Don't Fuel Apartheid
International Oil Embargo Campaign

"We are now entering the final and most crucial stage in the struggle for the liberation of Namibia. As a mass united force, our people have intensified the struggle against the South African racist regime both politically and militarily within our country. While SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organization] has for many years enjoyed the support of most of the international community, some countries and governments have, in effect, continued to support South Africa's colonial occupation of Namibia.

"We again demand that these Western countries and their multinational corporations cease their support for racist South Africa and join the rest of good-willed mankind in supporting and implementing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid South African regime."

—Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, addressing the International Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the Namibian People, Paris, September 1980

This conference on Namibia, attended by over 500 representatives of governments, organizations, and solidarity groups from all over the world, was called by SWAPO and supported by the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). The goal of the conference was to unite on an international strategy for ending South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. The conference resolved to campaign for the international oil embargo against South Africa now being debated at the United Nations.

The oil embargo campaign was chosen for several reasons. All agree that comprehensive sanctions—barring all trade and investment—would be more effective in crippling South Africa. However, many countries are not prepared or able to enforce full sanctions.

OIL—SOUTH AFRICA'S WEAK LINK

An oil embargo is probably the most effective step that can be taken against apartheid

(continued on page 8)
SAOC Editorial:
Demand An Oil Embargo Against South Africa

Last September, the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia and the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa issued a call for an international oil embargo against South Africa (see story, page 1). Here in the US, the National Anti-Apartheid Action Campaign (NAAAC) has been formed to take up this call with a petition campaign demanding that President Reagan and the Congress support an oil embargo against South Africa in the United Nations (UN). The NAAAC calls for opposing and isolating the South African regime for its illegal occupation of Namibia, its attacks on Angola and neighboring states, and its maintenance of the apartheid system. It demands an end to all US ties with South Africa, as these serve to bolster the apartheid regime and are against the interests of the people of Southern Africa and the US. It stands in support of SWAPO and the anti-apartheid forces of South Africa.

SOUTHERN AFRICA—APARTHEID STANDS ALONE

The ZANU victory in Zimbabwe ushered in a new stage in the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa. It left South Africa's apartheid regime isolated as the last bastion of reaction, fascism, and foreign domination in the region.

South Africa is the only country in the world where racism is enshrined in law. Apartheid denies the most basic of rights to the black majority of the South African population. It maintains a state of misery and impoverishment in South Africa through brutal police terror. In short, apartheid is a crime against humanity. South Africa has extended this system to Namibia during its illegal occupation of that country, pillaging the natural wealth of the Namibian people in defiance of international law.

As its isolation has grown, South Africa has multiplied its attacks on neighboring states. South Africa has conducted an undeclared war against Angola since that country’s independence in 1976. It has launched attacks on Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana.

AROUND THE WORLD, RESISTANCE GROWS

The gains of the struggle for liberation in the region have built resistance to apartheid. In Namibia, SWAPO, the internationally acknowledged representative of the Namibian people, continues its war against South Africa's illegal occupation. The pressures of this war have given rise to a growing deserters' movement in the South African army. In South Africa, renewed opposition to apartheid has cropped up everywhere—from the protests of "colored" students to the massive wave of strikes, to armed actions which reached their highest point in the ANC's bombing of the SASOL coal gasification plant. And around the world, more countries...
stand opposed to apartheid than ever before.

To translate this international opposition into a real force, the ANC and SWAPO have asked that the UN impose an oil embargo against South Africa. South Africa has no domestic oil reserve. Its economy and especially its military are dependent on imported oil. An effective oil embargo would cripple the apartheid regime’s ability to wage war on its own citizens and on the other peoples of Southern Africa. It would represent an important first step toward the imposition of full sanctions against South Africa. It would be a clear political condemnation of apartheid, and would extend South Africa’s isolation in the international community. For all of these reasons, an oil embargo would aid the peoples of Southern Africa in their struggle against apartheid.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS KEY

The US role with respect to apartheid has been far from laudable. While paying some lip service to condemnation of apartheid, the US has in fact been the main backer of the regime. For US corporations, apartheid has meant high profits made from cheap black labor. South Africa has also acted as “enforcer” in the region, curbing the activities of anyone threatening the interests of the multinationals. It is these interests the US government has taken to heart, allowing the economic ties with South Africa to flourish. It has refused to vote with other nations in condemning apartheid in the UN. It has allowed companies like Space Research to break the UN arms embargo on South Africa—which it ostensibly supports—providing tacit military support for apartheid.

Despite its track record, the US government remains the only agency that can effectively end all US ties with South Africa. The federal government has the authority to impose and enforce an oil embargo against South Africa. The US can influence the other Western powers and push them to support an embargo.

BUILD THE NAAAC!
END US SUPPORT OF APARTHEID!

But only mass pressure can force the government to abandon business interests and support an embargo on South Africa. The Southern Africa Solidarity Committee of Seattle and People for Southern African Freedom of Eugene, Oregon have joined SAOC in initiating the National Anti-Apartheid Action Campaign. The task we face is large; it will take massive popular response to force the government to take such a drastic step. We ask you to join us in this endeavor to put an end to US support for apartheid. You can help by

- having your organization endorse the NAAAC
- circulating the NAAAC petition and brochure in your union, job, church, community organization, or among friends
- helping coordinate the NAAAC in your area.

DEMAND AN OIL EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

SUPPORT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

SAOC Steering Committee
Attieno Davis
Erik Lichtenberg
Diana Marshall
Teresa Stern

For more information, write
National Anti-Apartheid Action Campaign
P.O. Box 11376
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 626-6914.
SWAPO Profile:

"Our Struggle is for Freedom"

For a century the Namibian people have fought the invading and occupying forces first from Germany and now South Africa. At each step colonialism has brutally repressed and victimized the Namibian people. In spite of this, and in spite of the many thousands who have lost their lives through the years, the Namibian peoples' spirit of resistance is strong. As the latest expression of that resistance, SWAPO is leading the people to victory and independence.

This Is The Time is excerpting the following speech originally published in the pamphlet "The Sun Will Rise" edited by Mary Benson.

Toivo Herman Ja Toivo is one of the founders of SWAPO. Born in 1925 he was educated in an Anglican Mission school in Ovamboland, Namibia. Trained as a teacher he moved to Cape Town, South Africa, where he became politically active. As regional secretary to SWAPO he petitioned

"Namibia is our country and we wish to be our own masters."

the UN on behalf of his people. Attempting to silence this eloquent leader, the South African regime first restricted Toivo to the Ondonga tribal area then later deported him to Pretoria, South Africa, where he was brutally interrogated and brought to trial under retroactive legislation, called the Terrorism Act.

During the trial, which lasted from August 1967 to February 1968 Toivo made this statement from the dock:

"We find ourselves here in a foreign country, convicted under laws made by people we have always considered as foreigners. We find ourselves tried by a judge who is not our countryman and who has not shared our background....

"We are Namibians and not South Africans. We do not now, and will not in the future, recognize your right to govern us; to make laws for us in which we have no say; to treat our country as if it were your property and us as if you were our masters....

"We know that whites do not think of blacks as politicians—only as agitators. Many of our people, through no fault of their own, have had no education at all. This does not mean that they do not know what they want....

"Those of us that have some education, together with our uneducated brethren, have always struggled to get freedom....

"Your government, my Lord, undertook a very special responsibility, when it was awarded the mandate over us after the First World War. It assumed a sacred trust to guide us towards independence and to prepare us to take our place among the nations
of the world.

"We believe that South Africa has abused that trust because of its belief in racial supremacy (that white people have been chosen by God to rule the world) and apartheid. We believe that for 50 years South Africa has failed to promote the development of our people. Where are our trained men? The wealth of our country has been used to train your people for leadership and the sacred duty of preparing the indigenous people to take their place among the nations of the world has been ignored..."

"I do not claim that it is easy for men of different races to live at peace with one another. I myself had no experience of this in my youth, and at first it surprised me that men of different races could live together in peace. But now I know it to be true and to be something for which we must strive.

"The South African Government creates hostility by separating people and emphasizing differences. We believe that by living together, people will learn to lose their fear of each other. We also believe that this fear which some of the whites have of Africans is based on their desire to be superior and privileged and that when whites see themselves as part of Namibia, sharing with us all its hopes and troubles, then that fear will disappear. Separation is said to be a natural process. But why then, is it imposed by force, and why then is it that whites have the superiority?"

"I have come to know that our people cannot expect progress as a gift from anyone, be it the United Nations or South Africa. Progress is something that we will have to struggle and work for. And I believe that the only way which we shall be able and fit to secure that progress is to learn from our own experience and mistakes.

"We do not expect that independence will end our troubles, but we do believe that our people are entitled—as are all people—to rule themselves. It is not really a question of whether South Africa treats us well or badly, but that Namibia is our country and we wish to be our own masters.

"There are some that will say that they are sympathetic with our aims, but that they condemn violence. I would answer that I am not by nature a man of violence and I believe that violence is a sin against God and my fellow man. SWAPO itself was a non-violent organization, but the South African government is not truly interested in whether opposition is violent or non-violent. It does not wish to hear any opposition to apartheid.

"Is it surprising that in such times my compatriots take up arms? Violence is truly fearsome, but who would not defend his property and himself against a robber? And we believe that South Africa has robbed us of our country.

"I have spent my life working in SWAPO, which is an ordinary political party like any other.

"South Africa has robbed us of our country."

"I am a loyal Namibian and I could not betray my people to their enemies. I admit that I decided to assist those that had taken up arms. I know that the struggle will be long and bitter. I also know that my people will wage that struggle, whatever the cost.

"Only when we are granted our independence will the struggle stop. Only when our human dignity is restored to us, as equals to the whites, will there be peace between us...

"Toivo was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. He is on Robben Island, the dreaded South African maximum security prison for black political activists."
Reagan’s Foreign Policy
Renewed Threat of Interventionism

By Erik Lichtenberg

The 1980 elections certainly marked a shift in US politics. The right-wing victories in Congress have given it a more conservative and hawkish cast, underscored by the defeat of several prominent liberals who had played important roles in limiting US intervention around the world. Ronald Reagan, while not the crazed cowboy many thought he might be, will certainly preside over a more conservative administration.

In foreign policy, it seems that Reagan will attempt to usher in a stepped-up spirit of military adventurism. This trend to interventionism has been growing for some time now. But it seems that there will be a significant shift with Reagan. It’s important to look at that shift to see what it will mean in times to come.

THE LESSONS OF VIETNAM

In 1975 the victory of the Vietnamese people marked the end of an era for US foreign policy. Before that the US government had intervened freely around the world as the interests of big business demanded. The US was isolated internationally by its attempt in Vietnam to maintain a regime whose only excuse for existence was to ensure a profitable business climate for US corporations. The people of this country stopped wanting to make war and die for corporate profits. We began to embrace the idea that people had the right to rule their own countries for the well-being of the majority of the population. We made it impossible for the US government to carry out its longstanding policies aimed at safeguarding the interests of US corporations around the world.

With its military backing gone, the world became less rosy for big business. The peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Nicaragua, Iran and Zimbabwe, among others, liberated themselves from fascism and foreign domination. Today, the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala, of Namibia and South Africa, of the Western Sahara and elsewhere are locked in the same struggle for national liberation and the control of their own resources.

The big corporations—and the government they dominate—are looking for ways to reverse this trend and restore a world order where profits come first and people’s rights a distant second. The necessary means to this end is military intervention. For all its fanfare, Carter’s “human rights” doctrine lapsed into a coma from which it never recovered. In its place, Carter has given us
Dear Friend:

We hope that you agree with us that the National Anti-Apartheid Action Campaign (NAAAC) is an important contribution toward an oil embargo against South Africa.

For the NAAAC to be successful it needs your help. To get involved, just fill out the following coupon and mail it to us.

In Solidarity,
This Is The Time Collective

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P.O. Box 11376
San Francisco, CA 94101

☐ I can coordinate the NAAAC in my area.

☐ I can have my organization endorse the NAAAC.

☐ I can circulate a petition at my union, job, church, community organization or among friends.

☐ Here’s my donation of $_____ for the NAAAC.

☐ I can’t help now but please put my name on the NAAAC mailing list.

☐ Here’s my subscription to This Is The Time. $2.50 for one year.

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Address ____________________________________________
City_________________________________________ State_________ Zip______

If you know someone else who might participate in NAAAC please pass this message on.
the MX missile, the Rapid Deployment Force (for intervention against struggles of national liberation), the draft, and a growing atmosphere of militarism. Abroad, the Carter administration has allowed the South African regime to stall negotiations aimed at ending its illegal occupation of Namibia, helped Morocco in its attempt to deny the Saharan people their right to independence, and abetted the terror of El Salvador’s junta against its people.

REAGAN’S LINE—“BRING BACK THE COLD WAR”

The Reagan victory changes none of this; the right-wing trend in the election creates a more favorable climate for such manoeuvres. Already the Reagan transition team has moved to strengthen the hand of the murderous Salvadoran right wing in a far more open manner (see page 12). Already the Senate has moved to repeal the Clark Amendment, paving the way for renewed US intervention in Angola.

But Reagan’s foreign policy will consist of more than just renewed vigor in promoting militarism and adventurism. Reagan will aim at restoring a domestic and international climate which allows the US to intervene around the world without restraint. The main thrust of this policy will be to recreate the political alignments of the Cold War. Reagan will beef up the US military machine and will increasingly try to apply US armed force around the world in the name of countering “Soviet aggression”. All US foreign policy will be cast as a response to the “Soviet threat”, a fiction created solely to rally the people of this country behind US interventionism.

But Cold War politics means today what it did 20 years ago—that the US government will operate unrestrictedly in the interests of big business. All those struggling for liberation will be termed Soviet puppets, no matter what their beliefs. All those maintaining their countries as profit exchanges for the big multinationals will be termed friends of democracy, no matter how ghastly the crimes they commit against their own peoples.

REAGAN BACKS APARTHEID

In Southern Africa, the revival of Cold War politics promises to serve as the excuse for stepped-up US support of South Africa’s apartheid regime, on the one hand, and for open hostility toward the progressive countries of the region on the other.

Reagan comes into office at a time when apartheid is increasingly embattled. In South Africa, strikes and protests have escalated dramatically. South Africa’s hold on Namibia has been slipping both militarily and diplomatically. The victory of the Zimbabwean people last year leaves South Africa the sole apartheid state. International opposition continues to grow. The campaign for an oil embargo against South Africa (see page 1) threatens to combine these elements

(continued on page 10)
INTERNATIONAL EMBARGO
(continued from front page)
short of full sanctions. South Africa has no
domestic source of oil. Not a drop of oil has
been discovered anywhere in South African
territory, despite an exhaustive exploration
program by the government. South Africa’s
oil needs are filled solely by imports.
While South African industry developed
its coal reserves and coal gasification techno-
ology to supply some of its energy needs, an
oil embargo would curtail development and
disrupt key economic sectors, such as trans-
port.
South Africa’s war machine is heavily de-
pendent on oil. South Africa uses the strong-
est military apparatus in Southern Africa to
maintain apartheid at home, to continue its
illegal occupation and rape of Namibia, and
to launch attacks on progressive states in the
region. The loss of oil supplies would severely
restrict the mobility of South Africa’s
armed forces. It would be increasingly diffi-
cult for the apartheid regime to maintain its
reign of terror in the face of mounting
popular resistance. Loss of oil would hamper
its ability to prolong its illegal hold on
Namibia or to continue acts of aggression
against neighboring states.
Prior to 1979, South Africa got over 90% of
its oil from Iran. Apartheid and the Shah
had developed a very cozy relationship,
which withstood increasing international
pressure. After the Shah was deposed, how-
ever, Iran cut off all oil to South Africa. Since
then, South Africa has had no stable source
of oil: OPEC has banned the sale of oil to
South Africa since 1973. Apartheid’s oil
supplies now depend on secret deals made
with brokers for international oil companies.
This is expensive, unreliable, and more vul-
nerable to cutoff.

THE WEST STANDS UP
FOR APARTHEID

International support for an oil embargo is
growing. In 1979 the Nigerian government
took over all British Petroleum (BP) hold-
ings in Nigeria after it discovered plans for
the indirect sale of North Sea oil to South
Africa. The British government, part owner
of BP, had allowed BP to sell North Sea oil to
various Western countries in exchange for
oil supplies to BP’s South African sub-
sidiary. Last June, Holland imposed a ban on
oil to South Africa. Since last spring, pres-
sure for an international oil embargo has
been mounting at the UN.

The Western powers, led by the US, have
been the main stumbling block to the embarg-
go. The US opposed previous attempts to
call for sanctions in the UN General Assembly, and threatens to veto any Security Council measures aimed at imposing an embargo. Western oil companies are the main suppliers of oil to South Africa. Western banks help finance the South African petroleum industry. Western engineering—especially the US-based Fluor Corporation—has made synthetic fuel a reality in South Africa. Western shippers have allowed South Africa to evade OPEC’s boycott. Western governments have aided and abetted these captains of industry. Europe and Canada have tried to sabotage all efforts to impose an embargo. Western investment is a pillar of South Africa’s ability to occupy Namibia, and the South African regime uses the West’s reliance on Namibia’s uranium as a lever to gain continued support for apartheid.

US COULD STOP THE OIL
The role of the US government is crucial. US firms dominate the world oil industry and will be decisive to the success of an oil embargo. The US oil companies have shown no intention of curtailing their support of apartheid. Only the US government has the power to force them to stop selling oil to South Africa.

If the US takes the lead in backing the oil ban, it can, through its economic and military links to Europe, influence the other Western nations to comply as well. The US can also supply the muscle to ensure enforcement of the embargo.

But the US government, under both Democratic and Republican administrations, has opposed any trade bans against South Africa. It does not want to disrupt South Africa’s economy or international corporate interests. The US government has maintained that apartheid can be eased in South Africa by further economic development (historically, just the opposite is true) and that to embargo oil would bring terrible chaos and deprivation to the African people. But the liberation organizations of South Africa and Namibia have spoken out again and again for economic blows against the racist regime—that no temporary deprivation is worse than the terrible oppression and powerlessness the people now experience.

Why has the US government ignored the demands of the peoples of South Africa and (continued on page 11)
REAGAN
(continued from page 7)
into a crippling blow to apartheid.

One indication of what Reagan's policy will be is that his transition team includes present and former paid lobbyists for apartheid as well as key supporters of the former racist regime of Rhodesia. Members of his African affairs team also indicate that, to their minds, South Africa's racism and fascism are far less important than its location and supply of raw materials and its value as a staunch ally against 'international communism'. The effect of such a policy will be to uphold apartheid.

In the rest of the region, US policy will be aimed at overturning the progress made by the people toward controlling their own destiny. Reagan's antagonism will fall most heavily on Angola. The repeal of the Clark amendment—which expressly prohibits any US intervention in Angola—will be an open declaration of renewed attempts to destabilize and overthrow the Angolan government. Repeal will surely increase US support for the continuing South African war against Angola. At the same time, Congress, with Reagan's blessing, proposes to refuse aid to Mozambique and Zimbabwe. This move violates the assurances given by the US during the Lancaster House talks on Zimbabwe last year. It serves notice to the peoples of these countries that they can expect nothing but hostility from the US as the price for asserting their right to self-determination.

THE PEOPLE'S RESPONSE—"WE WON'T GET FOOLLED AGAIN"
The people of the US, too, have been struggling for better lives for many years. We've come to learn that oppression on the basis of race or sex or sexual orientation comes from the fact that it generates greater profits for big business. Our job security, the economic livelihood of our communities, and essential public services appear or disappear according to what's profitable for some corporations. Even our health is at the tender mercy of profit—as Love Canal and Three Mile Island have shown. Just as it is with our sisters and brothers around the world, so it is with us: the root of our misery lies with the domination of the big corporations.

The whole thrust of Reagan's foreign policy will be to convince us otherwise. The whole reason for bringing back the Cold War rhetoric will be to make us forget what we've learned through our struggles. The whole reason will be to make it possible once again to trick us into fighting for the interests of the multinationals. We can't let this happen to us again. It's time now to reaffirm our opposition to US intervention around the world. We need to renew and redouble our efforts to defend our own rights and the rights of our sisters and brothers in other countries. We need, for one thing, to demand that the US support an oil embargo against South Africa. We know what message Reagan brings to us. We need to get our message back to him. loud and clear, through every channel we can find.
INTERNATIONAL OIL EMBARGO
(continued from page 9)
Namibia? Because it wants to protect the position of the large corporations. Mobil, Gulf, Caltex, and other oil companies will happily rack up increased profits while apartheid holds on in South Africa.

US PEOPLE OPPOSE APARTHEID
The people of the US have nothing to gain from the support of the racist and fascist South African regime. As we listen to the voices of the South African and Namibian people, the voices of the organizations leading their struggle, the voices of most nations of the world, it becomes clear that we must join forces with them, for it is in our common interest to push the South African regime against the wall and end apartheid.

If the working people of the US let their own voices be heard loudly enough, we can make the US government listen—let it know that we oppose the apartheid regime and its occupation of Namibia, that selling oil to South Africa strengthens apartheid, and that the US must use its power and influence to stop the flow of oil to South Africa.

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Demonstration for People of El Salvador

Saturday January 17 Noon Berkeley, CA

This is a critical time for the people of El Salvador. Massacre is now a daily occurrence there. The US government supplies much of the bombs (including napalm), artillery and armored vehicles that destroy whole villages and towns. Congress is preparing to send another $5.5 million in military aid, while thousands of US Marines are in training in Panama.

Today the Salvadorean people, united under the broad Democratic Revolutionary Front, are defending themselves against the US-supported junta, its US-trained armed forces, and its paramilitary death squads. The people are undertaking an armed offensive to put an end to centuries of exploitation; to begin to create a society based on social justice, freedom and equality.

This demonstration is important to let the Reagan administration know that the people of the US support the people of El Salvador and demand:

No Draft!
No More Vietnam Wars!
No Intervention in El Salvador!

Assemble Civic Center (Milvia and Allston)
March to Sproul Plaza—U.C. Berkeley
For More Information (415) 282-3070

WHO WE ARE

The Southern Africa Organizing Committee is an organization in the Bay Area committed to the fight against US government and corporate support for the racist regimes of Southern Africa. Standard news reports usually do not provide enough information about Southern Africa and what they do provide is often inaccurate. Through this publication we hope to keep our readers better informed about current events in Southern Africa and Bay Area support activities for the liberation movements. Our newsletter will also be aimed at explaining the connections between our struggles against racism and oppression in the U.S. and the struggles of the Southern African people. We welcome your questions, comments, and suggestions. □