
Clinton Presidential Records Mandatory Declassification Review

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PREC: ROUTINE

CLASS: ~~SECRET~~

LINE1: RAASZYUW RUEAIIA6382 2742012-SSSS--RHEHAAA.

LINE2: ZNY SSSSS

LINE3: R 012012Z OCT 93

LINE4: FM CIA

OSRI: RUEAIIA

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ORIG: CIA

TO: RUETIAA/DIRNSA
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INFO: *****

SUBJ: 1. DIVISIONS WITHIN THE PAC LEADERSHIP OVER TEC
 PARTICIPATION AND ARMED STRUGGLE
 2. POSSIBLE FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PAC BY
 THE GOVERNMENTS OF ZIMBABWE, UGANDA, AND TAIWAN

TEXT:

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PASS: NSA FOR ZKZK OO DLS DE (FOR NSOC).

 CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WARNING: INFORMATION REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE.

REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~ [redacted] EO 13526 1.4c

DIST: 01 OCTOBER 1993

COUNTRY: SOUTH AFRICA/ZIMBABWE/UGANDA/TAIWAN

SUBJ: 1. DIVISIONS WITHIN THE PAC LEADERSHIP OVER TEC
 PARTICIPATION AND ARMED STRUGGLE
 2. POSSIBLE FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PAC BY
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DECLASSIFIED IN PART
 PER E. O. 13526

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EO 13526 1.4c

TEXT: 1. IN MID-SEPTEMBER 1993 SEVERAL SENIOR LEADERS OF THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC) MADE STATEMENTS THAT WERE INDICATIVE OF DIVISIONS WITHIN THE PAC LEADERSHIP. SHORTLY BEFORE THE PAC'S ANNOUNCEMENT THAT IT WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE TRANSITIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (TEC), PAC VICE PRESIDENT JOHNSON ((MLAMBO)) AND PAC SECRETARY GENERAL BENNY ((ALEXANDER)) EACH SAID PRIVATELY THAT HE EXPECTED THE PAC TO BE PARTICIPATING IN THE TEC. DURING THE SAME TIME PERIOD, ALEXANDER, AS WELL AS PAC ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL THOBILE ((GOLA)), EACH SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THE PAC SHOULD ABANDON THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND THAT THE PAC LEADERSHIP SHOULD BEGIN STRONGLY CONDEMNING ATTACKS AGAINST CIVILIANS. THEY BLAMED THE PAC'S DESPERATE FINANCIAL SITUATION ON ITS CONTINUED SUPPORT OF ARMED STRUGGLE. THESE LEADERS AND OTHERS IN PAC HEADQUARTERS IN JOHANNESBURG HAD BEEN PARTICULARLY DISTRESSED BY THE APPARENT INVOLVEMENT OF MEMBERS OF THE PAC'S PAN AFRICANIST STUDENT ORGANIZATION (PASO) IN THE KILLING OF U. S. CITIZEN AMY ((BIEHL)), AND BY THE SUBSEQUENT STATEMENTS MADE IN CAPE TOWN BY THE REGIONAL PASO LEADER IMPLYING THAT PASO DID NOT REGRET THE MURDER.

2. 1.4c COMMENT: THE FACT THAT THE PAC DECIDED TO REMAIN OUTSIDE OF THE TEC, AND THAT IT HAS NOT MOVED TOWARD RENOUNCING ARMED STRUGGLE, INDICATES THAT THE ABOVE VERY INFLUENTIAL PAC LEADERS ARE IN THE MINORITY ON THESE ISSUES WITHIN THE PAC'S NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. THE ABSENCE OF JOINT TEC-SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT (SAG) CONTROL OVER THE SAG SECURITY FORCES, AND THE LACK OF PROGRESS ON THIS ISSUE IN LATE SEPTEMBER MEETINGS BETWEEN PAC AND AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) LEADERS IN HARARE, ZIMBABWE, PROBABLY CEMENTED THE DECISION TO STAY OUT OF THE TEC.)

3. AS OF LATE SEPTEMBER, THE PAC WAS EXPECTING SEVERAL FINANCIAL DONATIONS FROM FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS. DURING THE HARARE MEETINGS WITH THE ANC, ZIMBABWE PRESIDENT ROBERT ((MUGABE)) PROMISED PAC PRESIDENT CLARENCE ((MAKWETU)) A LARGE DONATION FOR THE PAC'S ELECTION CAMPAIGN. NEAR THE END OF THE MONTH, PAC FOREIGN SECRETARY GORA ((EBRAHIM)) WAS IN KAMPALA, UGANDA, IN RESPONSE TO WHAT THE PAC UNDERSTOOD WAS UGANDAN PRESIDENT YOWERI ((MUSEVENI'S)) INTENTION TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PAC. 1.4c COMMENT: EO 13526 1.4c WAS NOT AWARE OF THE AMOUNTS OF THE ZIMBABWEAN DONATION OR THE POSSIBLE UGANDAN DONATION.)

4. IN MID-SEPTEMBER THE PAC LEADERSHIP WAS ENGAGED IN DISCUSSIONS WITH OFFICERS OF THE EMBASSY OF TAIWAN IN SOUTH AFRICA NEGOTIATING A POSSIBLE TRIP TO TAIWAN BY MAKWETU WHICH HAD BEEN PROPOSED BY TAIWAN. THE PAC LEADERSHIP HAD DECIDED TO CHANGE ITS POLICY OF AVOIDING CONTACT WITH TAIWAN BASED ON PERCEIVED CHANGES IN MAINLAND CHINA'S POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA. IN THE PAC VIEW, THE CHINESE HAD GIVEN ANC PRESIDENT NELSON ((MANDELA)) RED CARPET TREATMENT DURING HIS LAST TRIP TO BEIJING DESPITE HIS VISIT TO TAIWAN, WHILE NOT EXTENDING SUCH TREATMENT TO MAKWETU ON HIS MOST RECENT VISIT. ALSO, CHINA WAS DEALING INCREASINGLY WITH THE SAG. FINALLY, CHINA ITSELF WAS TALKING WITH THE TAIWAN GOVERNMENT. IN VIEW OF THESE CONSIDERATIONS, THE PAC LEADERS DID NOT SEE ANY REASON TO CONTINUE AVOIDING CONTACT WITH TAIWAN. IF THE VISIT TAKES PLACE, MAKWETU WILL SOLICIT FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE TAIWAN

GOVERNMENT WHILE HE IS THERE.

EO 13526 1.4c

DISSEM: 1.4c SENT TO EO 13526 1.4c
EO 13526 1.4c

1.4c USUN, USCINCEUR, EUCOM JAC, CINCPAC, JICPAC.

WARNING: REPORT CLASS ~~S E C R E T~~ EO 13526 1.4c

EO 13526 1.4c

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SSN: 6382
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DIST: SIT: VAX
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PREC: ROUTINE
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 RHDLCNE/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//

INFO: ****
 SUBJ: PLANS FOR REBUILDING THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS AGREED
 UPON BY PARTY LEADERS AT THE MAY 1994 PAC NATIONAL
 WORKSHOP

TEXT: ~~SECRET~~ [redacted] EO 13526 1.4c

SECTION 1 OF 2
 CITE CIA 707193
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PASS: NSA FOR ZKZK OO DLS DE (FOR NSOC).

 CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WARNING: INFORMATION REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE
 REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~ [redacted] EO 13526 1.4c
 DIST: 24 JUNE 1994
 COUNTRY: SOUTH AFRICA
 SUBJ: PLANS FOR REBUILDING THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS AGREED
 UPON BY PARTY LEADERS AT THE MAY 1994 PAC NATIONAL
 WORKSHOP

[redacted] EO 13526 1.4c

SUMMARY: NONE.
 TEXT: 1. DURING 28-29 MAY 1994, PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC)
 NATIONAL AND REGIONAL LEADERS HELD A NATIONAL WORKSHOP IN

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 PER E. O. 13526
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JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, THAT REVIEWED THE REASONS FOR THE PAC'S POOR PERFORMANCE IN THE APRIL 1994 ELECTION AND AGREED UPON A STRATEGY TO IMPROVE THE PARTY'S IMAGE AND ITS ELECTORAL PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE. THE WORKSHOP SCHEDULED A PAC NATIONAL CONGRESS FOR DECEMBER 1994.

2. PAC DEPUTY PRESIDENT JOHNSON ((MLAMBO)) BEGAN THE DISCUSSION REGARDING THE PAC'S ELECTORAL FAILURE STATING THAT, ALTHOUGH THERE WAS CHEATING AGAINST THE PAC IN THE ELECTION, AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) AND THE NATIONAL PARTY RECEIVED EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE, THE ONLY USEFUL DISCUSSION WOULD BE OF THE PAC'S INTERNAL WEAKNESSES AND MISTAKES, WHICH HELPED THESE EXTERNAL FACTORS BRING ABOUT THE PAC'S DEFEAT. MLAMBO'S LIST OF PAC WEAKNESSES AND MISTAKES INCLUDED THE APPEARANCE OF DIVIDED LEADERSHIP, ISOLATION FROM THE MASSES, THE PAC'S IMAGE AS A RACIST PARTY, POOR PRESENTATION OF THE PAC'S MESSAGE--"WE END UP BEING SATISFIED THAT WE TOLD OFF OUR AUDIENCE", THE PAC'S IMAGE AS A PARTY ONLY OF YOUNG MEN, AND THE PAC'S LATENESS TO ACCEPT THAT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WAS INEVITABLE AND SUSPEND THE ARMED STRUGGLE. IN ONE DISCUSSION, MLAMBO CITED THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE PAC WITH THE AMY ((BIEHL)) MURDER AND THE USE OF THE "ONE SETTLER, ONE BULLET" SLOGAN BY PAC SUPPORTERS AS EXAMPLES OF FAILED LEADERSHIP THAT ALIENATED MANY POTENTIAL PAC SUPPORTERS.

3. MOST PAPERS SUBMITTED BY DELEGATES AND PAC PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ECHOED MLAMBO'S ANALYSIS OR RAISED SIMILAR POINTS CONCERNING THE PAC'S POOR IMAGE, LACK OF ORGANIZATION, INEFFECTIVE HANDLING OF INTERNAL DIVISIONS, LACK OF PREPARATION FOR THE ELECTION IN PART BECAUSE OF ITS LATENESS TO ENTER THE CAMPAIGN AND JOIN THE TRANSITIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AND FAILURE TO REACH THE GRASSROOTS. MANY OF THE DELEGATES WERE MORE BLUNTLY CRITICAL OF THE PAC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (NEC) AND THE PAC'S ELECTORAL COMMISSION. THE PAC LEADERSHIP WAS CRITICIZED AS LACKING THE MANAGEMENT SKILLS OR CHARISMA TO RUN AN ORGANIZATION, AND IT WAS ACCUSED OF "DERELICTION OF DUTY." THE DELEGATES' CONCLUSIONS INCLUDED THE STATEMENT THAT THE PAC "LIVED IN THE WORLD OF MAKE BELIEVE TO THE POINT OF LYING TO ITSELF."

4. MLAMBO'S RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REBUILDING THE PARTY, WHICH GENERALLY WERE REFLECTED IN SUBMISSIONS BY OTHER DELEGATES, INCLUDED BROADENING THE PAC MEMBERSHIP TO REPRESENT ALL POPULATION GROUPS, ADAPTING TO "THE REALITY THAT WHITE DOMINATION IS NO LONGER THE TARGET," DEVELOPING CADRE WHO ARE CLOSE TO THE MASSES IN ORDER TO LEAD THE MASSES, RATHER THAN ONLY SAY THINGS THAT ARE POPULAR WITH THEM, AND PREPARING FOR FUTURE LOCAL AND NATIONAL ELECTIONS. IN RESPONSE TO A REPORT THAT PAC MONTHLY EXPENSES WERE RUNNING AT THE EQUIVALENT OF ABOUT U.S. \$55,000 PER MONTH, AND THAT THE PAC WOULD RUN OUT OF MONEY IN SEPTEMBER 1994 AT THAT RATE, MLAMBO AND OTHERS ALSO CALLED FOR FISCAL MEASURES SUCH AS REDUCING THE SIZE OF THE NEC AND THE PAC HEADQUARTERS STAFF AND ACQUIRING COMPANIES AND PROJECTS TO RAISE FUNDS, ALONG WITH SEVERAL PAPERS PRESENTED BY DELEGATES CONTAINED DETAILED PROPOSALS ON HOW TO BETTER ORGANIZE THE PARTY FOR FUTURE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS.

5. IN TERMS OF ITS ROLE AS AN OPPOSITION PARTY, THE WORKSHOP CONCLUDED THAT THE PAC MUST GRANT THE ANC A "HONEYMOON" PERIOD AND TAKE PAINS TO BE SEEN AS COOPERATIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE. (1.4c) COMMENT: EMPHASIS IS BEING PUT ON FULL PARTICIPATION, FOR EXAMPLE, BY OBTAINING THE ENTRY OF PAC MEMBERS INTO THE CIVIL SERVICE AND DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND OF AS MANY AZANIAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY MEMBERS INTO THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL DEFENSE

FORCE.)

6. A NATIONAL CONGRESS WAS SCHEDULED FOR DECEMBER 1994, AT WHICH PAC MEMBERS EXPECT A NUMBER OF NEC POSITIONS WILL BE CONTESTED. PAC PRESIDENT CLARENCE ((MAKWETU))'S POSITION IS CONSIDERED SAFE, ALTHOUGH THE WORKSHOP CONCLUDED THAT MAKWETU NEEDED SOME PUBLIC SPEAKING TRAINING BEFORE THE NEXT ELECTION CAMPAIGN. A NEW SECRETARY GENERAL WILL BE ELECTED TO REPLACE BENNY ((ALEXANDER)) WHO RESIGNED IN MAY. DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL

~~SECRET~~ [redacted] EO 13526 1.4c

FINAL SECTION OF 2
CITE CIA 707193

[redacted] EO 13526 1.4c

PASS: NSA FOR ZKZK OO DLS DE (FOR NSOC).

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WARNING: INFORMATION REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE THOBILE ((GOLA)), WHO IS ACTING IN ALEXANDER'S PLACE, IS CONSIDERED STRICTLY AN ADMINISTRATOR AND NOT A CANDIDATE TO REPLACE ALEXANDER PERMANENTLY

[redacted] EO 13526 1.4c

[redacted] 1.4c USUN, USCINCEUR, EUCOM JAC, CINCUSAREUR, CINCUSAFE, CINCUSNAVEUR.

WARNING: REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~ [redacted] 1.4c

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END OF MESSAGE ~~SECRET.~~

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02
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