

# LUTULI

the merest minor portent, by the most deadly and destructive military weapons known to modern man, let your cry be: NO ARMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

If you have any doubts, if you think this is a gross and hysterical exaggeration, let me give you a single example of the callous disregard for human life which permeates those who rule South Africa. Speaking at the current session of the all-white South African Parliament, a Cabinet Minister referred to Sharpeville as "an ordinary police action." An ordinary police action in which 67 unarmed, defenceless men, women and children were shot dead and 180 wounded! This is an "ordinary police action." What of the extraordinary actions of the future for which the Government is now frantically preparing?

When you contemplate this grim and bloody prospect, surely it is your duty as an individual, and the duty of all, to ensure that no such foul assault on human beings should be perpetrated. Surely you must join in the great united cry. NO ARMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

I direct a special appeal to all the workers of the world who share with us, not only the common brotherhood of labour, but who in many instances have shared with us a common suffering and hardship. I appeal to them to make their voices heard and to show their unity with us not only in words but in actions. To those working in the factories where these deadly weapons are manufactured I say, make sure that your labour is not used to produce the weapons which will deal death to the people of my country. And to those having any part in the transaction - the dockworkers, the sailors, the airport workers and all others, I say: let your opposition be shown, not only in your cry NO ARMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA, but also in your resolute refusal to lend your labour for this foul purpose.

Perhaps it is futile to appeal to those who put profits before justice and human lives. Nevertheless, in all sincerity I appeal to them to pause and re-think their sense of values which puts material values before human lives. For this is the meaning of their making available their murderous wares to the South African Government.

The time must surely come when South Africa must emerge from the dark night

of racial fanaticism to take its place among the free nations of the world. You all - people and governments - can, to your honour, hasten this day.

The Nationalist juggernaut, top heavy with its crushing weight of military might, is crumbling and rotten at the base. Its present show of strength is a facade to hide its hastening decay and doom. The duty of all who find the regime repugnant to mankind is to hasten this day. A regime that flouts world opinion cannot last. Nor will such a regime endure when many of its own citizens are resolute and pledged to work for that end even at the cost of limitless sacrifice. For we are steeled by oppression, and the daily sight of human values being ground underfoot only makes us cherish even more those values.

To the nations and governments of the world, particularly those directly or indirectly giving aid and encouragement to this contemptible Nationalist regime, I say: Cast aside your hypocrisy and deceit; declare yourself on the side of oppression if that is your secret design. Do not think we will be deceived by your pious protestations as long as you are prepared to condone, assist and actively support the tyranny in our land.

The test is your stand on the principle: NO ARMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA. No expressions of concern, no platitudes about injustice will content us. The test is action - action against oppression.

We look forward to the day when we shall be with all the free peoples of the world, brothers, brothers-in-arms against injustice, anywhere, and at any time. But our immediate task is the freeing of our land; a task in which we look for support to lovers of freedom in the world. All lovers of freedom can help. All can do something to make the resolution for sanctions a reality. Whoever you are, whatever you may be, it is possible for you to assist. In your church, in your educational, or political, or labour, or cultural, or sporting organisation, it is possible for you to assist in exerting the pressures which will isolate this political pariah and lead to its extermination. All may play their part in ending this oppression, and all may - and must - join in the resolute declaration: NO ARMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

ALBERT J. LUTULI.

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May, 1963.

## COMMENT

Albert Lutuli's desperate, anguished appeal is a reminder of how near South Africa is to a bloody civil war. It is also a challenge to all of us outside South Africa.

Lutuli does not condemn those in South Africa who have been goaded into "desperate forms of reckless violence," though the words he uses suggest that he sees no future in such action. His appeal is directed to those who are not trapped by repressive laws and are free to take non-violent action in the form of boycotts and sanctions.

So far such measures have been half-hearted and ineffective. South Africa's trade, far from shrinking, has boomed. Arms continue to flow into South Africa from Britain and other countries, as our analysis on this broadsheet shows.

Harold Wilson, leader of the Labour Party, has at least undertaken to end the British

supply of arms to South Africa. It is unclear how energetically this policy will be pursued, especially as the Labour Party is not clearly committed to revoking the Simonstown agreement, nor to preventing the construction of British weapons in South Africa under licence. Mr. Wilson has indicated that no action which would cause unemployment will be taken, and he is certainly not committed to any full-scale economic boycott of South Africa.

It is hypocritical of those who are prepared to condemn apartheid in general terms not to prepare for the economic consequences, including possibly unemployment, that a full-scale boycott would involve. The South African Foundation, an independent organisation of South African businessmen, predicted in a pamphlet published on May 20 that a boycott of South African goods by Britain would cause half

a million unemployed in each country (in South Africa mainly among the Africans) as well as endangering Britain's sterling. (Britain's economy is heavily backed by South African gold.) This figure is probably an exaggeration, but we must at least face up to the possibility of unemployment.

Also on May 20 the South African Congress of Trade Unions appealed to the International Labour Organisation to expel South Africa and called on member States to impose diplomatic, economic and political sanctions against her. The Africans are willing to accept the hardships that this policy would involve. This is a point that Lutuli stresses in his appeal.

In Norway, Denmark and Sweden the co-operative movements have boycotted all South African goods, and in Sweden the trade unions support a boycott of all imports and exports to South Africa. Re-

cently 5,000 metal workers at one of the largest electrical firms in Sweden, ASEA in Vasteras, agreed to the closing down of the plant for one week and the loss of a week's wages rather than work on a contract for South Africa.

The example of the Scandinavian labour movement, if followed on a large enough scale, could weaken the economic position of the South African Government as well as cutting off its supplies of arms for killing unarmed Africans. Are we in Britain prepared for the hardships that this policy would involve? If not, we certainly cannot make any comment on those in South Africa who resort to violence at great personal risk. A large scale boycott of South African goods and of all arms and other shipments to South Africa is perhaps the only non-violent initiative that could be taken at this moment significant enough to affect the desperate situation.

## Britain's help for South Africa's Government

Adam Roberts reports:

Although the British Government has expressed its disapproval of apartheid Britain is South Africa's main source of arms. It is impossible to find out exactly what is being supplied, as it is not Government policy to disclose either the details or the value of arms deals conducted with foreign governments. However, the following information has appeared in the press.

**Buccaneer bombers.** Last October the South African Government ordered Mark II

Buccaneer bombers. According to *The Times* of February 20 the order was estimated at between £23 million and £30 million. The Buccaneer bombers are made at Brough, Yorkshire, by Blackburn Aircraft, a subsidiary of Hawker Siddeley.

**Provost jet trainers.** Britain may supply the South African Government with up to 200 Provost training planes, manufactured by Hunting Aircraft at Luton, Bedfordshire, according to an article in the *Daily Express* on April 11. The value of the order was estimated at £10 million.

**Canberra bombers.** English Electric is supplying the South African Government with six Canberra twin-jet bombers, according to *The Times* of October 25.

**Westland Wasp armed helicopters.** An unspecified number are being supplied to the South African Government, according to *The Times* of October 25. They are manufactured by Westland Aircraft, Ltd., Yeovil, Somerset.

**Saracen armoured cars.** Information is not available on the number or cost of these weapons, which have been supplied to the South African Government, and it is not known whether they are still being supplied. They are manufactured by Alvis, Ltd., of Coventry.

**Naval equipment.** The Simonstown agreement of 1955 between the British and South African Governments stipulated that South Africa should equip its Navy with British-built vessels. Six anti-submarine frigates, ten coastal minesweepers, and four seaward defence boats were listed in the agreement, to be built between 1955 and 1963. The estimated cost of this fleet was £18 million, but the actual cost has almost certainly been higher. (See letter from Tufton Beamish, M.P., in *The Times*, March 25.) The Simonstown agreement also made Simons-town, South Africa, available for the Royal Navy in peacetime and for the United Kingdom and its allies in wartime.

**Arms factories.** Three are reported to be being built inside South Africa under an agreement signed between the South African Government and African Explosives and Chemical Industries, part of Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI).

This inventory, which is probably far from complete, includes only British arms which

are going to South Africa. In addition Belgian, French and US firms are supplying rifles, bombers, transport planes and other equipment.

The *Daily Express* uses the age-old excuse for this trade in arms. "If Britain stops selling these goods the South African Government won't go short," and an article in the *Express* said on April 11, "France and Germany are waiting to step in..."

Many British politicians defend the arms deals on the ground of the "defence" of the "free" world.

## GROTESQUE AND INDEFENSIBLE

"Mr. Patrick Wall, Britain's delegate to the (UN) Trusteeship Committee, while condemning the apartheid system as morally abominable, intellectually grotesque, and spiritually indefensible, today defended Britain's policy of selling arms to South Africa.

"The sales of arms, he said, were made in the context of Britain's defence agreement with South Africa, designed to protect the South Atlantic sea routes, and the arms were of a type unsuitable for 'measures of internal repression.' The Shackleton reconnaissance planes and a sonic bomber like the Buccaneer had no relevance to internal security problems, nor were they a threat to any other African nation.

"He agreed that the South African Government had deprived the inhabitants of South-West Africa of their basic human rights, but he did not believe that there was genocide there or that the situation constituted a threat to peace. Britain wanted to wait until the International Court had pro-

nounced on the position of the mandate; in the meantime the Assembly would be ill-advised to impose economic or military sanctions on South Africa." - *The Guardian*, December 13, 1962.

### A lot of prejudice

"Lord Cromer, Governor of the Bank of England, said in an interview there was still a lot of prejudice against South Africa's policies among people in Britain generally, though this was due to some extent to a lack of information about the basic issues and difficulties.

"Responsible people, however, in various spheres made it their business to be informed about the factual position in South Africa. Economic and financial relations had gone on much the same since South Africa became a republic and left the Commonwealth. Britain valued its trade connections and financial links with South Africa, as no doubt South Africa did in its turn." - *The Times*, February 13, 1963.

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