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STATEMENT OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS CHESTER A. CROCKER

BEFORE

THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON SECURITY AND TERRORISM

MARCH 22, 1982



MR. CHAIRMAN:

I WANT TO THANK YOU FIRST FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO BE THE LEAD-OFF WITNESS IN HEARINGS WHICH I UNDERSTAND WILL EXTEND OVER FIVE DAYS.

AS I UNDERSTAND IT, THE TOPIC THAT WILL BE THE PRINCIPAL FOCUS OF THE HEARINGS WILL BE THE ROLE OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE SCOPE WILL INCLUDE NOT ONLY EXTERNAL COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN THE AREA - THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION, ITS WARSAW PACT ASSOCIATES, AND CUBA - BUT ALSO COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN POLITICAL MOVEMENTS INDIGENOUS TO THE AREA, INCLUDING THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (SWAPO) AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC). CONSIDERATION OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WOULD ALSO INCLUDE THE QUESTION OF RELATIONS OF VARIOUS COMMUNIST COUNTRIES WITH THE INDEPENDENT STATES OF THE AREA, ALL OF WHICH CONSIDER THEMSELVES TO BE NON-ALIGNED NATIONS.

IT IS AN INDISPUTABLE FACT, FACED SQUARELY IN POLICY TERMS BY PRESIDENT REAGAN'S ADMINISTRATION BEGINNING IN JANUARY 1981 IN CONSULTATION WITH OUR WESTERN ALLIES, THAT A WIDE RANGE OF VITAL WESTERN INTERESTS AND US INTERESTS IN PARTICULAR ARE ENGAGED IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGION. THE TEN NATIONS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA COMPRISE AN AREA OF GREAT MINERAL WEALTH, INCLUDING RESOURCES CRITICAL TO WESTERN STRATEGIC INTERESTS. ANGOLA, SOUTH AFRICA, MOZAMBIQUE AND THE TERRITORY OF NAMIBIA ARE ALL LITTORAL



STATES ON THE STRATEGIC CAPE SEA ROUTE, A LIFELINE OF WESTERN COMMERCE. U.S. TWO-WAY TRADE WITH THE COUNTRIES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA MOUNTED IN 1980 TO \$7.2 BILLION AND U.S. DIRECT INVESTMENT IN THE REGION IS ESTIMATED AT \$2.3 BILLION.

ALL OF THESE FACTORS OBVIOUSLY MAKE SOUTHERN AFRICA AN AREA OF GREAT INTEREST ALSO TO THE SOVIET UNION AND TO ITS SURROGATES. IN RECENT YEARS, WE HAVE REMARKED A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN SOVIET INTEREST AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE AREA. IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE THE NUMBER AND RANGE OF ACTIVITIES OF SOVIET, CUBAN AND OTHER FOREIGN COMMUNIST ADVISORS AND TECHNICIANS, IN THE CIVILIAN AND MILITARY DOMAINS, HAS INCREASED, IMPLYING CONCOMITANT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INFLUENCE. THE SOVIET UNION HAS CONCLUDED ARMS AGREEMENTS WITH ZAMBIA AND BOTSWANA, COMPLEMENTING THOSE COUNTRIES' PREVIOUS ARMS SUPPLY RELATIONSHIPS WITH WESTERN NATIONS. ZIMBABWE RECENTLY REQUESTED NORTH KOREA TO TRAIN AND EQUIP A BRIGADE, ALTHOUGH THAT COUNTRY CONTINUES TO WORK CLOSELY WITH GREAT BRITAIN AS ITS PRIMARY FOREIGN SOURCE OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND TRAINING. OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE REGION AND OF AFRICA IN GENERAL HAVE REMARKED WITH CONCERN THE INCREASE IN SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE REGION, NOTING PARTICULARLY THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS CONCENTRATED ITS EFFORTS THERE ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE, SHOWING LITTLE INTEREST AT ALL IN CONTRIBUTING TO THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE REGION.



IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS CONTINUED TO PLAY A VERY ACTIVE ROLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLITICAL/MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS SWAPO AND THE ANC, ON WHOSE ACTIVITIES THE HEARINGS WILL FOCUS. SWAPO IS THE PRIMARY EXTERNAL NAMIBIAN ORGANIZATION SEEKING POWER IN NAMIBIA. ITS MILITARY ELEMENTS ARE BASED PRIMARILY IN ANGOLA AND OTHER NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND CARRY OUT SOME ACTIONS WITHIN NAMIBIA ITSELF. IT EXISTS ALSO AS A POLITICAL STRUCTURE, INSIDE AND OUTSIDE NAMIBIA, AND IS ONE OF THE PARTIES - WITH THE WESTERN CONTACT GROUP, THE AFRICAN FRONT LINE STATES, SOUTH AFRICA, THE UNITED NATIONS, AND OTHER NAMIBIAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS - TO THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS UNDERWAY TO REACH A SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIA ISSUE. WE ESTIMATE THAT SWAPO RECEIVES SOME NINETY PERCENT OF ITS MILITARY SUPPORT AND SOME SIXTY PERCENT OF ITS OVERALL SUPPORT FROM COMMUNIST SOURCES. IT ALSO RECEIVES DIRECT ASSISTANCE FROM AFRICAN STATES, WESTERN STATES OTHER THAN THE U.S., AND FROM SOME UN BODIES.

THE ANC, WHICH SEEKS TO REPLACE THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IN POWER IN SOUTH AFRICA BY VIOLENT AS WELL AS OTHER MEANS, RECEIVES COMPARABLE PERCENTAGES OF ITS MILITARY AND OTHER SUPPORT FROM COMMUNIST AND OTHER SOURCES. IT IS BASICALLY AN AFRICAN NATIONALIST ORGANIZATION WITH A LONG HISTORY, FOUNDED IN 1912, FIVE YEARS BEFORE THE 1917 REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA. A MAIN THREAD IN THE HISTORY OF THE ANC OVER THE



YEARS IS THE VARYING DEGREES OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL COMMUNIST INFLUENCE THAT HAVE CHARACTERIZED WHAT IS BASICALLY AN AFRICAN ORGANIZATION. THESE CONFLICTS WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION HAVE OFTEN BEEN VERY BITTER AND HAVE RESULTED IN VARIOUS SEGMENTS AND INDIVIDUALS BREAKING WITH THE ANC AT DIFFERENT POINTS IN TIME.

WE CATEGORICALLY CONDEMN ALL TERRORIST AND OTHER VIOLENT ACTS THAT EITHER OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS TAKE TO TRY TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE IN NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. OUR POLICY IN RELATIONSHIP TO BOTH SEEKS TO CHANNEL THE IMPETUS TOWARD CHANGE INTO PEACEFUL CHANNELS. WE SEEK IN GENERAL IN PURSUING OUR OBJECTIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA TO STRENGTHEN AND MAKE MORE VIABLE THE POSSIBILITIES OF PEACEFUL CHANGE. IN SO DOING, WE SEEK TO OBTAIN THE NECESSITY FOR TERRORISM THAT SOME PARTIES INVOLVED IN DEVELOPMENTS IN THE REGION CHOOSE TO PERCEIVE.

IN NAMIBIA, WE HAVE BEEN WORKING VERY ACTIVELY SINCE LAST APRIL TO ARRIVE AT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIA ISSUE THAT WOULD BRING THAT TERRITORY TO AN INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED INDEPENDENCE BASED ON U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 435. WE ARE PURSUING A CAREFULLY CRAFTED, THREE-PHASE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, WITH COORDINATION AT ALL STAGES WITH ALL OF THE INTERESTED PARTIES, INCLUDING SOUTH AFRICA, SWAPO, AND OTHER NAMIBIAN POLITICAL ELEMENTS.



IN SOUTH AFRICA, WE ARE PURSUING A CAREFUL POLICY OF CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT, ENCOURAGING THE GOVERNMENT OF PRIME MINISTER P. W. BOTHA AND OTHER ELEMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY TO MOVE AWAY FROM APARTHEID TOWARD A SOUTH AFRICA CHANGED, MODERN AND STRONG, WITH BRIGHT PROSPECTS FOR STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT ROOTED IN JUSTICE, FREE OF THE PROBLEMS THAT NOW STAND IN THE WAY OF CLOSER US/SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS. WE BELIEVE THAT A PROCESS OF PEACEFUL, EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE PROMISES A MUCH BETTER IMMEDIATE AND LONG-TERM FUTURE FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICANS THAN THE PROTRACTED, BLOODY TERROR AND VIOLENCE THAT IS THE ALTERNATIVE FOR THAT NATION.

SPEAKING DIRECTLY TO THE PURPOSE OF THESE HEARINGS, I BELIEVE THAT THE POLICY THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS PURSUING UNDER PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LEADERSHIP IS ONE CALCULATED TO MEET HEAD ON THE INTENTIONS THAT THE SOVIET UNION MAY HAVE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THESE OBJECTIVES WOULD REPRESENT NOT ONLY A SERIOUS THREAT TO OUR OWN INTERESTS THERE BUT ARE OBJECTIVES WHICH WOULD ALSO PUSH THE PEOPLE OF THAT AREA DEEPER INTO AN ENVIRONMENT OF CHAOS, VIOLENCE, AND DISORDER, THE ANTITHESIS OF THE PEACEFUL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THAT I BELIEVE THE LEADERS OF THE COUNTRIES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA SEEK FOR THEIR PEOPLE. WE PROCEED ON THE BASIS THAT THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT HAVE A GRAND DESIGN FOR SOUTHERN



AFRICA, BUT THAT IT IS, IN FACT, TAKING ADVANTAGE OF TARGETS OF OPPORTUNITY THAT PRESENT THEMSELVES TO ACT COUNTER TO WESTERN INTERESTS. THE SOVIET UNION, ALONE, HAS A VESTED INTEREST IN KEEPING THE REGION IN TURMOIL. IT IS TO NO ONE ELSE'S ADVANTAGE - NEITHER TO THAT OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS, THE OTHER SOUTHERN AFRICANS, NOR CERTAINLY TO THE UNITED STATES AND THE WEST.

WE SEEK A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA THAT WILL PERMIT A FAIR AND DEMOCRATIC EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE AND WILL BRING TO POWER A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT NOT ONLY WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE BUT ALSO WITH SOLID LONG-TERM PROSPECTS FOR STABILITY.

WE SEEK AN END TO THE GUERRILLA WARFARE THAT HAS CONTINUED IN NORTHERN NAMIBIA AND SOUTHERN ANGOLA FOR FIFTEEN YEARS NOW AND WHICH HAS COST THE LIVES OF MANY PEOPLE IN THE AREA, MOST RECENTLY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ATTACK ON SWAPO IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA THIS MONTH.

IN SEEKING TO RESOLVE THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, WE STRIP THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SURROGATES OF ANY EXCUSE THEY HAVE TO CONTINUE TO FUEL VIOLENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA THROUGH MILITARY AID TO SWAPO AND THROUGH THE CUBAN FORCES IN ANGOLA.

WE SEEK AN END TO THE CONFLICT BETWEEN POLITICAL ELEMENTS IN ANGOLA WHICH HAS PREOCCUPIED THAT COUNTRY SINCE 1974.



WE SEEK THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL CUBAN COMBAT FORCES FROM ANGOLA; THEIR CONTINUED PRESENCE IN ANGOLA REPRESENTS A THREAT TO REGIONAL SECURITY THAT IS AN OBSTACLE TO RESOLUTION OF THE NAMIBIAN ISSUE. THEIR REMOVAL CAN ALSO BE PART OF A PROCESS OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AMONG ANGOLANS THAT CAN RESULT IN TIME IN A UNIFIED, PEACEFUL ANGOLA WHOSE LEADERS CAN CONCENTRATE THE COUNTRY'S EFFORTS ON NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL OBJECTIVES.

WE SEEK, THROUGH OUR OWN PROGRAMS OF ASSISTANCE AND COOPERATION, ALTERNATIVES TO SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN AND ATTEMPTS TO DOMINATE THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRUCTURES OF INDEPENDENT SOUTHERN AFRICAN NATIONS.

FINALLY, IN SEEKING TO ENCOURAGE SOUTH AFRICANS TO RESOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS THROUGH PEACEFUL, EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE, WE STRIP THE SOVIET UNION NOT ONLY OF ANY JUSTIFICATION THAT IT MAY PUT FORTH TO JUSTIFY ITS EFFORTS TO FAN TENSIONS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF INTO RACIAL WAR, BUT WE ALSO MAKE IT VERY CLEAR TO THE PEOPLE OF OTHER AFRICAN NATIONS AND TO THE WORLD THE GRAVITY WITH WHICH WE VIEW DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE STRENGTH OF OUR OWN POLICY.



I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE ALL UNDERSTAND THAT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA THE WORLD FACES A DANGEROUS CONJUNCTION OF FACTORS. VITAL WESTERN INTERESTS ARE INVOLVED, VITAL AMERICAN INTERESTS ARE INVOLVED. THE SOVIET UNION IS INVOLVED. THE REGION ITSELF IS SEVERELY TROUBLED BY PROBLEMS THAT INEVITABLY CARRY WITH THEM GENERAL INSTABILITY. SOUTH AFRICA IS STRONG, ECONOMICALLY AND MILITARILY. BUT THE MOMENTUM OF EVENTS IN THE AREA - WHETHER IT BE TOWARD INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA, NATIONAL UNITY AND PEACE IN ANGOLA, OR TOWARD CHANGE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF - IS ALSO STRONG AND VITAL. WE BELIEVE THAT THE DIPLOMACY THAT THE UNITED STATES IS PURSUING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA CAN BE A KEY FACTOR IN THE OUTCOME OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS AND THAT OUR DIPLOMACY IS, IN FACT, ESSENTIAL IF HOPE FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA'S PROBLEMS IS TO REMAIN ALIVE.

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE WILL PAY THE CLOSEST ATTENTION TO THE INFORMATION THAT WILL BE BROUGHT TO LIGHT BY THESE HEARINGS. I APPRECIATE YOUR GIVING ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT TO YOU AT THE BEGINNING OF THE HEARINGS THE POLICY CONTEXT WITHIN WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION CONDUCTS OUR DIPLOMACY TOWARDS SOUTHERN AFRICA. I WOULD WELCOME YOUR QUESTIONS.