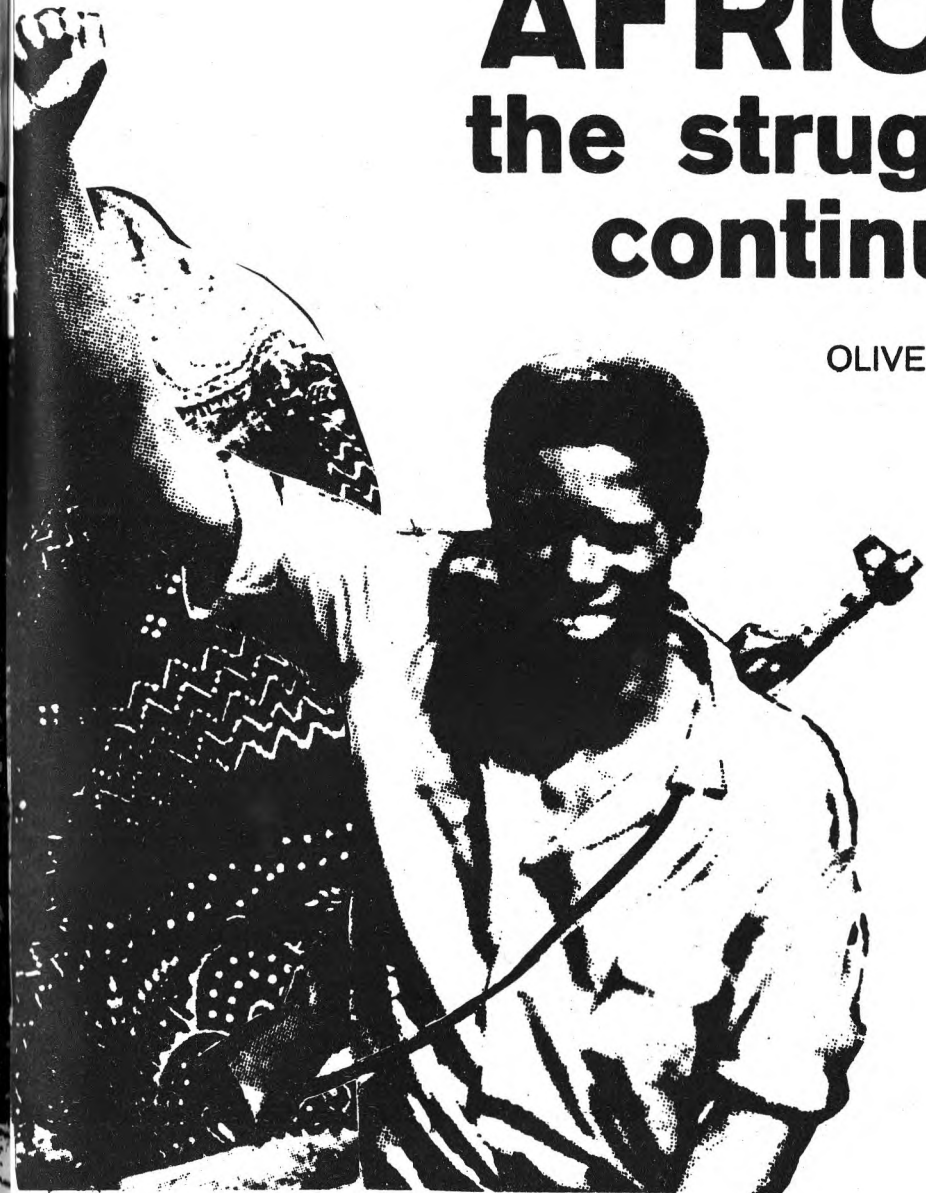


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on the march

SOUTH AFRICA: the struggle continues

OLIVER TAMBO



Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress, gave a press conference in the OSPAAAL headquarters during the visit a delegation from that African organization made to Havana, Cuba, recently.

Mzway Biliso, member of the Executive Committee and of the Revolutionary Council of the ANC, and Joseph Slovo, member the Revolutionary Council of the ANC and of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, also participated.

The ANC delegation set forth its organization's position on the present political situation in South Africa and on imperialist attempts to halt the southern African revolutionary movement that is struggling to do away with apartheid and all other forms of imperialist domination.

Members of the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL; representatives of organizations, parties and the governments of countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America; and journalists attended.



This is a very important occasion for the delegation of the African National Congress. This is also an occasion in which we feel we are being very greatly honored by OSPAAAL, not only in arranging this meeting, but also in bringing us into contact with representatives of the forces of revolution in the world — especially the revolution that is being fought in Asia, Africa and Latin America....

We also relate to this meeting with a feeling of some emotion, because we recall that the African National Congress participated in

the Afro-Asian Conference which met in Moshiton, Tanzania, in 1963 and adopted a resolution to form OSPAAAL. I led the ANC delegation at that conference in Tanzania in 1963. Subsequently, OSPAAAL was established at a latter conference in Havana.

I think we all can look back over that period of more than ten years with a feeling that, although there is much yet to be achieved, many gains.... There have been great transformations in some of the areas of our struggle.... Cuba itself, since 1963, has developed its Revolution to a degree which makes it already a lasting monument to the martyrs of the Cuban Revolution, a monument to the genius of the leader of that Revolution, Comrade Fidel Castro. But, as we like to say in southern Africa, a **luta continua**....

I should also like to say that we meet you in the year of the 60th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution. This is something that binds us all together into one great world force for change.

And the African National Congress can look back to its long history and recall... that, on the 5th of December, 1956, all the leaders of the liberation forces in South Africa were arrested, and those which were not arrested on that

date were arrested within one week or ten days thereafter. It was an act of repression intended to stem the tides of the revolution that was building up in our country. But, three days before that, the **Granma** had arrived on the Cuban coast, and Comrade Castro and his colleagues had landed to start the Revolution, which brings us to this day. December, 1956, therefore — the first week of that month — is something which the people of South Africa and the Cuban people recall....

Let me mention... a small but, for us, rather significant coincidence: Comrade Castro entered Havana triumphantly on the 8th of January. The 8th of January is a historic day in South Africa; it is the day the African National Congress was formed in 1912. Historically and scientifically, these are meaningless coincidences, but, for those who are involved in struggle, it is very good to establish these small connections.

My talk today will be around a number of questions which have been raised which it was felt would be of interest to the comrades..., but let me mention the African National Congress and its long period of struggle. Perhaps I ought to tell the comrades about some of the main phases through which the struggle of the African National Congress has moved. It was established first as an instrument of struggle against colonialism. At that time, the British colonies in South Africa had been formed into a Union of South Africa and given political power which excluded the black people. The leaders of the African people saw this as a colonial arrangement for the perpetuation of colonial domination. It was based on race; it was to ensure the continued exploitation of the majority of the people of South Afri-

ca. That arrangement virtually deprived them of political power. They have no means whatsoever of influencing the political trends. In looking at the South African situation, it is important to remember that historical incident, because, since then, since 1910, colonialism, as far as the oppressed people are concerned, has become intensified.... If you are not white, you are not entitled to any share in the exercise of political power. You cannot participate in any elections; you have no say whatsoever. The struggle against that system continues, and it means that the oppressed in South Africa are fighting to get out of the colonial status which has always existed ever since colonialism entered our territory.

The Vorster regime is not only a regime that rules dictatorially; it also is the current representative of the old system of colonialism and was an immediate and natural ally of Portuguese colonialism, a natural ally of the colonialism which dominates the people of Zimbabwe. Needless to say, it is an ally of all systems operated by imperialism, an ally of Zionism and all the forces that represent imperialism in Africa and everywhere else.

The African National Congress started in the early period of its existence by using the methods that were common at that time — protest demonstrations, resolutions adopted at conferences, various ways of trying to demonstrate the rejection of the system by the majority of the people. As time went on, the African National Congress began to rally under its banners all of the forces that were opposed to the system, especially during the era of apartheid, when a unity

began to develop among the Africans and other racial groups in the country, including the whites.

This force created problems for the regime; it compelled the regime to resort to naked force to repress the struggle for democratic change. In the period between 1950 and 1961, the people's movement, which involved the peasantry, young people and of course the working people, was confronted with such violence that the most natural thing to do at that time was to reply to this violence with violence. The African National Congress advocated nonviolence — again as a means of mobilizing the masses, disciplining them and preparing them for brutal repression. By these methods the African National Congress also sought to win over more of the white population which supported the regime and to appeal to international opinion. The regime used not only armed police at the time. At that point, in 1961, the people decided to move away from non-violence and embrace violent methods, adopt the strategy of armed struggle.

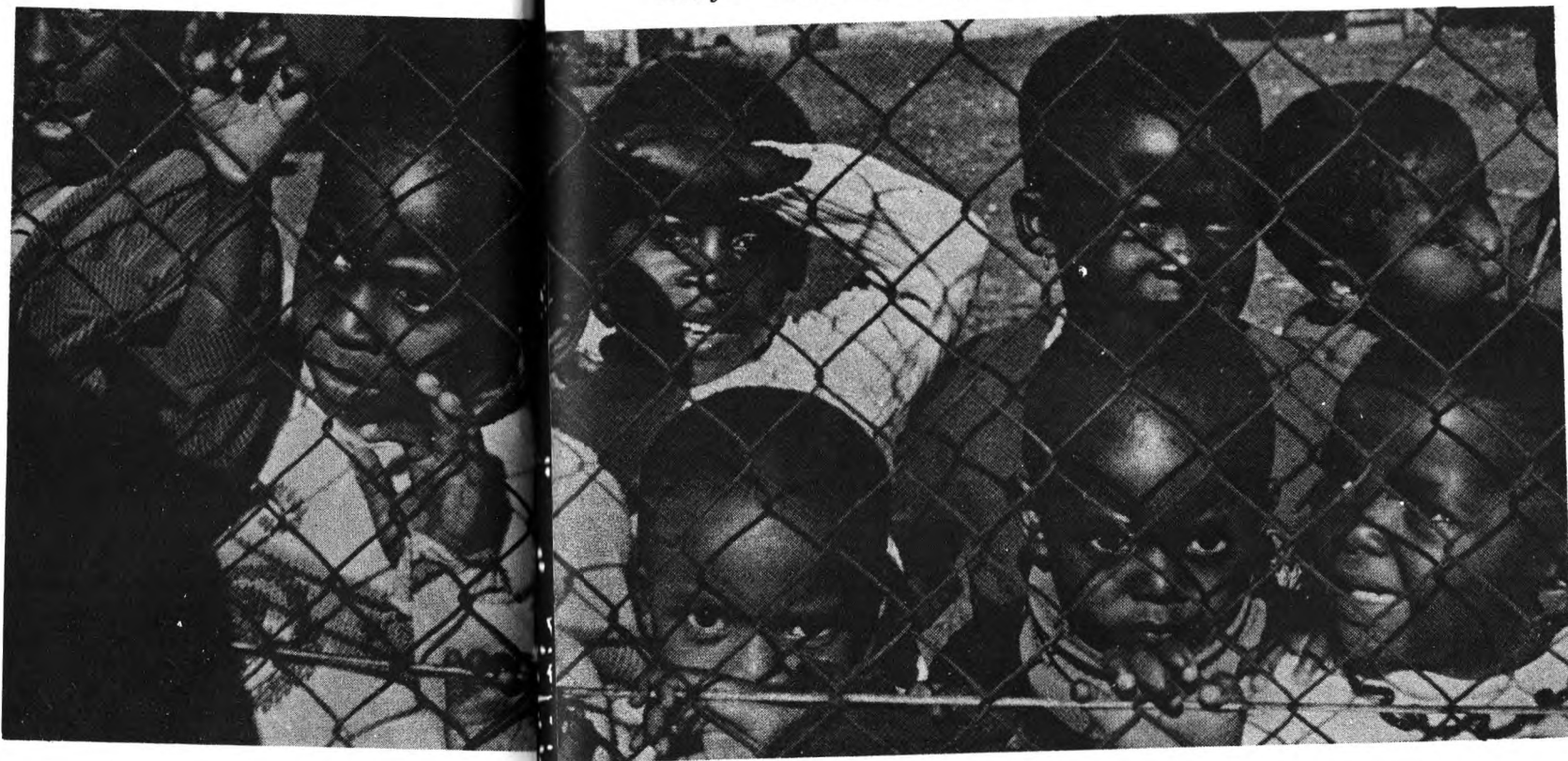
Nothing has changed in the South African situation to justify any departure from this strategy. On the contrary, the situation in Africa — and southern Africa, especially — now calls for the intensification of armed struggle by the people.... There are a number of factors which account for this historical necessity. First of all, the struggle against Portuguese colonialism by the PAIGC, FRELIMO, MPLA, which lasted for a long time, itself preceded by the struggle of the Vietnamese people, reinforced by the struggle of the Arab people — all these forces, including the struggle that was being fought in Cuban territory against imperial

ist threats, against the embargo, against Bay of Pigs invasions, against internal counterrevolution, the struggle of the people of Latin America — all these forces represented a new anti-imperialist power, which gave tremendous momentum to the revolutionary forces everywhere.

The liberation movement fighting against Portuguese colonialism became in Africa a focus of world support. When Portugal collapsed under the attack of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique..., this revolutionary momentum shot into the rest of southern Africa and had the effect of arousing the masses in South Africa, in Zimbabwe, in Namibia, and they became part

of the revolutionary process which had manifested itself in the defeat of Portugal, in the humiliation of American imperialism, in the humiliation of Israeli Zionism....

What has been an absolute necessity was for the vanguard, the revolutionary vanguard in South Africa, to maintain and heighten this offensive. These events proved the effectiveness of armed struggle to dislodge systems that are fed by imperialism and which cannot possibly be talked into surrender, and the African National Congress is at present involved in attempts to heighten the stage of mobilization of the revolutionary people in South Africa, the working class, the peasantry — which is semiproletarian,



by the way — the young people, the intelligentsia and to spread this organization across the racial barriers created artificially as strategy for the economic exploitation.

But, of course, for the African National Congress and the people of South Africa, there are enormous problems to solve. South Africa is the treasurehouse of imperialism on the African continent. It is a strategic stronghold. It is worth everything that imperialism can put into stopping the revolution in that country. An imperialist strategy having learnt the lesson of the collapse of Portuguese colonialism, having failed to reverse the gains of that revolution — for example, the failure of the racist troops to intervene in the interests of neo-colonialism in Angola — the ignominious defeat of these invading troops by the people of Angola, supported by their internationalist allies — Cuba, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and other revolutionary African governments — that was a serious defeat for imperialism. The South African troops were treated to another Bay of Pigs in Angola.... It made the position of imperialism and colonialism, of the racists, worse. And what was bad about it was yet again this failure of imperialist force as a means to contain a people seeking liberation for themselves.

There's a new strategy there..., a strategy which is of great concern to the African National Congress, because it is basically aimed at preserving South Africa as a continuing imperialist base. Basically, this strategy is to bring the issues between imperialism and the masses of the people to a round table. Only so can imperialism successfully replace colonial domina-

tion with neocolonial domination to reach the objective which they had for Angola by a different route, a route which involves securing the agreement of the revolutionary forces to a cease-fire and trying to decide upon who will exercise power on behalf of the masses by way of elections, in which the revolutionaries were going through fire.... There have been thousands of martyrs who are compelled to compete for power with agents and puppets of the system that they have been fighting.

The enemy reckons that there is just a chance that the puppets might then succeed where, in a continued armed struggle, they would be compelled to surrender. If this strategy succeeds, the people of South Africa will go through at least a temporary period of isolation. They will, for a time at least, continue their struggle without the massive international support which has supported..., FRELIMO, the MPLA. This is the objective of imperialism — in particular, because the armed struggle in South Africa is not yet developed so that it can exist on its own momentum. Imperialism hopes that it can stifle the growth of armed struggle and reduce our struggle into what so many people think it is but is not: a civil rights struggle for improvement of human rights here and there.

As I have said, our answer to this thing, higher strategy, is the intensification of armed struggle. We approach our internationalist friends, countries that embrace the principle of international solidarity. We approach them with urgency, for the intensification of the struggle in South Africa in the face of these massive attempts to contain the revolution, to deprive the people of the things for which they have sacrificed so much already.

The developments in South Africa, demonstrations, reactions to the murders of militants in the fascist jails of South Africa (one of them Steve Biko, but one of many), the funerals which are attended by scores of thousands of people when a child has been killed — these are expressions of the readiness of the people to challenge the regime. They mean that all these murders and massacres take place in the context of what the enemy regards as a war situation, but a war in which the regime is fighting against unarmed people.

When the masses of the people are able to organize weapons into their hands, then the world will realize that, indeed, there is a war going on in South Africa....

After Soweto ...

... Soweto brought to the surface forces which were there already.... It has sailed a coordination of mass actions with armed actions. The working class has repeatedly brought much of the economy to a standstill. This was started, of course, before Soweto, and it is going on increasingly. Today, more than 200 000 children, students, have left their classrooms, faced with this revolutionary moment of the people which has not been contained by massacres of laborers or assassinations. The racist regime has done one of the worst things it could have thought of, and that is to declare illegal the organizations which have been operating lawfully. For those organizations, for all the members of these organizations, for the youth, for the entire country, this ban is a challenge to take up arms against the regime. The regime has declared war, and the people will respond. The African National Congress must lead these forces.

It is a desperate act on the part of the South African regime, because its economy, even as it is, is going through a crisis. First of all, South Africa is a capitalist country, and, when I said that our struggle is against a colonialist system, perhaps I omitted to say that it takes place in the context of a class struggle against a capitalist exploitation, and there is a powerful workers' movement — especially the black working class. In the South African situation, we would have to talk in these terms of race, making important distinctions, because the blacks are the most exploited....

The South African regime, like any other type of capitalist country, is confronted with all the contradictions that have overtaken the capitalist system all over the world: inflation, computer unemployment and low economic growth rates. These problems have become acute, but what confounds and complicates the crisis is that this unemployment hits most of all the oppressed masses, those who are rejecting this entire political and economic and social system anyway.

It is expected that perhaps by next year there may be about 2 million workers unemployed, and the regime recognizes that this is a very explosive kind of powder. Worse still, the continuing internal conflict between the rulers and the ruled, the evidence of a growing armed struggle in the country, is beginning to frighten capital away, and the flow of investments into South Africa is diminishing. Some of the professionals, sensing approaching troubles, are beginning to leave the country in the hundreds. There is a large drainage of skilled manpower because many

white people do not want to serve a base... and they are going overseas to escape the — what is this thing called? — to escape conscription. Thousands of them have left the country, and the immigration on which they have been dependent all this time has also thinned down.

The total effect is to hit the whole economic setup in the country.

The white opposition

Another question that has been raised of some interest is the apparent or actual divisions occurring among the opposition, in the official opposition to the South African regime. What is the significance of this? What is the significance of the fact that President Senghor has been meeting with some leaders or representatives of this opposition? Well, we think that this is a manifestation of the growing power of the revolutionary forces — not only in South Africa, but internationalists — because the same kind of division is to be seen among, for example, in the western countries, from arising out of their finding that imperialism can no longer run the world in the old way. The structure of imperialist relations is breaking down under the impact of anti-imperialist forces in the world, and there is a difference as to the methods to be used by imperialism to contain this new situation and retain something of its old position. In a regional sense, this is happening in South Africa, too. The western countries are demanding change from Vorster — at least they say so — and the investors are concerned that there will be an explosion if there is not some change. There is a difference of

opinion about what form this change should take place. The people demand total change and are poised, with the support of the world forces, to get a change.

Within South Africa, the movement for liberation, the movement against racism, against economic exploitation, has become so powerful that the South African regime cannot rule in the old way, and, therefore, there are differences and argument and debates about what is to be done. It is in this context that there appear to be differences, but there is no difference about the desire to maintain the status quo — if not in the old form, perhaps in a slightly different form. Whoever went to see President Senghor was not talking about the transfer of political and economic power to the masses of the people of South Africa. He was talking about the superficial cosmetics which attract the eye of the observer but in substance offer nothing new. Of course, it is part of our strategy, too, to create divisions among the enemy forces and to confound them and to exploit them when they occur. So, even these manifestations of difference of opinion about method lend themselves to exploitation by the liberation movement.

We cannot say that they are of any immediate significance at the present, but we shall use them. All the people must not take them seriously, because the enemy must be expected, too, to disarm its opponents and encourage them to think that there is change taking place.... These are all tactics designed to encourage belief that change is taking place or is about to take place and therefore there is no need, there is no need to seek solutions by way of the gun. We are very alert to this kind of tactic....

There has been a concerted effort to present the South African

situation as being not only different but very different from the situation in Zimbabwe and in Namibia and, therefore, to try and remove any basis for cooperation between the leading forces in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

These efforts have failed, because the people of Zimbabwe, represented by the Patriotic Front, and the Namibians, led by SWAPO, recognize the importance of the South African struggle to the attainment of real power by the peoples in Zimbabwe and Namibia. They



know that South Africa is an ally of Smith's, and they understand that, unless we step up our struggle, their own positions are weakened. This applies equally to us. And, therefore, we work in solidarity, and we understand our problems the same way. There are details, there are details which must be determined by the liberation movement in each area. The Anglo-

American proposals are dealt with by the Patriotic Front within the broad strategic objectives of winning... power for the people, and we support the tactics which they consider necessary in response to the tactics of the enemy.

The ANC: ally of the revolutionary forces of all the world

...The African National Congress is an ally of all anti-imperialists, an ally of all people fighting for self-determination against colonialism in all its forms, and we support the struggles of the people of Latin America who have their representatives here. We support POLISARIO, FRETILIN and others who are the subjects of imperialist and colonial intrigue. We support the struggle of the non-aligned movement, and we support countries of southern Africa who are the victims of frequent acts of aggression by the racist regimes in those countries. We regard it as a duty we owe to these countries to liberate South Africa.

The African National Congress is part of the liberation forces of South Africa. It leads them. But it has invaluable allies in that movement of liberation, and, whenever we speak as the African National Congress, we also speak in the name of the entire movement for radical change in South Africa. One of the leading forces in South Africa which has stayed in the vanguard of the struggle all the time, whose members are targets of persecution day to day, is the South African Communist Party. Comrades who read the South African newspapers will notice that the racist Minister of Police and Prisons, who heads the repressive ma-



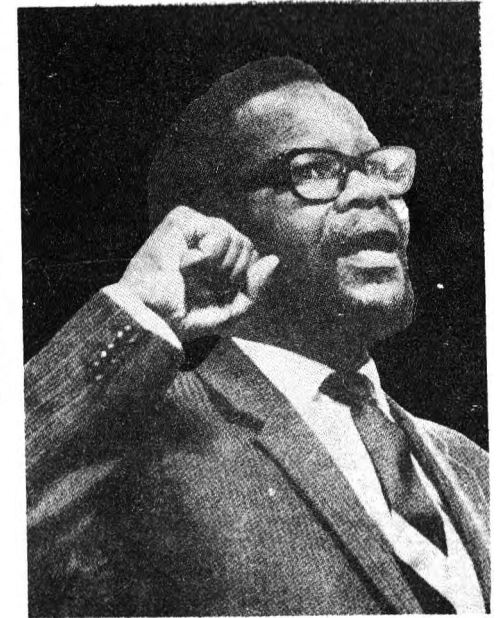
chinery in the country, is constantly complaining about the threat which the ANC and the South African Communist Party pose for the regime . . . Then we have a powerful workers' movement, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, whose leaders are also the target of repression, of victimization. We have women's organizations, and there is the youth movement, which has developed a new revolutionary power responding to the guidance given by the African National Congress to the struggle in our country.

The African National Congress was the subject of another speech recently by the Minister of Repression and Persecution. He said in 1960 they tried to destroy the African National Congress by declaring it illegal. The response was sabotage on a large scale throughout the country. Then they arrested the national leaders, who are still in jail, serving life imprisonment, and arrested every known member of the

organization. He says they have done various things since then to destroy the African National Congress, but he says that it is clear now that their efforts have failed, and he is calling upon the South African electorate to adjust itself to the reality that the African National Congress is there and it is going to be there in increasing measure. This is because the African National Congress is supported by the progressive forces of Africa, in Asia, in Latin America, in the capitalist world, in the socialist countries.

The capitalist press has tried to divert the orientation of the revolutionary movement. Would you say that the movement has a defined orientation?

Mzway Biliso: I think, perhaps, one should say definitely that the African National Congress has a policy and a program. And I think, first of all, one should say this: that this was a program which was set up nationally by the people themselves as demands that they wanted for the future of South Africa, and I think that perhaps this is more evident in the young people that are coming out in the present moment from Soweto, some of whom have not had any contact with the African National Congress but who see the dangers that exist in the system, in the existence of South Africa itself, and are seeking for some other social system which they are not too sure of. Hence, in their determination, they have looked at the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party as the more progressive movements in the country and movements which they can join to fight back. The African National



Congress — I think the Comrade President mentioned that the 5th of December, 1956, 156 leaders of all races were imprisoned and put into a prison trial that lasted for four and a half years.

What was in fact the problem of that case was the policy and program of the African National Congress, which is contained in what we call the Freedom Charter.



And, in that document, amongst other paragraphs, there are two main paragraphs which have been attacked not only within South Africa itself but have been a source of attack of the African National Congress in the European capitalist countries and especially in the United States. Those paragraphs deal with the wealth of the country, that the wealth of the country must be returned to the ownership of the people, that the land shall be redivided among those who work it. Insofar as the imperialist world, insofar as the ruling class in South Africa, that represents socialism — and, therefore, the African National Congress has to be persecuted out.

I'm trying to say, in short, that the African National Congress has a concrete program for a free South Africa which looks not only at national liberation but, as the President has said, looks also towards the problem of social liberation in the country.

Is the army in South Africa made up only of whites? What is the military potential of South Africa? What is the political position of the white workers?

Joseph Slovo: ... Until about three years ago, the army and police in South Africa had blacks in it, but they were not allowed to use any fire weapons. They were there in the capacity of laborers. In the recent period, a new policy has emerged; consistent with the attempt to create some collaboration amongst the black community, they began to employ black mercenaries, as well, but these form a very small proportion at this stage.

But, in this connection, we must also mention one other important fact: as part of its reformist program, in order to find this new solution that our President was talking about, the major strategy which South Africa has adopted internally is to create what the world knows as the bantustans. In the bantustans they are encouraging the creation of a black middle class, a black small bourgeoisie, in order to gain allies on their side, but they are also creating in the bantustans small armies who they hope will be used against the guerrilla forces.

The military potential of South Africa in purely material terms is very big. It has got a very advanced industry there; it has got rich resources on which to draw; it is being supplied through the arsenals of western imperialism, and in the last few years alone the military arsenals of South Africa have increased by hundreds of percent. But that, as we have known from Vietnam, is not a complete answer in military-political terms. It would take too long to go into a discussion on the strength and weaknesses of South Africa from the point of view of an internal military struggle, but perhaps one can emphasize one important fact which is not a directly military fact. It is a political fact which can influence the outcome of a growing military struggle. And that is that the whole of South Africa's industrial production, including its armaments production, is based on a working class over 90 percent of whom are black, and it is clear that, as the struggle progresses, this black working class, as it has already shown in the past few decades, will not lend itself to the support of the South African regime.

The political position of the white working class has a history. Early

in the century, before the black working class came into the towns, the bulk of the South African proletariat was white. In fact, when the South African Communist Party was formed, in 1921, numerically it had its roots amongst the white working class, immigrants who had come from Europe influenced by socialist ideas. In 1922, this working class went in for a rebellion against the mining industry — against the mining bosses — in which they actually captured the city of Johannesburg for a week, but already at that point the seed of what the white working class was to become was clearly evident. Their uprising in the 1922 general strike was because the mine owners attempted to get black labor into the mines — because black labor could be exploited

more; the price of gold was dropping after the First World War; and, when it comes to the rock bottom, the capitalists are not interested in color but in exploitation.

During the course of the coming decade, the white working class, feeling itself more and more threatened, became more and more reactionary, more and more right-wing, and became an ally of the ruling class, and I think it can be said today that the white working class is the most powerful support in electoral terms for the present Vorster regime. The white working class as a group has perhaps the highest standard of living of any working class in the world. Its trade unions have organized to keep the privileges for the white working class. Its trade unions have been the biggest enemies of the development of black trade unions, and, therefore, the historical situation — whatever the textbooks might say — is that the white working class at this stage does not have a revolutionary potential in the struggle which we face at the moment. We believe, however — and this is contained in both the program of the African National Congress and the program of the Communist Party — that the white working class will, in the end, in the long term, benefit from the kind of change for which the revolutionary movement is working, and, therefore, in long-term perspective, for reasons which would again take a little long to go into, we believe that we will slowly gain more and more amongst the white working class to support our cause.

Would you tell us about the South African regime's ties



with the dictatorial regimes in Latin America and with Israel?

Mzway Biliso: Comrades, sometimes it is not very easy to find the friends of South Africa, because there is so much pressure from the United Nations, from democratic organizations, which have demanded that countries should embargo South Africa, should not have diplomatic relations with South Africa, but I think that, apart from western Europe, the greatest activity of South Africa is in Latin America. We know that, in expanding, for instance, its military potential, NATO devised a South Atlantic Treaty Organization, and that South Atlantic Treaty Organization consisted at the beginning of South Africa and two Latin-American countries: Brazil and Argentina.

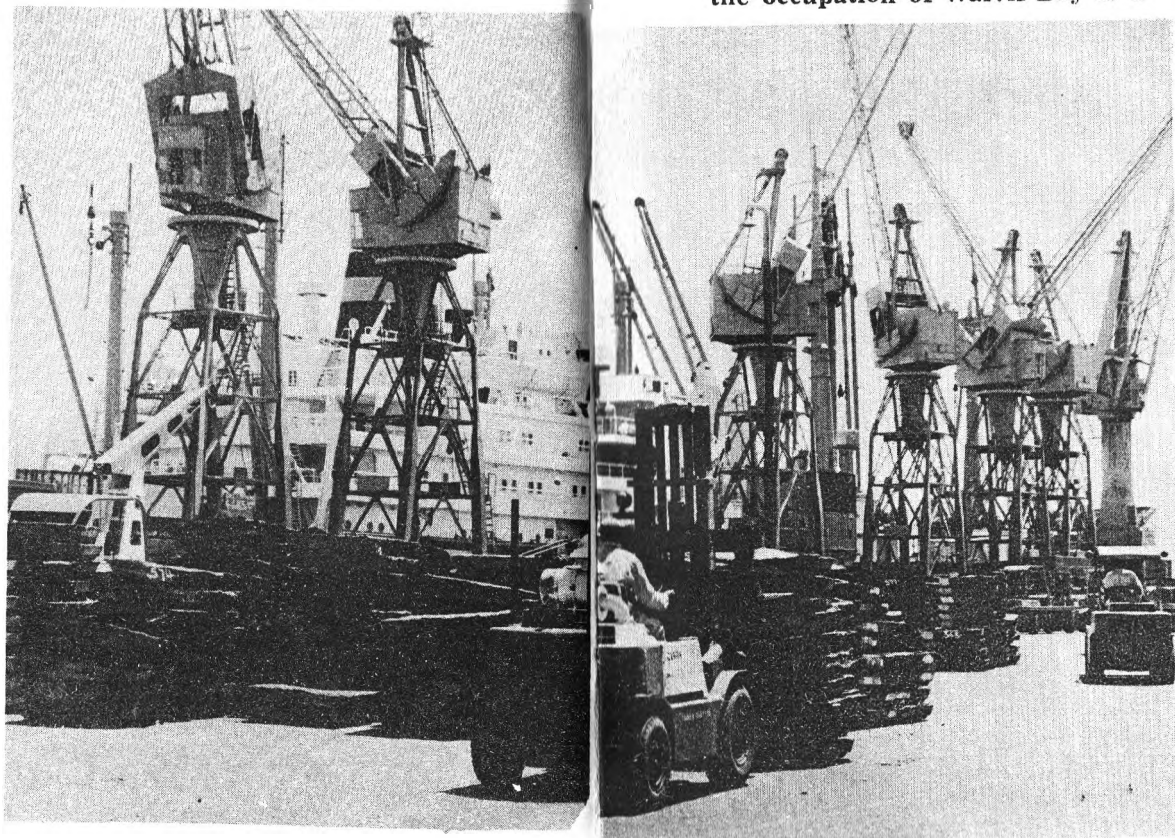
More other countries, which are probably the more reactionary in Latin America, have growing relations with South Africa: countries like Uruguay, like Nicaragua, like Bolivia — which, interestingly, recently has come out with an invitation to white South Africans and those light coloureds in South Africa to come to Bolivia to increase the agricultural potential of that country.

...What the relations between South Africa and Israel are. They were consolidated more especially last year when Vorster visited Israel and signed a number of treaties which are connected with the armed forces, economic treaties, and already I think all these treaties have come into collision because our comrades of SWAPO have informed us of the activity of Israel between the borders of Angola and Namibia, acting together

with the South African forces.

In the 1973 war, not only the United States, Britain and other European countries were involved on the side of Israel, but South Africa supplied Israel with pilots, with finance.

And, of course, if you read into the history of repressions in South Africa, you are reading into the history of repressions in Israel — and, of course, some of this is not accidental, because, where there is South Africa, some leaders of South Africa, including Vorster, were supporting the Hitlerite movement during the last war to the extent that Vorster himself had to be interned throughout the last war for his Nazi activities. In Israel we find that the Zionist leaders of Israel — including Golda Meir and



others — were during the last war collaborating with the Nazis in order to take their class brothers out of the country and to save them from the ghettos of Hitler.

So that the solidarity that exists at the present day between South Africa and Israel is at the highest peak.

Hence, the African National Congress has always supported the struggle of the PLO. Hence the African National Congress even today supports and has the greatest affinity and connections with the PLO, because the experiences are the same, and our struggle, to a very great extent, is the same. The enemy is the same.

Do you think that the occupation of Walvis Bay is a

strategic necessity for the regime and for the western powers that support it, or is it a show of force?

Oliver Tambo: Well, I think, first of all, there can be no doubt that Walvis Bay is part and parcel of the territory of Namibia. Its supposed annexation by the South African regime is really part of the area act of annexation of the whole of Namibia, because Namibia is turning virtually into a province of South Africa and subjected to the policies of the South African regime. Now that the South African regime is beginning to reckon on the inevitable loss of the independence of Namibia, it is moving on to another defensive position to prolong its occupation of Namibia, its domination and control, by grabbing Walvis Bay....

In addition, it is doing this for strategic reasons, to deny Namibia the possibility of total independence, to place itself in a position to embark on aggression, undermine the economy, destabilize the new state and compel it to surrender to colonial domination by the same forces that dominate it. It would not be too much to claim that this act has been done with the connivance and knowledge of the imperialist powers. I think that is the position about Walvis Bay.

Do you think the South African regime really has the atom bomb, or is it only a threat?

Oliver Tambo: I think it is safer to assume they have it. I think they do. But, even if there was a doubt in my mind, I would want to proceed on the basis that



they do. Now, they have been working to maximize their military capacity. In fact, until the South African forces were humiliated in Angola, in just about every statement Vorster made and in all their radio programs he spoke ceaselessly about the economic and military power of South Africa. They have been working for that military power for many years; they started about 1960, and over years the expanding power has taken some great leaps and bounds. They want to be regarded as a military power in Africa so as to be able to blackmail the entire continent into accepting the regime and its policies. Over the years, when they were developing their nuclear techniques, they have said — and sometimes it was said by the Minister of Defense — that they are working towards having a nuclear bomb. The African National Congress has

published evidence, detailed evidence, of transactions between the Federal Republic of Germany and South Africa which indicated that they are working towards building a nuclear bomb. We also know, of course, that they have collaborated very closely with Brazil. There is a triangular arrangement involving West Germany, Brazil and South Africa, Israel is starting too; and, through various agencies, the United States is also in this. Now, in August, it was found that they were about to test. Those in a position to detect these facts were not — in fact, there was corroboration, there was corroboration of the fact. After we had published a document, the ANC, saying that South Africa was working to produce a nuclear bomb, the Soviet Union announced the fact that this bomb was about to be produced. The United States should know whether a bomb is about to be exploded or not, and they said something about it. So did France.

If there was a conspiracy to merely throw out a threat, by saying that there is a bomb to be exploded, to be tested, the Soviet Union would not have been a party to that conspiracy, and we know from information from the Soviet Union that, in fact, South Africa has the capacity to test a nuclear bomb. Of course, as far as the liberation movement is concerned, this doesn't limit it. It's no deterrent of any kind; it doesn't matter at all whether they have the bomb or not, as far as our struggle is concerned. It might be a matter of importance whether South Africa really wants to provoke World War III. We do not think the regime would survive that war, anyway.

Comments by Latin-American representatives

Dr. Hugo Villar, general secretary of the Broad front of Uruguay: First of all, on behalf of the Broad Front, we would like to extend a fraternal greeting to the comrades of the African National Congress and to transmit to them our people's full solidarity with the liberation struggle being waged by our African brothers.

Our peoples of Latin America are deeply identified with the African peoples in the struggle against our common enemy. Even if the reasons for the necessary solidarity among the peoples struggling for their liberation weren't enough, we understand that there are current events that argue even more strongly for acting as a single unit. It is clear that US imperialism is developing a strategy in the South Atlantic that affects both South America and southern Africa. In both continents, imperialism has been forced to resort to the most savage methods of repression to hold back the

growing movement of people's unity. The struggle of the peoples in Latin America is externalized in the presence of tens of thousands of prisoners in the jails and concentration camps of Chile, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Argentina, in the thousands of crimes committed by the fascist dictatorships. Tens of thousands of people have been forced to emigrate from our countries, and these circumstances heighten our solidarity with your struggle in Africa.

The relations between Vorster's regime and some of these regimes in South America have been stepped up in the last ten years. First, ties with Paraguay were strengthened, with efforts to increase trade and political relations, starting in the mid-'60s. The same thing happened, later on, with Uruguay. These relations have been intensified in the last three years. Even though the volume of trade is not very great, it has increased sharply in the last few years, with Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. In some cases, in addition to this strengthening of economic and political relations, military relations have been established. This is related to US imperialism's attempt to create a military organization, a military pact, similar to NATO. As Comrade Tambo pointed out, there has been an increase in investments, and banking capital has even been installed in the specific case of Uruguay. During a trip to Uruguay in August, 1975, Vorster compared himself with the Uruguayan dictator as follows: "We're the same kind of men." Absolutely right: these fascist puppet regimes in South America have the same objectives as the racist regime in

South Africa — which is why all of them deserve to be repudiated by all the peoples. African brothers, we feel deeply identified with you and consider ourselves your allies in our common struggle.

Francisco Fernández, chairman of the Chilean committee of solidarity with the antifascist resistance in Cuba:

Speaking in the name of the Chilean people and of the Antifascist Resistance, we support the words of Comrade Villar. We have received reports, both from Mozambique and from the Chilean resistance inside Chile, that Pinochet's regime — that has strengthened its ties with the racist Government of South Africa — has sent troops, commandos trained in the US military schools in the Panama Canal Zone, to Namibia. We would like to ask the comrades of the ANC if they have any more information about this. In addition, we would like to supplement what Comrade Villar said about Chile. South African consortia have invested in Chile in the last three years, especially in mining, and officers of the South African Navy have participated as observers in the joint naval maneuvers that the fascist Navy carries out with US naval units. We would like to know if you can add anything in this regard.

Oliver Tambo: Well, first of all we should like to thank the comrade for the information.... We all together represent the best interests of the peoples, and our not working together to the extent that we really can.... We of the African National Congress, ... not yet have

we sent a delegation to Latin America or in the Caribbean except Cuba. We have been somewhat perhaps overwhelmed by the apparent strength of the reactionary regimes.... I think we'd be less overwhelmed if, in fact, we established contacts with the progressive forces of this part of the world....

We attack the imperialist countries for supporting the South African regime. ... facts and figures to establish the degree of collaboration that exists between some of the Latin-American regimes and the murderous regime in South Africa.

Now, some six months ago, we received information about in Namibia the enemy had introduced troops which came from some Latin-American country. They spoke Spanish, and they were made to terrorize the Namibian people, and then the South African regime said they were Cubans — you speak Spanish, don't you? There were a number of atrocities of that kind which were accredited to the "Cuban" troops, but SWAPO was quite firm that they were not Cubans; they had been recruited from somewhere in Latin America. So they have had information, and I think that this would be very useful to our.... These details would be very useful. They are not associated with Chile when we quote the information. This information ought to be exposed.

The interest of the investments in Chile and things like that; I must confess, ... we didn't know about this. I think we must and we shall try to establish... communication between the ANC and our colleagues in Latin America.

Rogelio González, representative of the communist party of Uruguay:



I would also like to state that I support what Comrade Hugo Villar said, because he expressed our sentiments and thinking perfectly....

We should get to know each other fully and keep up-to-date on what is going on in Africa and America. Right now, Andrés Rodríguez, second in command of the Paraguayan Army, is visiting South Africa. This shows us that, two and a half years after Stroessner's visit to South Africa, high-ranking chiefs of the Paraguayan Army are once again visiting South Africa. This also means that the preparations for SATO are advancing. In this regard, I would like to say that it is necessary for contacts to be maintained between the peoples of Africa and Latin America, because the reaction and imperialism are joining together, and it is necessary for all the anticolonialist and anti-imperialist forces to unite, as well, to counter them.

Pedro Pablo Barahona,
representative of the Brazilian

communist party:

On behalf of the Brazilian Communist Party and on my own behalf, I would like to say that this meeting has contributed many new things of great importance for us. We view the problem of Latin America together with that of southern Africa, and we believe that imperialism is preparing and organizing a new counterrevolutionary offensive on a world scale. The things I have learned here, such as the existence of personal contacts between Latin-American military men and those of Africa, indicate to me — even on this superficial level — that bonds are being established between southern Africa and the fascist bloc in South America. For all these reasons, our struggle must be a united one, in all the territory south of the equator.

Once again, I would like to express my gratitude to OSPAAAL for having promoted this meeting, that is of great importance for the information it has provided.