a danger to Nationalism because they are tolerant. Liberalism respects human dignity and it believes in the worth of the individual and regards his personal freedom as sacred. Communism and Nationalism are not respecters of persons. They place power and security of the State above all else and the State means, not the sum of the individuals, which is the liberal standpoint but the ruling party of the moment.

The extent to which this mental confusion prevails was seen very clearly at the N.G.K. Conference on liberalism which took place in September. The Conference nearly broke up in disorder when none of the learned men present could define liberalism. The nearest description that one delegate was able to suggest was that it was like a rose, you know what it looks like, but it is difficult to describe. Another said you could tell a liberal by the clothes he wore, an American with a tweed suit and large buckle, or a man with an open necked shirt and shorts.

It is difficult not to draw the conclusion from the Government's tactics of equating liberalism with communism, that neither is a real danger to South Africa, but both are a threat to Nationalist Afrikanerdom. South Africans should take note of this, study the differences between liberalism and ask themselves whether when they suspect individuals of being communists, they are, in fact, confusing communism with criticism of Government policy.

In reviewing South Africa in 1965, I have dwelt upon liberties which are now lost to us all. It is prudent that we should realise fully, what liberty really means and I can do no better than quote to you from Mr. J. P. Mayer's short biography of Alexis de Tocqueville. De Tocqueville was one of the great political thinkers of the nineteenth century and the following passage from his work "Ancient Regime and the Revolution" gives his definition of the nature of freedom.

"That which at all times has so strongly attached the affection of certain men is the attraction of freedom herself, her native charms independent of her gifts - the pleasure of speaking, acting, and breathing without restraint, under no master but God and the law. He who seeks in freedom aught but herself is fit only to serve.

"There are nations which have indefatigably pursued her through every sort of peril and hardship. They loved her not for her material gifts they regard herself as a gift so precious and so necessary that no other could console them for the loss of that which consoles them for ^{the loss of} everything else. Others grow weary of freedom in the midst of prosperities; they allow her to be snatched without resistance from their hands, lest they should sacrifice by an effort that well-being which she had bestowed upon them. For these to remain free, nothing was wanting but a taste for freedom. I attempt no analysis of that lofty sentiment to those who feel it not. It enters of its own accord into the large hearts God has prepared to receive it; it fills them, it enraptures them; but to the meaner minds which have never felt it, it is past finding out".

Again de Tocqueville, concerned at the results of the French Revolution which had established equality but had suppressed freedom, saw the truth that equality and freedom were not inseparable and that for him the principle of equality without freedom was as untenable as freedom without equality.

De Tocqueville realised that certain conditions were essential to ensure the entrenchment of freedom. They are: Freedom of religious belief, freedom of the press and security of judicial independence. Mr. Mayer quotes this extract from de Tocqueville's "Democracy in America", written over a hundred years ago.

"A general law has been sanctioned, not only by a majority of this or that people, but by a majority of mankind. This law bears the name of Justice. The rights of every people are consequently confined within the limits of what is just.....

"Unlimited power appears to me to be in itself an evil and a dangerous thing; and the mind of man unequal to the disinterested practice of omnipotence. I think that God alone can exercise supreme and uncontrolled power, because His wisdom and justice are eternally proportionate to His might. But no power on earth is so worthy of honour for itself, or of reverential obedience to the rights which it represents, that I would consent to admit its uncontrolled and all-predominant authority. When I see that the right and the means of absolute command are conferred on a people or upon a king, upon an aristocracy or a democracy, a monarchy or a republic, I recognize the germ of tyranny and I journey onwards to a land of more hopeful institutions".

These quotations/---

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These quotations giving de Tocqueville's understanding of liberty and how it can be secured and maintained should be imprinted on the minds of all true South Africans. It is the ideal for which we should all be prepared to make sacrifices. We in the Black Sash will remain steadfast in our devotion to liberty and justice. We shall, to the best of our ability, keep alive the spirit of dissent; we shall use what freedom which still remains to us to work for these two ideals. We hope and pray that we shall never succumb to intimidation we shall carry on with our legitimate activities working for a way of life which is our heritage, searching for the truth, exposing the fallacy, condemning injustice, upholding the sanctity of family life, increasing our understanding and compassion, respecting human dignity and obeying our consciences. We shall redouble our efforts and strengthen our appeals to all South Africans to accept their responsibilities to South Africa, to their children and to themselves.

I bring this appeal to an end by quoting from an article written by Sir Winston Churchill in 1936, when he was a lone voice warning the apathetic people of Britain about the dangerous rise of Naziism :

"The dear desire of all the peoples, not perhaps even excluding a substantial portion of the German people themselves, is to avoid another horrible war in which their lives and homes will be destroyed or ruined and such civilization as we have been able to achieve reduced to primordial pulp and squalor. Never till now were great communities afforded such ample means of measuring their approaching agony. Never have they seemed less capable of taking effective measures to prevent it. Chattering, busy, sporting, toiling, amused from day to day by headlines and from night to night by cinemas, they yet can feel themselves slipping, sinking, rolling backward to the age when 'the earth was void and darkness moved upon the face of the waters'. Surely it is worth a supreme effort - the laying aside of every impediment, the clear-eyed facing of fundamental facts, the noble acceptance of risks inseparable from heroic endeavour-to control the hideous drift of events and arrest calamity upon the threshold. Stop it! Stop it ! Stop it now !!! NOW is the appointed time".

JEAN SINCLAIR.
NATIONAL PRESIDENT.