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General Outline of Imperialist Strategy on  
Southern Africa

The struggle for the liberation of our country is taking place at the time when the international climate is characterized by the dominance of imperialism's most reactionary and aggressive circles led by the Reagan administration. A proper assessment of the current international situation and imperialism's objectives would therefore of necessity need to focuss on the policies and strategies of the Reagan administration particularly with regard to our own region.

The upsurge in the national liberation struggles throughout the world has sent the White House into a frenzy working out options for appropriate US responses. The past years have seen a decidedly great <sup>s</sup> escalation of tension in specific regions of the world. In all these theatres of struggle, the U.S. has appeared as a major actor on the side of the ~~villain~~ oppressors.

In an effort to justify its aggressive intentions, the Reagan administration has revived the old slogans and invented new ones. In this regard, the old myths of 'Soviet threat', 'Soviet expansionism', and 'rolling back' of Soviet influence have been found very handy. The administration has self-righteously announced a crusade against what it calls international terrorism - a spurious definition of the legitimate struggle of the peoples for national independence and social emancipation. It openly gives economic, military, political and diplomatic support to terrorist regimes which have declared war on their own populations.

A region which has perhaps seen the most frenzied activity on the part of the new administration is Southern Africa.

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Indications of the direction of US foreign policies on Africa, particularly Southern Africa, became clear as early as during the presidential campaign. The tilt towards the racist dictatorship in our country became so obvious that the regime felt no qualms in throwing overboard the UN sponsored Geneva Conference on Namibia.

It is however Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker who clearly outlined the US policy. In a major speech delivered in Honolulu, he outlined the three basic 'realities' of the US strategy:

1. US economic interests in sub-Saharan Africa are heavily concentrated in the Southern third of the continent.
2. Southern Africa is an increasingly contested arena in global politics in that it occupies an important position along the routes around Africa and also that it has growing importance as a source of critical minerals. The aim therefore should be to counter Soviet influence in the region.
3. South Africa must be understood on its own regional merits if there should be a success in US efforts. Important factors for consideration are:
  - apartheid is anathema to the neighbouring states;
  - Angola is plagued by ethnic and factional struggle aggravated by foreign intervention;
  - In Namibia there is a low level guerilla warfare which is slowly expanding.

Elaborating on this policy, Crocker called the US policy towards South Africa as one of 'constructive engagement'. In examining this strategy, we should take into account the fact that Washington has always had an interest in the Southern African sub-continent.



However, it was only during the Nixon-Kissinger administration that the US displayed a very active policy. At that time the basic policy towards Southern Africa was reflected in the National Security Council Memorandum 39 code named 'Operation Tar Baby'. Of particular significance was option 2 of this memorandum which moved from the premise that white minority regimes in the area were there to stay and that therefore US policy should, whilst criticising their excesses, give them full support and pressurise the neighbouring countries giving bases to freedom fighters to reign-in these guerillas. That way, it was hoped, the best interests of the US would be served.

That the major premise of the Kissinger document was wrong is a matter of historical record. The Portuguese empire in Africa collapsed and the tempo of the struggle in the remaining areas was greatly increased.

Meanwhile, the Carter administration, although continuing to support the racists under the guise of championing the cause of human rights, was exposed for its hypocrisy and the newly independent countries continued to consolidate the gains of their revolutions, their anti-imperialist characters became more and more pronounced. Zimbabwe achieved its independence and the struggles in Namibia and our country increased in their intensity.

The Reagan administration rescued the Kissinger document from the dusty files in the State Department and introduced some innovations to it which were essentially more aggressive.

It is common knowledge that the Reagan administration encourages and supports the apartheid regime to launch acts of aggression <sup>against</sup> ~~into~~ the neighbouring <sup>States</sup> ~~territories~~ in an attempt to get them to stop their assistance to the ANC and SWAPO. In Angola,



the United States cooperates with the regime to train, finance and equip the UNITA bandits in their counter-revolutionary activities against the Peoples' Republic of Angola. Recently the bandit leader Jonas Savimbi was dined and wined in high places in Washington. This is particularly significant against the background of the clamour by the administration to get Congress to repeal the Clark amendment which prohibited the US from interfering in Angola.

In Mozambique, we now know that the CIA provided information that enabled the fascist Pretoria troops to attack ANC residences outside Maputo.

The reasons for such an interest in South Africa by the ~~present~~ administration in the US as well as the previous administrations are not far to find. South Africa features very prominently in the global strategy of imperialism. There are a number of considerations. High up in the list of priorities is the economic factor.

Perhaps the US Assistant Secretary of State Paul Volcker is more eloquent on this point. Speaking <sup>before</sup> ~~in~~ Congress in March, 1981, he revealed that there was a plan for turning many African countries, chiefly those with large reserves of copper, cobalt, uranium ore, and other minerals into an American sphere of influence.

In an effort to secure 'world leadership' the US is increasing its military presence in all strategically important regions of the world with a network of military bases and installations. At present, the US has more than 1500 military bases and installations in the territory of 32 countries manned by more than half a million US servicemen.



The apartheid regime representing as it does the bastion of imperialism on the continent is geographically better placed to be used to reverse the revolutionary tide which is enveloping the region, a role which it is already actually playing.

South Africa's role is going to be even more significant in the light of negotiations under way to make the Simonstown naval base available to NATO and against the background of plans by the US to revive the idea of creating the South Atlantic Treaty Organisation as an extension of NATO, which would involve the Latin American dictatorships and spread its tentacles to the Indian Ocean. In fact recent attempts at the invasion of the Republic of Seychelles and the apartheid regime's complicity in an attempted coup in Madagascar are a pointer that the South African Treaty Organisation strategy is already operational. It has been revealed that the money for paying the mercenaries who attempted a coup in Seychelles came from the United States.

Developments in Southern Africa, particularly in South Africa, have injected a sense of extreme urgency in the designs of imperialism for this region. Having worked out elaborate plans and utilising massive resources for its implementation, imperialism should have been quite content, assured of victory in the sub-continent. There is, however, only one force which in their view constitutes a real obstacle and real danger to the success of these designs - the African National Congress.

Given that the Apartheid regime is the bastion of imperialism on the continent, its survival would logically guarantee imperialism's ability to use it, not only to block the revolutionary tide that is sweeping southward, but also to reverse this revolutionary tide in the manner which has already been explained. Consequently any meaningful challenge that is given to the regime is in effect a challenge to the very interests of imperialism in the region. That such a challenge presents itself in the African National Congress is clearly evidenced by the reality of contemporary politics in South Africa.



That is why the administration is desperately engaged in a number of activities. The first is to help the regime to increase its defence capacity. In this connection the administration has in the past year been gravitating towards the relaxation of the UN Security Council arms embargo. It has <sup>already</sup> relaxed the ban on the sale of so-called non-military equipment to the racist army and police.

In August last year, a team of 5 South African military intelligence officers, led by Lt. General P.W. van der Westhuizen, chief of staff of Military Intelligence, visited the USA at the invitation of the US Security Council. This was a flagrant violation of the UN Security Council arms embargo against the apartheid regime. Another area of cooperation between the US and South Africa is in the regime's nuclear programme.

In January this year, two officials of the US Senate sub-committee on security and terrorism visited South Africa to investigate what links existed between the Soviet Union and the ANC. Subsequently, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker made a statement before the Senate sub-committee on security and terrorism on the 22nd March in which he said that the US categorically condemns what he called terrorist and other violent efforts by ANC and SWAPO, and alleged that like SWAPO, the ANC received 90% military aid and 60% overall aid from communist sources. This statement was followed by the current parading before the same sub-committee of traitors whose testimony is intended to support their masters lying propaganda.

We should have no illusions that the Reagan administration is using the communist bogey to justify an imminent intervention in South Africa to save the regime and ensure its continued survival.



Deliberately

A precedent has already been set in Central America. / Refusing to see the conflict in Latin America as a genuine desire by the peoples of these countries for liberation, the US has been harping on Cuban and Nicaraguan assistance to the freedom fighters in El Salvador to build a case for military intervention in these two countries. This assertion is borne out by the steps that the Reagan administration has taken with regards to this area. These plans include the following:

- The State Department has advised the Pentagon to improve plans for military operations in El Salvador and against Cuba and Nicaragua;
- Possibilities of bomb attacks on military objectives and industrial centres in Cuba and Nicaragua;
- Reinforcement of the contingent on Guantanamo base in Cuba;
- Provocative military exercises in the region involving 2 aircraft-carriers, 36 ships and 200 aircrafts;
- Increase in the reconnoissance flights over Cuba.

It therefore becomes clear that the same pretext that Washington has evoked for Central America is now being envisaged for Southern Africa. This time, however, instead of Cuba and Nicaragua, the Soviet Union is used as the scape-goat.

In the final analysis therefore, the attacks on the frontline states and the obstacles created in the search for a settlement in Namibia are essentially aimed at safe-guarding the imperialist base in the form of racist South Africa. But the retention of that base brings about the imperative to eliminate that force which is proving to be capable of toppling the imperialist base - the ANC. Therefore, for US imperialism, the destruction of the ANC has become a top priority.



These imperialist designs would perhaps have been successful if they were conducted in a vacuum. However, reality is that today's world is tilted in favour of those forces which stand unshakably for the national independence and social emancipation of nations. It is the unity of these contingents together with the sacrifices of our people that serve as a guarantor to the liberation of our country.

Already after 70 years of existence, and over twenty of these years operating underground, the ANC has emerged as the decisive factor in the South African equation. The Freedom Charter, the revolutionary programme of our movement, has become a major policy document for the vast majority of our people. The activities of the ANC inside the country have given a great boost to the movement's image and stature internationally. More and more organisations, governments, and people throughout the world have come to recognize the prime role of the African National Congress. Even conservative governments are finding it very difficult ~~not~~ to condemn their allies in Pretoria.

Internationally, the growing prestige of our movements can perhaps be illustrated by the recent ICOSA sponsored conference ~~had~~ in the heart of US imperialism - New York. This conference, organised in support of the liberation movements of Southern Africa attracted an unimaginable number of over a thousand participants who declared their firm solidarity with the ANC and SWAPO.

The occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the ANC also created a platform for numerous governments, and a cross section of supporters throughout the world to unequivocally demonstrate solidarity with our movement and fighting people.



It is clear that as we score more successes at home and abroad the enemy counter-offensive will increase in its intensity and viciousness. We need therefore to lend added vigour to our offensive.

We must ensure that information about developments at home and the nature of our struggle reaches as many parts of the world as we can possibly afford. It is essential that our propaganda is so tailored as to elicit support for our struggle from all honest and genuine opponents of our enemy.

We must consolidate the gains of our 70th anniversary celebrations and advance towards the attainment of new levels of popularity for our movement by breaking new grounds and winning new friends and allies.

Let us gear ourselves to ensuring that the International Year of Mobilisation for sanctions against ~~apartheid~~ South Africa achieves fruitful results.

We must work out a strategy for building <sup>a</sup> powerful mass movement of sanctions against the apartheid regime. Already events organised around this issue have had <sup>an impressive</sup> number and stature of participants; many more are planned for the year which should benefit from our input, influence and directions.

Let us this year intensify our efforts to weaken the enemy on all fronts and bring nearer our cherished goal of achieving national liberation for our people.

AMANDLA !!!