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FM FBI CHICAGO (229-15) (P)

TO DIRECTOR FBI (100-3)/PRIORITY/

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FBI DETROIT/ROUTINE/

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SECTION ONE OF THREE SECTIONS

CITE: //3150:SQ5B//

PASS: HQ FOR INTD, CI-IA, SSA

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*229B-7-\**  
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)  
HVC 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 STOFIE, 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. (STOFIE VISITED DETROIT BEFORE COMING TO CHICAGO, AND WAS SCHEDULED TO VISIT LOS ANGELES AFTER DEPARTING CHICAGO.) WHILE IN CHICAGO, STOFIE 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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SECTION TWO OF THREE SECTIONS

CLIE: //3150:SQ5B//

PASS: HQ FOR INTD, CI-IA, SSA

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b7C -1

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 OFFERED FUNDS, MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND, EVENTUALLY, GUERRILLA 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 GUERRILLA 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 ANC AGREEMENT TO SUSPEND GUERRILLA 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 SO-CALLED 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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PASS: HQ FOR INTD, CI-IA, SSA

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

TEXT CONTINUES:

SLOVO REMOVED FROM THE ANC NEGOTIATING TEAM.

~~C BY 6-37 DECL OADR.~~

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