



tricontinental
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APARTHEID IS NOT JUST A REGIONAL PROBLEM

ALEX LA GUMA, JOSEPH DUBE,
JUAN CARLOS CARULLO, FIDEL GUTIERREZ





Every month, OSPAAAL sponsors a number of conferences, talks, debates and political meetings of all kinds as a part of its constant efforts to present a true picture of the exploiting regimes under which so many peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America are suffering and to support all who, in one way or another, are trying to wipe them out.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL decided to hold several round-table discussions on fascism, Zionism and apartheid with the participation of outstanding political figures and intellectuals from Africa, Asia and Latin America over a period of several months, starting last January, at OSPAAAL headquarters.

A summary of one of these activities is included in this issue of **Tricontinental** because of its importance in bringing out the common roots and ties between the fascist and apartheid regimes, which are characteristic of contemporary imperialism and afflict many oppressed peoples in the so-called Third World.

Therefore, **Tricontinental** offers its readers the main expositions on fascism and apartheid — presented by Rodney Arismendi, General Secretary of the Uruguayan Communist Party, and Alex La Guma, an outstanding South African intellectual — and some of the contributions made by representatives of various organizations and countries who attended the debates.

Future issues of **Tricontinental** will contain statements and discussions on Zionism.



APARTHEID IS NOT JUST A REGIONAL PROBLEM

**Alex La Guma, representative of the African National Congress
of South Africa**

A bit of history

FIRST of all, let's remember that the word "apartheid" is not the official policy of the South African government. When the present government first came to power in 1948 and announced its policy an editorial in one of the Afrikaner newspapers used the word "apartheid," which means, literally, the state of being apart. The official policy of the government is called Separate Development.

Now the condition of separateness is nothing new to South Africa, and it is not an original policy enunciated by the present government. Separation, segregation and racial discrimination have been part of the history of South Africa from the earliest days of its existence.

At the time that Western Europe, seeking trade and the whole extension to the west and to the east, was looking for the shortest route to the Indies — we all know that history — the Cape of Good Hope became an important sea route for developing European trade and industry.

The Portuguese first rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1497, but they didn't establish any permanent settlement there. It was the Dutch who, in 1652, first landed on the Cape of Good Hope and established a settlement. This was also the first occasion on which white colonialism came into contact with the indigenous African people.

The propaganda for white supremacy in South Africa tries to maintain to those who don't know the facts that there were no black people and no indigenous settlements in South Africa when the Dutch arrived. Perhaps the first expression of racism in South Africa is to be found in the diaries of a young Dutch colonizer of that period who refers to the indigenous population as stinking people, thus setting the tone for the racial policies of the future.

The Dutch did not mean to establish a permanent settlement in the Cape but only a harbor station for their ships passing that way. But the settlers discovered that the land was rich in natural resources and valuable for raising cattle, so they decided to remain. This resulted in the massacre of the local population, the Koisans and the Naman people, who were wiped out by the Dutch, just as the Indians were wiped out in North America. The Dutch seized the land, raised cattle and took over the area. The massacre of the population resulted in a tremendous shortage of labor, of course, and it was necessary to import more.

It is a historical fact that South Africa is one of the few countries in Africa whose slaves were imported rather than exported. The slaves supplied the labor in the western Cape provinces at that time, and you can imagine the overall concept of slavery that was developed, the racist attitude that the whites were the masters and the blacks were slaves.

As the white colonialists expanded and seized more lands, they also came in contact with the surrounding African peoples, and the conflict

between the white settlers and the African people took place at this early time. In addition, French Huguenots came to supplement the European settlers, and, during the Napoleonic wars, the British occupied the Cape provinces.

The settlers, of course, had to expand as their families developed and they needed more lands, so they pushed further into the interior, where the only land available belonged to the African tribes inhabiting that part of the country. In addition, the settlers were not in agreement with the concept of emancipating the slaves, which the British capitalists found necessary. The result was that what we call the Boers (descendants of the Dutch or Huguenot settlers) moved to the interior, away from the influence of the so-called liberal abolitionist policy of the British.

Of course, the British weren't interested in emancipating the slaves out of altruism, but for their own economic advantage. They occupied the Cape region and advanced into the eastern part of the country — what we called Natal Province. The Boers, in the main, advanced to the north and seized the territories there, so that the whole country became an occupied zone under white colonialism. Having moved into the interior, the Boers established two republics, the Transvaal and Orange. The basis for the establishment of these republics is significant. The principle on which these republics were founded was that there should be no equality in church or state between black and white. This concept has continued in practice up to the present. At first, the country was exploited on the basis of land and livestock, and the occupation didn't take place peacefully, because the African people were continually resisting the white settlement. It is a significant fact that the Afrikaners or Boers never defeated the African people. The pioneer Boers were formed in a sort of robbers' band of brigands, and they were defeated on many occasions by the African people. The British, with their superior army and all the resources of developing capitalism, succeeded in subduing the African people.

As I said, the economy of the country was at that time based purely on land and cattle; it wasn't until the period from 1860 to 1880, when gold and diamonds were discovered, that the capitalist industrial development of the country started. The discovery of gold and diamonds at the end of 19th century was a significant landmark in the economic development of South Africa. British imperialism immediately considered it necessary to seize the mineral wealth of the country for its own advantage, and this meant dislodging the Boer republics from control of the mineral resources, for, as I explained, the gold and diamonds were discovered within the two Boer republics.

This was the cause of the Boer war, which has been called the first imperialist war because it was based upon British imperialist designs to take over the region. The British defeated the Afrikaners and took control of the whole of South Africa.

The Anglo-Boer union

As a result of arrangements between the Boers and the British, the two groups decided to share the territories of South Africa and established what has been called the Union of South Africa.

It is significant that the political architect of this union was Lord Balfour, who was also the political architect of the British occupation of Palestine. We know that the British intended, at that time, to establish their presence in the Middle East and South Africa, in order to thereby control the entire region.

In line with Anglo-Boer interests, the Union of South Africa was based on the principles that the black people would not participate in the state and that the whole machinery of rule would be based upon the superiority of the white minority over the black majority. In order to maintain this exploitation of the blacks, it was necessary to create not only a state machinery but also a state philosophy. One of the first laws





passed in this regard was the Land Act of 1913, which placed 87 percent of the territories of South Africa in the hands of the white minority and allocated 13 percent for occupation by the black majority. This created a huge population of so-called "foreigners" in South Africa. The philosophy was that, since 87 percent of South Africa was occupied by a white minority, this was the indigenous population, and the blacks who occupied the other 13 percent were the foreigners. As foreigners, they were not entitled to any rights in this territory — political, trade union, economic or social.

Even though today the majority of black people do not live in the 13 percent allocated to them, they are still refused any sort of rights within the so-called 87 percent. This situation established by law in 1913 still exists, so the present government's policy of exploitation is nothing new; it is simply perpetuating the machinery that British imperialism created in 1913.

How the African people live

When we speak of separate development, the bantustan policy or homelands for the Africans, we also have to go back in the history of South Africa.

In the 18th century, the British Foreign Minister sent a message to the British Governor of Cape Province stating that the policy of the British administration should be to establish hamlets or black areas surrounded by white areas, so the black areas could supply the labor for the white settlers. Thus, we see that the history of discrimination and domination in South Africa is not recent but dates from the early days of the country's occupation.

What does this mean for the African people who live in the so-called white areas of South Africa? It leads to what we call apartheid, or racism in practice. First, no black person can occupy any house or land in the white area without permission. An African is only allowed to remain in a white area for 72 hours without permission. It means that, if an African, a black, wishes to work in a factory or a mine or some commercial enterprise in the white area, he must have permission to do so. Even if he was born there, he needs permission. From the age of 16, all Africans must carry documents stating that they are entitled to be in a particular area. Having no rights, they can only work for the particular enterprise in which they have been given permission to work. They can't change jobs without permission or travel from one town to another without permission. This means that African workers are subjected to the state machinery created by the white minority — and, having no rights at all, of course, are paid the lowest wages possible. Legally, the black can protest; but practically he cannot because he has to earn his living.

**CITY OF PORT ELIZABETH
NOTICE**

**FOR THE USE OF WHITE PERSONS
ONLY.** *BY ORDER.*

**STAD PORT ELIZABETH
KENNISGEWING**

**ALLEENLIK VIR DIE GEBRUIK
VAN BLANKES.** *OP LAS.*

**IDOLOPHU YASEBHAYI
ISAZISO**

**UKUSETYENZISWA NGABA
MHLOPE BODWA.** *NGOMYALELO.*

BEACH CHAIRS 15 CENTS PER DAY OR PART THEREOF
SUN UMBRELLAS 50 CENTS PER DAY. AFTER 2 P.M. 30 CENTS
TICKETS OBTAINABLE FROM THE CHAIR ATTENDANT. THE
OWNER DOES NOT HOLD HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR
ANY INJURY SUSTAINED WHILE HIRING THESE CHAIRS
AND UMBRELLAS.

STRANDSTOELE 15 SENTS PER DAG OF GEDEELTE VAN
'N DAG. SONSAMBRELE 50 SENTS PER DAG 30 SENTS
NA 2-N.M. KAARTJIES IS VAN DIE STOELE-OPPASSER
VERKRYGBAAR. DIE EIENAAR IS NIE AANSPREEKLIK
VIR ENIGE BESERINGS WAT OPGEDOEN MAG WORD
TERWYL HIERDIE STOELE OF SAMBRELE GEHUUR
WORD NIE.

perialism and the local Boer economy from a very early period, and there has also been competition between them. The Afrikaners were, in the main, landowners and cattle raisers, but they were also trying to break into the industrial economy. They created banks and invested their finances in industrial enterprises building nationalism around their own particular group, and, in 1948, they succeeded in taking over state power. But they had to share the industrial and the rural development of South Africa with British and foreign imperialism. I mention the British, because Great Britain continues to be the biggest foreign investor in South Africa. So that, with the accession to power of this new group in South Africa and its need to maintain its economic control over the country, the policy of apartheid became a part of South African life.

Apartheid, of course, represents the most extreme form of racial discrimination, and this government has enforced racism in South Africa in a way no other government has ever done. One of the first measures it took to enforce its rules was to establish rigid control over the black population, as if the previous system of racial discrimination was not enough to maintain white supremacy. But while this racism intensified, the resistance of the African people also increased. World War II was over, and people of the colonies were in a state of rebellion and uprising to achieve national liberation. It was therefore necessary to maintain a rigid form of control in order to prevent the same efforts from developing in South Africa. Thus, the government announced its policy of separate development.

Verwoerd was the chief architect of this policy, which stated that, since black and white existed in the territory, it was necessary to give the black people their own special living conditions. But the government went beyond the mere allocation of 13 percent of the land to blacks and their confinement to that land by breaking the black people down into eight different groups, with the intention of dividing them into tribal groupings. Verwoerd said that the policy of separate development must be taken to its logical conclusion, that there should be separation not only between black and white but also between black and black and between black and other nonwhite groups in South Africa.

Apartheid, as I said earlier, is the state of being apart. According to the reasoning set forth, since there were eight original tribes, the black peoples should be divided into their own ethnic groups.

Moreover, the tribes were no longer described as tribes, but as nations. By some magic Prime Minister Verwoerd and his governmental advisers turned tribal groups into nations and created eight so-called nations, now called homelands or bantustans. Again, the word "bantustan" is not an official word. It, too, was coined by the press and national spokesmen. By creating these bantustans, the government also hoped to appease the nationalistic feeling of the African people. But, at the same time, it was not, of course, intended to develop these areas for the purpose of the African people. This would defeat the object of the crea-

tion of separate homelands for the African people. It must be remembered that these areas represent the most underdeveloped and most poverty-stricken regions of South Africa, so that the people who live there must earn their living somewhere else. But the only place to earn what is called a decent living is in the white areas, so the bantustans or homelands have become a colony of cheap labor for the white enterprises.

By creating a new tribal situation, the government hopes to destroy the national unity of the African people and, at the same time, gain support for its own policies by granting the puppet leaders of these tribes the so-called prime ministership, as officials of these allegedly independent areas. By creating the bantustans and giving so-called independence to these areas, they hope to appease world opinion in its concern for supporting the liberation of the African people. To do so, it is necessary to divert the support of the international community from the liberation movement to recognition of the bantustans as so-called independent territories.

Shifting the weight of the crisis

In addition to all this, South Africa is not free from the crisis of world capitalism, and it hopes also to be able to transfer the crisis from the white areas to the bantustans. For instance, as unemployment develops, it is transferred to the black worker. The black worker, being unemployed, becomes a burden to the economy inside the so-called white areas; but, since the black worker cannot remain in a white area without work, without permission, he is sent back to his so-called homeland. Thus, the problem of black unemployment is removed from the white areas, and the reserve labor force in the homelands is augmented. These are some of the aims that lie behind the concept of the bantustans and separate development. Of course, as I said, the government doesn't intend to give any genuine rights to these so-called homelands or independent areas. It has created paid puppet chiefs, but no basic means of developing these areas. Of course, nobody can conceive that the people will accept such a proposition, and there has been and will be resistance to this whole scheme being developed in South Africa.

When the Transkei was given so-called independence, one of the puppet ministers of the bantustans became so frustrated that he decided to resign, and he said, significantly, "I would rather wash dishes in heaven than be a minister in this hell." When the so-called prime minister of the Zulu bantustan was attending a funeral in Johannesburg, he was mobbed by the thousands of people there and had to be protected by the police.

According to statistics, more African people live outside the bantustans, in the so-called white areas, than live inside the bantustans. It is significant that, of all those people who are supposed to be citizens of the



Transkei — more than 2 million people by November, 1978 — only 57 applied to be citizens of the Transkei.

In addition, it must be remembered that the territory of the bantustans does not belong to the African people who inhabit it. By law, all the territory in the black areas is state-owned, so that the central government can cancel an entire bantustan program without previous warning. As long as the bantustan program serves the white minority, it will continue. The moment it becomes dangerous, it can be overthrown by law.

This is the general picture of what is meant by the apartheid policy. To this must be added the extreme poverty of millions of people.

The African National Congress emerges

South Africa is a country which involves 1,222 million square kilometers. The population today is about 26 million, 4.5 million white people and

the rest black people. Of the black people, there are 2.5 million mixed black people: mulattoes, mestizos. There are also 600 000 Asiatics of Indian descent. This black majority provides the wealth for the white minority, not only for the white minority locally but for foreign imperialism, for the transnational corporations who invest millions of dollars, francs, pounds and marks in South Africa. This is one side of the coin. The other side, of course, is the resistance of the people.

Since the very beginning, as I tried to explain, the occupation of South Africa has been effected not only by local forces but by foreign imperialism, as well. It was British imperialism that subdued the African people in the 17th and 18th centuries, and, together, the local exploiters and foreign imperialism held their domination in South Africa. Apart from having the superior firepower of a disciplined army, they also had the resources of developing capitalism. Another factor that contributed to the subjection of the African people was that they were divided into tribal groups.

With the formation of the modern state of South Africa, the African tribes had to seek modern ways of confronting the exploiter. For this reason, at the beginning of the century, particularly in 1912, the various tribal leaders came together and formed the national movement which became the African National Congress. The national liberation movement has been developing ever since then and is now preparing to confront the whole state machinery of South Africa.

At the same time, of course, the South African state has become more and more violent and repressive. Its violence and its repressiveness is a result, in part, of its own development and its efforts to counteract the national liberation movement, and also of its own contradictions.

The economy and expansion

The growth of the South African economy has been so great that it is no longer able to contain itself within its own borders. In a market limited by the black people's poverty, it is necessary to expand beyond its borders. So that, while the South African state has become more and more repressive, the economy has become more and more imperialistic. The South African racists have been trying to expand into Africa itself. The initial attempts were made in Namibia, for example. It hopes to introduce its bantustan policy into that area, as well. At the same time, it supports the racist minority of Rhodesia. The South African racists hope to have a say in the control of the whole of southern Africa.

It has to create a state and military machinery to support this economic expansion. In 1969, it spent \$291 million on arms. Last year, the military budget was \$1.794 billion. You can well imagine that this expenditure of armaments can't be only for the subjugation of the national liberation movement inside the country. All that money must also include conventional warfare outside the country. South Africa has

troops in Namibia; it has troops on the border of Angola and is still massing troops there. We know that it tried to invade Angola a few years ago and that it has tried to subvert countries like Zambia and Mozambique. Meanwhile, South Africa has been developing its own nuclear potential. A few years ago, South Africa was said to be capable of producing six atom bombs of the Hiroshima type. This is not meant for the liberation movement inside South Africa.

A few months ago the Minister of Defense expressed his desire to find very big open spaces for what they call military maneuvers. There was talk about how appropriate the desert areas in South Africa and Namibia were for these maneuvers. For what reason do they want underpopulated or deserted areas but to test atom bombs?

Trying to block the revolution in southern Africa

If we look at what's happening in South Africa, we can conclude that the ideology, the state and the economy are becoming more and more imperialist. Imperialism's contradictions also bring the fascist outlook, the fascist psychology and fascist repression. At the same time, of course, not only the liberation movement inside the country but world opinion is becoming more and more concerned about what is happening in South Africa.

Africa has become a scene of rebellion, revolution and anticolonialist liberation. Many countries have become independent, but more and more have gone even further and are taking a more and more radical line in their development. We know what has happened in Ethiopia, in Angola, in Mozambique, in Guinea-Bissau, in many of the former colonies of Africa.

For this reason, the southern part of Africa is of great concern to international imperialism. Obviously, it cannot allow this large territory to escape from its hands.

On the international level, the imperialists hope to find some kind of solution in southern Africa which will prevent a radical transformation. In Zimbabwe, they hope to delay until they can find acceptance for their so-called internal settlement. In Namibia, equally, they hope that the situation can be resolved with a middle-of-the-road solution that favors their interests.

We know that the Carter administration has been concerned about what has been happening in South Africa itself and has been talking about human rights and about slackening the pressure on black people. International imperialism hopes to find or induce the local oppressors to make some cosmetic changes in South Africa so it will look better in the eyes of the world. They are trying to avoid the outbreak of a rebellion, an uprising that will wipe out all their plans for South Africa.

There is really no contradiction between international imperialism and the local rulers of South Africa. Both are concerned with maintaining

the status quo, only in different ways; and, in fact, when it comes to the crunch, international imperialism continues to support the South African racists in spite of all its talk about human rights, etc. We know that, when it came to the vote in the Security Council, the western countries supported South Africa and voted against the resolution. So that all the talk about changing South Africa into a more acceptable state is very superficial. For this reason, any attempt to cosmeticize South Africa in order to make it look respectable or to make it look acceptable to the black people has come much too late. You cannot make apartheid respectable; it's impossible.

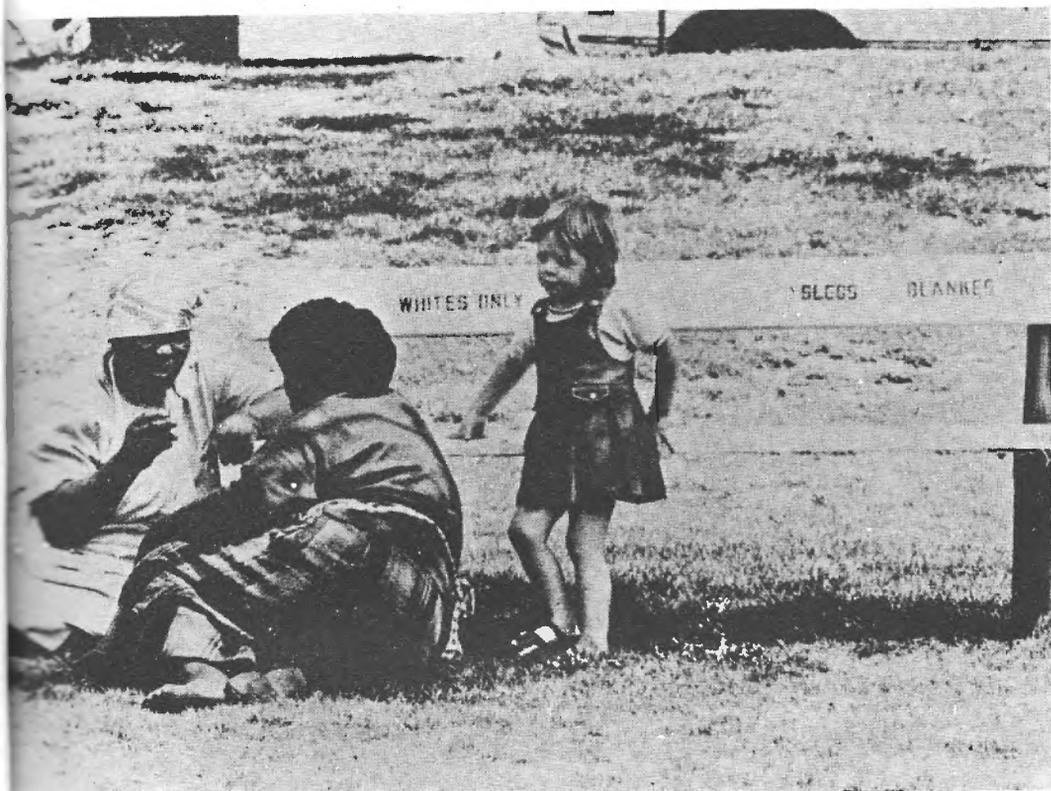
Perhaps 20 years ago an internal settlement might have been acceptable in Rhodesia or in Namibia or bantustans might have been acceptable in South Africa. Today, all that is impossible. The world and the people of South Africa have developed to the point where the only alternative today is a national democratic one that changes the fundamental structures of the society.

When Cecil Rhodes and the Beers Diamond Company moved from South Africa into what Rhodes named Rhodesia at the end of the last century, he linked Rhodesia to South Africa. When South West Africa and Namibia were taken from the Germans and given to the South Africans, they linked that territory to South Africa, equally. It meant that imperialism has a common interest in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. For this reason, of course, this territory has become linked in the struggle to defeat imperialism. The future of each people, of each territory, is bound together. The strategy and tactics used in different areas of course might be different, but inevitably it is a common struggle of the people of those areas to rule themselves, to seize power and to establish their own governments and their own societies.

Apartheid is not just a regional problem

While the South African racists see they are doomed, they are trying to save whatever they can. For this reason, they consider themselves to be the frontier of civilization and the western way of life in Africa. For this reason, too, they identify themselves with the forces of foreign reaction all over the world. Inevitably, they must identify also with the reactionary regimes in South America.

We know there have been growing contacts between Latin America and South Africa over several years, not only from the point of view of economics and trade, but also on the basis of ideology and military cooperation. Apart from the diplomatic links there have been economic links, as well, between South Africa and Latin America. Vorster has visited South America, and one of the dictators, Stroessner, has visited South Africa. It is significant of the international development of the African people that, when Stroessner, for instance, visited South Africa, there were huge demonstrations throughout the country in protest against his presence there.



Apart from this economic association, capitalism has its own selfish objectives when it talks about friendship. South Africa's Minister of Trade has pointed to Latin America as a source, as a market for South African products. Not only that, they are pointing at certain underdeveloped areas of Latin America which might receive South African capital for development and exploitation. And of course we know of the military links that have been established in order to enforce the acceptance of a South Atlantic Treaty Organization. In fact, last year, the South African government offered to assist Argentina with the development of nuclear energy.

Thus, in terms of South Africa, in terms of Latin America, in terms of all areas in which imperialism still maintains its hold, there is a definite unity, unity not only of the reactionary governments but of the progressive forces, as well. SWAPO recently pointed out that Chilean troops had been spotted in Namibia among the South African occupation forces.

In Israel's last war against the Arab states, the first Israeli plane shot down was piloted by a South African volunteer. South African Zionists are the second greatest contributors of funds to Israel, following those in the United States of America. There are similarities between Israel's policies toward the Palestinian people and South Africa's policies against black people, in terms of land seizure, for instance.

On the international level, there are various factors that show that apartheid is more than a local or regional matter. A short while ago, the Minister of Trade indicated his concern over events in Iran, since 90 percent of the oil South Africa uses comes from that country and the news was that a large number of ports were closed when the Shah was overthrown.

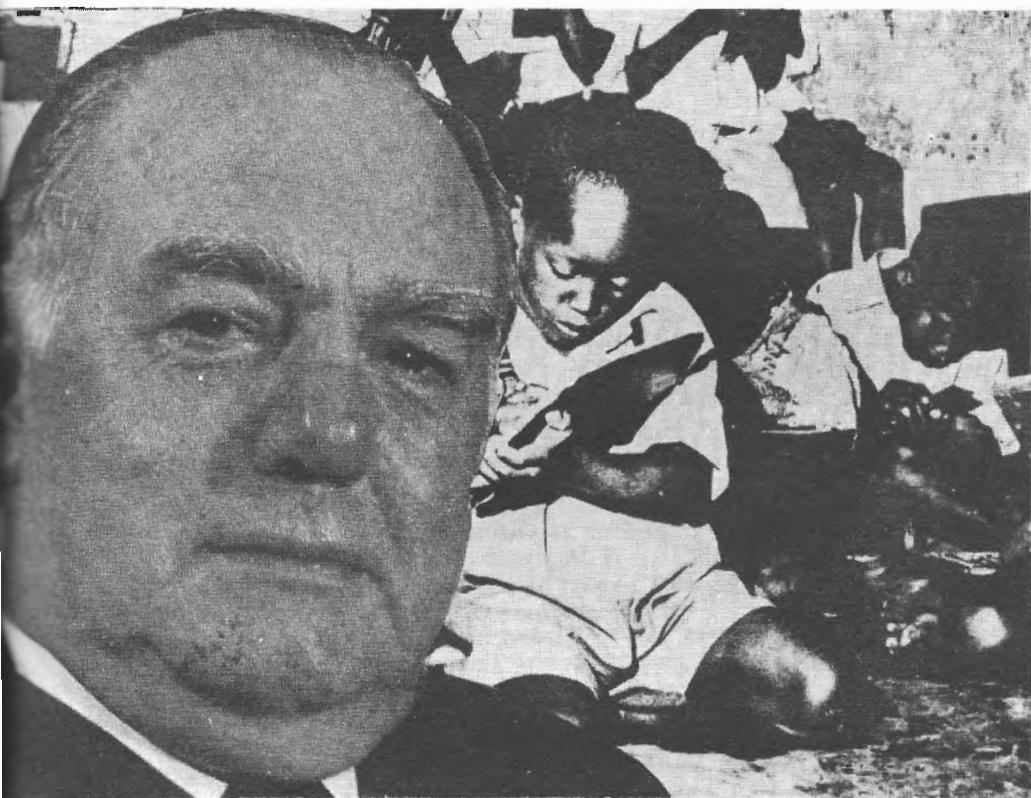
South Africa had traded with Iran for many years, and it had even signed a pact with Iran and Israel whereby the government of South Africa promised to supply Iran with uranium to develop its nuclear potential, with aid provided by Israel. We can see the attempt to create a triangle: South Africa-Israel-Iran — the three most reactionary regimes in this part of the world.

As I said earlier, relations with Israel go back many years and include both military and commercial cooperation. The two countries have very close ties. In addition, South Africa is developing relations with certain Latin-American countries, but its imperialist status distorts the friendly relations between the two continents because South Africa will go to any lengths to guarantee its interests. An ad in the Johannesburg **Financial Times** says, "Big markets are opening in Latin America for South African companies." So we see that, in addition to the relations it has with the governments of Latin America, South Africa views their countries as a major market for its products and for earning profits.

Naturally, imperialism's efforts to reunify its forces are opposed by the resistance of the revolutionary forces, which have also become much more unified and fraternal in recent years. Thus, the struggle against apartheid and repression in South Africa has become an integral part of the world struggle against imperialism. We also believe we are a part of that great army of mankind that is seeking an awakening, a better way of life.

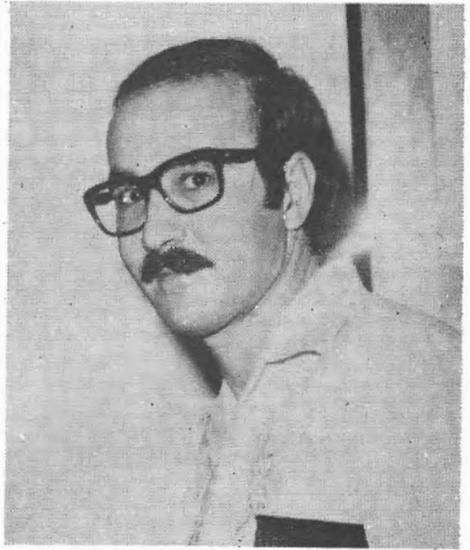
As we have said, the apartheid system and the policy of the government of South Africa is not only a local problem but a world problem — a practical one as well as a theoretical one, involving both the revolutionary movements and the population in general. And, as this is International Year of the Child, we would like to make a few remarks about apartheid and children.

Aside from the South African children's terrible living conditions, they have also been victimized by the powerful fascist machinery in our coun-



try. A thousand people were killed during the student uprisings of 1976, and a large number of the dead were children 5 or 6 years old who were killed by the police. The security bodies have arrested children, locked them up in solitary confinement, tortured and beaten them and even brought them to trial for political crimes. One of the defendants in a case tried in Port Elizabeth was a 7-year-old child. This clearly shows how the system of apartheid reaches out to include all of society.

We have tried to give a general picture of what apartheid means. It is a very broad question, and a great deal of research is needed to reach the heart of the matter.



ARGENTINA AND APARTHEID

Juan Carlos Carullo, representative of the Argentine Montoneros Party and Movement

WE would like to analyze the problem of the ties between the racist regimes of southern Africa and the reactionary military dictatorships that have also been installed in the Southern Cone of Latin America. This is a problem that links South Africa and Rhodesia with the governments of all the countries of the Southern Cone — mainly with those of Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Brazil and Bolivia — and also, though to a lesser degree, with those of other countries, such as Paraguay.

All these cases show the historic affinity of regimes that respond to and defend the same interests and pursue the same objectives; they are neocolonial regimes that serve to perpetuate world imperialism and the survival of capitalism as a regime for oppressing the peoples. Their differences are due not to the interests which they defend but to the realities of each country. In essence, their interests are the same, and the evidence for this is practically irrefutable, in spite of the fact that, for a long time, we in our country have known of South Africa's interest in consolidating its economic and political relations with Latin America, as Comrade La Guma said.

These ties have been developed during the '70s, at the same time that reactionary, dictatorial regimes were consolidated in all the countries of

the region except Brazil — where the process took place a little earlier, in 1964. Argentina is the specific case which I would like to go into, leaving the perspective of other countries to the other comrades who are going to speak on this strengthening of ties.

In 1976, the Argentine ruling class became aware that it had a community of strategic interests with the South African regime — at least, that was when the awareness was strongly expressed at the governmental level, coinciding with the coming to power of the military dictatorship headed by a Junta composed of the Commanders in Chief of the three branches of the Armed Forces: Videla, Agosti and Massera. On taking power, this dictatorship accompanied its domestic policy measures in the economic, military and repressive spheres with a definition of this ideological design — which also determined its international relations. Even in the Junta's early documents and proceedings — including the first institutional proceedings that gave legal definition to its government — Argentina is described as a part of the western, Christian world. As a consequence, Argentina's interest in defending the survival of that world began to come out.

Internally, the "doctrine of national security" appeared. Internationally, this was expressed in the concept of the existence of World War III, a concept that has been developed to the fullest extent by the Argentine military and is generally taken for granted at the level of official ideology. The Argentine military men say that World War III is already under way; that it is a war against communism; that it is a war that knows no bounds, because it breaks out both between and within nations, between the classes that make up the internal political spectrum of the country; and that it is seen in all aspects: political, military and ideological. The Argentine military men call it "the war on all fronts." Internally, it results in repression directed against all progressive expressions in Argentina.

Externally, it means that these military men feel responsible, for the first time, for the strategic security of the western, Christian world. For the first time, they are beginning to analyze the geopolitical consequences of the liberation processes of Angola and Mozambique and of the advances made by the liberation movements in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia. For the first time, too, concepts of the need to defend the South Atlantic are being openly expressed. Argentina is defining herself to herself as a superdictatorship, as the best guarantee for the defense of the South Atlantic. And it is just a step further to the idea that the South African regime is a fundamental, privileged ally. It is within this framework that the real, specific history of the ties between South Africa and Argentina begins. With respect to the Argentine government, South Africa plays the role of spokesman for and representative of the defense of the white race in southern Africa.

Thus, to the surprise of the Argentines — because South Africa was an unknown country, of which we had only heard vague references to

its diamond mines and big-game hunting — we began to discover that it was a wonderful country to be linked with. The process of linking the two countries has been pushed at a giddy speed and includes all fields: economic, political, cultural and — mainly — military. We have the idea that the Argentine ruling class, and especially the large land-owning oligarchy and the militarists — that is, the rightist extremists of the Armed Forces — are creating a mechanism of very close solidarity with the ruling class of South Africa. They feel responsible for controlling not only the present situation but also their future. The Argentine military men take this as a kind of crusade for saving the white race in the Southern Cone of Africa, because there are questions that go beyond merely strategic interests and form part of a process aimed at strengthening their class ties and even creating a network of contacts.

Tourism promotion campaigns aim at making South Africa's beaches the favorite summer vacation spot for wealthy Argentines. There is one really amusing detail: a beauty contest will be held to select a Miss Beach simultaneously on the beaches of Cape Town; Punta del Este, Uruguay; and Mar del Plata, Argentina.

An Argentine-South African Chamber of Commerce has been created to promote trips by Argentine businessmen to South Africa. Naturally, on their return, they all say that South Africa isn't at all like the world press describes it and that, in fact, it is a good place where you can live well and do business — and, anyhow, apartheid isn't really so bad; it's just a result of the fact that the blacks in Africa aren't ready for self-determination, because they are inferior. This kind of statement appears in the Argentine press very frequently in interviews with businessmen who have just come back from South Africa. It goes without saying that all this publicity isn't free. The volume of trade between Argentina and South Africa has multiplied sixfold between 1970 and 1978 — that is, whereas trade between the two countries amounted to \$20 million in 1970, it is now \$127 million, which is quite a respectable figure, even for Argentina.

There is also a huge propaganda campaign in the press extolling South Africa's goodness, plus miscellaneous editorial comments and articles in mass-circulation magazines, all making the same point — that the South African regime isn't really so bad; that, in fact, it's quite good.

In addition, there is concern over the situation of the regimes in southern Africa; there is an intensification of political and military support in an attempt to prevent their fall. A plan is being worked out to receive white colonists if the situation gets any worse and they can't stay in Africa. In this case, Argentina is ready to welcome them with open arms.

This strengthening of ties is accompanied by ideological rapport. For the first time, statements with racist content are being made publicly in Argentina. We have always had racists, but this is the first time they have felt secure enough and have had the political backing to express their ideas publicly. This is why a member of the top brass of the Ar-



gentine military Junta dared to state in the United Nations that it was necessary to support the development of the peoples of Africa to keep them from being won over by Communism. Then, after expressing his sympathy, he said that, in his opinion, the African peoples' situation was similar to that of Argentina 120 or 140 years ago, practically in the pre-history of development. In the same vein, Division General Albano Harguindeguy, Argentine Minister of the Interior and Chairman of the Argentine Welcoming Committee for the white colonists, said it was necessary to create conditions that would attract contingents of African emigrants of European descent if Argentina wanted to continue being one of the three "whitest" countries in the world. He went on to say that this aim of being a "white" country couldn't be lost sight of, because it was a human advantage that Argentina had, even over the industrialized nations.

The main aspect of this link still remains to be analyzed: the question of the South Atlantic pact, which we consider to be the most dangerous element of all, because it is the most serious threat to world peace in this part of the world, a pact clearly designed to block the development of the peoples' liberation processes. It is a pact that will serve as cover for aggression against the countries that have already embarked on their liberation processes and to impede the development of the national liberation movements in the Southern Cones of both Africa and Latin America.

From this point of view, we would like to denounce the Argentine government as the main backer, along with South Africa, of this maneuver.

We know the history of the contacts that have been developed on this theme — contacts that appear to be a product both of our own party's investigation of this subject and of a denunciation made to the UN Committee against Apartheid by Sean MacBride, a former UN commissioner of Namibia, who has made a well-documented denunciation of the development of these relations, which he considers significant.

The idea for this pact is the legacy that Kissinger has left in international policy. The former Secretary of State first discussed it in 1975, at a meeting he had with Vorster and the head of the NATO forces. In February of the following year, Kissinger made a tour of Latin America, and he discussed his proposal with the Minister of the Navy of Brazil and then organized a tripartite meeting of the Ministers of the Navy of Argentina and Brazil and Admirals James Sagerholm and George Ellis, US Naval chiefs for the South Atlantic. Shortly after this meeting, a high-ranking Argentine-Brazilian delegation — probably composed of their two Commanders in Chief, although we aren't sure about this — visited the Simonstown Naval Base, in South Africa. It is certain that the first agreements concerning the organization of a joint information system were signed at this meeting. Later that same year, the Treaty of Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance meeting in Rio de Janeiro extended the scope of discussions on the pact to include the Navies of Uruguay, Venezuela, Chile and Peru — although it is debatable whether or not Chile and Peru — like Venezuela — are finally to be included.

Later on, top brass in the Peruvian Navy visited Argentina several times to confer with Massera, Commander in Chief of the Argentine Navy. The Argentine geopoliticians also began to make statements about the importance of this pact. General Marini, one of the geopoliticians on the Army General Staff, made a widely-quoted statement in which he asked whether commitments shouldn't be made toward building a new strategy to serve the interests of the South Atlantic. Shortly after that, as a result of Admiral Massera's activities, the Commander in Chief of the South African Navy was invited to take part in the UNITAS maneuvers, in which the Argentine, Uruguayan and US Navies participated.

From then on, the topic practically dropped out of public view, but there were signs that it was still under discussion. Apparently, two problems have so far prevented the conclusion of such a pact. One is the Brazilian position, in which there are two currents: one supporting the signing of the pact and the other giving priority to protecting and developing Brazil's economic interests in Africa — and an association with South Africa would hardly be beneficial in this area. The second problem consists of the fact that these regimes are experiencing progressive international isolation, so the idea of appearing publicly linked in a military alliance with South Africa isn't very attractive, no matter how much they want to defend South Africa's interests.

Everything gives the impression that a tactic of undercover, nonpublic advance has been chosen to lead to the strengthening of ties and to the

generation of mechanisms of cooperation that will function in practice as a South Atlantic pact, without the formal existence of such a pact. In spite of this, there still exist some public expressions, such as the statement Argentine Vice-Admiral Montes made in the United Nations to the effect that relations between Argentina and the rest of the Southern Cone of Latin America and South Africa were really important for the effective defense of the South Atlantic. Moreover, the head of the South African Air Force visited Argentina in March, 1978, and surely discussed the sale of Pucará planes, antiguerrilla planes built by the Argentine Air Force that are already being used in the Sahara against the guerrillas of the POLISARIO Front.

It seems that these clandestine relations are being developed in three areas. The first is police collaboration. There is great interest among the security services and the South African police forces to incorporate the tactics of repression that the Argentine dictatorship has used in the last few years: the tactic of indiscriminate kidnapping, savage torture and the nonrecognition of political prisoners — the whole doctrine of counter-insurgency — which the South Africans consider highly satisfactory and very applicable in their own country. They have been particularly interested in Argentina's computerized control of the population, a system of data centralization consisting of a computer with printout systems installed in mobile police units, used to maintain control everywhere at all times on the validity of documents. Supposedly, South Africa wants to import this system as a part of its economic relations.

The second area of the collaboration consists of permanent ties between the Navies, the training of military personnel and even the repair of Argentine ships in South African shipyards and repair shops. Moreover, there is the possibility of sales of antiguerrilla planes, as we mentioned earlier.

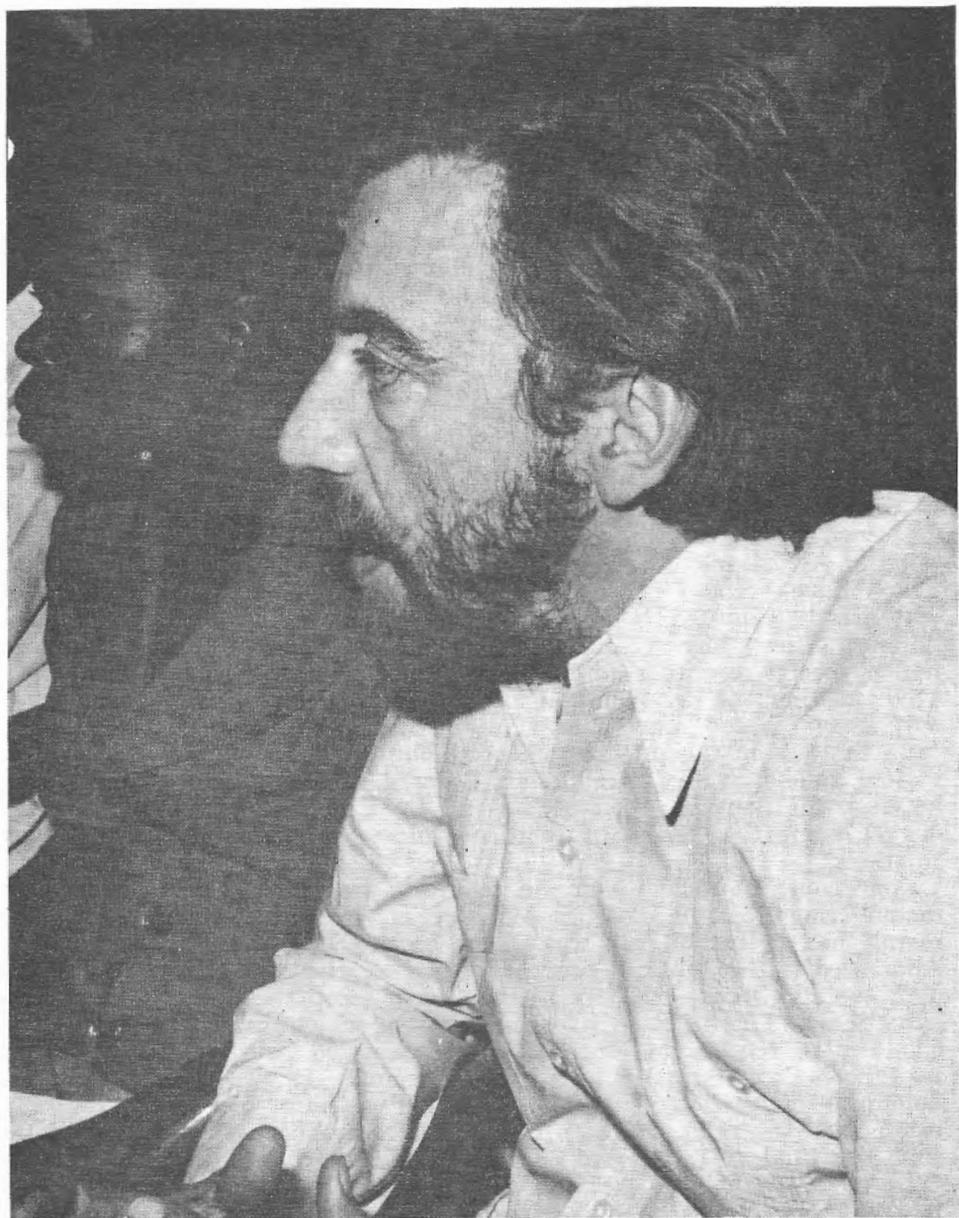
A third level of relations involves atomic energy, which Comrade La Guma already mentioned in his speech and which has advanced considerably in the last few days. We believe that this is one of the most dangerous facets, because the Argentine government is technologically prepared to produce an atom bomb and is turning its mastery of nuclear technology into a component in its international policy, offering it to all the world as a political-economic factor. It has offered nuclear technology to Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador and is also offering it to South Africa.

In this regard, it is understandable why Martínez de Hoz, Minister of the Economy, and General Harguindeguy, Minister of the Interior, are now in South Africa, having arrived there publicly to spend their vacations and make a safari. By pure coincidence, they are in South Africa precisely when the meeting of the Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries is being held in Maputo, in which the question of the survival of these regimes is being discussed. According to recent news reports, the Argentine Ministers really went to discuss the problem of ties in the field of atomic energy; according to the wire services, they visited some uranium

deposits, and it was announced that Rear Admiral Castro Maderos, Chairman of the Argentine Atomic Energy Commission, would visit South Africa in the near future.

There remains just one small point that expresses Argentina's solidarity with South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia, even in case of their defeat: its offer to open its national territory to racists who can't go on living in those countries. This has two aspects: one is that of international solidarity, understood in proimperialist terms, and the other is the aspect of domestic security, because, evidently, the arrival of reactionaries will help to prevent the isolation of this government and to strengthen a social base of support for it. We have various examples that show that this isn't just a recent matter but that pilot plans, with various kinds of these communities, have been in the works for quite some time.

In southern Argentina, in the Río Negro region, there is a pilot settlement of Portuguese who have come from Angola and Mozambique. A campaign has already been launched to offer asylum to elements from South Korea; attempts have been made to create a settlement in northwestern Argentina for Vietnamese who are part of the contingent that left their country when the war of liberation triumphed and others who have fled from Kampuchea — Vietnamese who moved to Kampuchea when the liberation process triumphed in Vietnam and who turned to Argentina to escape the new liberation process in Kampuchea. At the same time, the northwestern and northeastern regions are being reserved for the racists from Zimbabwe and South Africa. Argentina is being turned into a veritable "paradise" of races. Once upon a time, it was a crucible of races, thanks to the massive immigration of Italians, Spaniards and other poor immigrants who came in search of a place where they could work and build a new life, but now what is coming is the scum, the worst carrion that imperialism has produced anywhere in the world.



CHILE AND SOUTH AFRICA

Fidel Gutiérrez, member of the Havana branch of the Chilean Committee of Solidarity with the Antifascist Resistance

FIRST of all, I would like to greet the comrades of OSPAAAL, Comrade La Guma and the other comrades who are here today, on behalf of the Secretariat of the Chilean Committee of Solidarity with the Antifascist Resistance and on behalf of the leadership of the Socialist Party of Chile in Cuba, which I represent.

Like the Montoneros comrades in the case of Argentina, I would like to give a brief talk about the relations that exist between the racist regimes of southern Africa and the dictatorship in Chile.

By way of introduction, I would like to say that these relations began practically with the implantation of the fascist dictatorship in Chile, because, prior to and during the popular government headed by our beloved Comrade Salvador Allende, there were no official relations. A few South African companies operated in our country, but they were nationalized by President Allende's government as a part of the 1970-73 revolutionary process in Chile. Thus, these relations began following the military coup — relations which, we should point out, are very close and are mainly explained by the nature of both regimes: the cruelest in the Southern Cone of Africa and the cruelest in the Southern Cone of Latin America, which have become extremely isolated in the international field. Not only are they limited, but they have also been denounced by world public opinion on many occasions in forums such as the United Nations, in which special resolutions have been passed on Chile and South Africa. This isolation and denunciation has led these regimes to seek each other out, to search for support in view of the impossibility of obtaining it from the rest of the international community.

Now, following this introduction, I would like to say that the relations between the South African racists and the Chilean fascists may be seen on all planes: in terms of political-diplomatic, economic and military relations.

Concerning political-diplomatic relations, we would like to refer to a memo issued by the Foreign Ministry of Pinochet's dictatorship — a memo that, even though it was secret, became known at the end of 1974. Addressed to the Junta, it proposed a plan of relations for improving the dictatorship's image and its international acceptance. There is a classification and description of the countries which the dictatorship considers to be friends and enemies. There, we find South Africa described by Pinochet's dictatorship as a friendly country. It was the period of the beginning of relations; therefore, Pinochet's dictatorship hadn't yet fully established its relations with South Africa publicly. The memo states that this kind of relationship should be nurtured — mainly by not expressing it publicly — because of the degree of international isolation to which the racist regime was subjected.

Later denunciations of the South African and Chilean regimes forced them to seek each other out — no longer secretly, but openly, so that, starting in 1975, their relations in the diplomatic field became public.

To summarize the picture of the relations that exist on the diplomatic level, we will simply say that Chile has a consulate general with diplo-

matic rank in South Africa that was opened in December, 1975. It is headed by Corbette Captain Carlos Ashton, a former head of the Chilean Foreign Ministry's Department of Foreign Propaganda, one of those who helped draw up the memorandum to which we have already referred. Apart from this consulate general, Chile also has honorary consulates with residents in Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg. Chile doesn't have an embassy in South Africa — only this representation at the diplomatic level — but South Africa has sought it insistently, and we don't doubt that it will be able to raise the Chilean diplomatic representation to the embassy level very soon. Some time ago, it was learned that the South Africans had put out feelers in this regard, mainly by offering Chile a loan of \$450 million in exchange for the opening of a Junta embassy in South Africa and an invitation for Prime Minister Vorster to visit Santiago. We were told this by comrades of ours who work in the United Nations, where representatives or spokesmen of the South Africans made this offer.

On another plane of political-diplomatic relations, we would say that the official contacts at the governmental level that South Africa's Ambassador to Argentina — and extraofficial Ambassador to Chile — made during visits to Chile are more or less public knowledge. Then, in 1975, a South African Embassy was opened in Santiago.

In 1976, a delegation from the Transkei bantustan headed by the "Minister of Health" visited Chile to request Chile's support in the 31st General Assembly of the United Nations, where South Africa went to seek recognition of the Transkei as an independent state. Later on, other governmental functionaries of the racist regime visited Chile: Luis Lagram, Undersecretary of the Interior and of Information, was in Chile that same year, 1976, to firm up close contacts with government officials from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the Interior and the Treasury (or Finances, as it is known in other countries) and make contacts with businessmen and high-ranking personages in the fascist regime.

The Chilean fascists have been somewhat more wary about publicizing their visits to South Africa. In any case, the trip that José María Eyzaguirre, President of the Supreme Court of Chile, made to South Africa in 1977 representing not only the Chilean judiciary but also the Chilean government is known.

In international forums, the military dictatorship of Chile has taken the position of avoiding and rejecting all the resolutions — mainly in the United Nations — that denounce the racist regime in South Africa. The Junta abstained in the voting in the 31st General Assembly of the United Nations, in 1976, on the motion that called on all states to cooperate in the struggle against racism and racial discrimination and to end all political, economic and military aid to the racist regimes in southern Africa. The dictatorship also refused to attend the international conference in support of work opportunities in Zimbabwe and Namibia, organized by the UN Decolonization Committee and held in Maputo, Mozambique, in May, 1977.

This has been the tendency and attitude of the Chilean government: lack of public denunciation, with its support manifested in silence and in abstentions on resolutions denouncing the South African racists.

Chile has also opened its doors to ideological penetration by the South African racists, so that South African literature in praise of racism may circulate freely throughout Chile. It has opened its doors so that the racist regime may mount official exhibits showing the "goodness" of the apartheid regime. On this same level, delegations have made visits to make contact with the Chilean press so the latter will spread the "truth" about the racist government.

We would like to make a brief review of the relations on the economic plane — which have served to open the door to entrepreneurs from South African companies — as a complement to those that have been established in the field of politics and diplomacy. Economic relations have sought, on the one hand, to encourage South African investments in Chile and to establish commercial exchanges for the first time. Thus, South African companies show increasing interest in investing or placing credits in Chile. We have a list — a small one — of around a dozen large South African companies that are investing and looking for possibilities to exploit copper, gold and other mineral resources. These enterprises are seeking to increase their import credits to Chile. All this is on the official plane, at the government-to-government level, but relations have also arisen between the large South African entrepreneurs and their Chilean cohorts — naturally, with the endorsement of the racist and fascist governments.

At the governmental level of economic relations, the main efforts are being made to get South Africa to invest in Chile and grant it credits; at the private level, the main goal is commercial exchanges. To cite some figures, South Africa's trade with Chile in just the first year — and possibly less than a year — amounted to \$15.5 million, according to the Johannesburg **Financial Times**. Undoubtedly, this figure has risen enormously in the years since then.

Likewise, South African banks provide funds for financing mineral exploitation in Chile. There is an interesting figure referring to the interest South African companies have shown in exploiting Chilean uranium. In Chile, uranium is considered a strategic material, and its exploitation isn't entrusted to foreign companies very easily. Nevertheless, there have been contacts between Chileans and South Africans concerning the possibility of having South African companies exploit Chile's uranium.

The third point that we would like to take up is in reference to relations of a military nature. These take the form both of official military contacts and of something that is much more serious still: the sending of Chilean troops to South Africa, the sending of South African arms to Chile, the exchange of military delegations (mainly Chilean Naval vessels) and shared criteria — such as the attempt to create an organiza-

tion for the South Atlantic, to which the comrade representing the Montoneros has referred, in which Chile also wants to participate.

In most cases, the official military contacts have been secret. Publicly, they have been limited to having the South African Armed Forces send military attachés to their Embassy in Santiago. Like their diplomatic counterparts, these military representatives are very well received in Chile, being warmly welcomed and invited to attend all the official and diplomatic functions. They attend all of the receptions given by the dictatorship and are frequently decorated or awarded military distinctions by the various branches of the Armed Forces of Chile.

The most serious aspect is the secret agreements — which have become known with the passing of time — on sending Chilean troops (including some contingents of special troops) to South Africa. In 1976, **The New Nigerian** reported that the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa had paid a secret visit to Chile to get military support from Pinochet's dictatorship. This support took the form of Pinochet's sending troops to southern Angola — which was occupied by the South African racist troops at the time — and to Namibia. These troops served under the South African command. We don't believe that South Africa really needed the Chilean troops to shore up its counterrevolutionary occupation in southern Africa or to attack Angola; rather, the sending of these troops was an expression of the friendship that has arisen between South Africa and Chile and was just one kind of exchange between the two countries in terms of technology and military training.

In late 1976, the Mozambican daily **News** reported that 120 Chilean military men, mainly Black Berets — that is, special troops — took part in the racist army's operations against the members of the South West Africa People's Organization in northern Namibia. These newspaper reports were later confirmed by SWAPO in early 1977, when it was stated in Dakar that special troops of the Chilean military dictatorship were operating in Namibia — a report that was repeated in January, 1978, in the United Nations, at which time it was stated that there were 500 mercenaries operating in northern Namibia, taking part in operations against SWAPO and giving military training to the UNITA bands that were to infiltrate Angolan territory and attack the People's Republic of Angola.

This sending of Chilean troops to South Africa has, doubtless, not been for free. South Africa has paid for this "service" with arms — an operation that has mainly been carried out through military missions attached to Chilean Embassies in Europe. We know that one of these was the one in Bonn. This method is used because the official arms markets have been closed to Chile — especially those in the United States after the liberal sectors of the US Congress got some amendments passed limiting the sending of US weapons to Chile. We aren't going to say that imperialism has stopped sending arms to Chile; rather, it has had to seek subterfuges, using third countries and private companies as fronts for

these operations. One of these third countries is South Africa. Thus, in exchange for mercenaries, it has sent ammunition, armored transport vehicles and other kinds of military equipment to the fascist Junta.

Let's look at a special case: the annual training cruises that the Chilean Navy holds on the **Esmeralda**, the ship that was used after the military coup as a prison in the port of Valparaiso. On this ship, where the cadets of the Chilean Naval Academy are trained, Chilean revolutionaries — representatives of the Popular Unity government who had been arrested in Valparaiso — were savagely tortured. That, however, is another subject.

The Chilean Navy holds training cruises on this ship every year, going to different seas, mainly the Atlantic and Pacific. Following the coup, these cruises began to be made mainly across the South Atlantic and, for the first time in history, included stops in South African ports. To cite a specific case, the **Esmeralda** was welcomed as an embassy of the Junta when it touched South African ports in 1976. To give you an idea of the importance of this mission of the Chilean dictatorship's, we will simply say that the welcoming committee was composed of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa; the Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs; the Intendant of the province; James Johnson, Commander in Chief of the Navy; the Mayor of Cape Town; the commander of the military mission; and a whole slew of other civilian and military authorities.

In closing, we would like to refer to Chile's position on the South Atlantic pact. Without a doubt, even though my country has no outlet on the South Atlantic, it is very interested in participating in this organization (SATO) — which, as we all know, will be directly controlled by the Pentagon and will be composed of the dictatorships of Chile, Uruguay, Argentina and probably Brazil.

The dictatorships in the Southern Cone of Latin America doubtless need the South African alliance and South African support in all aspects — military, economic and diplomatic — to repress the revolutionary movements that are gaining strength in Argentina, Chile and other countries. In turn, South Africa needs these allies so, on behalf of imperialism, it can guarantee the control and defense of the Cape of Good Hope sea route; it needs this support of the dictatorial regimes of South America so that, through this military exchange, the dictatorships of the Southern Cone of America may also contribute to repressing the revolutionary movement in Africa.

There has been interest, and efforts have been made to try to get public opinion in Chile to support its participating in the South Atlantic Treaty Organization, now in the planning stage. For example, the August 26, 1976, edition of the Chilean magazine **Qué Pasa** (What's Going On), that slavishly supports the dictatorship, contained an article by Marcos Chamudes, a known anticommunist, in which he says, "When it is created, SATO will not be composed just of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and (nat-



urally) the United States but will also include South Africa, Chile and all the other committed countries in the area — even though, in view of the new danger posed by the Soviet Navy's advance, this may be indirect.”

The South African racists have also taken an interest in publicizing — in Chile — the idea of creating the South Atlantic pact and of having Chile participate in it. For example, Chris Landman, Information Counsellor of the South African Embassy in Chile, gave a talk in the Institute of Political Sciences of Santiago's Catholic University in 1977 in which he expressed his impatience over the delay in the signing of this pact. As he put it,

More than 60 percent of the trade between Europe and the Far East goes around the Cape; more than 12 000 ships touch South African ports every day. Yet, in spite of this, the Cape route continues to be the least defended strategic region in the world The protection of the Cape is essential for the West, and the interests of the free world demand a stronger western presence in this strategic region.

Doubtless, when referring to the “free world” and the western world, he included the fascist dictatorship of Chile, since it has declared itself to be a part of the western, Christian world.

This is, in essence, the picture of the relations — at all levels — that exist between the racist and fascist dictatorships, relations that, as I said at the outset, are understandable because of the class nature of both dictatorships, which are pledged to repress the revolutionary movements in both Southern Cones and to wage an anticommunist crusade, are expressly allied to imperialism (that is their main means of support) and are forced to seek each other out and to broaden their relations because all the peoples of the world and all the progressive and other revolutionary forces are denouncing them.



APARTHEID IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Joseph Dube, representative of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe

REALLY, I'm not a specialist in this subject, but I've made an analysis mainly based on the influence of this regime in Africa and in southern Africa.

First of all, I would like to congratulate Comrade Alex La Guma on his analysis of what apartheid is really like in South Africa. I would also like to congratulate the Chilean and Argentine comrades for their contributions, that have been very important for the development of the relations between the peoples of Latin America and Africa in their struggle against the common enemy.

The economic, political and strategic base of the apartheid regime is the exploitation of the raw materials and cheap labor in Africa, but this isn't just a plan of the South African fascist regime's; it goes much farther than that and is a factor that the British imperialists have already manipulated, as shown in the Boer War.

The source of apartheid is well known at the international level. At one time, it was a regional, only African, problem, but now it has become an international concern. All the international organizations — especially the United Nations — have expressed their disagreement with the policy of apartheid that is being applied in South Africa. The UN has taken several steps to eliminate apartheid and colonialism; for example, 1978 was declared the Year against Apartheid, and various conferences were held on this subject. However, the main question concerning this aspect is who participated in these conferences. We have seen how the United Nations has been used by the imperialists for their manipulations and for their boosting of apartheid, because the United States, the FRG and other imperialist powers profit from the exploitation of South African labor.

For example, if there is a factory in the United States — let's say in New York — and we have the same factory administered by the same people in Johannesburg, which of the two will report greater profits for the monopolies? The one in South Africa, in Johannesburg, of course, because it is based on the exploitation of cheap labor. The United States and other forces in South Africa are driven by the profit motive, the profit motive more than anything else, which is why they aren't going to struggle against apartheid; instead, they will try to neutralize it, infiltrating the CIA in the international organizations — in the United Nations, in the OAU, etc.

The imperialist forces agree that apartheid is an international cancer, but they differ from the progressive forces in the methods they propose. They say that they can neutralize its effects and that that is why they trade with South Africa and create situations such as the one in Namibia, for example, where the five main western powers negotiated with South Africa without the participation of the United Nations Commission on Namibia and without SWAPO, the liberation movement of Namibia. And what was discussed at that meeting? What and whom were to be saved, and by what means? The aim of that discussion was to

save the western interests in Namibia, their economic and strategic interests and their interests in its exploitation. That was the basis of the discussion, at the end of which it was agreed to hold elections in Namibia. As we can see, the tentacles of apartheid were shown in political, economic and social ways.

The progressive forces' and the socialist countries' point of view on apartheid has been expressed several times through the United Nations and in other international organizations; it is a very clear position: as Comrade La Guma explained, it is necessary to eliminate the source of apartheid, the effects of apartheid and its champions. Once we have diagnosed the illness — and, naturally, have already defined it — we can apply a good solution, a good remedy to eradicate it. That is, it isn't possible to make an illness disappear if you don't know its causes. We all know the cause of apartheid: racial discrimination, exploitation, domination and the profit motive. The only solution for this illness is to topple the system through violence.

Thanks to the socialist countries — and especially the Soviet Union, that proposed that a United Nations Committee for Decolonization be established and also that the United Nations recognize the liberation movements as the true representatives of their respective peoples — the voices of those who are struggling against apartheid have been heard in international organizations. Nevertheless, reality now brings us to the logical conclusion that the way to eradicate apartheid all over the world is to engage in armed struggle until it has finally been destroyed. No other solution is possible.

We have also heard Comrade La Guma and the Argentine and Chilean comrades speak of the relations between the regimes of the Southern Cone in Latin America and South Africa. These have existed for a long time. Chilean mercenary forces are operating in Namibia — which brings out, once more, the relation that exists between apartheid and the fascist governments in South America. They speak the same language; they see things in the same way. They may differ on some questions of tactics — as, for example, one person looking at a glass with some water in it may say it's half empty, while someone else may say it's half full. They are defending the same interests as South Africa. But who is behind the whole process of apartheid and the promotion of the relations between these regimes in South America and apartheid and South Africa? The international monopolies, the copper-mining industry of Latin America and Africa. And who owns these copper-mining industries — who benefits from their profits — if not the international monopolies, headed by the United States? The United States is the center of the cooperation of these regimes in South America and South Africa, and clear proof of this has been offered by the comrades who have spoken here, whom we know very well.

The other important aspect of apartheid is the fact that it is a regime in which a racist white minority oppresses a vast black majority. The

easiest way to attain these aims in South Africa was to seize the blacks' main means of support — the land, that is considered vital, the most important possession a man can have, in Africa. The land law, that was decreed in South Africa in 1913, was copied exactly in Rhodesia in 1923. In this case, the main promoter of these laws was Cecil Rhodes, who was Governor of Cape Town at the time and had powerful interests in the mining companies in South Africa. Rhodesia was named after him. This explains the relation that exists between South Africa and Rhodesia and also the manipulation and interpretation of apartheid in two different parts of the continent.

In South Africa, the policy of creating bantustans has begun, but the interpretation in Zimbabwe is different. There, they are called tribal lands held in trust, a procedure through which the Africans have been expelled from the best land and confined to the least fertile and most arid. It may be said that there are differences, but, really, at base, there aren't any. The disparity lies exclusively in terminology, in the interpretation of terminology, but the aim of both laws is exactly the same, just as their strategies have been. In this process, we have seen how the capitalist countries have criticized apartheid but will keep on acting in the same way and will always have different criteria than we do, because, in fact, they profit from apartheid. In Zimbabwe, for example, we have seen a large number of mercenaries. Mercenaries also took part in the struggle that was waged in Angola.

In view of this reality, several questions arise: Where do these mercenaries come from? Who finances and supplies them? Who protects, transports and pays them? Somebody, somewhere in the world, has to be responsible for all this, and that somebody is international imperialism, headed by the United States of America. Everybody knows this. It is perfectly clear to everyone. The 15 000 mercenaries in Zimbabwe come from South Africa, France, Belgium, the United States, Great Britain (naturally) and many other countries — and, for your information, when Rhodesia attacked refugee camps in Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia last year, we learned that Australia also had mercenaries in Rhodesia, and we learned how that country has gotten involved in this matter. Australian farmers are being moved into Rhodesia, and, naturally, Australia is also sending mercenaries to fight for the regime. What kind of people is Australia sending to Rhodesia as mercenaries? Well, it sends the aborigines, with the aim of solving the land problem it now has because of the discrimination against its own native population, which is why it resorts to the elimination of the natives through this method. According to reports we have received and our interrogation of these natives, they were told that there were few blacks in Africa and that those who were there only fought with bows and arrows. This is why these Australians are dying like flies in Zimbabwe today.

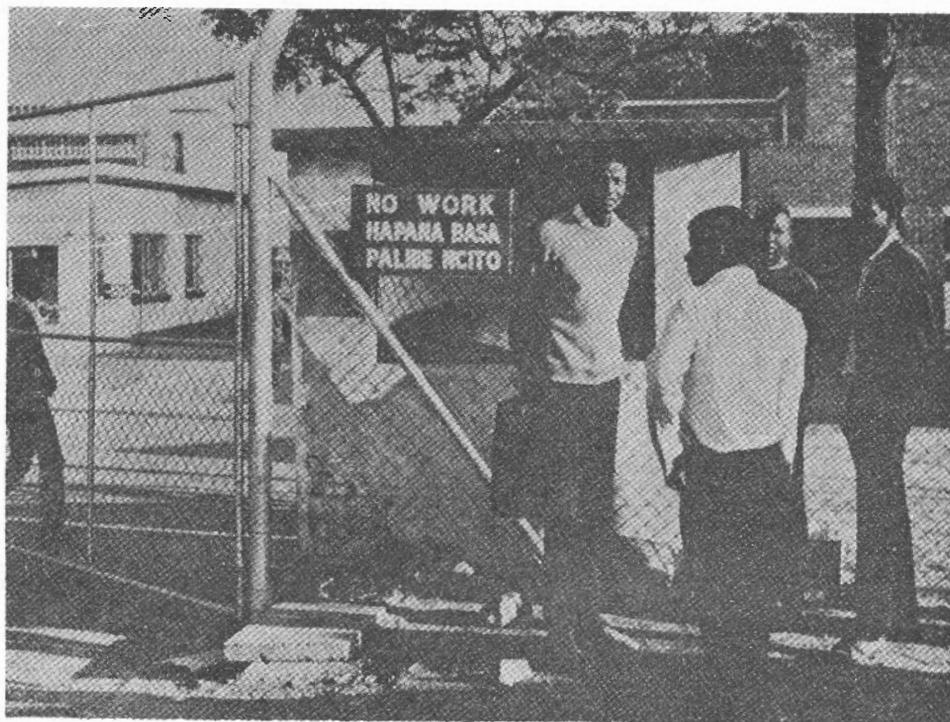
There were 1800 mercenaries — all white — from the United States last December. There are no blacks, in spite of the fact that the US

recruiting office for mercenaries for Rhodesia is in Harlem, New York's black district. Why don't the blacks sign up to fight for imperialism? Simply because the US blacks' awareness has grown. They are ready to go to Rhodesia to fight, all right, but not on the side of the racists. This is why there are no blacks or mulattoes in the US mercenary force that is fighting in Rhodesia; all its members are white. Moreover, you know that Smith went to the United States last year. His purpose was to systematize the racial focus — motivated by the profits that the US monopolies obtain in Rhodesia.

Smith made a unilateral declaration of independence in 1965, and the United Nations imposed sanctions on the Rhodesian regime. In spite of this, however, the Salisbury regime continues to receive financial and material aid in its struggle against the liberation movement. The main reason for this doesn't lie with Ian Smith; rather, it lies in the source that supplies this racist regime in Africa — the United States and the other imperialist powers, that send it fuel, arms and even helicopters (some of the ones that were used in Vietnam). These helicopters were sent to Israel, which sent them to a country in Asia, which sent them to Rhodesia. This was, of course, a CIA maneuver so it wouldn't appear that the United States was involved in this war while talks were being held with Great Britain.

The problem of the relations between South Africa and the regimes in South America is a very interesting subject. My personal analysis — that of one who has been in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and apartheid (phenomena that have been supported by the western powers) for a great many years — is that we should accept one solution. It doesn't matter where we go in Latin America, Africa and Asia; we know perfectly well that the international monopolies will never voluntarily stop exploiting the wealth of these regions. And there is no quick solution or shortcut for solving this problem. The solution lies in toppling these forces by means of violence. This means preparing cadres; politicizing the masses; organizing the masses ideologically, politically and militarily; and developing armed struggle. There is no peaceful change from capitalism to socialism; that isn't possible. It may have been possible 100 years ago, but it is impossible in today's world.

The imperialists work 24 hours a day, and they have neocolonial regimes in Africa and Asia, but these regimes are not accepted by the broad masses of the people — the peasants, students and workers. That is why their present strategy is to intervene militarily, with mercenaries. The invasions of the Republic of Guinea, Benin, Angola and many other countries are examples of this strategy. They have found perfect allies who support them in this: the fascist juntas in Latin America and a country that called itself socialist for many years but hasn't managed to fool its own people, the international revolutionary movement or anybody else — I'm talking about the People's Republic of China, that has done so much harm not only in Africa but also in the rest of the world.



The People's Republic of China's strategy and political action are very clear: it is on the side of the imperialists, fighting for the imperialists and defending the imperialists. The alliance between China and Japan is just as dangerous as the alliance between Mussolini and Hitler was. Behind this alliance is the United States, which is using both forces against the Soviet Union. This should be perfectly clear. China is participating as a magnet in southern Africa, exercising its influence through economic and military aid, and the United States is trying to use China because it can't do the job alone any more. We have seen China's position in Angola; we know China's position on Chile; and we know China's position on the liberation movements in southern Africa. We know what we're talking about, and it's serious.

Comrades, we are talking about apartheid in its various forms and with its various strategies — but with the same main body and goal. It may appear in different forms in Latin America, Africa and Asia, but the process is the same. I would like to remind you of the following: let us not just speak of these things. Let us establish truly effective contacts so we may struggle together against this monster that is oppressing the world. We may die on different fronts, but let us leave a history of struggle that will be of use to the coming generations. Let us try not to do anything that would be another way of helping the imperialists. The situation in Africa, Asia and Latin America is the same, and the manipulators of this situation, our common enemy, is one. Let us join our strategies and our tactics against this force and, together, win.



Hoang Hiep, representative of Vietnam on the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL

IN line with the Chilean and Argentine comrades' statements on South Africa's ties with the fascist regimes of the Southern Cone of America, I have a question that I would like you to comment on. It is whether or not Brazil has some reservations about having close relations with South Africa for tactical reasons — first of all, because, in the political field, it may be said that South Africa is being denounced all over the world for its apartheid policy, and, in the economic sphere, Brazil wants to guarantee a wide market in Africa (above all, in Angola, because of its need to import oil and other raw materials). For these reasons, I have the idea that Brazil is being cautious about taking part in the proposed South Atlantic pact. That is my first question.

The second point is that I would like to ask Comrade La Guma to go into aspects of the ideological struggle against apartheid in countries that are influenced by England's colonialist thinking — for example, India in Asia and Jamaica in the Caribbean — to bring out the international character of the struggle against apartheid, not only in Africa but also in Asia and the Caribbean.



Alex La Guma

TO give you a brief answer, we can say that the whole world agrees that the ideological concept of racism — of apartheid — should be denounced. The world democratic movement is opposed to racism because it is a link in the world system of oppression. Even the imperialists oppose it, at least verbally, because they know they will alienate many of the people they seek to influence if they don't. Imperialist countries such as the United States have publicly denounced racism and apartheid, and Carter has even put forth a program of human rights for everybody. He may not really mean it, but he uses it to try to recover some of the influence the United States has lost. Brazil, too, has denounced racism; but, when we look at what it does, we see that the words are hollow. When we hear a country denouncing racism, we have to ask ourselves how far it is prepared to go, how much Brazil or the United States, for example, hopes to gain from that denunciation. In any case, the real facts are that the United States, Brazil and other countries in the imperialist orbit continue to maintain their ties with the South African regime.

We understand there is no racial discrimination in Brazil, no racial barriers; in this sense, Brazil is a democratic country — which doesn't mean it is a free country, for millions of people are exploited there. To be against racism does not necessarily mean you end oppression and exploitation.

When a country denounces racism in the United Nations but continues its economic and political relations with South Africa, the denunciation

really doesn't mean anything concrete. We are not at all impressed by President Carter's statements on human rights, because they haven't basically changed human rights in the United States. We can't be impressed when he talks about human rights in one breath and, in the next, permits the big US monopolies to continue operating in South Africa, so that the exploitation goes on because of the aid provided to this system of racial oppression. The same is true of Brazil. It can't be considered a positive step if these countries oppose racism verbally but still maintain their ties with South Africa.

When we speak of the struggle against racism, we don't mean removing a couple of signs banning integration in certain recreational or other types of facilities in South Africa — the fact that whites and blacks can now go to the zoo together, for example. We're not interested in drinking Coca-Cola at a counter with whites. That kind of thing is simply a cosmetic change that doesn't alter the basic situation in our country. When we talk about destroying racism, we're talking about destroying the system that allows black people to be exploited; we're talking about the basis of this exploitation and about reaching the point where black people have a right to be masters in their own country. That is why even the best-intentioned statements don't really alter the question of racism in South Africa.

As for the ideological struggle against racism, what I have just said is, naturally, related to it. We have made it our job to explain that the struggle against apartheid cannot be limited to superficial demonstrations against this phenomenon. The African National Congress, South Africa's liberation movement, is not simply a movement against the superficial aspects of apartheid. Ideologically, our work is oriented toward explaining to our people and to the whole world that the basic struggle against apartheid involves the seizure of power by the people. This liberation movement has been built and consolidated with the help of many people. The Indian movement in South Africa, which even antedates the African National Congress, was started by Mahatma Gandhi when he was working there at the beginning of this century. Later, Gandhi returned to his country and founded the all-India movement there.

We have come to the conclusion that the base for democracy in South Africa is government by the majority. The genuine support we receive comes to us out of the conviction that removing a few discriminatory signs does not end segregation, that you have to take into account the class origins of racism. We cannot overlook the basis, the roots, of racism in our country or anywhere else in the world. This is why our program states that the source of South Africa's wealth will shift from the hands of the minority to the hands of the majority and that this action will ensure that, once our country is freed of the horrors and the misfortunes inflicted by racism, it will remain so.



CONCLUSIONS

Armando Entralgo, moderator

The first conclusion — that is pretty obvious — to be drawn from what has been said here is that apartheid isn't just a problem of racial discrimination but is the complex result of a historical process of more than one kind of colonization in South Africa, that nowadays calls for more than one form of struggle — or perhaps it would be better to say different stages of a global struggle in South Africa itself.

Secondly, the South African problem or the problem of apartheid isn't just a South African or even an African problem but is an international one — and this isn't just an empty phrase, as details with plenty of concrete data show. Instead, there is a crying need to confront it. Examples

of its international character are to be found in the ties between apartheid and the (both de facto and would-be) fascist regimes in South America and perhaps in other parts of Latin America. It is seen in the kind of Afro-Asian troika composed of apartheid, Zionism and the regime whose formal political aspect has been nearly eliminated in Iran.

The international nature of the problem of apartheid is also reflected in the necessary international linking of those adversely affected by this system, both in Africa and outside it — in other words, as Comrade Dube said, the (perhaps it would be better to say “internationalist” rather than just “international”) confrontation of the problem of apartheid and other related problems — that is, the problem of oppression. The great justification for this common stand against apartheid and its allies is international imperialism’s and its allies’ support of apartheid — support without which it would be extremely difficult (and this is an understatement) for apartheid and its allies to exist. I said “an understatement,” and now, in order to wind things up, I would like to explain why I said this — because I think it is very important that, in our deliberations, we extract not only what is shared in common but also that which is specific to each situation, for I think that these specifics impose specific forms of struggle, and, thus, as there are common elements on the international or internationalist plane, there are matters that can only be solved in specific ways. This also demands in-depth studies of the concrete problems that are being confronted, that I don’t think are exactly the same in South America, or its southernmost part, as in the Middle East or southern Africa. Moreover, time has shown that, within southern Africa — as Comrades Dube and La Guma have said — there are some differences between South Africa and Zimbabwe and between each of these and Namibia.

In any case, there will always be unity among diversity, the necessary unity among diversity. This is simply an attempt to synthesize some matters — not a summary of what has been said here, which is very rich in conclusions and above all in things for us to ponder. ●