



**A
PEOPLE'S
MOVEMENT
FOR
COMPREHENSIVE,
MANDATORY
SANCTIONS
AGAINST
SOUTH
AFRICA**

by

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Brothers and Sisters, we are gathered together in this Black History Month, in historic Harlem. It is a time dedicated to celebrating the outstanding contributions of Afro-American people to this country, and a place where many of these contributions have been made.

Yet as we look around the Harlem community, we feel little inclination to celebrate. Abandoned buildings, while the homeless sleep in the streets. Scores of young people on the corners, who have despaired of ever finding a job. Hospitals closing down, while the infant mortality rate climbs.

This is what Reagonomics means to Harlem. It is a harsh reminder that the coveted freedom eludes us still, and the devastation wreaked upon this community symbolizes the sharp and urgent struggle that lies ahead. The focal point of this struggle is the Reagan administration.

The Reagan Alliance with Apartheid

We meet at a most critical time for the people of South Africa and Namibia, and for the people of the United States. In a real sense we share a common struggle, face a common enemy. The unity of our destinies is reflected in the statement of former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who said that the South African regime has the same "values" as the United States.

Reagan speaks of the "traditional friendship and alliance" with South Africa. He would have us believe that an alliance with *apartheid* is in the best interests of the American people. He would have us believe that mandatory, comprehensive sanctions against *apartheid* are against those interests.

On the contrary, the Reagan alliance with the racist *apartheid* regime is *diametrically opposed* to the interests of the people of this country. It is an alliance which tramples upon our basic aspirations for life, freedom and peace. The fight for mandatory, comprehensive sanctions fundamentally

accords with our interests. The fight for mandatory, comprehensive sanctions against *apartheid* South Africa is an integral part of the mass offensive against Reagan.

What has the Reagan alliance with *apartheid* brought us? Has it provided jobs for the 11 million enemployed? Has it sheltered the hundreds of thousands forced to live in the streets? Guaranteed social security benefits for the elderly? Health care? Has it re-built our nation's highways or the infrastructures of our cities? Has it improved the quality of our lives in any way?

No! The Reagan alliance with *apartheid* has enhanced the welfare only of the transnational corporations — who move their plants to a land where their wildest dreams can be realized — where the nightmare of *apartheid* makes possible super profits. In the first year of the Reagan administration the value of American investments in South Africa rose by 13.3%. "Things have certainly improved under the Reagan administration," boasts Clark Else, director of the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa.

And the Reagan alliance with *apartheid* has certainly blessed the Pentagon, giving unfettered access to strategic minerals to carry out its nuclear first-strike policy. Strategic minerals needed for the M-X and Trident II missile systems.

The banks are obviously pleased. U.S. banks are advertising their services in South Africa for the first time in years. Major U.S. investment banking houses backed a recent bond issue by the Johannesburg municipality. The bulk of a \$200 million loan to Pretoria in 1982 came from U.S. banks.

High-ranking trade officials have visited South Africa in the past year, and U.S. diplomats have become noticeably more active in promoting commercial links between the two countries. Reagan lifted the 1978 prohibition on the supply of U.S. equipment and technology to military forces, police, nuclear energy and Bantustan administration authorities. Guarantees by the Export-Import Bank on the financing of American exports to South Africa are expected to resume soon.

Renewed Links Expected

South Africa anticipated its good fortune. Immediately after the election of Ronald Reagan, South Africa made a major reappearance on foreign markets as a borrower, emerging with a \$67 million public issue on the Eurobond market. The bond represented the first large public issue raised abroad by the regime since 1972. The loan received unusually favorable terms, and initially had 25% more subscribers than needed.

This attests to the eagerness of foreign banks to resume business relations with the *apartheid* regime. Their brazen willingness to be publicly associated with South Africa again has tremendous economic and

political significance for the *apartheid* regime. As the London *Financial Times* noted, South Africa's "real need is for respectability, not funds."

Thus, a memorandum issued by the Center for International Policy documents the fact that South Africa did not need the recent \$1.1 billion International Monetary Fund loan to ease balance of payments deficits. Five Directors opposed the loan, citing IMF predictions of a \$1.6 billion trade surplus in 1983, South Africa's access to private bank loans, and high levels of reserves, including gold.

The \$689 million component of the loan from the Compensatory Financing Facility was the largest in the Fund's history. The Facility had been set up to help low-income developing countries who had little or no access to capital markets.

Yet Vietnam, Grenada and Nicaragua were recently denied loans by the IMF. And in contrast to IMF treatment of developing countries such as Mexico, Brazil and Kenya, the loan program required no meaningful structural adjustment by South Africa; that is, no changes in *apartheid*. A General Assembly resolution protesting the loan was arrogantly ignored.

All evidence points to the fact that the loan contravened Fund policy. Why, then, was the loan requested, and approved? We can certainly expect the money to be used to subsidize the \$5 million a day spent on police and military operations within the borders of South Africa, and the over \$2 million daily to support the 180,000 troops occupying Namibia.

But more importantly, *this* loan was requested and granted because IMF loans confer an aura of international approval that the South African authorities use to convey to the mass movement of opposition that criticism of *apartheid* is futile, and that United Nations calls for mandatory, comprehensive sanctions are meaningless posturing. Predictions are that the November loan will only be the first of a series in the billion dollar range.

Imperialism Aids Sabotage

Thus, Anthony Lewis of the New York Times felt compelled to write a column titled "Confident South Africa." The regime is "confident" because in its time of need came the Imperial Calvary to the rescue, Reagan at the head. Providing money, nuclear technology, oil, arms, Coast Guard training, cattle-prods and credibility. Urging on its intransigence on Namibian independence, indeed conceiving the bogus "Cuban troops in Angola" condition, an excuse to delay freedom indefinitely. Enlisting Israel in "defense" of this "strategic outpost," whose "defense" minister Sharon visited South African positions in Angola, and whose military advisers train Unita forces in Namibia.

Facilitating sabotage throughout Southern Africa, resulting in the interruption of oil pipelines and rail traffic through Mozambique, the

disruption of the Zimbabwean economy, the invasion and occupation of large parts of Angola, destroying the infrastructure of newly independent States, causing hundreds of thousands to flee their homes, and spilling rivers of innocent blood. Encouraging the murderous raids into neighboring States and vicious threats aimed at bringing independent Africa to its knees. Shortly after the Lesotho raid, Swaziland detained up to 100 ANC members, placing them in so-called "protective custody." In Pretoria, a military official bragged: "We will not have to go into Swaziland because they are doing enough."

Repression Against Black Majority Mounts

Meanwhile, the systematic extermination of the Black majority of South Africa proceeds at a rapid rate. The regime has threatened to enact legislation which the people call the "Genocide Bill," under which at least 75% of the African population would be prohibited from entering urban areas and white commercial farms without a permit. This would multiply the landless, impoverished millions who are labeled "superfluous," and deported to barren Bantustans to perish from sheer starvation. The infant mortality rate would sky-rocket; already in the Bantustans, *half* of all African children die before reaching the age of 3. It would multiply those diseases of poverty such as cholera, dysentery, tuberculosis and malnutrition, which have become endemic among the African population. Within the last year there has even been an outbreak of bubonic plague!

Apartheid Serves Imperialism

Yet Reagan opposes sanctions under the guise that Botha is instituting "constitutional reform" in South Africa. Clearly this is a lie. The reason for the open and consistent support which Reagan gives to South Africa lies in the nature of *apartheid* itself. *Apartheid* serves international capital. Indeed, in the words of Moses Mabhida, the *apartheid* system is a "specific manifestation of capitalist exploitation in its most fierce and rapacious form." It is the institutionalization of oppression, akin to Nazism and to slavery, wherein "the tight control over the African workers ensures their systematic super-exploitation."

This is why the Reagan administration, which represents the most brazenly bellicose and reactionary section of U.S. monopoly-capital — the military-industrial complex — is determined to shield the racists of South Africa from the world movement for peace and democracy. Because it views the racist regime as a leading contingency among its shock troops in its global strategy against the national liberation movement, against the peace majority, against the socialist world and the

working-class movement. This is precisely why nearly fifty years ago, international imperialism welcomed the rise of fascism.

Apartheid serves imperialism as a source of super profits. To preserve this is the function of the so-called Sullivan Code, which takes the deceptive and indefensible position that it is possible to destroy *apartheid* through a process of gradual reform, and provides the justification for the continued super-exploitation of the Black majority by the transnational corporations. *Apartheid* serves imperialism as a battalion for the reversal of the tide of liberation in Africa under the guise of defending "Western values" against the so-called "Communist menace." The menace to Africa, and to the world, is the *apartheid*-Reagan alliance.

Apartheid serves imperialism as a supplier of "vital" minerals. But vital for what? Vital for its war machine. Vital for its nuclear arsenal. Vital for the ascendancy of the military-industrial complex, for the achievement of the hegemony and domination of U.S. imperialism, for the regaining of territory "lost" to freedom. Vital for holding humanity hostage with the threat of a mushroom cloud looming overhead; with the threat of total extinction if imperialism can't have its way.

Anti-Imperialist Strategy Needed

Only an anti-imperialist strategy can defeat this madness. Only an anti-imperialist strategy can confront the transnational banks and corporations, the forces which uphold *apartheid*. Only an anti-imperialist strategy can unite the broad anti-racist, anti-*apartheid* masses. Only an anti-imperialist strategy can win.

The campaign for mandatory, comprehensive sanctions against South Africa is the implementation of that strategy which can win.

Mandatory, Comprehensive Sanctions — The Highest Form of International Solidarity

In legal systems, sanctions are penalties which designated authorities apply to law-breakers. The concept of international enforcement has its origins in the experience of world war, and is derived from the need for collective security to prevent war. This concept was given formal expression with the establishment of the League of Nations.

The rise of fascism in Europe presented the first test of the concept of international sanctions — a test which the imperialist powers failed bitterly. Though formally imposing sanctions on Mussolini after his invasion of Ethiopia, they secretly colluded with the fascists. The consequences were the pillage and colonization of Ethiopia, the invasion of Europe, and World War II.

Today, the imperialists openly align themselves with a system which rivals Nazism on every score. If unchecked, the consequences will be a nuclear holocaust, which will not be contained on the continent of Africa.

The United Nations Charter gives stronger emphasis to the enforcement powers of the Security Council, empowering it to act upon a determination of the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression. It shall call upon the member States to apply measures such as the complete interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations. Such measures shall be universally applied to all member states.

Anti Imperialist in Essence and Form

The application of mandatory, comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII would take two steps. First, the adoption of a unanimous resolution in the United Nations Security Council. Second, a domestic act — either an Executive Order of the president, or an act of Congress — which would make that resolution binding upon U.S. citizens and corporations. Mandatory, comprehensive sanctions against *apartheid* would then become the law of the land.

Such a strategy is anti-imperialist in essence and in form. It hits at the jugular vein of imperialism — suppressing the export of capital, especially finance capital. No equipment, oil, technology, know-how, loans and credits, military hardware, nuclear technology exported to South Africa! The closing of all air and sea ports to South African vessels! The closing of all markets to South African goods! No diplomatic relations whatsoever, close down all embassies, consulates, missions. The complete isolation of *apartheid*!

Such a strategy would yield a consensus of the international community — the anti-imperialist majority — a proclamation of democratic, anti-racist, peace-loving norms of conduct. This consensus is already evident in the General Assembly, where the United States, Britain and France cannot block its expression. Thus, the victory of such a strategy would represent a qualitative, irreversible shift in the international balance of forces in favor of progressive humanity.

Africa in the Vanguard

The African National Congress, the liberation movement of South Africa, together with independent Africa, has been in the vanguard of the fight for mandatory, comprehensive sanctions. Boycott had been part

of the program of action adopted by the ANC in the 1940's. The transition from boycott to international sanctions was rapid because of the brutal reaction of the racist regime to peaceful protest.

Thus, the call for an economic boycott of South Africa was first advanced by the ANC in 1956, following a nationwide arrest of 156 leaders of the liberation movement, and the notorious Treason Trial. The late fifties and early sixties saw the increased arrival abroad of banned and exiled leaders. These representatives of the oppressed Black majority openly and militantly campaigned for sanctions.

It was partly as a result of the efforts of these leaders that the All-African Peoples' Conference, in Accra, Ghana, in 1958, called upon independent African States, the United Nations, and all other countries which professed democracy, to take positive action against South Africa. The call for international sanctions was followed in January, 1960, at the Second All-African Peoples' Conference by a resolution to boycott South African goods.

In June of 1960 the Second Conference of Independent African States, the forerunner of the Organization of African Unity, adopted a resolution in Addis Ababa calling on member States to sever diplomatic relations with South Africa, to close African ports to all vessels flying the South African flag, to enact legislation prohibiting their ships from entering South African ports, to boycott all South African goods, to refuse landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belonging to the government or to South African companies, and to prohibit all South African aircraft from flying over the airspace of the independent African States. The same resolutions invited the Arab States to prevent Arab oil from being sold to South Africa. In these actions, Africa assumed the leadership in comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

The U.N. General Assembly took up the call for mandatory, comprehensive sanctions in 1962. Since then, the United States has vetoed every Security Council resolution to impose mandatory sanctions, or has forced such resolutions to be formulated so as to render them ineffectual and self-liquidating.

Why the Opposition?

The supporters of *apartheid* raise several bogus arguments to justify their refusal to impose mandatory, comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. They pretend to be opposed to the "concept" of sanctions, claiming that they are "ineffective." Where was this argument when U.S. imperialism unilaterally imposed an economic boycott in its attempt to crush revolutionary Cuba? How about the attempted boycott of the 1980 Olympics, a so-called "punishment" for the Soviet defence of the Afghan revolution? Reagan is so opposed to the concept of sanctions that he

violated international agreements to ban trade with the Soviet Union on the pretext of the situation in Poland. Clearly, sanctions are not “ineffective” if they serve the interests of imperialism!

South Africa's Vulnerability

Moreover, South Africa's vulnerability to sanctions is well documented. Indeed, even studies conducted by the racists themselves show that key industries, and long-term growth of the economy, would suffer. What they do not and cannot say is that without the transnationals, the regime could not survive. Without foreign imports and technology, the manufacturing industry, the largest single contributor to the Gross Domestic Product, would collapse. Without foreign imports of oil, technology, military equipment and know-how, electronics components, the South African military would be incapable of launching attacks against Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho. Without the highly enriched uranium shipped from the United States and France, the threat of nuclear devastation would not loom over the whole of Africa.

The “ineffective” argument is completely discredited by the call for mandatory — that is, *enforceable* — comprehensive sanctions. Not only would all exports to South Africa be illegal, but the transnationals would be prevented from producing arms *inside* South Africa, as they are now able to do to avoid the mandatory arms embargo. U.S. military technology could no longer be transferred through Italian licenses. Oil and weapons could no longer be supplied through Israel. There is no way to counter the fact that the *total* isolation of *apartheid* would break the back of the regime!

“Constructive Engagement” Myth

Perhaps the most nauseating, despicable argument posed is that sanctions would hurt the Black majority the most. This is a favorite argument of the *apartheid* regime and its puppets. They have the unmitigated gall to shed crocodile tears over the plight of the very people they are systematically trying to exterminate. This deception must be decisively rejected. What *hurts* the Black majority is *apartheid*! What *hurts* the Black majority is the investment by the transnationals in *apartheid*! What *hurts* the Black majority is the Reagan political/economic/military alliance with the fascist beasts who are committing an unparalleled crime against humanity!

Buttressing this argument is the so-called policy of “constructive engagement,” the myth that increased foreign investment would accelerate change in favor of the African people. Thus, a *Business Week* editorial opined: “By pouring in vast sums of money, the economy would

expand so rapidly that there would be a greater need for skilled workers than could be supplied by the white population."

In fact, the exact opposite is true. The South African economy under the impact of heightened foreign involvement has assumed an increasingly capital-intensive character, resulting in massive unemployment and displacement of Black workers. Indeed, the technology provided by foreign corporations has raised the levels of Black unemployment to almost 40%.

While the imperialists, and those they manage to confuse, argue that sanctions are contrary to the interests of the Black majority, the African National Congress, the organization which represents that majority, leads the fight for sanctions. Thus, this argument against mandatory, comprehensive sanctions is fundamentally a denial of the credibility and legitimacy of the true representatives of the South African majority.

Imperialists Fear Sanctions

The imperialists know that *mandatory* sanctions, enforceable through the mechanisms of the United Nations, can destroy the foundations of *apartheid* and topple it to the ground. They know that mandatory, comprehensive, enforceable sanctions are the only way that the independent nations of Southern Africa will be able to break the chains of South African domination over their economies, trade and transport routes. They know that only through exercising the full might of the international community through mandatory, comprehensive sanctions, can the Frontline States be defended against the regime's murderous acts of sabotage and aggression. Thus, they continue to fight mandatory, comprehensive sanctions, while maintaining a conspiratorial silence in the face of these barbarous violations of international law; while Alan Cowell of the New York Times predicts doom for Southern Africa by hypocritically wringing his hands over the "sad fact of life in a tormented region." He goes on to opine that "faced with South Africa's military might, the main weapon of response available to Black-ruled Africa and its outside supporters is *oratory*."

The imperialists project impotence and despair because they know what the main weapon is: mandatory, comprehensive sanctions! Because their real objective is the recolonization and enslavement of Africa. To crush the forward motion of the liberation movement on the Continent. To reverse the tide of history. It is our duty to see to it that these goals are not achieved.

NAIMSAL'S Campaign for One Million Voices

Naimsal's petition campaign for one million signatures demanding mandatory, comprehensive sanctions is a very important strategy.

You can believe that one million voices against *apartheid* will be heard. One million voices in a country of 200 million will be a powerful expression of the political will of the masses of American people. One million voices will be heard by the Reaganites, who collaborate with the crime of *apartheid* in our name. One million voices will be heard by Botha and the entire *apartheid* regime, who will then know that Reagan does not act with our accord. One million voices will be heard by the people of South Africa, who will welcome our internationalism, and embrace us in solidarity in our common fight. One million voices will be heard by the broad democratic, anti-racist, peace-loving masses in this country and around the globe, who will join us, and increase our numbers a thousand fold.

The petition itself is a mighty force — a vehicle for launching a powerful offensive. It is an instrument of mass outreach, which will influence, and raise the consciousness of millions. Through the petition we can involve individuals, organizations, churches, unions, political figures and elected officials. We must seek endorsements of the campaign from these groups, and concrete commitments for signatures. The campaign will give us access to media outlets, to counter the imperialists' propaganda assault. Out of the campaign we can develop legislation, for which we will have already mobilized a mass constituency. Finally, the petition will generate contributions from signers and supporters, which will greatly assist our movement, and enable us to provide material support to the ANC and SWAPO.

Rooted in Black Liberation Struggle

NAIMSAL'S campaign for mandatory, comprehensive sanctions against *apartheid* must be firmly rooted in the mass struggles for Black liberation. The Black liberation movement is the foundation and the catalyst which can launch this anti-imperialist offensive embracing the majority of this country.

The Afro-American masses are objectively anti-imperialist. The overwhelming working class composition, combined with the fact that racism is a necessary component and a main pillar of imperialism, will lend clarity to the relationship between Reagan's foreign and domestic policies. The struggles of Afro-Americans for equality have historically advanced democracy for all Americans. Their desire to see the liberation of the last bastion of racism and colonialism on the African continent, and their recognition that their liberation is linked to that of Africa, reflects an objective understanding of the racist nature of imperialism.

Embraced By Peace Movement

NAIMSAL's campaign for one million voices must be embraced by the millions who fight for peace, disarmament, and against nuclear war. Our

campaign will exert a powerful influence upon this mass movement. The petition campaign will expose racism and *apartheid* as a major threat to world peace, thus linking these two currents of struggle. It can inject a qualitative change in the character of the peace movement in this country, which has been weakened in the past by its failure to wage a vigilant fight against racism.

Fight For Divestment

NAIMSAL's campaign for mandatory, comprehensive sanctions is not in opposition to efforts to win partial sanctions. Indeed, every victory serves to underscore the need for total sanctions which are internationally enforceable. Most importantly, partial sanctions such as divestment, boycotts, embargoes, etc., unquestionably *hurt* the racist regime both materially and politically. The states of Massachusetts, Michigan, Connecticut, and the city of Philadelphia enacted laws in 1982 requiring the divestment of public funds from companies doing business in South Africa, forcing the withdrawal of over \$300 million. These are major victories. The people themselves are imposing sanctions, sending a clear message to government and to big business that collaboration with *apartheid* will not be tolerated. These victories belie the regime's propaganda that the struggle is too big, unwinnable.

A Major Battlefield

The struggle against *apartheid* is a major battlefield in the struggle to preserve democracy and to prevent nuclear war. As the conflict between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction grows sharper, as the offensive launched by the ANC and SWAPO intensifies, we in the United States must open a second front. A second front comparable to that which signalled the defeat of Hitler. A front which will constitute an historic contribution to the ultimate defeat of *apartheid* and of Reagan's global strategy.

A recent article in a South African newspaper, the Cape Times, reports:

"The ANC has managed to gain a firm foothold in the thinking of the Black masses . . . It is not uncommon for funerals and other events to be marked by ANC colors, ANC songs, and ANC propaganda. This is done openly, in the presence of security. The Buthelezi commission's attitude surveys' showed powerful support for an organization which, legally, does not exist. What is to be done?"

Clearly, the ANC knows what is to be done. For our part, what is to be done is to build a movement for mandatory, comprehensive sanctions of gigantic proportions — to destroy the Reagan/*apartheid* alliance; to remove the major obstacle to the imposition of sanctions — our government; to banish the curse of *apartheid* from the face of the earth, and bury it in the graveyard of oblivion.

It is not only a struggle which can be won. It is a struggle which *must* be won!

Amandla!

