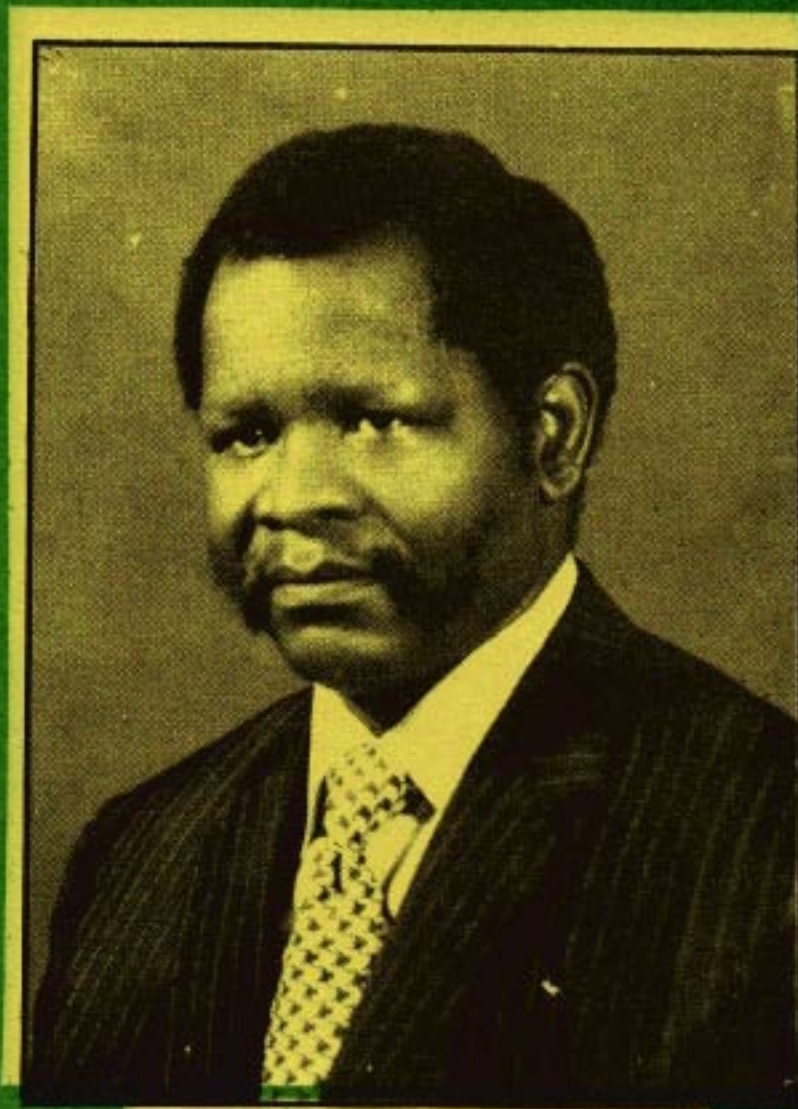


307 70

BA 322.405  
MAY  
S. 89/193  
1996-11-21  
U.C.T. LIBRARIES

# MAYIBUYE

Fortnightly Journal of The African  
National Congress South Africa



**OLIVER REGINALD TAMBO**  
*President of the A.N.C. (S.A.)*

Vi  
No. 7



IN THIS ISSUE:

Editorial Note

1. Address by Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC to the International conference of Solidarity with the struggle of the African and Arab peoples against imperialism and reaction - - - - - Page 1.

2. Voice of Zimbabwe (Patriotic Front interview with Comrade Alfred Nzo - - - - Page 18.

Published by the African National Congress Information &

Publicity Department Headquarters, P.O. Box 1791, Lusaka

REGISTERED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA AS A

NEWSPAPER

EDITORIAL NOTE:

For Africa, the decade of the sixties was a time for experiments in independence and nation building. Two signal lessons emerge from this historic exercise: national liberation divorced from anti-imperialism leads to neo-colonialism; neo-colonialism can never be a basis upon which to build a free nationhood. Today in Southern Africa there is a flurry of western power activities calculated to prevent the correct application of these lessons in the region. Imperialism wants to foist neo-colonialist solutions on the liberation movements in the region. It wants to purchase a further hold on the continent.

National liberation is a process of decolonization; decolonization is the undoing of empire. National liberation is therefore anti-imperialistic.

Empire is supra-national. It can thus summon and deploy its vastly more ample - because international - resources to suppress a local challenge. It cannot be combatted

as if it exists only locally. This is particularly true of the global empire of financial monopoly capital - the bane of oppressed people everywhere. It must be opposed with an international anti-imperialist front.

Empire is also like a live virus. It does not die willingly, and to destroy it in one place while allowing it to survive in the periphery is to run the inevitable risk of its local resurrection. Freedom and imperialism can never be good neighbours.

The recent International Conference of Solidarity with the Struggle of the African and the Arab People Against Imperialism and Reaction, held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, last month, was eloquent testimony to the anti-imperialist nature of the genuine liberation movement.

In this issue we present the address by comrade Alfred Nzo, our Secretary General, to the Addis Ababa conference. It treats the national-liberation-anti-imperialist theme within a global context and with specific reference to



the South African struggle. We also feature comrade Nzo's interview ( conducted by the Voice of Zimbabwe, Patriotic Front - ZANU ) on a related theme. It focuses on reactionary western manoeuvres in Southern Africa and the importance of a unified anti-imperialist front of the national liberation movements in the region.

++++  
"In the course of the imposed paralysis of Mayibuye towards the end of 1975, a vast distance has been covered by the people of South Africa and their vanguard, the ANC both in the political, diplomatic and combat fields.

Because of the classical historic significance of a number of ANC statements, Mayibuye shall now and again go backwards and forward in time, with the major purpose to politically arm all our units with this invaluable material and also to preserve it as a political azimuth for even posterity".

Editor,

ADDRESS BY COMRADE ALFRED NZO, SECRETARY  
GENERAL OF THE ANC TO THE FIRST PLENARY  
SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE  
AFRICAN AND ARAB PEOPLES AGAINST IMPE-  
RIALISM AND REACTION

Your Excellencies,  
Dear Comrades and Friends,

Since arrival in Addis Ababa a few days ago, the delegation of the African National Congress has lived through exciting moments of the enthusiastically warm welcome and the fraternal friendship of the Ethiopian people expressed through the unfailingly kind attention given by the representatives of the government of revolutionary Ethiopia. This enabled us to live through and be part of the momentous events of the celebration of the 4th Anniversary of the Revolution of the people of Ethiopia - a revolution that not only opened up broad vistas for the social rebirth of the Ethiopian nation but is also of tremendous significance for the national and social emancipation of the people of our continent and the world-wide anti-imperialist movement.

We place on record our profound gratitude to the people and government of Socialist Ethiopia for this warm reception and pleasant stay in your city.



It is very fitting that the world's progressive and revolutionary forces should today be meeting in this historic city, the capital of revolutionary Ethiopia. Through the historic changes that have taken place in this ancient country over the last four years, brought about by the conscious activity of the masses of the Ethiopian people themselves, this country has travelled faster and further than she had done for centuries.

This new historic reality in Africa is both an indication of the depth of the general crisis of the world imperialist system and a major contribution to the further deepening of that crisis. In Ethiopia the dramatic release of the energies of the masses has charted the path for all of us who are engaged in the bitter struggle to rid ourselves of the domination of imperialism and the forces of reaction.

The position of imperialism on a world scale is characterized by the following features:

- a) Further reverses in the face of the continued onslaught of the forces of social and national emancipation in Africa, Asia and Latin America;
- b) The failure to destroy the world socialist community using force; the failure to defeat or weaken it in open economic and ideological struggle;



the collapse of the policy aimed at excluding it as a decisive force in world politics;

- c) The increasing polarization of forces within the imperialist countries themselves and open clashes between these forces, leading to the emergence of an internal political crisis for imperialism;
- d) The emergence into the open of the economic and financial crisis within the imperialist countries and in the international imperialist system;
- e) The sharpening of the contradictions among the various centres of imperialism and hence division among them and a reduction of or a challenge to the hegemonic position of U.S. imperialism, against its will.

On the world scale, imperialism has entered into a deeper economic and political crisis which renders it weaker and less able to dictate policy to the people of the world as it chooses.

In contrast to the genuine crisis of world imperialism, the world socialist system and in particular the Soviet Union is growing from strength to strength. The evergrowing political and economic might of the socialist community, the great upsurge of the national liberation movements and the heightened struggle of the working class and other

progressive forces in the imperialist countries itself has fundamentally altered the balance of forces in favour of the forces of peace, democracy, national and social liberation.

In these conditions greater possibilities exist for the peoples of the world to wage successful struggles. Revolutionary Ethiopia is an outstanding illustration of this fact. The rapid advance of the struggle in Southern Africa, inspired by the defeat of Portuguese colonialism and fascism and the historic decisions of the MPLA and FRELIMO to embark on the road leading to socialism, emphasises in no uncertain terms the increased possibilities for the revolutionary forces throughout the world. The very inability of imperialism to impose a pro-Zionist solution on the Arab people signifies also the revolutionary potential that exists throughout the world.

Yet it is exactly in this situation that imperialism has become particularly dangerous. Despite its general weakening, imperialism continues to command formidable economic, military and other resources which it seeks to use to regain its lost positions. Confronted by rapid anti-imperialist advances, the forces of reaction seek to strengthen their own counter-offensive in order both to stop the forward march of progress as well as to reverse it.



Quite clearly the dominant forces in the world imperialist system have read the situation as one that puts in question not so much the ability of the system to maintain its integrity but more whether it has the will to do so. Therefore all its major representatives, led by USA, are speaking openly and with ever greater insistence of their determination to ensure that fundamental, radical change is not achieved.

United States imperialism has taken on the job of uniting the imperialist countries to ensure that they use their collective strength against the forces of progress, as well as the elucidation and execution of a consistent and detailed counter-revolutionary strategy. Africa and the Arab world constitute a region that is a prime target of this strategy. Within it, the region contains fabulous quantities of natural resources including oil, gold, uranium, diamonds and a whole list of other mineral resources.

It has absorbed large quantities of foreign capital and therefore, constitutes an area of major concern to the international monopolies both in terms of the further exploitation of its human and material resources and the protection of the economic interests of these monopolies.

Imperialism further gives this region an important place in its international military strategic posture, emphasizing its proximity to the Soviet Union, the military importance of the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Cape Sea route and the Atlantic Ocean.

Yet this region contains within it the most inflammable revolutionary material as we have already said. Imperialism is therefore confronted with the dreaded spectre that the revolutionary forces in the area are capable of and will actually succeed to wrench their people out of the world imperialist economic, political and military system of domination.

Naturally, therefore, a central objective of world reaction is to destroy the revolutionary and progressive forces in Africa and the Arab countries to ensure that such change as may come about is decided by imperialism and its lackeys.

Hence, today the co-ordinated ideological offensive against the forces of progress whose central feature is anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, presenting itself in the guise of concern for human rights, the nature of those rights itself determined by imperialism and not by the people who should ostensibly enjoy those rights.



The aims of this ideological offensive are quite clear. They are to challenge the legitimacy of the revolutionary aspirations of the peoples of Africa and the Arab countries whose universal expression has become an outstanding feature of the politics of our region.

Those who pursue the policy of anti-Sovietism under the guise of the reactionary concepts of "super-powers" and hegemonism" are causing great harm to the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist struggle in Africa and the Middle East. The vicious and slanderous attacks upon the Soviet Union, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries has to be actively combated by the united action of all revolutionary, democratic and peace-loving forces throughout the world.

From this rostrum, we wish to pay tribute to the brave internationalist Cuban fighters who shed their blood and gave their lives not for any material benefit but only so that we, the people of Africa may be free from the yoke of oppression, racism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and external aggression.

Cuba Si! Imperialism and Reaction No!

Recent events in Africa have clearly demonstrated that the imperialist countries in order to continue

to plunder and superexploit our natural resources, riches and labour power, will also resort to open naked aggression and intervention. To legitimize their military aggression and in order to prevent the development of the revolutionary movements and process in our continent, the imperialists are attempting to set up political-military blocs in Africa.

We unreservedly condemn the imperialist war-mongers' manoeuvres and in particular the French Government's racist and aggressive invasion of African soil.

To defeat imperialist aggression, manoeuvres and intrigues requires the greatest unity in action of all the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces in Africa and the Middle East. We should do our utmost to ensure that the deliberations and decisions of this Conference make a significant contribution to the further consolidation of the unity of the anti-imperialist forces in Africa and the Middle East.

We must also bear in mind that the African and Arab region constitutes an important component of the non-aligned movement. Here again, it must be noted that the developments within this movement since its founding have not gone according to the plans of international imperialism which were designed



to steer the non-aligned movement towards the imperialist system and against the leading progressive sector of the world - the world socialist system.

Developments within this movement show that for non-alignment to correctly interpret the true interests and aspirations of millions of people, it must of necessity take firm positions against the intrigues and machinations of imperialism and reaction.

Imperialism is now concentrating its ideological offensive against the movement by seeking to denigrate and crudely distort the participation of countries such as Socialist Cuba as incompatible with non-alignment.

To advance its counter-revolutionary aims which include the disruption of the next Conference of non-aligned countries to be held in Cuba. Imperialism seeks to create a reactionary bloc within the non-aligned movement.

It is the task of the progressive movement, within this region in particular, to defeat the counter-revolutionary manoeuvres of imperialism and reaction precisely because the main thrust is directed in this region. The forth-coming non-aligned conference in Havana must advance the anti-imperialist positions of the non-aligned movement so as to strengthen the world-wide movement for peace, international security and social progress.

In Asia and Latin America the imperialists are fighting a rear-guard battle. We hail the glorious and heroic people of Vietnam who under the most difficult conditions and in the face of serious provocations are building a unified socialist Vietnam. We salute the working class, democratic and progressive forces in Latin America which are fighting the forces of reaction, fascism and domination of U.S. imperialism.

The struggles of the peoples of Southern Africa have taken great strides forward. Little wonder that this part of Africa has now come under the sharp focus and attention of the imperialist world. Having soberly assessed the impossibility of the defeat of the progressive movement of the peoples of the region, our enemies are now concentrating their attempts at assuming the leadership of the movement for change. Various schemes code-named plans for the independence of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, bear the stamp: "Anglo-American proposals" or the "proposals of the 5 Western members of the Security Council".

Similar attempts are made in the Arab region where international public opinion is made to focus on the Carter administration as the sole arbiter for peace in this region. In both regions the main roles for the realization of imperialist plans are assigned to the aggressive task forces of the imperialist world, the fascist regime of South Africa and



the aggressive expansionist Zionist Israel.

Here again the activity of the imperialist circles must not be seen as an attempt to bring about a genuine solution of the problem in these regions but as an obvious attempts to buttress imperialist influence and weaken and destroy the genuine revolutionary movement of the peoples in the two regions by isolating it from its natural allies, the world socialist system, more in particular from the Soviet Union and Cuba. This aims to ensure conditions for the emergence of neo-colonialist states and strengthening those that were already in the lap of international imperialism. Some of these reactionary states in the Arab and African region are resorting to crude economic blackmail to destract the young countries from their chosen path of social development and openly advancing the slogan of saving these young countries from the so-called communist penetration.

However, these attempts are bound to collapse. The invincibility of the revolutionary national and social liberation movements is further demonstrated by the growing victories of the oppressed masses in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe and the inability of the imperialists and Zionists to crush and destroy the glorious revolution of the Palestinian people under the leadership of their revolutionary vanguard,

the Palestine Liberation Organization. It is now clear to all that it is only a matter of time before the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe reach their cherished goal of national independence and peaceful social progress under the leadership of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front.

In South Africa, the Apartheid regime of terror is entering into a deep crisis as the struggle of the oppressed masses under the leadership of the African National Congress intensifies. Various spokesmen of the regime including leaders of the military brass now accept the stark reality of a growing armed struggle by the oppressed masses. This admission does not sound nicely in the ears of the racist white minority nor is it reassuring the multi-national corporations on the prolonged safety of their super-profits reaped from the super-exploitation of the black working people.

Arguments that the multi-national corporations operate in the Apartheid economy for the benefit of the black masses in South Africa are collapsing under the pressure of the growing revolutionary struggle. In a recent memorandum, the General Motors Corporation in South Africa has revealed that it is now preparing to create its own combat forces for the protection of its plants in South Africa. These combat forces or commando units will fall under the command of the Defence Forces of the South African regime in times of national emergency.



On the other hand, the two General Motors Corporation plants in South Africa have been designated "Key Points" by the military authorities of the fascist regime. This means that, as stated in the memorandum, "major elements of this industry would be taken over by an arm of the Ministry of Defence... which would completely regulate output...." The GM plant will thus specialize in the production of all types of military vehicles for the regime.

All this is eloquent proof that the imperialist monopolies are there to buttress the most ferocious regime on the African continent.

Let us emphasize that the flow of foreign investments to racist South Africa has made it possible for that heinous regime to create a very powerful military - industrial complex. Whatever the multinationals may say, their hands are stained with the blood of our oppressed people.

The Vorster regime's military programme has been greatly expanded in the face of the growing military threat from the revolutionary forces. Despite the recent arms embargo resolution of the U.N. Security Council, the South African fascist regime relies on and receives arms from its traditional imperialist allies prominent amongst which are France, West Germany, the United States of America, Britain, Israel

and Iran. Israel and Iran act as conduits for the imperialists arms to South Africa.

With the active help of the Federal Republic of Germany and France, fascist South Africa now has a growing nuclear capability which constitutes a real threat not only to the peoples of our country and Africa but also to world peace. We call upon all peace-loving forces throughout the world to redouble their efforts to prevent the fascist - political machine in South Africa from acquiring the Nuclear Bomb.

The Vorster regime is increasingly having to contend with the growing resistance from certain sections of the white youth. In 1976, a total of 63, 104 young men were called up for Defence Force duties and of these 37,518 or 59% of the total applied for exemption. Clearly the revolutionary onslaught of the toiling masses and its organization, the ANC, is having an impact on the white population. Thus the racist regime has stepped up the induction of black mercenary forces into its army. The chief of the regime's defence forces revealed recently that 20% of forces "in operational areas" are Blacks.

Since the Soweto uprising of 1976, the initiative has inexorably passed into the hands of the revolutionary forces. There can be no doubt that an important contributory factor to the Soweto and subsequent



events was the capacity and ability of the ANC and its allies to continue the struggle at different levels in the face of one of the most sustained reign of terror in modern times.

The aggravating decline of the socio-economic standards of the oppressed people - for example 2 million Africans are now unemployed - the intensified racist and national oppression exerted on our people and the policy of no-surrender pursued by the national liberation and working class movements in South Africa has helped to raise the political consciousness of the oppressed masses, in particular the youth to new and higher levels.

We can say without a trace of exaggeration that the struggle in racist South Africa has reached a qualitatively new and higher level. The mass arrests, torture and brutal murder of thousands of our people have not and shall never bow us into submission.

Daily we are improving and strengthening our underground structures, recruiting more and more people into our political and military wings and overcoming the problems of not only initiating but also sustaining armed activities inside the country. This is no idle boast designed to stimulate the enthusiasm of the distinguished delegates and visitors. For, even the racist regime has been compelled to

admit that in the last 18 months more than 30 armed actions were carried out by units of Umkhonto we Sizwe the military wing of the African National Congress.

Furthermore, at the beginning of last month - August 1978, a unit of Umkhonto we Sizwe engaged the enemy forces in pitched battle for six hours some 100 miles from Pretoria. Even though the racists brought to bear the full brunt of their fire power including attacks from fighter planes and helicopters, the Umkhonto unit not only killed some enemy troops but also fought their way to safety. This is the harbinger of things to come. It is, therefore not surprising that daily the Vorster regime calls upon the white people to prepare for what they call "terrorist actions" and even for a drop in their living standards. Fully aware of the very complex and difficult period that lies ahead and of the enormous resources at the command of the fascist political machine and its imperialist backers we declare to this Conference with all the sincerity that we command that the armed activities and mass political actions of our fighting people shall grow in scope and depth.

The ANC and its allies shall never rest until the murderous brutal fascist regime and the inhuman system of Apartheid and racism is relegated to the dustbin of history.



We are absolutely certain that in the coming exceedingly difficult battles that we shall fight the world-wide forces of peace, democracy and socialism shall as before render political, material, military and diplomatic support to the African National Congress. Let us intensify the campaign to isolate racist South Africa economically, politically, culturally, and in the sports arena.

Let us together as comrades-in-arms put an end to one of the world's greatest crimes: the inhuman evil ideology and policy of Apartheid and racism.

Forward to a Free and Independent South Africa

Amandla nga Wethu!

Matla kea Rona!!

INTERVIEW WITH COMRADE ALFRED NZO OF ANC  
OF SOUTH AFRICA WITH THE VOICE OF ZIMBABWE  
THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF ZAPU

Q. We notice that recently there has been an upsurge in the tempo of struggle waged by the ANC of South Africa. Would you like to indicate what responses these observable activities have elicited from ruling class of South Africa?

A. COMRADE NZO. Well, first of all the activities that have been referred to, that is, the escalating struggle of the people of South Africa is not an isolated incident. If we look at the developments in the whole of Southern Africa itself, we shall note that there is great activity by the oppressed masses led by their revolutionary vanguards - in Zimbabwe led by the Patriotic Front and in Namibia by SWAPO. There is evident show of determination by the oppressed masses to rid themselves of colonial and racial domination in our part of the world. This development was greatly facilitated and inspired by the recent collapse of Portuguese colonialism and the changed balance of forces in Southern Africa in favour of the forces still fighting for National liberation and social progress. Now, of course as always happens, the enemy reacts to the intensified activity of the people in very many ways. In the first place, as is well known, the repression imposed on the people by the fascist regime of South Africa has intensified



in the last few years and has assumed openly and nakedly brutal forms. The evidence of this was seen during the demonstrations in places like Soweto, and later throughout the country from June 16th 1976, when literally the armed might of the fascist state was brought upon the heads of mere children. They were legitimately demonstrating against the manifests of Bantu education which they experienced in schools and colleges. That's one aspect of it - increased repression on the part of the enemy. On the other hand, the regime has taken into account the fact that it can no longer, as it had always boasted in the past, sustain the revolutionary upsurge of the people, particularly the intensification of the armed struggle.

There have been various comments from various leaders of the regime to the effect that the African National Congress of South Africa is a very dangerous organisation which can no longer be destroyed but must be contained. And of course in order to do this, the regime has taken steps to further militarise the South African economy, turning virtually the white section of the population into an armed camp. In this respect it is assisted as always, by its imperialist supporters, mainly West Germany, France, Britain and the United States of America. One thing that must be observed in this development is the fact that there is now very little doubt at all that South Africa has reached a very high point indeed in its nuclear capacity.

Of course this military programme, is not so much only intended for suppressing the internal revolutionary forces, but also for equipping the fascist regime to engage in a programme of intimidating the African States that support National Liberation struggle. This will be observed from their repeated aggressive incursions into Angola, Zambia and of course, the assistance it is giving to the Smith racist regime which has committed numerous acts of aggression against countries such as Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia. Now then, one other aspect of their reaction to the growing struggle of the people inside the country, is the militarisation of the economy.

But, it has also been noticed lately that the multi-national corporations inside the country which, the African National Congress has always quite correctly contended, are there to support and prop-up the regime of terror in South Africa, are also showing, now quite obviously without hiding their intentions, the fact that in the long run, as the struggle develops, they will come into the open, to support the fascist regime. In fact the regime itself has warned those Multi-National corporations which will not agree to assisting the regime in its effort to fight the people of South Africa. It has warned that those Multi-National Corporations will be taken over by the regime.

lately there has been information revealed over the



preparations that Genral Motors is already making inside South Africa, obviously in support of the fascist regime in our country. Now that's another aspect of it, you see.

The other aspect of course, is to try to advance reformist programmes to divert the people away from fighting for the revolutionary programme of the National Liberation movement, by intensifying the implementation of things like the Bantustan and so on. In spite of the growing rejection of these schemes by the people themselves inside these tribal enclaves - otherwise referred to as Bantustans, the regime is pushing forward with this kind of the so-called independence, with the hope that if this programme succeeds, the people will tend to feel that the independence offered to them by the racist regime is enough, and therefore there is no need for them to continue to struggle. But, again here you see - as events show inside the country, the regime is meeting with increasing difficulties even in this aspect of its programme.

So that in brief we can summarise the response of the fascist ruling circles inside the country as increased repression, increased militarisation of the economy, speeding up of reformist programme, through the Bantustan policies and the fact also that the Multi-National Coperations are now openly admitting their intentions in the future, to support the regime, their worry being the growing militancy of the super-exploited working

class which has been in evidence over the past few years in particular.

You have mentioned the Bantustan system. On this issue there are two schools of thought. One school of thought thinks that the Bantustan system has retarded very much the progress of the armed struggle; the other school of thought thinks that the Bantustan in some way does not retard very much the progress of the armed struggle. Would you like to comment on this?

COMRADE NZO. Well, of course one thing that must be realised is the fact that with the advancement of the Bantustan programme, the regime has in a way succeeded in engaging the activities and the energies of the people in these areas, in spurious attempts trying to abort the revolution, appeasing them with pseudo-independence in place of the real independence which we are fighting for. This also has a balkanising and therefore divisive effect, posing an obstacle in the way of mobilisation for united action.

That's why you find now and again, when there are elections in one Bantustan or the other, that during the time of the preparation for these elections, burning issues that confront the whole country are forgotten by that particular area since it then tends to look at the confined tribal politics of the local Bantustan.



Now, this has the effect of diverting the attention of the people in these areas from concentrating on the major issues of the entire country. We can then say, that they tend to weaken the revolutionary movement of the people. But of course, as we stated earlier, the experience that the people gain from the so-called independence, is that of the further deterioration of their economic conditions as, at the same time, they watch and see in front of them, that those who benefit from these Bantustan policies, are only the small clique of people that have been placed in command by the regime itself - the so-called chief ministers and the so-called cabinet ministers of these things. These cliques are exposed to the people as the only people who benefit from this type of independence. This generates growing resistance within these bantustans themselves and, in a way, as the people begin to realise the negative social and economic developments that confront them in the bantustans militancy begins to build up. Of course, this incipient revolutionary mood is nurtured and strengthened a great deal by the constant activity of the underground organisation which constantly puts before the people the revolutionary programme which has within it, the seeds of a bright future built by the entire people, not separated into various racial groups or various tribal entities, but a united people building a unitary democratic society inside South Africa. Now, of course, this then means that, as has already been shown in

some of the so-called bantustans like, for instance, the Venda area, where the regime, not so long ago, was forced to declare a state of emergency because of the growing intensity of the resistance of the people, bantustan reformism notwithstanding, revolutionary militancy inside the country is on the rise.

It does show that, in the long run, the masses of the people in these bantustans are going to make total their rejection of the Bantustan policies and come over into the arm of the armed revolutionary struggle. And of course, our calculation is that this is not very far off, as the people learn from their own bitter experience of the so-called independence programme that has been put before them by the regime.

Q. It does appear that the National Liberation Movement forces in Zimbabwe or Southern Africa - but Zimbabwe in particular, have gained considerable victories in recent months and that the final victory of the liberation forces can come at any time now. How do you see this related to South Africa's open discussions with the members of the so-called internal government in Rhodesia?

A. COMRADE NZO. Now, we of the African National Congress, from the very announcement of the formation of the so-called internal solutions, were quite convinced that



this was not only not a solution of the problem of the people of Zimbabwe, but that it was part of the programme of imperialism and the racist colonial forces in Southern Africa to impose a neo-colonial solution on the people. We maintain this because it has become, of course, quite obvious that it is no longer possible for anybody, now, to successfully block the forward march of the oppressed masses to genuine independence, and therefore imperialism is hatching neo-colonialist schemes to adapt itself to the future with a minimum of losses. Part of this schemes is to use black opportunists against the people. That is why in fact, some of the people who, a few years ago, had joined forces with the rest of the world in fighting against the fascist regime of South Africa, people who for instance, in those days, called themselves Nationalist of Zimbabwe, have suddenly turned and are now not only occasionally fraternising with the regime in South Africa, but have had several meetings with the representative of the regime. Vorster has a vested interest in the viability of the neo-colonialist internal settlement because Vorster stands to gain by having a permanent buffer zone which would be presented by a neo-colonialist solution of the Zimbabwe problem, knowing that even though the world would think that there is independence of the Zimbabwe people, in fact the people who control that independence are not the Zimbabwe people themselves, but former colonial

themselves but former colonial forces sympathetic to apartheid. And Vorster knows that once that situation is consolidated, then it will be an additional help to the attempt to stop the resolute march of the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa. But of course, again the events are dictating otherwise. Firstly there can be no doubt that the sham so-called settlement has collapsed on the rocks and is in tatters. On the other side, there is evidence that the revolutionary forces, led by the Patriotic Front, are gaining ground and undoubtedly in the very near future, a genuine solution for the genuine independence of the people of Zimbabwe is to come about and that this situation will create even more favourable conditions for the advance of the revolutionary struggle of the people of South Africa themselves.

2. The second aspect of the question which you have just been answering; how do you see this related to recent private discussions between South Africa and its imperialist allies on their strategy in the whole of the sub-continent?

COMRADE NZO. Well, it is part of the programme, as we said, of trying to reach a situation whereby the end result of the struggles of the oppressed peoples would not be totally in their favour but would result in a solution that still leaves the economic, the political and other strategic positions of the former colonial masters intact.



And this of course would be in the interests not of the people themselves, but in the interests of the former colonial masters who would then be managing affairs through stooges and puppets who are going to be presented to the world as being the representatives of the people that have been fighting when, in fact, they still represent the former oppressive systems that the people have been fighting against, heroically for many decades.

Q. What has happened to the proposals once made about the coalition or the possible coalition of the bantustan leaders and some of the coloured and Indian groups in South Africa and, do you think it is likely to solidify at any moment in future and, if so with what impact on the political and national independence of South Africa?

COMRADE NZO: Now, one thing that must be borne in mind, is the fact that the committed motors of the revolutionary traditions in South Africa (that have deep roots) are organisations such as the African National Congress which can never be destroyed by the repression of the enemy - even by the action of outlawing of the organisations such as the African National Congress of South Africa and so on. That is why, even after the banning of the African National Congress, and after the arrest of the leaders and the mass terror that the regime had visited upon the people, the struggle of

the people still continued and in fact, even with more intensity than the enemy had bargained for. The Soweto events are part of this. Now, therefore, you see, and of course let this be emphasised, one of the most important pre-conditions the revolutionary movement has laid before the people is united action of the people irrespective of race or the colour of the skin. The bantustan policies are developing in this atmosphere of the growing anger of the people and it is very obvious that those who pretend to be the leaders of the people must ensure that, because of the pressure from masses of the people, they are also part of the process of the independence of the people. But of course one of the most serious weaknesses of any attempts by the bantustan leaders at the mobilisation of the people to counteract the regime, is their reformist approach in the face of the revolutionary reality of the situation inside South Africa itself. Most of them tend to want to convince the people that it is not necessary to engage in revolutionary forms of struggle such as the armed struggle, and that there is still a possibility for the peaceful solution of that situation. But the experience of the people is different from what some of these so-called leaders might be talking about because the people have seen their children being mowed down by the fascist regime in Soweto and in other areas like Gugulethu and so on, throughout the country, with the development of the mass political upsurge.



acting not in the interests of the revolutionary solution, but in the interests of the reformist solutions which the majority of the people are rejecting inside South Africa today. We can then say that so long as alliances are built up on the basis of struggle against the fascist regime, they are positive, but if they are brought up for the sole purpose of advancing any of the regime's reformist programme as opposed to that which has been put forward by the revolutionary movement, then, the people themselves will have them destroyed because they will discover that they are not working in their interests.

Q. We know that traditionally Israel has been regarded as the chief collaborator with South Africa in many aspects, but recently it appears the tide has been turned on an much wider spectrum. We see that Latin American countries are deeply engaged in the collaboration with South Africa. Reports in the past few weeks have indicated that certain Arab financial quarters have financed Transkei bantustans with six million dollars for development. What is the ANC's position in regard to this?

COMRADE NZO. Any action that is undertaken from any quarters in the world and which has got the effect of consolidating and buttressing the regime of terror in South Africa, is condemned by the African National Congress.

Now, the development referred to, that of Israel, is known and in a way was to be expected because both regimes - South Africa and Israel, are advanced posts of imperialism in the struggle against the National liberation movement of the peoples of South Africa and the Arab region as a whole. And of course the fascist regimes in Latin America naturally would tend to support and consolidate the fascist regime of South Africa. It must also be borne in mind that imperialism has been having plans to create a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation which was to involve some reactionary Latin American regimes and South Africa itself.

Imperialism is doing this, of course, knowing that the revolutionary masses of the world are bringing more pressure on the system of reaction - the imperialist system of reaction and war, and therefore it must expand its areas of aggression again in an attempt to consolidate a dying and weakened system of oppression.

Now the activity of the reactionary Arab regimes in this respect is also part of the grand plan. Literally, now we see the activity of these regimes, in particular in all those areas in Africa here, where the people are up in arms fighting for their genuine independence or defending the independence that has been won.

For instance, the revolutionary leadership of the people of Ethiopia has constantly complained of the fact that internal reaction in Ethiopia is being supported by reactionary Arab regimes.



Now again, if we look at this development, it cannot be said to be an isolated event. Imperialism must find, indeed as it does, the allies that are going to come over in support of this system to subvert and even roll back the genuine independence of the people, so as to keep certain regions within the orbit of imperialist influence. That is why therefore, it will encourage reactionary Arab regimes and reactionary regimes in Latin America to buttress their main hope in the region. of Southern Africa which is the fascist regime of South Africa. It is all in the grand plan of attempting to keep not only Southern Africa, but eventually, the entire independent continent within the sphere of imperialist influence. And of course, I have also indicated the alarm which imperialism has experienced over the growth of the revolutionary forces in this continent.

Amandla Nga Wethu!

Maatla Kea Rona !

Power to the People!

MAYIBUYE PREVIEW

Vol.1. No.8. - What the ANC of South Africa is fighting for and other aspects of the struggle - Comrade Thabo Mbeki, member of National Executive and Secretary to the Political Commission of the ANC.

Vol.1. No.9. (a) Interview with Comrade Kadar Asmal, Chairman of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement on apartheid s sub-imperialist postures and violation of International Law.

(b) For workers Rights; against repression of labour.



**Published by the African National Congress Information & Publicity Department Headquarters,  
P.O. Box 1791, Lusaka**

**REGISTERED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA AS A NEWSPAPER**