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TO DIRECTOR FBI/ROUTINE/

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BT

UNCLAS

CITE: //3290//

PASS: SSA | COUNT

COUNTERTERRORISM PLANNING UNIT.

SUBJECT: VISIT OF MR NELSON MANDELA, PRESIDENT - AFRICAN

NATIONAL CONGRESS; DECEMBER 2-9, 1991; PFO; SPECIAL EVENTS

MANAGEMENT; OO: HO.

WITH CONCURRENCE OF FBIHO, CAPTIONED EVENT HAS BEEN

DESIGNATED

THE PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), MR.
NELSON MANDELA WILL VISIT THE UNITED STATES DURING THE PERIOD
DECEMBER 2-9, 1991. MR. MANDELA WILL ARRIVE AT NEW YORK CITY

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185B-152-121

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11-20

PAGE TWO DE FBIHO 0020 UNCLAS

*ON DECEMBER 2, 1991. HE WILL BE A GUEST OF THE HINES

CORPORATION AND WILL BE TRANSPORTED ON PRIVATE AIRCRAFT. THE

PURPOSE OF HIS VISIT IS TO RECEIVE HUMANITARIAN AWARDS AND

CONDUCT A SERIES OF SPEECHES. MR. MANDELA'S ITINERARY IS AS

FOLLOWS: DEC 2-4, NEW YORK CITY; DEC 4, ARRIVES IN BALTIMORE,

MD.; DEC 4-5, WASHINGTON D.C.; DEC 6-7, PITTSBURGH; DEC 7-9,

HOUSTON, TEXAS.

RECIPIENTS ARE REQUESTED TO EXPEDITIOUSLY FURNISH THE BUREAU AND THE HOUSTON DIVISION WITH ANY INFORMATION OF ACTIVITIES WHICH MIGHT IMPACT ADVERSELY ON THE SECURITY OR SAFETY OF MR. MANDELA, OR INDIVIDUALS ASSOCIATED WITH HIS VISIT.

BT

#0020

11/19/91

NNNN

MEMORANDUM SECR	F			
TO: SAC, HOUSTON		Date:	7/10/89	b1 b6
FROM: LS				ь70
SUBJECT: NEWS MEDIA ARTICLES RE SOUTH AFRICA				
THIS ENTRIE COMMUNICATION IS O	CLASSIFIED S	ΈΤ.		
Attached and to be considered par in the July 9, 1989 issue of the "Houston Pos secretly last week between State President F The article states that the meeting has led to	st". The article r P.W. Botha and in	reports on apprisoned	a meeting which to ANC leader Nelson I	ok place Mandela.
The article is provided for inform	nation.			
		DECLAS AUTHOR FBI AU EXEMPI DATE (ALL I HEREI	TED FROM AUTOMATIC SSIFICATION RITY DERIVED FROM: PTOMATIC DECLASSIFICA TION CODE: 25X(1) D5-15-2014 BY F54M93R NFORMATION CONTAINED N IS UNCLASSIFIED EXI SHOWN OTHERWISE	42
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*8 /The Houston Post/Sunday, July 9): 1289:

Meeting increases speculation landela will be released soon

SSOCIATED PRESS

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — The government said Saturday that President P.W. Botha met with Nelson Mandela last week, increasing speculation the jailed black guerrilla leader will be freed before Botha leaves

office in September. The 45-minute meeting at Botha's official residence in Cape

Town on Wednesday was the first time the two are known to have

Government-run television reported that Foreign Minister Pik Botha "saw this as an event of the utmost contemporary impor-

The television quoted Pik Botha as saying the meeting had

positive implications which would benefit all people in South Africa. The foreign minister is not related to

But Mandela's lawyer, Ismail Ayob, said, "I don't hink it would mean anything like that unless a statement was made to that effect. I have no idea why the meeting took place. It could be Mr. Botha believes here is some benefit to him or the National Party or

he may have wanted to hear Mr. Mandela's views."

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, who attended the meeting, said Mandela's courtesy visit" was conducted in a "pleasant spirit."

Coetsee said no policy matters were debated and no negotiations were conducted, but that the two men availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm, heir support for peaceful development in South Afri-

Spokesmen for Coetsee would not say why the meeting had been kept secret. It was announced only after a reporter for the independent South African Press Association heard of the meeting and asked

Unheard and unseen by the public since his conviction in 1964 on charges of plotting to overthrow the government, Mandela nevertheless has come to be the most admired leader among South African blacks, who consider him the embodiment of their quest for political freedom.

Mandela, who will be 71 on July 18, stays alone in a prison warden's house at the Victor Verster prison. farm in Paarly north of Cape Town. He is serving a life sentence.

Mandela's lawyer, Ismail Ayob, said Mandela did not mention the meeting with Botha when the attorney visited his client at the prison farm earlier Saturday, "I assume he did not mention it because he may have been asked not to mention it." Ayob said.

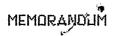
Mandela has rejected the government's repeated offers to release him if he renounces violence. He has said the government should renounce violence against blacks, end apartheid and legalize the African National Congress, the largest guerrilla movement fighting the white-dominated government.

The ANC was outlawed in 1960, and the next year Mandela founded its guerrilla wing, Spear of the Nation. He was imprisoned in 1962 for leaving the country illegally and organizing an illegal strike by black workers. In 1964 he was convicted of sabotage and plotting the overthrow of the government and sentenced to life in prison. He is regarded as the leader of the ANC, although the highest office he held before it was banned was deputy president-general.

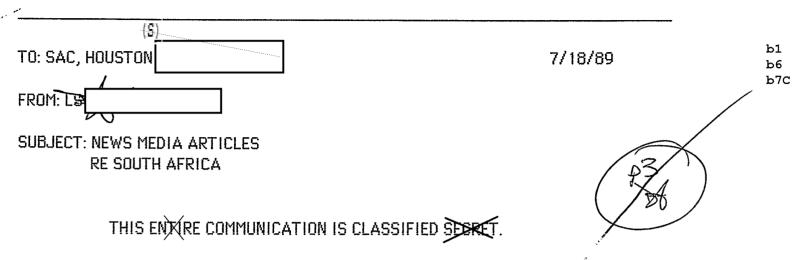


Secret meeting



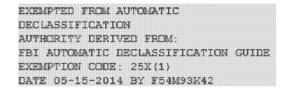


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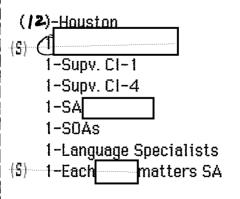


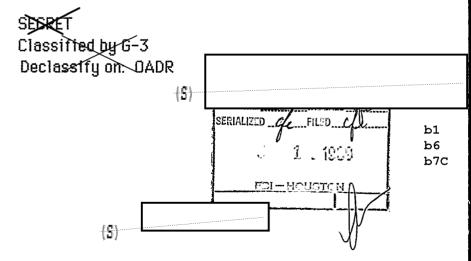
Attached and to be considered part of this memo is a copy and translation of an article which appeared in the May 11, 1989 edition of the Afrikaans-language newspaper, "Beeld."

The article is provided for information.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE







Maggie skryf aan Jaap or Mandela

MNR. JAAP MARAIS

DIE vrylating van die ANC-leier mnr. Nelson Mandela sal die internasionale gemeenskap se houding jeens Suid-Afrika baie laat verander, skryf die Britse premier, mev. Margaret Thatcher, in 'n brief aan mnr. Jaap Marais, leier van die Her-stigte Nasionale Party.

Med Phatcher, het gereageer op 'n

brief wat mnr. Marais op 23 Maart aan

haar geskryf het.

· Sy sê die vrylating van mnr. Mandela sal 'n klimaat van vertroue skep waarin gesprekvoering kan plaasvind. Haar be-roep om dié vrylating van mnr. Mandela is nie bemoeienis met Suid-Afrika se huishoudelike aangeleenthede nie.

Die onvoorwaardelike vrylating van mnr. Mandela is 'n sleutel tot die oplossing van Suid-Afrika se probleme. Grondwetlike veranderinge moet deur SuidAfrikaners self uitgewerk word. Dit kan nie deur buitestaanders gedoen word nie, skryf sy.

Dat die ANC 'n kantoor in Londen het, beteken nie die Britse regering steun die. organisasie nie. Die Britse regering sal nie huiwer om op te tree teen enigiemand watwette in Brittanje oortree nie.

Mev. Thatcher skryf sy het in 'n onderhoud met Beeld in November verlede jaar gesê verandering in Suid-Afrika is moontlik. Trouens, dit is onafwendbaar.

Dit sal wilskrag en moed verg om van die verlede weg te breek. Tensy daar 'n bereidwilligheid is om dit te doen, bestaan die gevaar dat die probleme 'n mens kan' oorweldig.

Dit is nog in Suid-Afrika nog in die internasionale gemeenskap - wat beslis Brittanje insluit - se belang dat dit ge-



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MAGGIE WRITES TO JAAP ABOUT MANDELA

The release of the ANC leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela, will greatly change the international community's attitude toward South Africa, writes the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, in a letter to Mr. Jaap Marais, leader of the Reformed National Party.

Mrt. Thatcher reacted to a letter which Mr. Marais wrote to her on March 23.

She says the release of Mr. Mandela will create a climate of trust in which discussions can take place. Her call for the release of Mr. Mandela is not meddling with South Africa's domestic affairs.

The unconditional release of Mr. Mandela is a key to the solution of South Africa's problems. Constitutional changes must be worked out by South Africans themselves. It cannot be done by outsiders, she writes.

That the ANC has an office in London does not mean the British government supports the organization. The British government will not hesitate to act against anyone who transgresses laws in Britain.

Mrs. Thatcher writes she said in an interview with Beeld in November last year that change in South Africa is possible. In fact, it is inevitable.

It will require will power and courage to break from the past. Unless there is a willingness to do it, the possibility exists that the problems can overwhelm. \cdot

It is in South Africa's as well as the international community's - which certainly includes Britain - interest that it happens.

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CLASSIFIED BY NSICG F54M93K42

REASON: 1.4 (c)

DECLASSIFY ON: 05-15-2039

DATE: 05-15-2014

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

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RF0013

MEMORANDUM .

SEX

FROM: HOUSTON FROM: LS
SUBJECT! NEWS MEDIA ARTICLES
RE SOUTH AFRICA

THIS ENTERE COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED SECRET

ATTACHED AND TO BE CONSIDERED PART OF THE MEMORANDUM IS A COPY OF AN ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED IN THE JANUARY 9, 1990, EDITION OF THE "NEW YORK TIMES".

THE ARTICLE IS FOR INFORMATION.

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Page 1



Winnie Mandela autographed a notebook vesterday after visiting her husband, Nelson, outside Cape Town, where he remains under confinement on a prison farm. Mr. Mandela, the long-jailed leader of the African National Congress, asked her to begin arrangements for his release, signaling that he expects to be free within weeks.

Mandela Expects to Be Released Soon, His Wife Says

PAARL, South Africa, Jan. 8 (Reuters) — Nelson R. Mandela, the long-imprisoned anti-apartified leader, indicated today for the first time that he expected to be freed within weeks, his

wife said.

His wife, Winnie Mandela, said after
a three-hour visit with Mr. Mandela today that he had asked her to begin preliminary arrange ments for his release.
It was the first time since his arrest

in August 1962 that either Mr. Mandela or his wife had expressed optimism

or. his wife had expressed optimism is he left for a flight to Johannesburg, about an imminent release. Previously where she is expected to see members of a nationalist committee set up to had no idea when he would return home.

"This is the real stuff now," Mrs. Mandela told reporters at the gates of the Victor Verster prison farm about the Victor Verster prison farm about where her husband is held in a bungal low previously used by the family of a white guard.

She said, "I don't think we are talking about months any longer."

white guard. She said; "I don't think we are talk-ing about months any longer."

Conditions for Talks

Some Government officials have said that they expected Mr. Mandela to be released late this month or after Parliament begins work on Feb. 2:

Mrs. Mandela declined to specify which arrangements her husband had asked her to attend to.

Mr. Mandela, 71 years old, is South Africals most prominent political prisoner. A leader of the African National Congress, the outlawed black national ist movement, and a founder of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, or Spear of the Nation, he is serving a life prison sentence for a conviction on conspiracy, and sabotage charges in 1964.

The congress observed its 78th anniversary in Lusaka, Zambia, today with a statement outlining conditions for talks with the white-dominated Government and calling for stepped-up international action against apartheid.

The movement reaffirmed its com-

as a climate conducive to negotiations is created."

With a family lawyer, Dullah Omar at her side, Mrs. Mandela acknowl was the first time she had felt any optimism about her husband's release.

'I Am Very Hopeful?

'I am very hopeful now,' she said as she left for a flight to Johannesburg,

Mr. Mandela has repeatedly refused deals for his release offered by the

deals for his release offered by the Government, saying through his daughter Zindzi in 1985 that "only, freemen can negotiate."
One offer was to release him into internal exile in the Transkel homeland. Another was for freedom in return for his public repudiation of armed struggle against white rule.
Eight of his colleagues, including. Walter Sisulu, were freed in October in What many South Africans saw as a move to test the political waters for

move to test the political waters for Mr. Mandela's rèlease.

Jessé Jackson Can Visit

JOHANNESBURG, Jan: 8 (AP) -The Government said today that it would no longer refuse to slow the Rev. Jesse Jackson to visit South Af-

A brief statement by Foreign Minis-

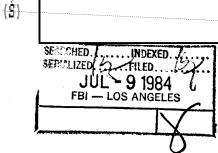
mitment to armed opposition to white ter Roelof F. Botha gave no indication for a visa to go to South Africa were rule, but offered a cease-fire "as soon of when Mr. Jackson, a bitter critic of ways turned down. apartheid; might come to South Africa.

Mr. Jackson has visited several ington with South Africa's Ambassador countries in the region but his requests to the United States, Piet W. Koornhof.



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SETET

PAGE SEVEN OF THE AFR

OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA, WAS A SPECIAL GUEST AT AN ORGANIZING WORKSHOP TO "END POLICE CRIMES AND STOP THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE (INS) RAIDS AND DEPORTATIONS", SPONSORED BY THE EROOKLYN BRANCH OF THE NAARPR, ON JUNE 23, 1984, AT MEDGER EVERS COLLEGE, 1150 CARROLL STREET, NEW YORK.

THE WORKSHOP WAS FOLLOWED BY RECEPTION FOR STOLFILE, WHO IS IN NEW YORK AS PART OF A TEN CITY TOUR ORGANIZED BY THE NAARPR IN RELATION TO ITS PETITION AND EDUCATION CAMPAIGN TO "FREE NELSON AND WINNIE MANDELA AND ALL SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS AND STOP THE EXECUTIONS OF SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS."

BOTH STOLFILE AND THE NAARPR SUPPORT CONGRESSMAN GEORGE CROCKETT'S (D-MICH) BILL, H.R. 430, THE RESOLUTION ON FREEDOM FOR NELSON AND WINNIE MANDELA.

STOLFILE WAS TO BE HOSTED AT THE RECEPTION BY
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NEW YORK STATE DIVISION OF HUMAN
RIGHTS, THE BROOKLYN HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORY COUNCIL, A
NEW YORK COUNCIL MEMBER AND A NEW YORK ASSEMBLYMAN AND
OTHERS. DETROIT, MICHIGAN AND BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA HAVE

FD-36 (Rev. 8-29-85)

CLASSIFIED BY NSICG F54M93K42

REASON: 1.4 (c,d)

DECLASSIFY ON: 05-14-2039

DATE: 05-14-2014

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	TO DIRECTOR FBI/ROUTINE/	
1	BT .	-
2	SECRET	_
3	CITE: //3170//	
4	PASS: INTD, CI-2E, CI-3B.	
5	SUBJECT: MEETING OF YUGOSLAV PRESIDENT OF PRESIDENCY, JANEZ	
6	DRNOVSEK, WITH NELSON MENDELA, LEADER OF THE NATIONAL	
7	CONGRESS IN SOUTH AFRICA.	
8	(S) WARNING:	b1 b3
9	THIS COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED "SECRET" IN ITS	
10	ENTIRETY.	
11	SERIAL: 90-CV-8993-4994-9049-14	
12	COUNTRY: YUGOSLAVIA/SOUTH AFRICA	
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Page 3 ~ b6; b7A; b7C; b7D;

Memorandum



SAC, MIAMI (185A-MM-50955) To Date 6/5/90 **b6** SSA b7C VISIT OF NELSON MANDELA, Subject : OFFICIAL GUEST OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT 6/20-30/90 PFO (00: FBIHQ) Re New York teletype to the Bureau dated 5/25/90. As outlined in the title above, NELSON MANDELA will be visiting the United States during the period indicated. He is expected to tour a number of American cities, including Miami on or about 6/27/90. A more specific itinerary is expected to be available at a later date. The purpose of Mr. MANDELA's visit is related to public relations, fund raising, and to express appreciation to those who have shown support for his anti-apartheid stance. Miami Division Agents are requested to contact logical sources and report any information concerning the safety and well being of this visitor to the C-3 Supervisor immediately. ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 05-14-2014 BY NSICG F54M93K42 1 - SAC 1 - Each ASAC l - Each Squad Supervisor 1 - SSRA or SRA l - Night Supervisor b6 Coordinator - Narco-Terrorism Task Force

SES:mcb

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Memorandum

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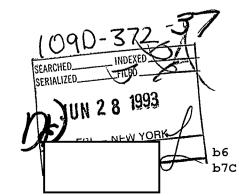
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REASON: 1.4 (c,d)

DECLASSIFY ON: 05-21-2039

DATE: 05-21-2014

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FD-36 (Rev. 8-29-85)

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REASON: 1.4 (c,d) DECLASSIFY ON: 05-21-2039

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	SOURCE: NY T-1, A SENSITIVE, RELIABLE SOURCE PROVIDING
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^PAGE 3 NEW YORK (109D-372) (5)

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TO DIRECTOR FBI/PRIORITY/

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FBI SAN JUAN/PRIORITY/

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UNCLAS

CITE: //3620:SQ10//

SUBJECT: MOVIMIENTO LIBERACION NACIONAL (NATIONAL LIBERATION

MOVEMENT) (MLN); DS/T, OO: CHICAGO.

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RE PHILADELPHIA TELCALL TO NEW YORK DATED JUNE 21, 1990.
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PETITION

FREEDOM

for

NELSON & WINNIE MANDEL

All South African Political Prisoners

STOP THE EXECUTIONS

To: President Reagan The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

The criminal, recist government of South Africa has declared war on those of its citizens who struggle for a truly democratic society free of the stain of fascist apart-

NELSON MANDELA, leader of the African National Congress of South Alrica (ANC), remains in prison after serving over 20 years of a life sentence. Most observers agree that Mandela would be elected President in a free South Africa.

WINNIE MANDELA, a leader of the ANC, has spent the entire time since 1963 until today, except for twelve months from September 1975 through August 1976. imprisoned or banned. She is now banned and exiled to the "living grave" of Brandfort, the area of South Africa khown to be the most racist and conservative.

Freedom fighters Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi, and Thabo Motaung. members of the ANC, were hanged by the South African government in June, 1983. They are three in a long list of prisoners of war executed and awaiting execution in violation of international law and human decency.

We join with the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, and millions of our own people in calling for the immediate, unconditional release of Nelson and Winnie Mandela and all South African freedom fighters captured by the illegal regime. 🛒

President Reagan, we call upon you to demonstrate the full support of our government for these demands.

The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) has issued the above petition calling for freedom for Nelson and Winnie Mandela and all South African political prisoners and an end to apartheid executions. It calls for President Reagan to demonstrate full support from our government for these demands. Petitions and a pamphlet on the Issue are available from the NAARPR. A "peoples' gram" to Reagan condemning the "high treason" trials of eight leaders of the United Democratic Frant of South Africa and demanding their immediate release is also available. Write to the NAARPR, 126 W. 119th St., Ste. 101, New York, N.Y. 10026. Or phone (212) 866-8600.

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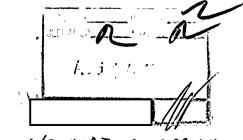
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S E C E T

SECTION ONE OF THREE SECTIONS

CITE: //3150:SQ5B//

PASS: HQ FOR INTD, CI-IA, SSA

2048 124-361)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA); FCI-CPUSA; OO: NEW YORK.

THIS COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED "SECRET" IN ITS ENTIRETY.

RE NEW YORK TELETYPES CAPTIONED AS ABOVE AND DATED AUGUST 1 AND 7, 1990.

REFERENCED NEW YORK OFFICE TELETYPES DESCRIBE RECENT CPUSA SUPPORT FOR NELSON MANDELLA AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), NOTING, IN THE AUGUST 1, 1990, COMMUNICATION, THAT THE PARTY (USING THE NAME NORTHERN CALIFORNIA RECEPTION COALITION) HAD DURING EARLY JUNE DIRECTED LETTERS TO VARIOUS CALIFORNIA MAYORS URGING THEM TO "USE THE PRESTIGE OF THEIR OFFICES" TO MAINTAIN SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA AND TO DECLARE A "NELSON MANDELLA/ANC" DAY. THE LETTERS POINTED OUT THAT THE MAYORS' EFFORTS WOULD LEND SUPPORT FOR A THEN JOINT HOUSE RESOLUTION

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(NUMBER 480) INTRODUCED BY CONGRESSMAN CHARLES HAYES WHICH SOUGHT TO DESIGNATE A WEEK IN JUNE AS NELSON MANDELLA WEEK. THE NEW YORK OFFICE COMMUNICATION CORRECTLY NOTES THAT ILLINOIS CONGRESSMAN HAYES IS A FORMER MEMBER OF CPUSA.

FOR INFORMATION OF RECIPIENTS, THE ILLINOIS DISTRICT CPUSA ACTIVELY SUPPORTED THE ANC AND THE FREE SOUTH AFRICA MOVEMENT (FSAM) DURING THE 1980'S, TO INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

MONGELZI STOFILE, AN ANC EDUCATIONAL COMMISSIONER THEN
RESIDING IN JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, VISITED CHICAGO DURING
JUNE, 1984, THAT VISIT ARRANGED BY THE CPUSA'S NATIONAL ALLIANCE
AGAINST RACIST AND POLITICAL REPRESSION (NAARPR) FRONT GROUP FOR
THE PURPOSE OF RAISING MONEY AND GENERATING SUPPORT FOR THE ANC
ORGANIZATION. (STOFILE VISITED DETROIT BEFORE COMING TO CHICAGO,
AND WAS SCHEDULED TO VISIT LOS ANGELES AFTER DEPARTING CHICAGO.)
WHILE IN CHICAGO, STOFILE STAYED AT THE PRIVATE RESIDENCE OF
VARIOUS ILLINOIS CP MEMBERS, AND MET WITH ILLINOIS CP LEADERS TO
DISCUSS SUPPORT (INCLUDING MONEY AND CLOTHING) FOR THE ANC.

AN ARTICLE IN A DECEMBER, 1984, ISSUE OF AN ILLINOIS CP
PUBLICATION NOTED THAT THE ILLINOIS CP HAD AN OPEN PRESENCE IN
THE FSAM WHICH WAS THEN SPONSORING DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE SOUTH
AFRICAN CONSULATE IN CHICAGO. IT WAS INDICATED THAT THE YOUNG

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AS ALSO NOTED IN REFERENCED NEW YORK OFFICE TELETYPE OF AUGUST 7, 1990, LINDIWE MABUSA, THE CHIEF ANC REPRESENTATIVE TO THE U.S., ATTENDED THE TENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE NAARPR FRONT GROUP DURING MAY, 1990, AT CHICAGO. MABUSA DISCUSSED NELSON MANDELLA, NOTING THAT SHE HAD ATTENDED THE 1973 FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE NAARPR AT WHICH ONE OF THE SLOGANS WAS FREE NELSON MANDELLA. MABUSA, WHO FOR YEARS LIVED IN EXILE IN THE U.S., PLANNED TO RETURN TO SOUTH AFRICA AND CONTINUE HER WORK WITH THE ANC.

CHICAGO WILL ALSO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO INCLUDE SEVERAL OBSERVATIONS REGARDING THE ANC ORGANIZATION, IDENTIFIED IN THE AUGUST 1, 1990, NEW YORK OFFICE TELETYPE AS A KNOWN SOVIET FRONT GROUP.

AS WE KNOW, OUR DESCRIPTION OF THE ANC AS A SOVIET FRONT IS AN OVER-SIMPLIFICATION WHICH FAILS TO RECOGNIZE THE COMPLEX AND PARADOXICAL NATURE OF THAT PARTICULAR ORGANIZATION (WHICH WAS, OF COURSE, FOUNDED BEFORE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION).

THE ANC, WHICH IS THE OLDEST AND MOST INFLUENTIAL GROUP
ACTIVELY RESISTING EXCLUSIVE WHITE RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA,
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FM FBI CHICAGO (229-15) (P)

TO DIRECTOR FBI (100-3)/PRIORITY/

FBI BUFFALO/ROUTINE/

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FBI INDIANAPOLIS/ROUTINE/

FBI LOS ANGELES/ROUTINE/

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S E C T

SECTION TWO OF THREE SECTIONS

CITE: //3150:SQ5B//

PASS: HQ FOR INTD, CI-IA, SSA

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA); FCI-CPUSA; OO: NEW YORK.
TEXT CONTINUES:

PRACTICED NON-VIOLENT ACTIVISM FOR DECADES BEFORE BEING BANNED IN 1960. FOLLOWING THAT BAN, UNDERGROUND ANC LEADERS ESTABLISHED AN ARMED WING OF THE ANC WHICH BEGAN A CAMPAIGN OF SABOTAGE AGAINST SYMBOLIC TARGETS IN SOUTH AFRICA, GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS, ETC.

(AMONG THE FOUNDERS OF THAT MILITARY ARM, AND LATER CHIEF OF STAFF OF SAME, WAS JOE SLOVO, THE CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY) LESS THAN TWO YEARS LATER, KEY ANC LEADERS, INCLUDING NELSON MANDELLA, WERE CAPTURED IN THEIR UNDERGROUND HEADQUARTERS NEAR JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA.

MANDELLA AND OTHER ANC LEADERS WERE SENTENCED TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT FOR SABOTAGE. AT APPROXIMATELY THIS POINT IN TIME,

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ANC LEADER OLIVER TAMBO, WHO HAD BEEN SENT OUT OF THE COUNTRY TO ESTABLISH AN ANC EXILE HEADQUARTERS, REPORTEDLY APPROACHED THE WEST TO DEVELOP DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS AND SUPPORT FOR ITS ANTI-APARTHEID CAMPAIGN. UNSUCCESSFUL IN THE WEST, TAMBO, SO THE STORY GOES, TRAVELED TO THE SOVIET UNION WHERE HE WAS OFFERRED FUNDS, MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND, EVENTUALLY, GUERILLA TRAINING OF ANC MEMBERS (AS WELL AS EDUCATIONAL SUBSIDIES ALLOWING YOUNG ANC MEMBERS TO STUDY AT INSTITUTIONS IN THE USSR). SOVIET BLOC FUNDS AND MILITARY AID TO THE ANC CONTINUED INTO THE 1980'S.

THAT THE ANC BLACK OPPOSITION MOVEMENT WAS ARMED AND ENCOURAGED BY THE SOVIETS (ENABLING VIOLENT RESISTENCE TO "OFFICIAL RACISM" IN SOUTH AFRICA) IS ABUNDANTLY CLEAR. ON THE OTHER HAND, PRINCIPAL ANC LEADERS NELSON MANDELLA AND OLIVER TAMBO HAVE PUBLICLY MAINTAINED A POSTURE OF BEING NONCOMMUNIST (CLAIMING, AS ALREADY NOTED, THAT THEY TURNED TO THE SOVIET BLOC FOR SUPPORT ONLY AFTER FAILING TO ENLIST THE SUPPORT OF THE U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPE IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID AND ITS ATTENDANT INEQUITIES.) BE THAT AS IT MAY, THE ANC ORGANIZATION HAS LONG HAD A CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH THE PRO-SOVIET SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY (WHICH WAS ITSELF BANNED IN SOUTH AFRICA IN 1950) - A RELATIONSHIP WHICH WOULD OBVIOUSLY HAVE BEEN

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REINFORCED BY SOVIET BLOC MILITARY AID TO THE ANC. (THE ANC HAS ALSO SUPPORTED VARIOUS SOVIET INTERESTS SUCH AS THE INVASIONS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND AFGHANISTAN, AND PROFESSED SOLIDARITY WITH THE PLO AND CUBA.)

THE ANC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE REPORTEDLY INCLUDES A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY (SACP)

LEADERS, INCLUDING THE AFOREMENTIONED CURRENT SACP CHAIRMAN JOE SLOVO. SLOVO, WHOSE SACP WAS RESTORED TO LEGAL STATUS IN SOUTH AFRICA DURING EARLY 1990, HAS RETURNED TO SOUTH AFRICA FROM EXILE IN ZAMBIA, AND BEEN NAMED TO THE FIVE MEMBER ANC DELEGATION SLATED TO CONFER/NEGOTIATE WITH SOUTH AFRICAN PRESIDENT F. W. DE KLERK.

ACCORDING TO A JULY 30, 1990, NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE
REPORTING ON A THEN RECENT SACP RALLY IN SOWETO, SOUTH AFRICA, AT
LEAST NINE OF TWENTY TWO INDIVIDUALS IDENTIFIED AT THAT AFFAIR AS
LEADERS OF THE SACP ALSO HELD HIGH OFFICE IN THE ANC - INCLUDING
SLOVO AND AN SACP POLITBURO MEMBER WHO WAS ALSO THE CHIEF OF
STAFF OF THE ANC MILITARY WING. ALTHOUGH NELSON MANDELLA WAS A
SPEAKER AT THAT RALLY, ACCORDING TO THE NEW YORK TIMES ACCOUNT,
MANDELLA (APPARENTLY SEEKING TO PUT SOME IDEOLOGICAL DISTANCE

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BETWEEN HIMSELF AND THE SACP) DECLARED THAT ALTHOUGH THE ANC WAS NOT A COMMUNIST PARTY, "AS A DEFENDER OF DEMOCRACY, THE ANC HAS FOUGHT AND WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO EXIST". MANDELLA, AGAIN ACCORDING TO THE NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE, DESCRIBED SLOVO AS AN "OLD FRIEND", AND ENDORSED THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S ROLE IN THE ALLIANCE WITH THE ANC, STATING THAT THEY HAD BEEN LOYAL ALLIES WHO HELPED THE ANC CAUSE. (THE UNITED STATES, OF COURSE, LONG SHUNNED FORMAL CONTACTS WITH THE ANC BECAUSE OF THAT ORGANIZATIONS' CLOSE TIES TO THE SSACP, AND ITS RECEIPT OF SUBSTANTIAL MATERIAL AID FROM THE SOVIETS.)

ALTHOUGH THE FULL EXTENT OF THE SOVIET ROLE IN SUPPORTING THE ANC (FROM PROPAGANDA TO OUTRIGHT MILITARY AID AND GUERILLA TRAINING) MAY NEVER BE KNOWN, THAT AID WAS BY MANY ACCOUNTS SUBSTANTIAL. DURING MUCH OF THE PERIOD OF ITS AID TO THE ANC, THE SOVIET POLICY WAS LARGELY ONE OF DESTABILIZATION OF THE AFRICAN SUBCONTINENT - A POLICY INCORPORATING THE BELIEF THAT A TRUE. PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION WAS INEVITABLE IN SOUTH AFRICA (BECAUSE OF THE OBVIOUS INEQUITIES AND OVERWHELMING NUMERICAL ADVANTAGE OF THE BLACKS).

WHEN, IN THE 1980'S, IT BECAME INCREASINGLY APPARENT THAT A VIOLENT BLACK OVERTHROW OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WAS NOT

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IN THE CARDS (THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY AND POLICE A FORMIDABLE OBSTACLE), THE SOVIETS EMBRACED THE NOTION THAT ANY RESOLUTION OF DIFFERENCES IN SOUTH AFRICA WOULD MOST LIKELY INVOLVE A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. THE EARLY 1990 RELEASE FROM JAIL OF NELSON MANDELLA (WHO HAD BECOME A POLITICAL PERSONALITY OF ALMOST MYTHIC PROPORTIONS), AND THE RECENT AND AGREEMENT TO SUSPEND GUERILLA ACTIVITIES SEEMS TO JUSTIFY THE MORE RECENT SOVIET POSITION. SOVIET MOTIVES, ON THE OTHER HAND, ALMOST CERTAINLY RELATE TO THAT COUNTRY'S CURRENT ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES, AND ITS PROBABLY RELATED DESIRE TO REDUCE FRICTION WITH THE U.S. ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN ISSUE. (SOVIET MONIES FORMERLY SPENT ON SOCALLED BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA COULD OF COURSE BENEFIT CIVILIAN ECONOMY IN THE USSR.)

IT IS, AT THIS POINT IN TIME, CLEAR THAT ANY LASTING
SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE WILL INVOLVE NELSON MANDELLA
AND THE ANC. ALTHOUGH NOT EQUALLY CLEAR, CONSIDERING ITS
INFLUENCE IN THE ANC AND THE INCREASINGLY POWERFUL BLACK TRADE
UNIONS, THE SACP WILL ALSO BE A FACTOR, IF ONLY INDIRECTLY GIVEN
THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S ADVERSION TO COMMUNISTS AND
PRESIDENT DE KLERK'S RECENT ATTEMPTS TO HAVE SACP CHAIRMAN JOE
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TO DIRECTOR FBI (100-3)/PRIORITY/

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SECRET

SECTION THREE OF THREE SECTIONS

CITE: //3150:SQ5B//

PASS: HQ FOR INTD, CI-IA, SSA

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA); FCI-CPUSA; OO: NEW YORK.

TEXT CONTINUES:

SLOVO REMOVED FROM THE ANC NEGOTIATING TEAM.

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