

# WHAT SORT OF HYPOCRITES ARE WE ?

**BRITAIN** condemns apartheid. The British Permanent Representative at the United Nations, told the world on our behalf that apartheid is 'evil, totally unpracticable, and leading inevitably to disaster in South Africa itself.' And yet he voted against a resolution, passed by 67 votes to 16, with 23 abstentions, proposing economic sanctions against Verwoerd.

The people of South Africa, struggling against tyranny, have appealed to the world to impose economic sanctions: the most recent appeal came from Chief Luthuli, Nobel Peace Prize winner, on the occasion of the sentences at the Rivonia Trial:

'I appeal to all Governments throughout the world, to people everywhere, to organisations and institutions in every land and at every level to act now to impose such sanctions on South Africa that will bring about the vital, necessary change and avert what can become the greatest African tragedy of our times' (June 12th, 1964).

Sixty-seven nations voted for sanctions in the General Assembly in November, 1962. The Organisation of African Unity demands sanctions. The UN 'Expert' Committee of which Sir Hugh Foot was a member recommended sanctions in April, 1964.

Yet Britain, together with the United States and France, as Permanent Members of the Security Council, continues to block action. Even when forced by pressure of world opinion to support a Security Council resolution in June, 1964, setting up a 'technical and practical study' of sanctions, our representative virtually negated his vote by insisting that Britain still opposed 'coercive measures.'

How long can we continue to condemn, and refuse to act ?  
For the remedy is in our hands.

## **SOME FACTS ABOUT ECONOMIC SANCTIONS**

What is being proposed is total international trade sanctions against South Africa, decided and enforced by the United Nations.

### **SANCTIONS ARE A DESPERATE REMEDY**

But the UN has been passing resolutions on South Africa for 18 years; Britain has been hoping to 'persuade' the South African Government to abandon its oppressive policies for nearly as long; yet discrimination and oppression and human suffering have only been intensified.

80% of all urban Africans live below the breadline.

Their political organisations are banned.

5,000 political prisoners are in jail.

The report of the UN Export Committee set up on 4th December, 1963, stated:

'On one side is the mounting international condemnation of the racial policy of the South African Government and the growing determination of the African States, in particular, to take positive action against racial discrimination and domination. On the other side is the increased persistence and military preparation of the South African Government, coupled with repressive action and legislation which leave many South Africans with the conviction that they have no means of resistance other than violence. These forces are set on a collision course.'

The international dangers in such a situation were described by the UN Secretary General on 3rd February, 1964: 'There is the clear prospect that racial conflict, if we cannot curb and finally eliminate it, will grow into a destructive monster compared to which the religious or ideological conflicts of the past and present will seem like small family quarrels.'

And Sir Alec Douglas Home, in his first speech to the House of Commons as Prime Minister, said that he, too, believed that the greatest danger ahead of the world was that it might be divided on racial lines.

**In a desperate situation we need desperate remedies**

## **CAN SANCTIONS BE EFFECTIVE ?**

The International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa held in London in April, and supported by 29 official Government delegations, concluded that sanctions are feasible, urgent and could be effective within a period of months. These conclusions have been endorsed by the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, and by the African heads of state meeting in Cairo in July, 1964.

### **But won't the African People in South Africa suffer ?**

They suffer now, under apartheid. Yet it is their leaders who have called for sanctions. To use this argument against their imposition, as Oliver Tambo of the African National Congress told the UN last October, 'is a type of pity and paternalism which hurts us even more than apartheid.'

### **Will Sanctions not damage Britain ?**

If imposed unilaterally, they might, according to Professor G. D. N. Worswick of Magdalen College, Oxford, mean a sacrifice of 2½% of the national product. But if imposed internationally, 'the overall loss would be imperceptible.'

### **What then are the Obstacles to their Imposition ?**

The UN Security Council has the power to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa, once a 'threat to the peace' has been recognised. The 3 Western Permanent Members of the Security Council, Britain, the US and France, have so far effectively blocked any recognition of such a threat.

These are the very countries that are South Africa's main trading partners, and the source of apartheid's principal support abroad. Without their participation, no programme for sanctions could be effective. Britain alone takes over one-third of South Africa's annual export; and in spite of repeated UN demands for a total arms embargo, continues to supply her with armaments.

Neither of the two main British political parties supports a policy of economic sanctions against South Africa.

It is our task to persuade them that such a policy is necessary and right, and that it will have the support of the British people.

And finally, we must ask those who oppose economic action. . . .

## **What other way is there?**

## **Have you any other plan to end Apartheid?**

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The Anti Apartheid Movement is embarking on a massive campaign for economic sanctions, in the coming months leading up to February, 1965, when the Security Council study on techniques to end apartheid is due to be completed.

Raise the matter through trade unions, political parties, youth organisations, United Nations Associations. Question your political candidates during the election campaign on their attitude to sanctions against South Africa. Lobby your M.P., and give the Prime Minister no rest. Demonstrate in public, distribute our leaflets and posters. Write to the Press.

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## **“DO NOT FAIL US, EVEN IN THE DAYS AHEAD”**

(Nelson Mandela to all of us, just before he was sentenced to life imprisonment).

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