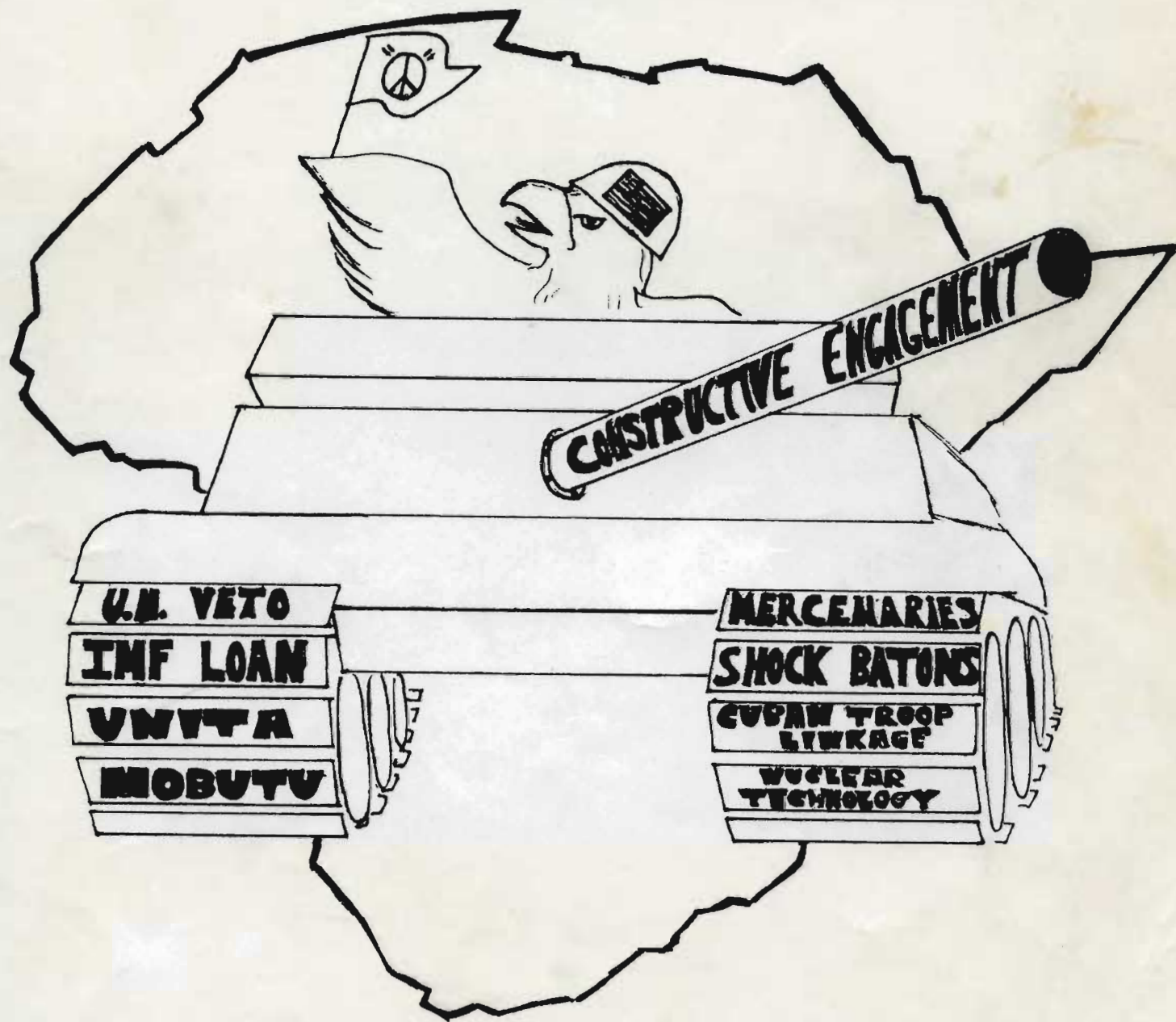


CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT:

The U.S. Strategy to Defeat African
Liberation and Build Neo-colonialism



*A critical analysis of the current U.S. policy toward Africa
and an argument for building anti-imperialist solidarity
with African liberation.*

"The African Revolution, while still concentrating its main effort on the destruction of imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, is aiming at the same time to bring about a radical transformation of society. It is no longer a question of whether African Independent States should pursue a capitalist or non-capitalist path of development. The choice has already been made by the workers and peasants of Africa. They have chosen liberation and unification; and this can only be achieved through armed struggle under socialist direction. For the political unification of Africa and socialism are synonymous. One cannot be achieved without the other."

Kwame Nkrumah
Class Struggle in Africa
1970.

Lawrence Eagleberger's "Southern Africa: America's Responsibility for Peace and Change" puts reality on its head, not so much as in Alice in Wonderland, but as in the blitzkrieg of disinformation pioneered by Nazi Germany.¹

Nazi propaganda minister Goebels pioneered what he called "the big lie". Made boldly enough, with enough arrogance, reality can be literally turned around, i.e. the U.S. is fighting for "democracy" in El Salvador, or the U.S. wants "peace in Southern Africa and the Middle East".

This is exactly what Under Secretary for Political Affairs Lawrence Eagleberger seeks to do concerning Africa, in this first major U.S. policy statement on Southern Africa. Out of truths, half-truths and lies he creates an African reality in which the problems of the continent are attributed to the exploited and oppressed peoples of Africa. The role of European colonialism and settler colonialism is down played into non-existence. In reality the problem for imperialism is the rise of anti-colonial and anti-neo-colonial struggles, and more importantly, the struggle to build socialism in the region.

U.S. imperialism is elevated to a non-involved, neutral "honest broker" which will come in and solve the problems of the region and

1. It is interesting to note that the speech was delivered before a meeting of the executive of the Editorial Writers of America.

the continent. In Africa, as well as in Central America, U.S. imperialism is not neutral. It is the major architect of violence, directing counter-insurgency. U.S. imperialism is a combatant, even when U.S. troops are not directly involved. In the latest form of white supremacist arrogance, the "white man's burden" of 19th century colonialism is now the "responsibility" and "constructive engagement" of 20th century neo-colonialism.

If we are to believe the view that is put forward by Eagleberger, Africa, especially Southern Africa, is a morass of instability based on rivalry, tribalism and the "violence prone" nature of the African states in the area. South Africa is put forward as a legitimate state that is drawn into this hostile situation to defend its 70 year old sovereignty (sic). The U.S. puts itself forward as a neutral arbiter, as Eagleberger says, "uniquely situated to speak to all sides in the conflict".

All of this supposed impartiality of the U.S. is an attempt, increasingly more desperate, to deal with the sharpening contradictions of imperialism in decline and consequently sharpening inter-imperialist rivalry. U.S. imperialism uses the spectre of the Soviet Union as its excuse in Africa as it does everywhere else in the world. Imperialism would have us believe it is the Soviet Union and "violence prone" Africans who are the problem in the region. What is needed is "peace" and "peaceful change". The "peace" U.S. imperialism so eagerly pursues with its ally, South Africa, is the destruction of any individual or organization that can give leadership to building people's war for liberation and the building of socialism. In Africa, we have seen the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo, Amilcar Cabral in Guinee-Bissau, Eduardo Mondlane in Mozambique and Kissinger's "Operation Tar Baby" which tried to destroy ZANU in Zimbabwe.

Where it can, the U.S. attempts to install neo-colonialism, as it did in Zaire, in the place of national liberation and socialism. Neo-colonialism guarantees the continued and increased super-exploitation of Africa, which according to Eagleberger is a "question of substantial and growing national interests". This in all its parts, is really what the U.S. benignly calls "constructive engagement". This is why African peoples must fight, using revolutionary violence, against the genocidal war U.S. imperialism and South Africa are waging against them.

This might sound reasonable to some if we only had the rhetoric to deal with, but what is key, is the brutal reality of "constructive engagement". Africans have already seen it in the increased counter-insurgency in Namibia and Angola.

In Namibia the U.S. led the major intervention on behalf of fascist South Africa. U.S. imperialism through the western contact group, (U.S., Great Britain, Canada, W. Germany and France), has on the one hand delayed independence and self-determination for Namibia, and on the other given South Africa the go ahead in its massive war against Namibia and Angola. Vetos of sanctions against South Africa in the U.N., U.S. mercenaries, U.S. military technology, nuclear technology, and IMF loans to sustain the South African war machine are only some of the most blatant ways the U.S. has backed

its ally. The benefits to South Africa and the U.S. are multi-faceted: 1) attacks on the rear bases of SWAPO in southern Angola; 2) destabilization of Angola; 3) denying the future use of Angola as a rear base for the struggle led by the FLNC (Congolese National Liberation Front) to free the Congo from the puppet government of Mobutu, thus protecting another gendarme for the U.S. in Africa.

So what appeared to be imminent independence for Namibia five years ago has, through "constructive engagement", become an increased war of attrition against Namibia and Angola. This has been coupled with the increasing possibility of neo-colonialism being set up in Namibia, with SWAPO being only part of a coalition government. In Angola this would mean the MPLA being forced in a coalition government with UNITA, a counter-revolutionary force backed by South Africa and the U.S.

At the very least U.S. intervention has guaranteed more bloodshed and hardship for Africans struggling to be free. This is just the latest continuation of the same policy the U.S. has had toward Africa since slavery.

"Constructive engagement: goes hand-in-hand with cosmetic change to clean-up South Africa's international image. Currently there is a proposed three house legislature for whites, Indians, and "coloreds". However all political power will remain in the hands of the whites. And Africans, who are over 80% of the population and the legitimate owners of the land are excluded, remaining citizens of the artificially created homelands. There is also a series of cultural and sport exchanges to make South Africa more palatable. "Constructive engagement" also means a very concerted program to "influence" those sectors in the African population who, the U.S. hopes, will be the neo-colonial elite guaranteeing continued imperialist exploitation.

Eagleberger goes to lengths to show programs the U.S. has initiated in the past two years to do just this:

--- scholarship programs to educate Africans to hopefully train a neo-colonial elite.

--- the AFL-CIO is cooperating in programs to train African labor leaders to turn into agents who will fight for the most reformist positions within African labor unions. The U.S. labor movement has collaborated with U.S. imperialism since at least 1898, supporting the right of U.S. imperialism to expand to create more wealth here, especially for the labor aristocracy that it represents. The role of the AFL-CIO is to divert the struggles of Azanian workers away from the political demands for national independence and into economic demands for petty reforms and a few extra dollars. In growing sectors of the trade union movement the political demands for land, independence, and socialism is growing and this training of labor leaders is nothing but an attempt to subvert class consciousness and build a neo-colonial elite in the trade union movement. All this is done under imperialism's labor arm--the "AFL-CIA".

--- loans to promote small business in Africa communities, to create an African petit-bourgeoisie merchant class that will act as a conservative brake on the liberation struggle.

--- tutorial programs in African high schools to attempt to infuse imperialist ideology into the youth of Azania who are a strong base of the liberation struggle.

---international scholarship programs as a counterpart to the program sending African students to the U.S. These programs hope to identify the leaders of the future and mold them along neo-colonialist lines. We have seen this strategy carried out here with the building of the Urban League and its leader, Whitney Young, by Rockefeller interests, and by the Jesse Jacksons and Andrew Youngs of today who want to struggle for change through the system at a time when Black people are increasingly under attack. This subverts the only solution for Black people in the U.S. -- the liberation of New Afrika, the colonized Black nation inside the U.S. borders.

For all its talk about progress, the educational programs of "constructive engagement" are educating Africans to be 20th century slaves.

The international bourgeoisie, led by U.S. imperialism is struggling to regain political ascendancy. With the final defeat of the U.S. in Indochina in 1975, imperialism sustained a rapid series of setbacks-- Angola, Mozambique, Guinee-Bissau, Zimbabwe--the whole buffer for South Africa was liberated from colonial rule. In Nicaragua and Granada imperialism came face to face with defeat, as people's governments committed to building socialism came to power. These defeats occurred in what has always been the property of the U.S.-- the Caribbean and Central America.

Since 1980 imperialism has again gone on the offensive in the Middle East, Central America and Africa. In every case the aim of the U.S. has been to put into power collaborationist sectors and build neo-colonialism. The overall strategy of the imperialists is Trilateralism². This strategy puts the overall aims of worldwide imperialism ahead of some of the needs of specific imperialist states, in order to meet the rising challenges of national liberation struggles and socialist reconstruction. In order to insure the continued exploitation of the world by imperialism possible, the trilateral approach uses influence, pressure, threats, and, in the final resort, force to meet its own needs. "Constructive engagement" is just its current application to Southern Africa. The trilateralists will implement their strategy as national liberation and socialism advance, especially if they can win support at home for their wars abroad.

A key way to combat this potentially weak domestic resistance to imperialism is to understand the overall strategy of imperialism and to counter it. The U.S. would not like any opposition at all here, but if it does exist, the imperialists would have it diffused and limited to change for "incorrect" policies in this country or that. In this way people's energies get dispersed and we will never see the systemic nature of U.S. imperialist aggression throughout the world. The struggle is for power--the power of oppressed peoples for self-

2. The Trilateral Commission is made up of influential members, representing the bourgeoisie directly or their interests from North America, (U.S. and Canada), Western Europe and Japan. Jimmy Carter was a member well before running for president. Many members of his administration were also Trilateral members.

determination and to end the increasing genocidal wars and super-exploitation which are necessary for imperialism to survive. Eagleberger's speech on Southern Africa is important for all progressive and anti-imperialist people to read and understand. It depicts U.S. strategy, albeit hidden under false rhetoric, for a very vital area of the world. This not only applies to Southern Africa, but also has general application to U.S. aggression in the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America.

We can no longer say "the U.S. is just planning to go to war to save imperialism". Today the U.S. is at war by proxy in Africa and in Central America. Unless things change we will see U.S. marines directly engaged in reconstructing Lebanon militarily.

If Lebanon might seem removed from Africa and "constructive engagement", it is not. The Zionist attack on Lebanon to destroy the rear base of PLO resistance is the same strategy South Africa is using to turn Angola into another Lebanon (attacking SWAPO rear bases and trying to create a weak vassal state in Angola). The U.S. is implementing a similar strategy to weaken the new republic of Nicaragua. As it begins to build socialism, imperialism seeks to influence the situation, turning the revolution to the right by supporting counter-revolutionaries who want to force a new coalition government at the very best.

Just as the Israelis and South Africans cooperate in the fascist science of internal control of native/colonized peoples within their borders, those lessons are just starting to be seen here:

- the KKK working with the INS to patrol the Mexican border.
- increasing identity checks, "routine" car searches and police terror in Third World communities.
- proposed "free enterprise zones" (no minimum wage or labor unions allowed) making Third World communities here into bantustans. This alone exposes that "constructive engagement" has nothing to do with "influence for positive change", but with building the fascist infrastructure imperialism needs for its survival in its home bases.

For anti-imperialists in the U.S., Eagleberger's speech should not just give us insight into imperialism's counter-insurgency strategy for Southern Africa, but it should primarily challenge the nature of solidarity we build in the U.S. with African liberation. The revolutionary struggle in Southern Africa is of strategic importance to building a revolutionary anti-imperialist movement here---strategic because by waging people's war, revolutionary violence to stop imperialism's violence, colonialism has been defeated in Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe. This same strategy is being fought for by revolutionary leadership in Namibia and Azania to defeat white settler colonialism and by the FLNC in the Congo to defeat neo-colonialism.

To consolidate these victories, people's governments in Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe are committed to building socialist nations. This is with the understanding that socialism is a protracted goal; that this strategy is under concerted attack by U.S. and South African aggression; and is deeply complicated by the legacy of underdevelopment.

The consolidation of people's power in Southern Africa, based in economic as well as political power, is in fundamental opposition to imperialism's needs. Imperialism needs to expand to survive. It cannot afford to loose the rich minerals and cheap labor or its strategic military base in the area. Nor can it afford a revolutionary and hostile center in Southern Africa that will threaten its neo-colonial hold over the rest of the continent.

African liberation on the continent also threatens the continuing colonialization of African people inside the borders of the U.S. empire. Realizing this material relationship, revolutionary Black nationalists here have consistently given leadership to solidarity in the U.S. with African liberation by putting forward that their main contribution to African liberation will be the successful struggle to dismantle the U.S. empire. They will do this through the freeing of New Afrika and establishing an independent New Afrikan nation, in the 5 southern states of Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

Over the past 2 years, the U.S. government has been trying to destroy the revolutionary New Afrikan independence movement through various counter-insurgency methods---search and destroy offensives against the clandestine BLA, conspiracy trials, "criminal" trials against captured Freedom Fighters(POW's) from the BLA and the sector of the New Afrikan independence movement that supports the strategy of people's war to free New Afrika. These attacks have also impacted on the Black leadership here which has struggled for revolutionary solidarity with African liberation on the continent.

To implement "constructive engagement", the U.S. needs the backing of people in the U.S., particularly white people. The development of imperialism for the last 400 years has meant the underdevelopment of Third World nations, including the colonialized nations of New Afrika, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Native Americans inside the borders of the U.S. empire, and a system of material priviledges for whites. And while the labor of white working class people has been exploited, this relative priviledge has consistently given imperialism the base it has needed to carry out wars of conquest against Third World people at home and around the world.

Today more then ever, imperialism needs to go to war to resolve its deepening crisis. It needs white people to fight for empire, to support and participate in its wars at home and abroad against national liberation. Unless there is a strong movement, based in supporting a revolutionary strategy for the liberation of African land for African people and socialist reconstruction, white people will not have an alternative to imperialism's strategy of war and continued genocide. Instead, we will be organized on the basis of white supremacy to ally with the very system that is our enemy too.

In recent years we have seen the re-emergence of militant actions against the U.S. role in Southern Africa and its alliance with South Africa. In 1981 the South African Springbok Rugby Team was invited to tour the U.S. to promote legitmacy for white supremacist violence. Militant actions were taken against the team across the country, including the bombing by the BLA of the office

of the Eastern Rugby Union, the "official" U.S. hosts. Last year the United Freedom Front claimed a bombing at a South African Air-line warehouse and an IBM office in solidarity with the Azanian people. In New Paltz last spring, Black students led a militant protest against a boor who had been invited to speak on their campus to build support for the "white tribe of Africa". This campaign included successfully fighting attempts by the school administration to expel the leadership.

While these actions are not a movement, they fundamentally challenge the solidarity built under the leadership of reformists. Solidarity cannot be narrowed to divestment. No matter how much a college or state divests its money from South Africa, divestment cannot free Azania or stop U.S. aggression against Southern Africa. Only when the illegal state of South Africa is smashed and state power is won by the Azanian masses waging people's war, will Azania be free.

Our movement must educate, expose, agitate and take militant action against all aspects of U.S. war against African liberation in order to open up a front here that will help destroy the system at its very heart. We call on anti-imperialists in the U.S. to seriously take on the challenge put forward by the U.S. war strategy, and to build solidarity based in the right of colonized people to win liberation by any means necessary. This can only be done by carrying forward the terms set by African people fighting imperialism. This is not an easy task, but it is only by taking on imperialism as strategic allies with the national liberation struggles that we can hope to defeat imperialism and win our own liberation.

We started by talking about Nazi Germany and "the big lie". The refusal of many Germans to reject it brought on fascism that gave new and horrible meaning to the word genocide. Let us not be "good Germans" here in the U.S. and accept the newspeak of "constructive engagement" and all the propaganda of imperialism as it is building fascism.

"Wage anti-imperialist war against
imperialist war."

Red Army Faction,
West Germany, 1982

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SOUTHERN AFRICA: AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY
FOR PEACE AND CHANGE
AN ADDRESS
BY
LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER
UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS
BEFORE THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF EDITORIAL WRITERS
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
JUNE 23, 1983

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am grateful for this opportunity to speak to you who are so involved in helping to shape this nation's consideration of critical choices. I have come to speak to an issue that has occupied an important place on this administration's agenda--an issue of common interest to the Western world: an issue central to international stability.

From this podium, spokesmen from the several administrations of recent times have addressed the responsibilities which the United States bears for the great crisis areas of the globe--Europe, the Middle East, Asia, Latin America. Tonight I invite you to join me in considering what is at stake in southern Africa, and what role we can play in shaping that region's future. My message is not an easy one: It is a message of responsibility--responsibility for the use of American influence and power in dealing with a question of substantial and growing national interest.

I do not have to tell this audience that there is a crisis in southern Africa. Nearly a decade ago, as we stood mesmerized by our engagement in Southeast Asia and by escalating warfare in the Middle East, Portugal's empire in Africa collapsed. In its wake, southern Africa's conflicts, rooted as they were in longstanding struggles for decolonization and racial equality, became world issues--issues that would engage our national interests and test our resolve. Angola became an area of intense civil strife and contest between the Soviet Union and the West, the war for Zimbabwe's independence intensified, Mozambique was caught up in regional conflict, and the struggle for change in South Africa assumed more violent and polarized forms. Wars which had been more or less contained within national boundaries spread across frontiers, and the cycle of violence which has come to plague the region, took root.

In retrospect, Western indifference to change in southern Africa played a part in creating this situation. As a nation we were not well equipped to deal with the region. Our involvement had been superficial; we knew little of its actors or its dynamics. Our body politic was polarized. The left was transfixed by the issue of racism, while the right was too often prepared to interpret events only in the light of the East-West competition. In spite of these domestic divisions, three administrations have attempted to catch up with fast moving events, define our national interests, and decide how to use our influence.

The divisions of the past, I regret to say, still linger. There are those who would assure our irrelevance. As we meet here tonight, voices in our Congress, media and public call for punitive measures against governments which do not please us--banning bank loans to South Africa or KrugerRand imports from South Africa, denying access to the stabilization

programs of the International Monetary Fund or escalating petty trade controls, banning food aid to Mozambique or development assistance to Zimbabwe. Others repeat the slogans of liberation, while denying us the ability to add an ounce of political will or diplomatic investment to solving the region's problems. At a time when we need all the leverage available to us, some argue for disinvestment and escape. They confuse the making of statements with the ability to influence events.

There are those outside Africa whose motives are more cynical. They are the advocates of violence, who would turn the landscape of southern Africa into an enlarged version of Lebanon, with the sovereignty, independence, and economic viability of the states in the region subordinated to a battle between South Africa and its neighbors. These forces would welcome such an outcome, since it would present new opportunities for neo-colonial exploitation. They are more than willing to shed African blood and to supply copious quantities of weapons, even though they know violence cannot create anything of value in southern Africa. Violence, for these outsiders, is not a means to achieve national self-determination or to end apartheid. Rather, it is an end in itself, a political vehicle to enhance external influence and permit the political and ideological subjugation of independent Africa. The United States, on the other hand, proceeds from the conviction that our national interest and the interests of the West demand an engagement--constructive and peaceful--in the affairs of southern Africa. The U.S. is, I believe, uniquely situated to speak to all sides in the conflict.

The region has enormous potential--positive and negative. Historically it is a zone of Western influence and has been so for three hundred years. But direct Western control has ended. Decolonization, peaceful and violent, left a legacy of weak institutions, conflicting nationalisms, fear and loss of confidence in any reliable hand.

The implications are clear. If we wish to shape events, we must be prepared to take initiatives, make investments, support those things we believe in, build institutions and bridges. We must, in short, be involved. And we must, as well, be prepared to oppose those from outside Africa who claim a right to violent intervention.

To succeed in southern Africa, we must define a coherent regional strategy. Apart from Namibia, we are talking about a community of sovereign states. Southern Africa is interdependent economically in its infrastructure, its populations, markets, its natural links and to an important degree in its external orientation. The region, unfortunately, suffers from a current and aggravated temptation to depend upon the instruments of violence.

One way or another the states of southern Africa have to evolve explicit or tacit ground rules for cooperation and co-existence, for the alternatives are all too obvious. Both South Africa and the independent African states to its north have enunciated at different times a vision of co-existence. Regional co-existence, the only path to peace and stability, has an additional meaning. Unless there is peace and stability in southern Africa, it will prove impossible to encourage essential change in South Africa--and by change I mean a basic shift away from apartheid.

At present, the issue of Namibia, and South Africa's continuing control there, the presence of Cuban forces in Angola, and the practice of harboring guerrillas and dissident movements to strike at targets across borders, pose severe challenges to regional security and Western diplomacy. As a region, southern Africa contains parallels to the tragedies of the Middle East. A cycle of violence has begun: unless it is reversed the interests of the region and the West will be severely damaged. If southern Africa is at war, the consequences for South Africa will be clear: increased spending on war; reduced political will for addressing the domestic agenda of negotiated, evolutionary change; and a heightened polarization of attitudes that can only distort the internal South African debate about the means and forms of change. Similarly, if the region is at war, the economies and institutions of the neighboring African states will be undermined, distorted, and perhaps destroyed. No amount of Western or international support and solidarity with these states will be productive if the politics of development and co-existence continue to be subordinated to the politics of survival and war.

It is for all these reasons that this Administration has committed its prestige and energy to defining a regional strategy and using our influence to shape events. The undertaking has several aspects which, taken together, are directed at encouraging enhanced regional security, economic development, and peaceful change.

NAMIBIA

The quest for Namibia's independence remains for this Administration, as it was for our predecessors, a key object of American diplomacy. The unresolved status of Namibia creates a dangerous vacuum in the area and serves as a magnet for violence and external meddling. Namibia remains Africa's last colony, and a focal point of the continent's and the non-aligned world's attention. Its people suffer from war and outside domination. The United States long ago accepted responsibility for helping to secure Namibia's independence: we have, since then, made a considerable contribution toward achieving that goal. Under President Ford we defined the first procedure for a peaceful move to independence. Under the Carter administration, we joined with our allies--France, Canada, Great Britain and Germany--in negotiating UN Security Council Resolution 435, a document of seminal importance which defines how transition to independence under UN authority will occur.

During the Reagan Administration we have faced squarely the need to secure conditions which will make it politically possible for South Africa to relinquish its position in a territory it has controlled since 1916.

We inherited a stalemated negotiating process. Since that time, we and our allies, working through what we call the Contact Group, have elaborated constitutional principles to guide the framers of the constitution for an independent Namibia. We have successfully resolved a series of troublesome issues related to the role of the United Nations. The fruits of this intensive diplomacy are impressive. Through sustained and coordinated effort with our allies, the Frontline States and SWAPO, the South Africans, the internal Namibian parties, and the UN Secretary General and his officials, we have virtually all elements in place for the implementation of Resolution 435.

There is, admittedly, some frustration over the time it has taken to move as far as we have. But these are complex and delicate questions which have required months of quiet negotiation. There is, today, virtually unanimous agreement on the basis for resolving this intricate and important problem. We are at the point where the transition to independence can begin as soon as the key parties are prepared to take the necessary political decisions.

ANGOLA

With the Government of Angola we have undertaken a separate but parallel negotiation which, if successful, will provide for the departure of Cuban forces, thus opening the way to a South African decision to implement the international agreements so painstakingly developed on Namibia's transition to independence--while setting the stage for peace in Angola itself. In a year and a half of talks, we have sought to build confidence in our objectives, and to establish a principle of broad applicability to the region at large.

That principle is reciprocity. Progress in the area can be achieved only if all parties make a contribution, and only if the security and sovereignty of each is respected. South Africa must leave Angola's southern provinces and it must leave Namibia. Angola, on the other hand, can make such steps possible, while remaining true to its principles, by assuring, as a separate sovereign act, the withdrawal of Cuban combat forces from its territory.

The position of the United States is clear. The President is committed to Namibia's independence. He wants to assist in creating a peaceful and independent Angola in a peaceful and prosperous region. He is prepared to use his full influence to achieve these ends.

A FRAMEWORK FOR REGIONAL SECURITY

The quest for peace in southern Africa does not stop with Namibia and Angola. Our diplomacy has consciously sought broader regional security. We have moved to rebuild our relations with strife torn Mozambique. We have responded to Mozambique's difficult economic circumstances with food aid and will shortly send an ambassador there. We have pressed for dialogue between South Africa and Mozambique, and an end to cross border violence. Our efforts have been rewarded with two rounds of talks at ministerial level between the governments, and a commitment to a continued search for understanding despite the pressures of recurring violence. The dialogue is fragile, but we will continue to do what we can to foster it.

Similarly, between South Africa and Zimbabwe and South Africa and Lesotho we have quietly urged patience, restraint and dialogue. Here again our efforts have achieved a measure of success. But I repeat, the framework is new; it is vulnerable and only through good will and reciprocal undertakings will it survive.

This concept of regional security in southern Africa rests on several key premises:

--First, we are talking about sovereignty. Apart from Namibia, the region consists of sovereign states which recognize the rights and obligations of that statehood. Respect for international boundaries and renunciation of the use of violence across them are central to any framework for international security. There can be no double standards for either South Africa or its neighbors. The obligations of statehood, in southern Africa as elsewhere, are basic and reciprocal.

--Second, the U.S. categorically reaffirms the principle that all states have a duty to refrain from tolerating or acquiescing in organized activities within their territory by guerrillas or dissidents planning acts of violence in the territory of another state. This applies equally to South Africa and its neighbors.

--Third, regional security cannot rest solely on the activity, the vision, or the influence of outsiders. Our task is not to impose a structure of security. The structure must rest on regional realities, mutual interests, and direct channels of communication. Our role is to foster a climate conducive to building it. We have made a beginning by stressing our readiness to work for reduced violence, to facilitate contact and communication, to build bridges and to serve as honest broker. To be effective, our stance must rest on a capacity to speak credibly to all states. We are uniquely qualified to play this role and we intend to play it. But it is up to the governments directly concerned--in South Africa, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana, Zambia and others--to make the basic choice between the temptations of violence and the challenge of co-existence.

--Fourth, we recognize that it is not realistic to speak of regional security without reference to the domestic political dimension of co-existence between states. The dilemma we face is that peaceful domestic change in Southern Africa and regional security are both urgently needed if the risks of growing international strife are to be avoided.

In South Africa, about which I will speak further in a moment, the imperative of peaceful change is domestic; South Africa has enjoyed sovereign statehood for over 70 years. Yet, a structure of regional stability in southern Africa is unlikely to take root in the absence of basic movement away from a system of legally-entrenched rule by the white minority in South Africa. By the same token, peaceful change toward social justice and equality for all South Africans is unlikely to happen in a regional climate of escalating strife and polarization.

In Namibia, we and our Contact Group allies are working effectively as a matter of highest priority to bring about negotiated peaceful change to internationally recognized independence. Success would directly benefit in many ways our goals of building regional security, addressing the issue of cross border violence and foreign intervention.

THE DIMENSIONS OF US REGIONAL INVOLVEMENT

There are those who see in southern Africa's political tensions an

opportunity for the West to identify the good guys and the bad guys and then to align itself accordingly. Others argue that the U.S. cannot maintain constructive ties based on principle and mutual interest with both South Africa and its African-ruled neighbors. Our policy of constructive engagement rejects simplistic stereotypes based on race and ideology as inadequate guidelines for U.S. policy. From the outset of this Administration, we have signaled our hope for constructive relations with all governments in southern Africa. No regional, state or external power can or should define our relations for us.

Accordingly, if we are to be effective in this region, we must maintain a balanced policy that is relevant to its needs and that fully reflects its diversity and divisions. Politically, we seek to bolster those whose development policies and external actions warrant that support. But we have also consciously held out the option to others to diversify their external orientation and to pursue closer economic ties with the West. Our cooperative diplomacy on Namibia has brought us into intensive contact with the Frontline States, a grouping that spans a wide range of African political choices--some of them still evolving. Vice President Bush's travel last November to Zimbabwe, Zambia and Zaire--and return visits here by their leaders--enable us to nurture these important ties. Our substantial commitment to the success and health of newly independent Zimbabwe is another dimension of our effort to help this strategically important region find stability and growth. While Zimbabwe faces serious difficulties, its leadership has committed itself to the principles of political reconciliation and a mixed economy. Because of its key geographic position and relatively strong economic base, it is important that Zimbabwe not fail as a new nation.

Economically, some 25 percent of U.S. bilateral assistance to sub-Saharan Africa goes to southern African states, six of which are land-locked. Though rich in minerals and human potential, most states of the area share to a greater or lesser degree in Africa's current economic crisis.

As part of our effort to deal with the region's economic crisis, we are working to support Zambia's efforts to restructure its economy and stimulate its promising agricultural sector. The recent visit of President Kaunda to the U.S. and subsequent intensive consultations have given impetus to this process.

Southern Africa's current drought--the worst in decades--represents a serious challenge to economic security and human well-being in the region. After careful review of this potential food disaster, we have recently increased by \$25 million our PL-480 food aid programs for affected nations, beyond the \$79 million for FY 83/84 already programmed. Over the longer term, even as political tensions threaten to divide southern Africa, there are potent factors of geography, history and economics that pull these states together. Transport links, the pattern of interstate boundaries, and the natural flow of goods and people all point in the direction of regional cooperation. We are supporting the regional efforts in transport and

food security of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), while also quietly urging South Africa and its neighbors to maintain pragmatic trade and customs agreements based on mutual benefit.

SOUTH AFRICA

It is essential that South Africans get on with the business of deciding and shaping their own future. The political system in South Africa is morally wrong. We stand against injustice, and therefore we must reject the legal and political premises and consequences of apartheid. Indeed, it is increasingly recognized as impossible to maintain by a growing number of South Africans of all races.

We reject unequivocally attempts to denationalize the black South African majority and relegate them to citizenship in the separate tribal homelands. We do not and will not recognize these areas. All Americans are repelled by the sight of long-settled, stable black communities being uprooted and their inhabitants forcibly removed to barren sites in far away "homelands" they have never seen before. Neither can we countenance repression of organizations and individuals by means of administrative measures like banning and detention without due process of law.

By one means or another, South Africa's domestic racial system will be changed. Black South Africans will gain fuller participation in all aspects of South African society and politics. Our policy is directed, therefore, not at whether a non-racial order is in South Africa's future or what the shape of that non-racial order will be, but how that non-racial order will be arrived at. Western policy toward South Africa today must focus on how various black groups acquire the basis and influence necessary to participate in a genuine bargaining process that produces change acceptable to all. The future of South Africa depends on those who participate in shaping it. A peaceful process of change depends on support from those who reject, as we do, both alignment with the current racial order, and violence as a means of ending it.

We believe that South African and U.S. interests are best served by encouraging the change that is now under way in South Africa. We are committed to strengthening the capacity of black South Africans to participate in their country's society as equals--economically, culturally, and politically. It is our view that such "power to participate" can only be made-- it cannot be taken. This is not and cannot be a zero-sum game, since power taken by force, or a revolutionary upheaval, will likely leave little worth fighting over.

American efforts should, therefore, concentrate on positive steps which back constructive change and those who are working for it. We applaud the steps which are being taken to expand home ownership opportunities, trade union rights, and access to education. The structure and substance of apartheid is inevitably affected as education budgets grow dramatically and blacks find new opportunities and new influence as workers and consumers. The recent South African

court decision to confirm urban residency rights of blacks is an important development. Equally, the findings of the De Lange (dee long uh) Education Commission underline the necessity of a sustained expansion of opportunity on a basis of greater equity. The commission's findings and recommendations deserve recognition and support.

South Africa retains an independent judiciary and a distinguished bar--two institutions which tie it to the finest traditions of Western democracy. Indeed, the rule of law is for South Africa, as for any country, a precious inheritance. In recent years the power of the court has been circumscribed by new acts of parliament and police practices which remove from the courts the ability to review executive action. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the system of detention, where the right of access to those in the hands of the police has been limited. Such a system leads to abuse. There are few things Americans should be prouder of than the rule of law in our society. Similarly, we admire efforts by South Africans to retain an independent judiciary. Those who work to rebuild the rule of law are forging anew South Africa's more important links to Western democracy. We wish them well.

Our policy--constructive engagement--supports those inside and outside of government in South Africa, who are committed to peaceful change away from apartheid. Our support is both tangible and political. It is essential that we in the West, who have the most to offer toward peaceful change and much to lose if it fails, send an unambiguous message to the people of this increasingly important country. The message is, first, that we agree with those South Africans who recognize that change is imperative and, second, that we are determined to permit them the opportunity to shape and define that change free of the threat of foreign intervention.

Constructive engagement seeks to support trade unionists, students, entrepreneurs, government leaders, cultural-political movements, civic associations, and religious organizations which, through their commitment to peaceful change away from apartheid, can help make a better future for all citizens of South Africa. Such groups and individuals must prosper if there is to be multiracial bargaining leading to a government based on the consent of the governed.

To support the positive aspects of change in South Africa, the Reagan Administration, with the support of Congress, has initiated new programs over the past two years:

--A \$4 million-a-year scholarship program which brings approximately 100 black South African students a year to the United States for undergraduate and graduate degrees. The majority of these students are studying in the hard sciences. By 1985 there will be some 400 black South Africans enrolled in U.S. institutions of higher education, and we will begin graduating more black engineers, chemists, and computer engineers than now exist in South Africa.

--In cooperation with the AFL-CIO, programs of support are being initiated to train labor leaders in South Africa in skills which will improve the collective bargaining ability of black and mixed trade unions and enhance the dialogue between the American and South African labor communities. The U.S. contribution to this program will increase from \$190,000 this fiscal year to \$875,000 next year.

--In cooperation with the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce of South Africa, we are beginning this year a project to support small business development in the black community. Over the next two years, some \$3 million will be invested in this project designed to enhance the economic leverage of the black community.

--In conjunction with black community groups throughout South Africa, we have underway a tutorial program to assist black high school students preparing for the matriculation examination which will determine their professional futures. Over the next two years this \$2 million project should significantly boost the number of blacks eligible for university admission.

--Moreover, the United States Senate has recently expressed its interest in setting aside \$5 million for an internal scholarship program as a counterpart to the program now bringing black South African students to the United States. This program, implemented through private South African institutions, could provide scholarship support to some 400 black South African students per year.

I do not pretend that these programs, in and of themselves, are the answer to apartheid. But they are indicative of an approach that fully justifies the term "constructive". We are tangibly backing the things we believe in. By strengthening the educational standards of the black population, by enhancing the organizational ability of labor, and by expanding the business base of the black community, we are engaged in institution-building for change away from apartheid while helping to encourage the alternative to it.

In terms of supporting change in South Africa, the American business community has considerably more experience than the U.S. Government. Over the past decade, American corporations with subsidiaries and affiliates in South Africa have become a force for change. The activities of these firms have had an impact far beyond the book value of U.S. investment in South Africa, and far greater than is commonly recognized. U.S. firms have led the way toward equal employment opportunities in South Africa. Corporate initiative, both foreign and domestic, helped bring about changes in South African labor law permitting blacks to organize trade unions and bargain collectively. U.S. firms, acting through the voluntary Sullivan Code of Fair Employment Practices, have had a significant impact on the well-being of black South Africans on the job. We strongly believe that voluntary adherence to the Sullivan Code is one of the best ways to go beyond rhetoric about apartheid. Equally

important, so do the great majority of our corporate leaders.

The record of U.S. corporate citizenship in South Africa, though not perfect, is clear and impressive. Our firms have been pace-setters for change. Those in the U.S. and other Western nations who would have our firms disinvest not only ignore this record of achievement but propose measures that rest on no discernible philosophic or policy premise. Disinvestment by U.S. firms would undo an avenue of positive effort. Proponents of corporate disinvestment--and of stockholder or pension manager sales of stock of firms operating in South Africa--would have Americans wash their hands of any association with that country. This apparent quest for symbolic dissociation is, in reality, a formula guaranteed to assure America's irrelevance to South Africa's future.

In the final analysis, however, South Africans themselves--both black and white--will have to meet the challenge of their society, drawing for inspiration primarily on their own resources and their own history. Movement toward change in South Africa is taking place. In the economy blacks have been gaining ever more bargaining power as producers. They are moving into more skilled and responsible positions. As consumers their purchasing power has become essential to the South African economy. Black trade unions have become a major new reality. Politically, Prime Minister Botha put his own political base in jeopardy with his proposal to extend a limited and ethnically-based franchise to the colored and Asian communities. What some South Africans see as too much, others see as too little. I do not see it as our business to enter into this debate or to endorse the constitutional proposals now under consideration for South Africa. Nor do we offer tactical advice to any of the interested parties. Yet the indisputable fact which we must recognize is that the South African Government has taken the first step toward extending national political rights beyond the white minority.

Many are quick to point out that these proposals make no provision for the national political participation of the black African majority in South Africa, except via the separate tribal homelands. More generally, there is a tendency to reject all incremental improvements in whatever sector of life in South Africa that are not explicitly linked to a full-blown democratic blueprint. We recognize the limits of current change, and for this reason do not make a practice of endorsing individual steps as, in themselves, an adequate response to the dead end of apartheid. At the same time, we believe it is incumbent on us to avoid the arrogance of rejecting such steps. Nor, if we would be credible, can we expect South Africa's would-be reformers to announce their game plan and their bottom line to the world at large.

We state clearly and unequivocally our belief in the concept of government based on the consent of the governed. We come to support what we believe in, not to walk away in self-righteous indignation.