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E. MAJOR UNIT AND INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS

E6: International Situation

THREE DOCUMENTS: E6/V(a); E6/II and E6/IV(b)

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION (E6/Va)

The reaction of the majority of the people of South Africa (December 1984) to the re-election or Ronald Reagan as President of the United States was expressed by the publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front in the Western Cape, Mr Jonathan de Vries, as follows:

'Although the result was expected it still came as a disappointment to us. We can now expect another four years of US connivance with the SA authorities behind a smokescreen of constructive engagement. Internatinally the election result will also be a shock to peace-loving and democratic forces in general. With his belligerent foreign policies President Reagan is one of the greatest threats to world peace'.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that the danger resides in the person of Reagan himself. The President is still little more than the B-movie actor he was when he first came to public notice 50 or so years ago; he has merely transferred his activities from the big screen of the cinema to the small screen of television. Far more sinister are the forces behind the President who manipulate him as a puppet, who write his scripts and feed him his gags. It is the military-industrial complex which he represents that constitutes the real danger to the world.

We will never be able to interpret the politics of the cold war, and in particular the motives of the so-called western democracies, unless we understand that the devotion of their ruling class politicians to 'freedom' is in essence a devotion to 'free enterprise', to capitalism as a way of life which they consider superior to all others. The appeal to 'democracy' and 'human rights' is merely a cover. It is not the alleged violation of human rights that outrages a Reagan or a Carter and inspires them to describe the Soviet Union as an 'empire of evil'. It is the fact that the exploiters of man by man have been expropriated, that there is neither stock exchange, Wall Street nor Bond Street in Moscow that fills them with alarm.

It is the pursuit of private profit that turns the wheels of the economy in the United States, Britain, West Germany, Japan and other capitalist countries. After the Russian revolution of 1917, the armed forces of 14 nations invaded the territory of Soviet Russia in an attempt to restore capitalism. They were the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Serbia, China, Finland, Greece, Poland, Rumania, Turkey and Japan. The Red Army beat off the attacks at the time and in the intervening years a number of those 14 countries have undergone a change of government and are today also following the socialist road. With one or two exceptions, those who remain form the core of Nato, still desperately hoping to be able to create a situation, by subversion or aggression, in which the historical process of social change can be slowed down or reversed.

It is only when contemporary politics is seen in this context that we can understand why, in the western media, the murder of one Polish priest is considered a greater outrage than the murder of the Archbishop and 40,000 other citizens of El salvador by right-wing death squads; why the killing of thousands of our people this year by the racist army and police forces is ignored; why the fate of Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa is considered of more consequence than that of Rodolfo Sequel, the Christian Dem-

ocratic leader of the Chilean copper miners who has suffered infinitely greater persecution but whose name has never been mentioned by Ronald Reagan; why our great leader Nelson Mandela rots in jail while Jonas Savimbi is feted in Cape Town and Washington as an ally in the fight for 'freedom and democracy'.

The United States was born out of revolution against the tyranny of the British monarchy in 1776, but today stands opposed to revolution against tyranny everywhere in the world. It is a sad fact of life that the US has not supported any genuine liberation movement anywhere at any time. When the Monroe doctrine was adumbrated in 1823, 43 years after the American revolution, the US President James Monroe warned that any intervention by a foreign power in the Western hemisphere would be regarded as 'dangerous to our peace and safety'. Even at that early stage 'our peace and safety' were regarded as justification for US hegemony over the whole of North and South America, and US troops have invaded the territories of Central America alone more than 25 times in the ensuing period in order to preserve that hegemony, culminating in last year's brutal invasion of Grenada and this year's aggression against Nicaragua. Nor is US hegemony confined to the Americas. US warships bomb Lebanon and patrol the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean to protect what Reagan calls 'our vital interests' – mainly Arab oil, which accounts for 40% of US consumption. And this extension of the Monroe doctrine to cover the whole globe also justifies Reagan's policy of 'constructive engagement' with the Botha regime to guarantee continued US access to and control over the resources of our sub-continent.

Reagan was quite open about this when, on television shortly after coming to office, he called South Africa a 'friendly country' and asked: 'Can we abandon a country that has stood beside us in every war we've ever fought, a country that strategically is essential to the free world in the production of minerals we all must have?' And earlier this year (1984) US Secretary of State George P Schultz listed four reasons why Africa is important to the United States:

'First, we have a significant geopolitical stake in the security of the continent and the seas surrounding it. Off its shores lie important trade routes, including those carrying most of the energy resources needed by our European allies.

'Second, Africa is part of the global economic system. Our exports to Africa have dropped by 50% in the last three years; American financial institutions have felt the pinch of African inability to repay loans. And Africa is a major source of raw materials crucial to the world economy.

'Third, Africa is important to us politically because the nations of Africa are now major players in world diplomacy. They comprise nearly one third of the membership of the United Nations, where they form the most cohesive voting bloc in the General Assembly.

'Finally, Africa is important to us, most of all, in human terms; 11% of America's population traces its roots to Africa'.

Missing from these declarations is any real concern for the welfare and happiness of the 100% of the peoples of Africa themselves. Western policies, determined by the 'me first' principle of private enterprise, place African interests nowhere. In the capitalist countries profit comes before principle. Take the record of the United States under Reagan. Of the 38 resolutions concerning South Africa considered by the United Nations General Assembly from 1981 to 1983, the United States failed to cast a single affirmative vote. It abstained five times and voted 'no' 33 times. It abstained on every resolution concerning Namibia. During 1984, when the South African people were in revolt against Botha's new constitution which has no place for the African 70% of the population, the United States and Britain abstained on resolutions both in the Security Council and the General Assembly declaring the new constitution null and void – resolutions endorsed by the overwhelming majority of UN member states.

The hypocrisy of the west over South Africa has been exposed by the events of the past decade. In 1976 there were disturbances at Soweto and elsewhere as black children demonstrated against inferior education. Over 1,000 Africans, mostly schoolchildren, were shot dead by the police. In 1977 a number of Black Consciousness organisations and newspapers were banned and world opinion was outraged by the murder of Steve Biko by the security police – the 64th person to die in detention. On November 4, 1977, the United Nations Security Council – for once unanimously – passed resolution 418 imposing an arms embargo on South Africa, though a call for the imposition of economic and oil sanctions was rejected by the western power, however, an arms embargo was an achievement for which we had been working for, for nearly two decades. After the vote was pass-

ed, the UN secretary General said: "We have today clearly witnessed a historic occasion. The adoption of this resolution marks the first time in the 32 year history of our organisation that action has been taken under Chapter VII of the Charter against a member state".

Hopes that this resolution would be followed by effective action against the racist regime were dashed. On April 9 this year (1984) the chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, Major-General J.N. Garba, reported to the Security Council: "We had hoped that the mandatory arms embargo ... would at least reduce the capacity of the apartheid regime to carry on its wars against the people of South Africa and Namibia, and against the independent African states, and indeed persuade it to begin the process of dismantling apartheid. I need hardly tell you that these hopes have not been fulfilled". On the contrary, the military budget of South Africa increased from R1,650 million in 1977–78 to nearly R4 billion this year, and South Africa's Armaments Corporation (Armscor), the regime's armaments production and procurement agency, now owns assets totalling nearly R2 billion with 15 factories and workforce of over 100,000 and an annual expenditure of over R2 billion of which about half is spent overseas in countries which are supposed to be implementing the embargo. South Africa's nuclear capacity in particular is due to the support and encouragement it has received from the US, Britain, France, West Germany and Israel.

The western countries do not lack reasons – both economic and strategic – for ensuring the survival of the apartheid regime. The United States is South Africa's biggest trading partner, while Britain is the biggest investor in the South African economy. Hundreds of US, British and other western countries are established either directly or through subsidiaries in South Africa and draw huger profits from the cheap labour system in operation there. It is largely for this reason that General Garba in his report to the Security Council already referred to added: "The powers concerned – especially the major western powers – have not shown the will to stop the criminal acts of aggression and destabilisation by South Africa, nor indeed helped to preserve peace in Southern Africa".

Under the umbrella of Reagan's policy of constructive engagement South Africa has been encouraged to regard itself as a regional power in Africa in the same way as Israel in the Middle East, with the same disastrous consequences. Charging that it is being subjected to a "total onslaught" by "Russian imperialism" and "international communism", the Botha regime tries to draw the western powers into its support – or should we put it the other way round? US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Chester Crocker, has admitted that it was the United States which gave birth to the doctrine of "linkage" between Namibian independence under Security Council Resolution 435 and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Whichever way one approaches this question, one fact is obvious – that Reagan's re-election will draw still tighter the bonds which unite South Africa and America against what they regard as their common enemy. With striking unanimity, South Africa's business interests, English and Afrikaans, "greeted President Reagan's re-election as a guarantee of economic stability in the US and a spur for the South African economy. The chairman of Angolo-American, Mr Gavin Relly, said policy stability arising from Mr Reagan's victory should be regarded as a plus rather than a minus, but the US's political initiatives in Southern Africa could be taken further'. *(Rand Daily Mail 8.11.84)*

What are the United States and South African initiatives in Southern Africa? If we are to judge by their input in the **Nkomati Accord** on Mozambique and the Lusaka Agreement on Angola, the racists and imperialists are united in their determination to strengthen the basis of colonialism of a special kind in South Africa, to preserve or restore the Front Line States within the orbit of capitalism, and to destroy the liberation movements, the ANC and SWAPO –at least in their present form. In a speech at the beginning of this month (December 1984), Chester Crocker defended US policies on Southern Africa, insisting that "construction engagement" with the Both regime opened the way for peaceful reform, which was preferable to the alternative of violence.

The fact is, however, that it is the Botha regime's denial of democratic rights to the majority of the population that is the source of all violence in the region, both inside South Africa and beyond its borders. South Africa calls its army a Defence Force, but this is a misnomer. Since its

foundation as a unitary state in 1910, South Africa has never been attacked or threatened with invasion by any Front Line State or combination of states. On the contrary, it has itself been a source of suppression and aggression against its own people and its neighbours. Its posture towards Africa and the world has been aggressive, not defensive. Everybody has seen in the recent period the mass murders perpetrated by the regime in South Africa and Namibia, where hundreds have been killed by the military and the police and thousands gassed, whipped, baton-charged, detained, tortured and 'disappeared'. Reagan and Thatcher make polite noises about their 'detestation' of apartheid, but do nothing to stop the bloodshed. On the contrary the flow of weapons and sophisticated technology required by South Africa to pursue its aggressive policies continues without interruption apart from an occasional hiccup like the arrest of the Coventry Four.

Let us not forget that it was South Africa's blatant invasion of Angola in 1975 which led to the Luanda government's call to the Cuban government for assistance in repelling this aggression from outside. Today the United States and South Africa have the impertinence to demand the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola before they will consider conceding independence to Namibia in terms of Security Council Resolution 435 – yet South African occupation of Angolan territory – the original provocation which led to the Cuban 'intervention' – continues, in spite of the Lusaka Agreement of February 1984 that all South African troops were to be withdrawn from Angola by the end of March 1984. The most recent Angolan proposal setting out, with Cuban backing, a plan for winding down the tension over Angola and Namibia and leading both to Namibian independence and a Cuban withdrawal has met with a negative response in Pretoria and Washtington.

South Africa, with the connivance of the US and other western sates, has been guilty of military attacks on all the Front Line States which have led to death and devastation for hundreds of innocent men, women and children. The South African excuse is that it is engaged in 'hot pursuit' or 'pre-emptive strikes' in the course of defending itself against the 'total onslaught' to which it claims it is being subjected. The human and material damage the South African racists have inflicted on the Front Line States has been a major factor in the planned destablisiation of their governments.

The Nkomati Accord, signed by Presidents Botha and Machel last March, was aimed to halt the alleged incursions of the ANC into South Africa from Mozambique, while in return South Africa peldged to withdraw support from the MNR rebels operating in Mozambique. The ANC has never operated militarily from Mozambique, but has nevertheless been compelled to withdraw its personnel except for a token mission of ten in Maputo. But the activities of the MNR in Mozambique have been vastly extended since the Nkomati Accord was signed, leading to further destabilisation of the Frelimo government and attempts by South Africa and the US to compel it to change its ideological direction. Behind the ambiguous wording of the October 3 Pretoria agreement (Frelimo, MNR and South Africa) can be discerned a clear attempt on the part of South Africa to dictate to Mozambique what type of government it shall have, what policies it shall follow – and even the hope that South Africa will be 'invited' to send its troops to Mozambique to monitor a ceasefire.

Similar pressures are being brought to bear on Lesotho and Botswana, and there is no doubt the ground is being prepared for further aggression against Angola to compel MPLA to accept Unita as a partner in government. Swaziland was bludgeoned into submission three years ago. Zimbabwe, too, is increasingly being brought into the line of fire. In all this South Africa is following to the letter the tactics employed by the United States in Central America and Israel in the Middle East – using its military and economic muscle and all manner of dirty tricks to install governments of its choice in the neighbouring states.

Nor do the ambitions of the racist regime stop there. The leaders of the ruling Nationalist Party have long regarded it as their historic duty to take on 'the white man's burden' allegedly abandoned by the colonial powers and win back the African continent for the West. Shortly after taking office as Minister of Defence in the late 1960s, PW Botha said that in the fight against 'terrorism' South Africa 'should carry its influence over its borders'. *(Rand Daily Mail* 4.4.68). On April 11 this year (1984), Defence Minister General Magnus Malan boasted in the White Paper he presented to parliament that it was South African military aggression that had paved the way for the Nkomati and Lusaka Agreements.

'Forceful military action by the South African

security forces during the last decade or more has provided sufficient time to allow Africa to experience the dangers of Russian involvement in their countries, as well as the suffering and retrogression that follows upon the revolutionary formula'.

Yet the peoples of Africa know only too well that the suffering and retrogression they have experienced has been inflicted on them by the counter-revolutionary formula imposed on them by South Africa's troops and the imperialists, not by 'the Russians', who have no military presence anywhere in Africa.

South Africa's imperialist ambitions can only grow in the wake of Reagan's election victory. Already in September 1984, after the biggest military manoeuvre held in the country since World War Two, the divisional commander in charge, Brigadier George Kruys, was quoted as saying: 'South Africa has become expert in blitzkrieg type warfare and intends getting better at it'. Defence Minister Malan added that the exercises had shown that 'we could go right through to Cairo'. (*Star, September 10 and 13, 1984).*

Clearly the time has come for the world to administer a decisive rebuff to the ambitions of the South African racists and their imperialist allies. The South African gangsters must not be allowed to run amuck in Africa. They must not be allowed to murder and destroy either in South Africa itself or the Front Line States. They must be called to account for the crimes they have committed in war and peace, for their repeated violations of the UN Charter and the various UN declarations relating to Southern Africa.

The racist-imperialist offensive against the independent states and liberation movements of Southern Africa must be combated on all fronts:

1. The armed struggle must be intensified and ever more weighty blows struck against the enemy.
2. The struggles of the oppressed peoples in South Africa, in the schools and colleges, in the townships, in the factories, on the buses, in the Bantustans, must be raised to a new level and coordinated. The underground presence of the ANC and SACP inside the country must become a continuous process, and proper political leadership provided to the people. More determined efforts must be made to win to our side increasing numbers of white democrats.
3. International solidarity action must be stepped up to isolate the South African regime militarily, politically and economically.

Let us not be dismayed by the apparent drift to the right in the western countries. The reactionary policies pursued by Reagan and Thatcher represent a frantic attempt by the counter-revolutionaries to claw back something of the sweeping gains registered by the progressive forces worldwide in the 1970s. The mass struggles being waged against imperialism everywhere are a guarantee that in due course the tide will once more turn in our favour. Furthermore, for all their claims of 'sweeping successes' in this year's elections, neither Reagan nor Thatcher enjoys majority support among the electorate. Reagan was returned to office winning 59% of the votes cast in a 56% poll, which means that only 33% of US voters actually voted for him. Mrs Thatcher was likewise returned to office despite the fact that she was rejected by the majority of Britons who went to the polls. These figures mean that in our international solidarity work we can appeal to a substantial reservoir of opinion in the leading western countries which does not support the adventurous and reactionary policies represented by Reagan and Thatcher.

The African National Congress is now recognised nationally and internationlly as the leading force in the liberation movement, the force most capable of uniting the South African people of all races in the struggle to overthrow the apartheid regime and in the genuinely free and democratic society which will be established thereafter on the lines set out in the Freedom Charter. Even the enemies of the ANC have been compelled to recognise its strength and authority. During this year approaches have been made to the ANC by both the US administration and the Botha regime indicating the lines on which 'talks' may be arranged to settle the conflicts in Southern Africa.

We must beware of warmongers who talk of peace. The Crocker-Botha plan which is being mooted amounts to a call for total surrender by the ANC. It has three main objectives:

1. The ANC must abandon the tactic of armed struggle.
2. The ANC must abandon its alliance with the SACP.
3. The ANC must sever its relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Were these conditions to be accepted, the ANC would go into the debating chamber naked and defenceless, having thrown all its weapons away. Nevertheless, we can expect the Crocker-Botha offensive against the ANC to be intensified in

the wake of Reagan's re-election, for the destruction or subversion of the ANC is, after all, the main objective of the racist-imperialist strategy.

The ANC must defend its hard-won gains. Nothing must be allowed to disrupt the unity it has built in its ranks, and between itself and its allies. We must all recognise that the hostility of a Reagan or a Botha to the ANC is not due only to the ANC/SACP alliance or the ANC's relations to Moscow, but to the fact that the ANC has developed its own anti-imperialist philosophy on the basis of its own historical experience. The anti-Communist and anti-Soviet line adopted by the enemy in its approach to the ANC is merely another form of the old imperialist tactic of 'divide and rule'. Separate the ANC from its allies, bring division into its ranks, undermine it, weaken it, subvert it, then it will collapse – that is the enemy's strategy.

We must cherish the unity that has been built in decades of bitter struggle like the apple of our eye. In the crucial coming period, we must not allow ourselves to be diverted or sidetracked by witch-hunts or red herrings; we must allow nothing to distract us from our main task, which is to gather strength to implement our decisions and defeat the enemy. Far from narrowing our alliances, we must broaden them, seek new friends on the basis of our basic principles. In Africa we must work to strengthen the Front Line States so that they are in a position to withstand the Crocker-Botha pressures, sabotage and subversion. We must call on the OAU, the Non Aligned Movement and the UN to help us in this task.

Our front line, the Front Line States, must be aided and strengthened; the Botha regime must be isolated and weakened. That must be our battle-cry in the coming period. That is the way to victory.

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INTERNATIONAL MOBILISATION (E6/II)

1. The Importance of the Collapse of the Colonial System to our Struggle.

Because of more than 500 years of brutal colonial rule, Africa remains one of the most underdeveloped continents throughout the world. During these years of unbroken colonial domination and exploitation by the world imperialist system – Britain, France and other colonisers, our people have been subjected to slavery and reduced to simple mechanical tools. Africa was converted into a source of material wealth for the Western Capitalist countries through the looting and plundering of her raw materials and mineral wealth. Today when the world has made giant strides in technology, the majority of our people still remain illiterate and our countries industrially underdeveloped.

In the beginning of the 20th century the world experienced a dramatic and radical change in the balance of forces with the coming into being of the first Workers and Peasants State in Soviet Russia. The Great October Socialist Revolution led by the Bolsheviks, shook the reactionary exploiter classes and inspired the oppressed and toiling masses the world over to intensify and escalate their struggle for freedom and democracy. The change in the balance of forces in favour of progress and the struggle waged by the oppressed, forced the imperialists to unwillingly retreat and thereby abondoning the colonies. The defeat of Nazi Germany during the Second World War and the deepening economic crisis faced by the world imperialist system inspired the people of the subjugated colonies into new and relentless struggles for independence and social democracy.

The unwillingness of the racist South African regime to concede to the demands of the majority for equal human rights, the reluctance of Portugal to withdraw from her colonies in Africa and the connivance of the British with Ian Smith in Rhodesia, left the people of these countries with no other alternative but to resort to armed struggle. It was behind this background that Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed with the sole aim of overthrowing the racist regime. Immediately after the formation of MK comrade Nelson Mandela, the Commander-in-Chief, secretly left the country to attend the Conference of the Pan African Freedom Movement which was held in Addis Ababa early in 1962, and because of the need for preparation, it was also decided that after the Conference he would undertake a tour of the African states with a view to obtaining facilities for the training of soldiers. One of the countries he visited was Algeria whose gallant forces led by the NFL had recently defeated French occupationist forces.

The decade of the 60's has seen the emergence of many independent African states and the formation of new National Liberation Movements whose aim was and still is the overthrowal of the colonial system. The formation of the OAU whose aim is to unite the African people and to spearhead the drive for liberation was a testimony to this.

The impact of the armed struggle in the Portuguese colonies influenced the April Revolution thereby paving the way for the independence of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau under the able leadership of the MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC respectively. The liberation of these countries was of great importance to the struggle waged by our sister people of Namibia as led by their vanguard SWAPO of Namibia as friendly borders drew nearer making it relatively easier for the Liberation Movements to operate in these countries. Developments have shown us that no decade in African history has passed without the emergence of a new independent state starting from the 60's up till the 80's when we experienced the emergence of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. This is the decade which has seen the isolation of our enemy and its attempts to get friends from Africa. However, it is our task to intensify this isolation. Chief Luthuli once said: **"The time of the enemy rule depends on the oppressed".**

2. The Crisis Faced by Imperialism and its Efforts to Curb the World Revolutionary Process

The coming to power of the Reagan administration which represents the most reactionary and militaristic circles of American monopoly capital has led to a sharp deterioration in international relations. The policy of anti-Sovietism and rolling back the frontiers of communism has been the pretext for the re-emergence of gunboat diplomacy in a bid to regain lost ground. The main reasons for the shift in US foreign policy are to be found in the profound changes that took place internationally in the period before Reagan's assumption to power. Chief among these were: the continued growth and development of the Soviet Union and the countries of real socialism, the intensification and victories of the

National Liberation Movement during the past 25 years and political and economic crises that afflicted the major capitalist countries during the latter half of the 1970's and 80's. All these factors contributed to the weakening of US and international imperialism and forced a re-evaluation of policy and strategy to maintain and perpetuate the worldwide system of exploitation and domination.

During the past 25 years, the Soviet Union and the Socialist community extended the material base of socialism. During the same period the growth rates of the socialist countries have been consistently higher than those of the major capitalist countries. With this has come a rise in the standard and quality of life of the people of the socialist countries. On the other hand the political, economic and ideological frontiers of imperialism continued to shrink. Crisis after crisis struck within the very heart of the major capitalist countries including the USA. The past decade witnessed a sustained economic crisis hit all the capitalist countries from the USA to Europe and Japan. Growth rates declined, investments shrank, the volume of world trade decreased, inflation spiralled and unemployment soared to heights unheard of since the Great Depression of 1929–33.

In trying to prevent the imminent collapse of the moribund capitalist system international imperialism as led by the US has become increasingly shameless in claiming the unilateral rights to determine whether a situation anywhere in the world constitutes a threat to its national security. The creation of rapid deployment forces, the installation in Europe of Pershing and Cruise missiles with a view of plunging Europe into a so-called 'limited nuclear war', the militarisation of space, the creation and support of counter-revolutionary groups (as in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, etc), the open support of fascist dictatorships, the creation of new bases throughout the world, the arrogant and blatant use of American military power (as in Grenada, Lebanon, El Salvador,etc) are all aspects of this policy.

It is in this context that imperialist policies on South Africa must be analysed. It is an open secret, indeed a known fact, that the US does not only collaborate with racist South Africa, it actually co-ordinates racist South Africa's plans against the people of Africa. The Reagan administration stands out in contemporary world politics as the arch-enemy of progress, the bulwark of international reaction which screams out loudly against sanctions in so far as they are intended to isolate the apartheid regime, but seeks to bully its allies into joining it to impose sanctions against Poland and the Soviet Union. The US continues to beat noisy drums in pretended defence of "trade unionism" in Poland while it does not so much utter a squeak when trade unionists in South Africa are imprisoned, tortured and murdered. Imperialism which has suffered great losses as a result of victories of the revolutionary struggles in Southern Africa, seeks to reverse these advances by throwing its full weight behind the Pretoria racist regime.

3. IMPERIALIST COUNTER-OFFENSIVE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

South Africa is an important component of world imperialism. She is the UK's second largest trading partner and is a growing and significant market for the United States and other West European countries. Almost all the major capitalist countries have substantial investments in South Africa. As a major gold supplier South Africa plays a role in money supply and financial stability in the capitalist world, it also is a major source of key minerals such as uranium, plutonium, diamonds, chrome, etc. Strategically the Cape is considered to be vital to western interests and South Africa is though of as a considerable base from which imperialist interests in the region as well as in the rest of the continent can be protected. Previously imperialism had been confident that its interests would be protected by the white minority regimes of South Africa, Rhodesia and by the Portuguese. The independence of Angola and Mozambique, brought about by revolutionary struggles, and their stated commitment to socialism caused alarm in the imperialist camp.

After the abortive attempt to overthrow the MPLA government, the US, which until then had been content to allow its allies and client states to do its policing, now declared Southern Africa to be its sphere of influence, US imperialism was serving notice that henceforth it would be directly intervening in the affairs of Southern Africa. The origins of present US policy can be traced back to 1969 when, under the direction of Kissinger, the National Security Council prepared the notorious **Memorandum 39,** a comprehensive assessment of US Southern Africa strategies. Its basic conclusion was that the whites are here to stay and the only way

that constructive change can come about is through them. This emphasis on the whites being the main determining force is closely linked to the imperialist strategy of undermining the liberation struggle and finding neo-colonial solutions. Imperialism equates radical change, as a threat to their interests, with armed struggle and to divert all resistance into 'acceptable' and non-revolutionary channels. This placed them in a dilemma because the international community as a whole accepted the legitimacy of the armed struggle in Southern Africa. This was the adopted position not only of the OAU but also of the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations. For this counter-revolutionary strategy to succeed, the US and its allies are at one with apartheid in considering it essential to destroy or subvert the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia headed by the ANC and SWAPO respectively. This is attempted in a variety of ways:

1. By helping to develop the SADF and other repressive agencies of the regime.
2. By launching attacks on the external apparatus of the ANC and the assassination of prominent personnel. The massacres at Maseru and Matola and the assassination of comrades Joe Gqabi and Ruth First are testimony to this.
3. By attempting to isolate the ANC from the Front line States and other African countries through military and economic blackmail. The economic strangulation of Lesotho, the signing of the **'Nkomati Accord'** with Mozambique and a similar pact with Swaziland are steps in this direction.
4. By attempting to halt aid from progressive forces in western countries by labelling the liberation movement as a 'terrorist and communist'. It is in this context that the Denton subcommittee on security and terrorism was set up in March 1982 to determine the "extent of communist influence" within the ANC and SWAPO.

Coupled with this is the propping up of bandit groups like the MNR in Mozambique, UNITA in Angola and LLA in Lesotho whose sole aim is the destabilisation of these states and thereby weakening the support of the liberation movement.

Southern Africa is now, more than ever, interdependent. And the people of South Africa represented by our liberation movement, are more than ever to be seen as a vital part of that interdependence. We cannot agree with the surrender of any part of Africa to the enemy. Let us in South Africa accept the challenges thrown down by imperialism by consolidating and extending the revolutionary process at home. We can always be sure that our own people, whose struggle nourishes the roots of our liberation movement, can never let us down.

4. ACHIEVEMENTS

The birth of the ANC more than 70 years ago, was a reaction to a myriad of grievances and complaints by the Africans, it was a unity of a new type – an anti-colonial unity. The ANC was formed to fight against the denial of political rights to the Africans, the denial of their chances of advancement and human rights. The ANC had to stand the test of time and in the process has emerged the real vanguard of our fighting masses. Being the vanguard of our people and fully aware of the fact that our struggle is not in isolation from the struggle waged by other peoples, the ANC constantly strengthened its bonds of friendship with all the forces that are fighting against injustice the world-over.

Since its inception, the leaders of the ANC never doubted the sincerity of the communists in their strive to build a better world for the people. This can be seen by the ANC's alliance with the communists at home and abroad. As early as 1927 President-General of the ANC, J.T. Gumede was impressed by the life he experienced in the Soviet Union under the leadership of the CPSU. The ANC's close links with the progressive world assumed higher levels when the decision to open an External Mission was taken. Its main purpose was to isolate the racists from the world and facilitate the process of its overthrowal. Great strides have been made in this regard. This can be seen by the recognition of the ANC literally by all international democratic organisations. This recognition by the international community of the struggle for freedom in South Africa takes various forms:

1. Political and moral condemnation of the apartheid system and of the repressive action of the regime. This is evidenced by the prestige that our movement enjoys in such bodies like the UN, Non-Aligned Movement and the AAM's.
2. The recognition of the right to resort to armed struggle to achieve liberation. The provision of training facilities to our movement by the Socialist countries and some African states is a testimony to this.
3. Support for the campaign to isolate the racist

regime. Here we look into successful campaigns initiated by the liberation movement like the imposition of economic sanctions, the mandatory arms embargo and the cultural boycott all endorsed by the UN and supported by the international community.

4. Material support for the struggle in all its aspects including humanitarian aid to the victims of apartheid.

Today the ANC is recognised as the authentic and the sole legitimate representative of the oppressed people of South Africa. This is possible, thanks to the tireless efforts made by our movement.

5. What is to Be Done?

In making an introspection to our work internationally, we feel that much has been done, but we also need to step up the campaign for the isolation of the racist regime especially in our continent. In order to fulfill this task, we feel that the movement should embark on the following:

1. To popularise the movement by means of the distribution and the exhibition of propaganda material throughout the world like artwork, printed propaganda, T-shirts, stickers, etc.
2. To strive for the opening of more diplomatic offices especially in the Americas with the aim of weakening the rear base of the racists.
3. To initiate the formation of cultural groups (like Medu in Botswana) throughout Africa especially in the Front Line States with a view of popularising our struggle.
4. To initiate the creation of Anti-Apartheid Movements more-so in Africa and especially in the Front Line States in order to forestall the signing of more **Nkomatis.**
5. To send more of our engineers, doctors and technicians to the Front Line states with a view of strengthening our existing relations.
6. To rally the Front Line States for more support with a view of facilitating the intensification of our struggle.
7. To rally the international community for military and economic aid to the Front Line States in order to withstand armed aggression and economic blackmail by the racist regime.
8. To rally the progressive states (e.g. Vietnam and Cuba) for military facilities in order to raise the combat capability of our army.
9. To strengthen our existing relations with our sister liberation movement SWAPO of Namibia with a view to cementing our unity.
10. To rally the international community for more materal aid like clothing, food and other relevant material in order to improve the material conditions of our personnel.
11. To intensify our armed liberation struggle in order to advance the growth of our liberation movement with the ultimate goal of toppling the racist regime and thereby ridding mankind of the evil system of apartheid.

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INTERNATIONAL SITUATION (E6/IVb)

Solidarity with Political Prisoners

The ANC political prisoners committee provides information and suggestions to SATIS and AAM to work for the release of all political prisoners, to expose torture and murder in detention and to improve the conditions of all our prisoners. We mobilise support through SATIS (South Africa-the Imprisoned Society) and solidarity organisations to oppose abductions from South Africa's neighbouring states and also to work for prisoner-of-war status for our captured freedom fighters. Over the years we have had much success. Recently, partly on our initiative, we have had an intlernational petition demanding the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners in which over half a million signatures were collected. Mandela himself has been honoured in many countries and is an internationally known figure as a result of work by the international community over the years. His giant stature is of considerable importance to the ANC in every sphere.

However, we consider that our work is often hampered by what seems to us to be the overabundance of structures in the ANC. This is most clearly revealed when our guerrilla comrades come up for trial and we need their biographical details and photographs for campaigning purposes. It sometimes takes months before these details come to hand – details which must obviously be known to certain sections of the ANC – and these are valuable months lost for the promotion of campaigns in the international community. Sometimes it is literally a matter of life and death that this information should be provided immediately the comrades come to trial. We must remember that the lives of James Mange, David Moise, Johannes Shabangu and Anthony Tsotsobe were saved because of the tremendous response of the international community. This was in part a result of the information provided by us to the solidarity organisations.

In the same way we had to wait too long before we were put into the picture about Benjamin Moloise, now awaiting execution after being found guilty of the murder of a policeman. Why? Our comrades knew that his was a special case. They knew he had never been trained and could not handle an AK-47. They knew it was not he who had eliminated the policeman he was charged with murdering. Yet the statement promised was delayed until the eleventh hour. We feel that there is sometimes an attitude of indifference displayed towards the fate of this category of our comrades whose courage, dedication and sacrifice are second to none, and who deserve all the support that we can give them.

There is another category of prisoner which merits particular attention. These are our comrades who are imprisoned under common law 'offences' such as arson, riotous assembly, damage to property, murder, assault, trespass, public violence and for less serious 'offences' under the 'security laws'. Many of these comrades are just as severely tortured and sometimes sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Yet they have been neglected in comparison with those, formerly tried under the Terrorism Act, who are now being dealt with under the sections of the Internal Security Act relating to more serious political offences. We need information about these comrades where it is available in order to highlight their plight. Often these people are not even counted among the country's political prisoners.

We are not suggesting that there should be new structures. We want to fit into existing structures, but we are not even certain whom we are to deal with – the Secretary General, DIP or the International Department. Clarification on this would be appreciated. But even this will not solve the problem because these comrades in turn have to rely on other structures to obtain the information we so desperately need for the effective and efficient conduct of our work. So perhaps it is necessary to establish a section which has **all** the information available to it as far as solidarity work is concerned. This could then be disseminated to us and to others who require it.

There is another problem which faces us. After all these years there must surely be contact with our prisoners. Have they made any suggestions about what should be done on their behalf? If they have we should know and if they haven't, it is high time they were asked and we must remember that conditions vary from prison to prison.

When our comrades are released from prison they should be asked about their treatment while they were inside and we should be informed about these interviews. Some 'welfare' committee should be established which could carry out a two-fold task – the rehabilitation of our

comrades into society and jobs and an enquiry into their treatment while inside.

This should apply especially to our women prisoners whose conditions have always been inferior to those of the men prisoners. This is **not** the job of the women's section. It is the job of the ANC as a whole. The same committee or whatever which is responsible for the men who come out of jail and which finds out details of their requirements and of their treatment inside should be responsible for our women prisoners. We need to know in detail the conditions in all the different jails they have been in. Only in this way can we make meaningful demands. It could be helpful if we received copies of all personal letters from prisoners.

There is to be a SATIS conference on February 2 next year. It will be a **Mandela Campaign Workshop** and will set out the work of SATIS for the coming period. The main demand will be for the release of all political prisoners, but there will also be a demand for release dates for all those serving life imprisonment. The treatment of detainees, the question of murder and torture in detention, the conditions under which our women political prisoners are held, the demand for prisoner-of-war status for captured freedom fighters – all this will be highlighted at the conference.

In order to give further impetus to these campaigns, it is not enough that all ideas should come from London ANC political prisoners committee. The whole ANC should be involved in giving thought to this work. We need publicity for these campaigns to be channelled through our radio network, in the propaganda which is sent both inside and outside the country and in all other possible ways.

Nelson Mandela has been in prison since August, 1962. The other Rivonia trialists have been in prison since July, 1963.

It is time they were released. We must not falter or tire in our efforts to do this. We dare not let them down.

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