

ticipate in technological progress, are being driven into worsening conditions instead. This feeds despair, and the cultural pessimism of despair fosters susceptibility to the influence of dark forces of murderous irrationalism.

Needed emergency actions to halt the genocide, and medium-to-longer-term measures to develop the entirety of this continent, are complementary. Immediately, to stop the extinction of tens of millions of Africans by famine and famine-fostered epidemics, we must bring emergency food relief. The additional problem is, that rarely do we find the means to transport the food where it is desperately wanted. . . .

The objectives of food relief must be:

- To bring the food relief to the locales in which the needing population lives and works;
- To supplement food relief with measures which aid in restoring the affected villages and their inhabitants to dignified self-subsistence.

For the longer term, Africa's most fundamental needs are the most basic of economic infrastructure and increased production of food: water-management, transportation, energy, and agriculture.

The heart of the solution for the urgent needs of the continent as a whole is a rail-system cutting across the Sahel, preferably from Dakar in the west, to Djibouti in the east, and a redistribution of water, from the surplus water of the rain-forest region of north-central Africa into the central Sahel. The water-supplies must come from the management of the Zairean and Victoria region and southern Sudan. The first line distributes water to the region around now-dying Lake Chad; the second is a program of cooperative water-management of the Nile system. The east-west rail line (actually projected as early as the 1870s!) intersects the existing railway systems of Nigeria and Egypt-Sudan. The rail network must then be extended by north-south intersecting trunk-lines: north-south from Algeria, and south into Tanzania. Without these two sets of measures of water-management and railway development, the rational economic development of the continent as a whole is impossible.

The east-west rail line, across the Sahel, serves as the indispensable logistical base-line for deploying to reverse the present spread of the Saharan desert into the Sahel. By joining this with north-south links, this rail system plays a vital part in fostering initially modest but crucial trade among the nations of both Arab and black Africa. The combined effects of railway development and water-management are optimal exploitation of combined railways and navigable waterways, creating the beginnings of a functioning internal transport-system. This development, enriched by development of the beginnings of a continent-wide system of energy production and distribution, provides the logistical basis to begin the improvement of agriculture throughout much of Africa, in depth. Politically, it aids African nations, by strengthening the benefits each local sector of the population enjoys through aid of the government's central authority.

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## African National Congress

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# A Soviet tool in the Southern Cone

by Our Special Correspondent

The African National Congress, contrary to bleeding-heart liberals, does not genuinely represent Black aspirations in South Africa. Rather, it has become a Soviet-controlled organization, although it did not begin as such. Now, as 40 years of Soviet planning in Africa is jeopardized by President P. W. Botha's commitment to dismantle the administrative apparatus of apartheid and create the constitutional structures in South Africa for power sharing, observers are monitoring the activities of Oliver Tambo's African National Congress in the expectation that the ANC will be used as an instrument of terror to derail the proposed reforms. . . .

Of the 30 executive committee members of the ANC, elected in June 1985, no fewer than 19 are leading members of the South African Communist Party. Among them are: **Alfred Nzo**, secretary-general of the South African Communist Party (SACP); **Joe Slovo**, a military coordinator for the SACP; **Mac Maharaj**; and **Reginald September**. Also on the ANC executive is **Anthony Mongalo**, the ANC representative to the Soviet Occupied Zone (East Germany).

Soviet control is so complete that Alfred Nzo, speaking as a representative of the African National Congress, felt compelled to defend the ANC from the charge that it was being used as a tool of the Soviet Union with the following statement: "We have therefore rejected, with the contempt it deserves, the allegation that is made by the enemies of our people, that we are the tools of the Soviet Union and International Communism. . . . We refuse to be isolated. We recognize instead that the Soviet Union and other Socialist Countries are our dependable allies, from whom no force is going to succeed in separating us."

Alfred Nzo is also quoted in 1980 in Moscow: "Comrades, we have complete solidarity with the struggles being waged in El Salvador, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Palestine, Namibia, and Puerto Rico. Hail to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union! Hail to the units of the world's anti-imperialist movement."

The ANC was not always run by the Soviets, as a brief review of its history shows.

In 1912, the African National Native Congress was formed, soon becoming the African National Congress. Historically, the ANC would become the main vehicle to try to win equal political rights and the abolition of the pass laws, transcending tribalism. A nodal point in the ANC's history came in 1943, when under the leadership of Anton Lembede, the ANC Youth League was formed. The leadership of this group included the anti-communist **Nelson Mandela**, who had emerged as a young leader of the ANC in 1937, and **Oliver Tambo**. In fact, Tambo and Mandela tried, without success, to force through a measure forbidding members of the ANC from also belonging to the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA).

The CPSA had come into being in 1921, when the International Socialist League (ISL), itself a radical breakaway from the South African Labor Party in 1915, united splinter organizations and formed the Communist Party of South Africa. In 1922, the CPSA involved itself in the mineworkers rebellion in the Witwatersrand under the racist slogan, "Workers of the world unite and fight for a white South Africa." After that debacle, the CPSA began to recruit among the Black population of South Africa.

### Communists go underground

In 1950, the CPSA was banned in South Africa, leading to the underground founding of the South African Communist Party (SACP) in 1953. The ban spurred a massive redeployment from the CPSA to the ANC, beginning the process that would lead to the takeover later.

In 1953, a call for an ANC national convention was issued by one M. K. Matthews, who came to South Africa from the United States. The call led to creation of the South African Coloured People's Organization (SACPO) and the Congress of Democrats (COD), both of which participated in the 1955 "Congress of the People." The COD mainly consisted of whites, either ex-CPSA or members of the Liberal Party of South Africa.

Out of the 1955 "Congress of the People," the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) was created. That same Congress adopted the "Freedom Charter," later taken up by the SACP as a policy of "the general statement of aims of a state of national democracy."

What ensued was a textbook case of communist manipulation of factional differences inside the ANC for the sole purpose of expanding the communists' power. The adoption of the Freedom Charter led to the expulsion of the rival "Africanists" (Black nationalists) from the ANC, who later formed the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). In this period, the Communist Party began to exert significant influence in the ANC.

In 1958, after a violent confrontation in Transvaal between Africanists and the communists of ANC, the African-

TABLE 1

### Soviet heavy weaponry in southern Africa (1982)

Country	Fighter aircraft	Tanks	Armored cars	Armored troops carriers	Medium artillery
Angola	41	264	300	412	550
Mozambique	24	195	200	300	128
Zimbabwe	20	38	109	20	59
Zambia	50	30	65	46	1
Tanzania	56	135	30	100	194
Botswana	0	0	30	0	0

ists were expelled from the ANC, and the following year, the Pan Africanist Congress was formed. The new PAC took the lead in 1960 in militant moves against the apartheid pass laws. In the growing climate of confrontation, the Sharpsville massacre occurred, and a State of Emergency was declared on April 8, 1960.

### Turn toward terrorism

The year 1961 was an inflection point in the Communist takeover of the ANC, which had been discredited among Blacks by its failure to take a leading role in the anti-apartheid political movement. Their answer, to recoup credibility, was terrorism. In June, Mandela and others met and launched *Umkonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation) (MK), the military arm of ANC, which launched its first attacks that December. MK was controlled by the Revolutionary Council, which the ANC runs jointly with the Communist Party. Besides the ANC chair, **O. R. Tambo**, other members included: **Joe Slovo**, of the SACP, **Dr. Y. Dadoo**, chair of the SACP and vice-chair of Revolutionary Council of the ANC, and **Alex La Guma** of SACP and ANC chief representative in Cuba.

TABLE 2

### Troops deployed to southern cone

	U.S.S.R.	Cuba	East Germany
Angola	500	14,000	2,500
Mozambique	1,000	1,500	500
Zambia		300	
Tanzania	400	450	

There are 2,000 East German civilian personnel in Angola and 1,000 in Mozambique, many of whom work in police or security areas. Most recently, there have been an additional 1,000 Soviet troops and 15,000 Cubans deployed to Angola.

Tambo and Dadoo, with Moses Kotane, J. B. Marks, and Dinna Kokwe. Training for ANC terrorists began in Ethiopia.

In 1963, the ANC opened offices in Algeria, London, and later headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia. In July, a police raid on Liliesleaf Farm outside Johannesburg seized documents on bomb manufacture and revolutionary plans titled "Operation Mayibuye," in what bore all the earmarks of a Communist set-up. Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, and Denis Goldberg were arrested. Later Mandela's defense counsel—Bram Fischer—was also arrested and sentenced to life in prison.

It was the Morogoro conference of 1969 that established the Revolutionary Guerrilla mode for ANC and further consolidated SACP control of ANC. SACP member **Reg September** was made head of the ANC Office in London; **Tambo** became president general of ANC; **Alfred Nzo**, secretary general; **J. B. Marks**, chairman NEC; and **Moses Kotane**, treasurer general. Kotane, a long-time leader of the SACP, had played the key role since the late 1920s in mediating acceptance of Communists inside the ANC.

From 1969 on, evidence of the iron grip of the Communist terror apparatus over the ANC has accumulated. Only a few highlights can be reported here: In a notable incident in 1975, the ANC expelled eight leaders for criticizing SACP control. When the SACP's 60th anniversary was celebrated in London in July 1981, SACP leader Dadoo shared the podium with ANC chair Tambo, and the heads of Irish and British Communist Parties.

In 1977-79, terror began against "soft" police and military targets. From 1981 to 1986, terrorism steadily escalated, leading to the declaration of a State of Emergency in 1985, which continues to this day in certain areas.

### **Soviet commitment to the region**

These years have also seen a prodigious expansion of Soviet military, "diplomatic," and intelligence commitments in southern Africa. The accompanying table showing their military presence in 1982 is formidable, even without taking into account the qualitative and quantitative growth in the last four years.

ANC currently has offices in 61 countries, the most important of which are in London, England; Lusaka, Zambia; and Luanda, Angola. The Soviet Union maintains very active embassies in all these countries. In Angola, the Soviet presence included troop leaders to the company level during the past year's offensive against the forces of Dr. Jonas Savimbi. Outside Luanda there is a training facility for the ANC staffed by North Korean, East German, and Bulgarian instructors capable of processing 600 recruits per session. The largest office of the ANC is in Zambia where, at the instruction of Foreign Minister Geoffrey Howe, the British government recently opened discussions with the ANC.

In Zambia, aside from a major ANC presence, there are also large-scale Soviet operations in place through the Soviet

embassy. In Zimbabwe, where ANC does not have an office, operations are run through the Soviet embassy in Bulawayo—among them, the terror attacks against farmers so widely reported in the Western press.

Soviet presence in the Southern Cone of Africa is wildly disproportionate to diplomatic needs. The embassy in Botswana has at least 90 personnel. The embassies in Angola and Mozambique are about 100 persons each. Mozambique intelligence services are run by East Germany. There is a large embassy in Swaziland. Even tiny Lesotho merits Soviet presence, and training of its police force by East Germany.

In the case of Lesotho, it is entirely possible that the Soviet operations there convinced the Lesotho military to depose that government out of fear that the Jonathan government had grown so close to the KGB that no one would be safe. It is reported that in the immediate wake of the coup, 17 Cubans were executed, and military sources report that the "raid" which resulted in nine executions of low-level members of the ANC and precipitated the crisis there, was actually a KGB "wetworks" operation aimed at destabilizing South Africa. The expulsion of 19 North Korean diplomats on Feb. 4 lends credence to these reports.

Four sectors of the Soviet bureaucracy deal with southern Africa. They are: a section of the Africa Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences; the largest section of INU (propaganda) department of the KGB; one of three sections of the Foreign Ministry dealing with Africa; and one of three African sections in the International Department of the party apparatus.

In 1976-1981 Vasily Solodovnikov, the former head of the Africa Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, served as ambassador to Zambia. He was replaced at the Africa Institute by Anatoly Gromyko. On Gromyko's arrival at the Africa Institute, six additional policy specialists were assigned, transforming the Institute from a development think tank to one more concerned with strategic policy. In 1981, Solodovnikov was replaced in Zambia by Vladimir Cherednik, former deputy chief of the Department of International Economic Affairs in the Foreign Ministry and former ambassador to Ghana.

Security specialists have raised the issue, in the face of the evidence of the Soviet commitment to the Southern Cone, that the ANC and the Soviets must do something quickly to destabilize South Africa in an effort to derail the Botha reforms. One of the options available to the ANC is the murder of Bishop Desmond Tutu.

It is certain that Tutu's image has been cultivated in the Western press far beyond his influence on the internal political situation in South Africa; in that sense, Tutu is more valuable to the ANC as a martyr. Such a murder could be expected to cause civil disturbances in South Africa and worldwide outrage. If such a crime occurs, one need look no further than the Anglo-Soviet circles who elevated Tutu as a sacrificial lamb on the altar of a New Yalta, to find the owners of the assassins.