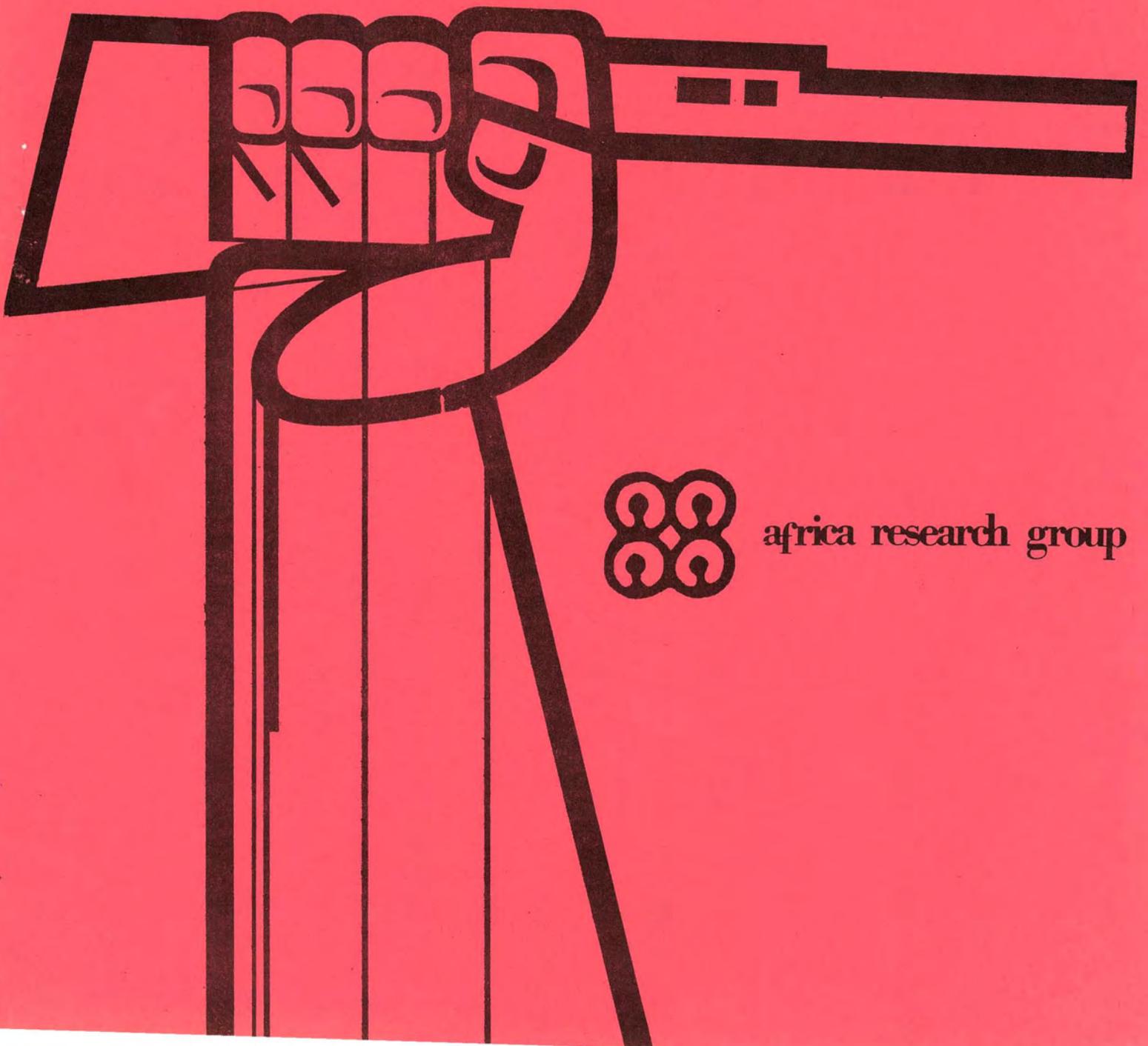


Armed struggle in Southern AFRICA



africa research group

The ruthless oppression and exploitation of South Africa's black population by the ruling white minority is notorious. So blatant is the situation, so clearly defined are the lines of conflict, that hardly a book or a speech on South Africa during the last decades has failed to predict a future violent confrontation. Yet such a confrontation has been naively characterised in terms of a "bloodbath", of instant insurrection, chaos and anarchy. It is little wonder that timid liberals have sought anxiously for alternatives to violence. And even those who have recognised the legitimacy and necessity of such a confrontation have remained as simplistic in discussing it: why hasn't the black majority already risen to overthrow the government, one has often been asked. Or, if they haven't already, will they ever?

Today, in Southern Africa, the confrontation between the white minority regimes and the African people, between the forces of racism, fascism and colonialism and those of democracy and non-racialism, is under way. Yet almost no attention has been given by those in the outside world who support it to the strategies of this confrontation, to the development by Southern African nationalist movements of a sophisticated plan for revolutionary change in which the present armed struggle is only the most recent stage. This pamphlet contains a selection of statements by and about the revolutionary movements of Southern Africa as an introduction to their strategy of struggle. Hopefully, as we become better equipped to understand this strategy, we will be able to demonstrate our solidarity in the most appropriate manner.

As recently as four years ago, the overthrow of the white minority regimes of Southern Africa seemed, to many outside observers, an impossibly distant goal. After the heady wine of the previous decade, in which a score of African countries had regained at least a nominal form of political independence from the colonial powers, the southward thrust of nationalism was halted. The white racist governments, assisted by Western powers and even by the United Nations, were staging a counter-offensive. In the vanguard was the irrepressible Moise Tshombe who, stalemated in his Western-backed attempt to separate the mineral-rich Katanga from the Congo, had been installed as premier of the Central Congolese government. His mandate from the forces which backed him was simple: to crush by any means necessary a revolutionary movement in the Congo which was seeking a second and genuine independence. From Rhodesia and South Africa white mercenaries streamed in to "fight communism", which in this context meant to kill Kaffirs and maintain the puppet Tshombe in power. They were supported by CIA-sponsored Cuban exiles flying American planes in strafing and bombing missions. By 1965 the rebellion had been crushed.

The collapse of the Central African Federation further south was by no means an unmixed blessing. If it had exposed the hypocrisy of the Welensky ideology of "racial partnership", dissolved the alliance between Welensky and Tshombe, and secured independence for Zambia under the enlightened leadership of Kenneth Kaunda, it had also consolidated forces of reaction. In Malawi Prime Minister Banda dismissed the more progressive section of his Cabinet and set a course which would bring him into formal alliance with South Africa. And Southern Rhodesia, third colony of the abortive federation, was under the openly racist rule of the Rhodesian Front and would assert its independence from Britain in the UDI of November 1965.

In South Africa itself the situation in this period was, if anything, even more desperate. After the banning of the African nationalist organizations in 1960 a slow and difficult process of regrouping had begun underground. Meanwhile the government launched a massive and brutal campaign of persecution, spearheaded by Justice Minister Vorster, to crush all manifestations of opposition, to remove all potential cadres. Detention without trial, house arrest, censorship, restrictions on movement and assembly: these were the legislative measures. The police were encouraged in the use of torture with water and electricity, and such mental strains as solitary confinement. Between 1963 and 1965 thousands of activists, and many innocents, were jailed. Some had talked, some had been informed on. Others had committed suicide or been murdered by overzealous police. On July 11, 1963, came perhaps the biggest blow of all: the arrest of almost the entire High Command of Umkhonto We Sizwe ("Spear of the Nation"), the military wing of the African National Congress.

To many outsiders, sceptics indeed, the prospects of revolution had never seemed less good. The mass movements, they argued, were too strong, too impervious to infiltration and subversion. The economy was booming. The white population would fight to the death. The South African military machine, massively strengthened and reoriented towards counter-insurgency since 1961, was too powerful. The terrain was unsuitable for guerrilla warfare. The Africans, claimed these sceptics, were divided by class and tribe. Nor, it was argued, did other armed struggles in Africa offer much encouragement. Algeria was indeed free, but not through military victory: in South Africa there was no mediator who could play the role of de Gaulle. And the revolt launched by the UPA in Angola in March 1961 had been a failure.

All these arguments were specious, based on an insufficient understanding of guerrilla warfare and on selection of convenient facts at the expense of others. (The sceptics, for example, did not point out that the UPA revolt began to lose momentum to the extent that its leadership collaborated with the CIA). Nevertheless the sceptics began to pin their hopes on the prospect of international, rather than internal action to overthrow white supremacy. But the campaign for international sanctions was blunted by the refusal of those Western powers with interests in South Africa to cooperate. The International Court Case which was to decide whether South Africa had a right to rule South West Africa dragged interminably on, to end in 1966 in a total victory for white racism. Nor did the former British High Commission territories, any more than South West Africa, provide a foothold for internationalist levers of change. When Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland came to elect African governments, these turned out to be conservative traditionalists without the slightest intention of breaking their economic subservience to South Africa.

Internal action was precluded by repression. External intervention had run into obstacles at every turn. So it seemed to the pessimists. Nor, to the observer with only public information, did it seem that those elements of the South African nationalist movements who had escaped into exile during the period of massive repression had alternatives to offer. Scattered in other African countries and in Europe, they appeared to be maintaining only a precarious contact with the "inside" from which they were geographically separated by Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola. The most obvious aspects of exile activity were the constant bickering between rival political groups, the seemingly-too-ready acceptance of plush educational scholarships by refugees, and the endless procession of leaders from conference to conference, from New York to Prague to Cairo to Peking, demanding funds and solidarity for a struggle of which there was no concrete evidence.

But the hopelessness was illusory and the calm was deceptive. It marked, as the ANC journal Sechaba remarked "the passage from one era of struggle to another." Already indeed the signs of change were present. In September 1964 a united front of Mozambique nationalist organizations, FRELIMO, launched armed struggle in northern Mozambique. Within two years it had liberated two northern provinces, built up a guerrilla army of some 7000 men mainly trained inside the country, and begun the arduous task of reorganising production and establishing health, education and a political structure in liberated territory. In 1968 FRELIMO opened a new front in Tete province. Despite the murder of its leader, Eduardo Mondlane, the Mozambique struggle continues. In 1966 the MPLA, whose earlier exploits in Cabinda and Angola had been overshadowed by Holden Roberto's UPA, opened a front in eastern Angola which expended rapidly along the same lines as the struggle in Mozambique. By late 1968 fighting was taking place in 9 of Angola's fifteen provinces, and the MPLA claimed control over two-thirds of the country.

These two armed struggles, coupled with the exemplary revolution war which has been underway in the small Portuguese colony of Guinea-Bissau on the West African Coast since 1961, were and are a serious drain on Portugal's resources. Well over 100,000 troops, and 50% of her military budget, are diverted to repressing the liberation movements. But it is not Portugal which holds the key to Southern Africa. That key is held by South Africa itself, industrialised, with four million whites, a massive and mobile military capacity. Without armed struggle in Rhodesia and South Africa as well, the Unholy Alliance of those regimes and Portugal would be able to hold matters under control. If necessary South Africa would be able to send an expeditionary force to bolster a flagging Portuguese effort.

The events of August 1967, when a combined force of black Rhodesian and South African guerrillas went into action against troops of the Rhodesian regime reinforced by South Africans in the Wankie area, were, in this context, a development of immeasurable significance. Those events, and the subsequent development of a continuous level of guerrilla activity in Rhodesia were an obvious refutation of the charges that the South African liberation movement had been inactive. In fact the ANC leadership had begun even before 1960 to send out recruits to prepare for armed struggle, and in the ensuing years had built up a substantial army of highly-trained guerrilla cadres well-equipped to return as the nucleus of a people's liberation army. Close, lengthy and minute attention had been paid by the leadership to the problems of revolutionary strategy in southern Africa. Even within South Africa itself the wave of repression had not extinguished political activity. Chief Albert Luthuli's funeral became a manifestation of support for the ANC. In the last two years a number of ANC leaflets have received widespread distribution in South Africa from centers within the country. Early in 1969 thirteen men were put on trial in Pietermaritzburg for conspiracy to organize guerrilla warfare; some had been trained outside the country. Certainly they are not the only ones.

The opening of a guerrilla front in Rhodesia closed the strategic and geographical gap that had existed before. Now from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic there is continuous activity: Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, and the guerrilla activity which has occurred sporadically in South West Africa and the Caprivi strip since 1966. True, there is not guerrilla activity in South Africa itself as of yet. But the South African regime has been forced to extend itself beyond its borders: already there are 1700 South African troops at least in Rhodesia who are indispensable to the maintenance of Ian Smith's regime. South African troops and equipment are in use in Mozambique, Angola. .

and Malawi. South African public opinion is being softened up for the dispatch of a qualitatively larger troop contingent to the Portuguese territories. The whole of Southern Africa, in other words, is a single theatre of struggle. In this context the commencement of fighting within South Africa itself becomes a matter for strategic decision within the total Southern African context. Ultimately, in other words, four million white South Africans must be responsible for the defense of white privilege in the sub-continent. Such a task - maintaining an industrial economy as well as armed forces to contain a guerrilla movement operating among 28 million Africans - is in the long run quite impossible.

It is this new perspective on the struggle, it must be emphasized which sharpens its prospects for success: a perspective which looks at a Southern African rather than a South African context, and one which focusses on rural struggle by a guerrilla movement over the total area embraced by the South African political economy. In this context, too, there can be seen the historical continuity between the separate resistance struggles by Southern African societies against white conquest with the new united revolutionary movement. (And it should be stressed that the alliance between the ANC and ZAPU is unique in the history of guerrilla struggle).

Yet it would be a mistake, as has been done on occasion, to devalue phases of the political struggle whose relationship to the present armed struggle are not quite so clear. In South Africa and Rhodesia, and even in the other areas of southern Africa, there is a long history of non-violent political protest centered in the urban areas. Without this tradition, a guerrilla struggle, relying as it does on the political support of the people, would be impossible. Without this tradition, and without the continuance of political education and action wherever this is possible, a revolutionary seizure of power will not take place.

Nor, similarly, should one devalue international action. While it was always a mistake to regard such action as a substitute for armed popular struggle, it was and continues to be an indispensable weapon of the revolution. Only popular action by progressive elements in all countries can force the disengagement of the Western powers from their active support of the Southern African regimes. Only the world public opinion which branded the United States bombing of North Vietnam as a criminal action and which has (let us not be defeated) played some part in forcing a de-escalation of the Vietnam war, can deter the South Africans from a mad assault on black African states as the guerrilla movements gain strength. Organization, education, action. Raising funds for the armed struggle; calling for United States disengagement. We are a part of the struggle in Southern Africa: let us show our solidarity.

Statement by the Zimbabwe African People's Union, 1968 (Rhodesia)

OUR STANDPOINT

It is of course obvious that our stand is for immediate, and unconditional majority rule. It is the correct solution and it is the only solution. There can be no reasonable argument whatever to justify why it should not be introduced. Neither can there be any sensible argument to prove why it should be delayed if conceded. The evil of minority rule is established and known. Anyone who says the right solution should wait for a known evil to continue in one form or another would have to submit himself for mental examination. Who does he expect to be the victim of evil during the period of waiting? For freedom to take its full meaning every Zimbabwean must be free. There is no such thing as rights for some and none for others. No one enjoys freedom for another. There is no gradualism in freedom. One is either free or oppressed; that is all.

There is no room whatever for all constitutional proposals put forward by the British so far, whether they are Tiger, Fearless or the 1923 Letters Patent. They are all a continuation of minority rule one way or another. Minority rule has had its day and must just go and give way to majority rule. Seventy years of suffering oppression is enough. There can be no point of letting it even for the smallest scale of gradualism. Evil is evil and has no acceptable form. It must be resisted without the slightest accommodation.

The British settlers of Rhodesia argue that concession to majority rule means that they, as a group, are expendable. Are we to conclude that their insistence on minority rule means the majority, the Africans, are expendable? Alongside this is the stock argument that acceding to African rule would mean the dropping of civilised standards and the breakdown of economic progress. From this develops the British policy that majority rule must wait in Rhodesia until the Africans are educated to standards acceptable to the British settlers. In practical terms, this means the minority must rule and admit Africans into public life at its pleasure. Conscious of the wickedness of their policy, the British then proceed to devise a system of what is called safeguards in the hope of containing African hostility. Hence the construction of a train of shock-absorbing bodies like royal commissions; tribunals and constitutional councils, and so-called blocking quarters. What people can surrender themselves to such makeshift bodies whilst leaving the actual substance of power in the legislature to their oppressors and exploiters? It is totally and completely out of question that we can tolerate being presented a fait accompli on a matter affecting our country and our destiny.

Britain will not concede majority rule in Rhodesia for the simple reason that its kith and kin reject it. We reject minority rule. This leaves Britain without justification for its approach but sheer racialism. There is the usual cunning argument for a transition. This is virtually a plea for giving a chance to oppression to continue in some disguised form. There was no transition to the introduction of minority rule. It was just imposed and we suffered. Minority rule must go out with the same speed with which it came in, if not faster.

The pressure of industrialists in Salisbury for a settlement on the Fearless terms is given prominence. They are worried about the effect of sanctions on their economy. Like the British Government and the Rhodesian regime they are not interested at all in the genuine freedom of the African people of Zimbabwe. The British Government's role is to contain international opposition by all manner of tricks; the role of the settler regime is to carry out internal repression of the African people; the role of the industrialists is to exploit the African people economically and the three organs combine to reap the profits. The problems of the industrialists are not the problems of the African people. The attitude which shows concern for the welfare of the economy when the issue is human freedom, is very degenerate. The economy is there to serve the people and not the other way round. Human freedom is, therefore, a priority unconditioned by the state of the economy. The argument of trying to project the welfare of the economy against or alongside the demand for African rights is a mark of selfishness just as insistence on minority rule is born out of racialism. It is an attempt to mar the real issue.

The solution of the Rhodesian problem must be complete and total. It cannot be in bits or gradual. We are facing a single solid system of oppression and not phases of it. The police, the army, the administration, the legislature are all constructed in a manner to serve oppression and exploitation of the African people. These must be dismantled and reconstructed to serve justice and freedom. The statutes must then be expunged of all laws born out of racism and the economy adjusted for the benefit of the entire people in the country and not just a few.

The country is plagued by white racialism. It is mischievous to then draw a constitution which acknowledges and gives expression to racial differences, creates classes, degenerates further to provoke tribalism and worst still retains the monopoly of power in the hands of an already condemned racist minority. The whole construction of the Fearless constitution is direct incitement to class, tribal and racial conflict.

We do not accept the proposed constitutional safeguards. The entire people of Zimbabwe must have the power, be sovereign in themselves and in this way safeguard themselves without any external device. We never accepted British rule over our country. The reserved clauses of 1923 were an external so-called safeguard whose results are the plight we are in today. What better lesson could there be than this? In any case the very conception of a safeguard results from recognition of a danger. Once the danger is recognised why not eliminate the danger and forget about the safeguard? It is an obvious case of prevention being better than cure. What is worse in this issue is that Britain herself has created the danger.

The most ridiculous feature of the "Fearless" is the arrangement to appoint Ian Smith as leader of the interim administration with, virtually, all the ultimate powers of the state. What is the basis of this? Nothing but a guarantee to the British settlers of the continuity of their minority racist rule.

In our view the British Government is no longer solving the Rhodesian problem. She is solving her own problems resulting from it. She finds herself now able to win the support of recognition by a nucleus of states for the legalisation of the racist regime's UDI. She is concerned with the consequences

of this step on the harmony of the Commonwealth, a fact she has more or less assured herself in relation to the internal problems of individual Commonwealth members. As we pointed out earlier, uppermost in Britain's mind is not the freedom of the African people but the freedom of the economy for the benefit of the industrialists and for the welfare of the white settlers. As usual, it is the hope of Britain to get a few African collaborators who can be used as the excuse for justifying the granting of independence to the white oppressors. All these calculations of the British Government are terrible and tragically off the mark. The African people of Zimbabwe will not participate in anything but the correct solution - immediate and unqualified majority rule.

Inevitably, of course, there are views that would suggest that the African people of Zimbabwe should see what best use they could make of the proposals even if objectionable because Britain will not bring about the solution desired. First of all, as evident from our views, we have never and do not expect Britain to bring about a political solution in our favour for the obvious fact that she is the creator of the oppression we suffer today. Secondly, we are in a life and death struggle and, as such, we have no intention of responding to the British game of political gambles and constitutional riddles when this game is for no other purpose than to frustrate our just cause.

Propaganda is being put out that the British Fearless proposals are the only hope of preventing Rhodesia from drifting to apartheid. What trash? Apartheid exists in Rhodesia in law and practise as in South Africa but in name. The Land Apportionment Act is one example. By its distribution of voting rights and seats in the legislature and the senate on racial, class and tribal grounds the Fearless proposals are the very cradle of apartheid. The very granting of independence to a racist minority is as much an act of apartheid as was the granting of independence to the Boer racists in South Africa by this very Britain in 1910. Who can seriously believe that a legislature loaded fifty to seventeen in favour of apartheid assisted by a research commission into discrimination can prevent the process of apartheid already set in motion?

In the absence of a peaceful solution, what is the hope for the African people of Zimbabwe? We must fight at all levels, at every front, by all means and at all times. There are only two choices in Rhodesia. African majority rule or war. We have no illusions about the military organisation of the settler oppressors and their extent of material and financial support. But they have already lost half the war morally and psychologically by the very fact that they know that they are defending an empty case of injustice opposed by the whole world. What remains of the war is skill and determination in the battlefield and not the quantity of arms - a war which the settlers know they will eventually lose whatever their temporary advantages.

It is clear the Rhodesian problem is only an aspect of the racist complex of Southern Africa. It is equally clear that the solution of the problem is inextricably linked with the solution of the related problems in Southern Africa and Mozambique as the failure of the sanctions programme has so demonstratively proved. Not only that, every step Britain and Smith take on Rhodesia is always in prior consultation and consurrence with the South African and Portuguese regimes. South African troops are in Rhodesia today with the acquiescence of Britain.

We have taken account of these realities in our determination to fight it out to the bitter end.

A peaceful solution of the Rhodesian problem will have to fulfill, simultaneously, all of the following conditions:

1. - immediate and unconditional release of all freedom fighters condemned to death; all freedom fighters in imprisonment and all those under detention and restriction; dropping of all charges and release of any freedom fighters under arrest;
2. - free and unfettered conditions for Mr. Joshua Nkomo, leader of the African people of Zimbabwe, to take full charge and conduct of all the affairs of the African people in order to bring about immediate and unqualified majority rule;
3. - Dissolution of the minority regime and all its institutions;
4. - drawing of an unqualified majority rule independence constitution with no elements whatsoever of class, racial, or tribal distinctions or differentiations;
5. - immediate, total and radical reconstruction of the army, police and administration so that these correspond with the principles and purposes of majority rule;
6. - all racist and reactionary laws must cease to have effect immediately and be expunged from the statutes.

Majority rule must take immediate effect with no transition whatever. There can be no bargaining on any of the above conditions. They are correct and just. We are demanding and insisting on no more than what is ours by right. In this regard the question as to whether the British settlers in Rhodesia accept our position or not is irrelevant. It is not for the settlers to determine whether or not we should have or exercise our full rights in our country.

It is not our objective to deny any other rightful citizen of our country rights which belong to and are exercised by every other citizen. It is by reason of this principle that we condemn minority racist rule and are determined to crush it without conceding it the slightest lease of life. The consequences of the looming racial conflagration in Southern Africa must be laid squarely on the doorsteps of Britain because she has bred the conflict through deliberate policies on her part.

Whilst it is absolutely clear that we are the decisive factor in the liberation of our country, it is, nonetheless, our hope that the international community for its part, in all its forums will continue to stand resolutely behind our struggle because it is for justice, freedom and peace in Southern Africa - and, indeed, in the whole world.

HEADQUARTERS, BOX 1657,

LUSAKA, ZAMBIA.

January, 1969.

Statement about Frelimo (Liberation Front of Mozambique)

by Anders Johansson

"Our pledge is only one: to carry on the fight for freedom and independence of Mozambique, thus vindicating the cause for which our great President died."

- Uria T. Simango
7th February, 1969

"The people of Mozambique have now been fighting for four years, and the outcome of our struggle is certain. We are pushing south. During 1968 we opened a new military front in Tete province, and our Second Congress was held inside Mozambique, in the liberated area of Niassa province. During the Congress delegates from every part of Mozambique discussed the programmes and policies of FRELIMO and the tasks that lie ahead. The leaders were re-elected and the Central Committee was enlarged. New Committees were appointed to oversee the smooth running of the various facets of the FRELIMO programme, to deal with the day-to-day problems arising from them and to ensure maximum liaison between them.

"We must, while expanding the military struggle, look after the social welfare of our people. We are therefore, in spite of the difficulties, establishing new schools and health centres, numbers of agricultural and marketing co-operatives, and skeleton local administration networks to supply their needs. One problem we face is in training sufficient personnel to man these programmes, but we are tackling this too.

"Many Mozambicans have been forced to leave their homes by the indiscriminate bombing practised by the Portuguese air force. The war in Vietnam has made everyone aware of what a bombed village looks like, or a napalm-burned child. People all over the world have been shocked by the sight. But do you care about our children in Mozambique, in Angola and Guinea Bissau? We believe that if you knew, you would care - and we want you to know."

INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE - VENCEREMOS!"

- Eduardo C. Mondlane
Assassinated President of
FRELIMO

IN MOZAMBIQUE WITH FRELIMO

Sixty thousand Portuguese soldiers are trying in vain to defend Mozambique - the Salazar regi e's southeast African colony - against surging African nationalism.

The colonial forces are successfully fought by an army of 3,000 well-trained and well-armed guerrilla soldiers - among them several hundred women fighters.

Mozambique is well on its way to become a new Algeria.

During this bitter war, which has now been raging for more than three years, it has been next to impossible to discern the truth from the fighting parties' conflicting war bulletins.

Both sides allege that their forces have killed well over 5,000 enemies, while their own losses are said to be very small.

Frelimo - Frente de Livertacao de Mocambique - maintains that, with the exception of the few towns in the area and some dozens of Portuguese garrisons, the liberation front has control over the northern provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa (one fifth of Mozambique with 800,000 inhabitants), while Portugal alleges that the "terrorists" have been crushed and the sporadic "acts of violence", which still occur, are committed by "infiltrators from abroad" who, under cover of the darkness, cross the Ruvuma River from Tanzania and return there the same night.

Dr. Salazar seems to persist in believing in the Nazi propaganda trick: if a lie is repeated often enough, it will finally sound as a truth.

During the week spent with Frelimo (as the first ever journalist) I noticed the presence of Portugal only in weapons captured by the liberation front, a reconnaissance plane, and some destroyed villages which were shot to ruins by Portuguese artillery soon after the revolution began on September 25, 1964, as a retaliation for the villagers' support of the guerrillas.

Obviously, the time I spent there was too short to enable me to study the conditions in the whole of the province, but all the same I could get proof enough to say that Frelimo has started a successful war of independence against the Portuguese colonial power.

Already, the guerrillas hold large areas in the northern part of Mozambique; it is effective, in spite of a rather slack organization (grades and uniforms are non-existent); it is supported by the civilians and, furthermore, it fights on "home ground" in a terrain highly suitable for guerrilla warfare.

I followed Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, Frelimo's President, on his first visit to the liberated areas, and the reception he and his delegation received by the villagers, who met them by the thousands, proved that the organisation fulfills one of the main requirements of an effective guerrilla movement: a trusting co-operation between liberator and the liberated.

If the Portuguese colonial administration is right when it alleges that Frelimo is terrorising the civilian population, then it's rather astonishing that his population should have greeted us with such joy, when together with hundreds of guerrilla soldiers, we walked through the villages.

"Our good relations with the civilian population is the result of gigantic work", says 35-year old army commander Samora Machel - Mozambique's General Giap.

Comrade Samora, his nick-name among his officer-colleagues and the privates, is a tough but highly respected commander-in-chief with a typical guerrilla beard.

He carries his headquarters in "his pocket", and, together with his staff, he is always on the move between different operational zones.

"Before we could start fighting, we had to arouse the people from their apathy, their fear of the Portuguese tyrants; we had to make them aware of why and how we must fight together for our freedom," he said.

When Frelimo was formed in Tanzania's capital, Dar es Salaam, in late September, 1962, it declared as its goal to "organise, mobilise and unite all the people of Mozambique", in order to attain "a total liquidation of the Portuguese colonial domination", and "an immediate and complete independence of Mozambique".

It took two years of thorough preparation before Frelimo went to its first attack against Portugal's forces.

In 1963, 250 men were sent abroad for political and military training, the majority to Algeria, some to Russia and a few to China. In May 1964, about half of the men were ordered back to Mozambique to teach the people the necessity of getting together and fight the Portuguese.

When Frelimo's political agitators had worked underground in the colony for four months they were reinforced, in August, 1964, by the first units of armed guerrilla soldiers. These 250 pioneers were furnished with an order to strike against Portuguese forces on September 25.

The colonial troops countered with retaliation actions against the civilian population - who fled by the thousands to Tanzania, Malawi, and Zambia - and the troops also succeeded in capturing the majority of the guerrilla units in southern Mozambique.

Today, Comrade Samora is the commander of an army of 8,000 guerrilla soldiers. Frelimo is also organising a people's militia, and the ultimate goal is to give weapons to all villagers, thus enabling them to defend themselves against the Portuguese.

I have seen some of the guerrilla's equipment, from Russia, Czechoslovakia and China and also weapons from the U.S.A., West Germany, Belgium, Italy and other NATO countries.

The former are delivered free to Frelimo from the original countries, other socialistic countries, and independent African nations, i.e. Algeria and the United Arab Republic. The Nato weapons are donated by the enemy, by killed and fleeing Portuguese.

"We use the Nato weapons until we have finished their magazines, and then we save them till we capture more ammunition," the guerrillas say.

The fighting is most intensive during the drought period from April to October. In these months the Portuguese leave their garrisons more often than during the rainy period, November-March, and, with air support they patrol between their different bases.

The guerrilla warfare changes little by little as Frelimo's weapons become more sophisticated. When the revolution started, they had only rifles, light machine-guns and automatic pistols - today they attack the enemy also with bazookas, machine guns, mortars, and light anti-aircraft artillery.

"We have shot down more than 20 planes," the guerrillas say, and they showed me pilots' helmets, parachutes, and one Milan-made machine gun which was mounted on a plane.

Today, the colonial forces are not safe even in their fortified garrisons. The guerrillas have successfully attacked several Portuguese bases, and even captured some of them.

However, Frelimo does not try to keep these garrisons, as they are easy to

bomb, and they are satisfied with grabbing weapons, ammunition, medical supplies and other equipment.

At the same time, as the guerrillas improve their equipment and warfare methods, they also increase their force. Of their 8,000 armed soldiers, 2,000 have been trained abroad, the majority in Tanzania.

Today, however, only officers are sent for special training outside Mozambique, and annually at least 2,000 soldiers are trained during three-month courses in four different guerrilla training camps in the liberated areas.

"But the liberation of Mozambique would go much faster, if we had more weapons," Comrade Samora points out. "We have the soldiers, but not enough weapons. Already, we have 10,000 trained, but unarmed guerrilla men."

Frelimo does not nourish any illusions of an easy and quick victory over the Portuguese. Over and over again, the political commissars in every unit stress the point that the armed fighting will be hard and long and go on perhaps for 20 or 30 years.

But the Portuguese have given Frelimo's political agitators very effective help: I heard tales of bestial cruelties, committed by Portuguese soldiers; of young African women who have been raped and then killed with rifle shots in their abdomen; of cut-off ears and hands; of eyes burnt out by glowing cigarettes; of prisoners who have been buried in the ground, with only their heads above the earth.

Cabo Delgado is divided into three zones by Frelimo; in the north, the completely liberated zone; then the so-called consolidating zone, and in the south the operational zone.

"In the two first zones, the Portuguese kill all civilians they find; they shoot and burn everybody who does not manage to escape to a village," says Comrade Samora. "They consider these people as 'hopeless' supporters of Frelimo, beyond any attempt to be converted."

Nearly 800,000 free men and women in northern Mozambique are creating their own nation in the woods and mountains.

Portuguese napalm bombs and retaliatory raids remind them now and then of the existence of the Salazar regime. But how will a totally liberated Mozambique of the future look?

"The people who are fighting now for their independence must decide that for themselves," says Dr. Mondlane. "In all probability, we will build a socialist state, but it will not be a state like Soviet or China. Tanzania is our example and source of inspiration.

"We cannot boast of any dramatic victories. This is a guerrilla war, not a regular war. We avoid any big direct confrontations with the enemy. Slowly, little by little we shall force the Salazar regime out of our country by successively killing the Portuguese soldiers."

Statement by Oliver Tambo, Acting President - General of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa

Question: Mr. Tambo, you have just completed a tour of some African countries; what was the aim of this tour and what are its results?

Our delegation has been to Algeria and Tunisia. Other ANC delegations have visited other States. The need for the delegations to undertake these missions arises directly from the unfolding crisis in Southern Africa. After all, we are not fighting an individual cause. Africa has committed herself to the total liberation of the Continent before any individual independent state can consider itself truly independent. At the moment the greatest problem facing Africa in terms of liberation is in Southern Africa. And within Southern itself the hardest core of reaction is the South African regime. It has always been clear to us that an armed struggle against South Africa poses immediate dangers and threats to the entire continent of Africa, if it supports that struggle. We have always warned that South Africa's annual military budget which now stands at \$358,400,000 has designs not only to the ruthless suppression of the Liberation Movement in South Africa, but also for the support of all reaction in the rest of Southern Africa and for the invasion of the African Continent itself. We think it dangerous to minimise the threat to the independence of the African states. And as it is part of our plan to intensify the revolution, we feel it incumbent on us as leaders to discuss the implications of the revolution with African leaders.

In Algeria, for example, we took the opportunity of our meeting with the President of the Revolutionary Council, Colonel Houari Boumediene, the Director of the External Relations of the FLN, Mr. Taibe Larbi, Commander of the FLN Hoffman Slimane, and other leaders to discuss the situation. We have also benefited from full discussions with President Habib Bourguiba, Vice-President and Secretary-General of the PSD Bahi Ladgham, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Habib Bourguiba Jr., Minister of Defence Mr. Mestiri, and Director of the PSD Mr. Mohamed Sayah.

These missions have been most successful and we feel they will serve to guide us in our conduct of the revolution which we have taken upon ourselves not only for the freedom of our people, but for the whole of Africa and as a contribution to the victories of the peoples in the international struggle against racism, colonialism and imperialism.

Question: Mr. Tambo, you were Nelson Mandela's legal partner in Johannesburg. Is there a hope for the victims of the Rivonia Trial?

It is true that I was a legal partner of Nelson Mandela but I was even more importantly his partner in the struggle for liberation. His imprisonment and that of other leaders and members has of course deprived the struggle of an important contribution of a powerful body of leaders. Nevertheless, all reports we get from our colleagues on Robben Island, in Pretoria Jail and other South African prisons, are consistent in affirming the high morale of these leaders and their great expectation for the success of the struggle

which has resulted in their incarceration. Needless to say, we involved in the struggle are equally convinced that some day they shall join the free community of South Africa and the world.

Question: At what stage is the ANC? What are its real perspectives and prospects?

For a long time the ANC has been conducting militant struggle relying on non-violent methods. This became particularly intense during the 50s and gradually led to a stage at which the Movement switched over from non-violence to the phase of armed struggle. During 1967 the first armed clashes occurred between on the one hand the combined forces of the Smith and Vorster regimes, and on the other the united guerillas of the ANC and ZAPU. It can be said that for the ANC this is the beginning of the armed struggle for which we have been preparing since the early 60s.

It is a phase in which we can rightly claim to have scored victories by virtue of the superiority which our fighters demonstrated over the racist forces sending a wave of panic throughout the area dominated by the racist regimes and arousing the masses to a new revolutionary mood. This is, however, only a small beginning in terms of the bitterness and magnitude of the revolution which is unfolding and which embraces the whole of Southern Africa. But it is an impressive and effective beginning providing what I consider a guarantee for the success of our armed struggle.

Although the armed conflicts to which I have referred took place in Rhodesia, it involved South Africa because South African troops, personnel and finance were already involved in maintaining and sustaining the Smith regime. And the problems of the oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe and South Africa were becoming progressively identical. An armed struggle in Rhodesia is an armed struggle against part of the racist combine which is the Rhodesia-South Africa axis. This explains why the South African regime was rocked by the striking power of the guerillas in Rhodesia as violently as if these battles had taken place within the borders of South Africa. And this explains why we regard the clash between the people's guerillas and the racists as the beginning of the armed struggle for which the masses of our people have been looking forward to.

Question: Which countries support your Movement?

As a liberation movement we endeavour to secure the support of all countries, organizations and peoples throughout the world. We have been successful, I think, in focusing international attention on the evils of the South African racist regime; and there are many countries, governments and organizations which support not only the struggle of our people against racism and oppression generally, but who support the ANC as the Movement leading the liberation struggle in South Africa. The degree of support of course varies from country to country. In the African continent all the members of the OAU support the ANC, although some are supporters in addition of smaller parties in South Africa. We have the support of all the socialist countries with a few exceptions. Practically the whole of anti-imperialist Asia supports the ANC. And in Europe, America and Canada we enjoy the support of all important organizations. We are supported by leading movements in Latin America and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba.

Question: What is your programme of action?

Our programme of struggle is geared to what is known as the Freedom Charter, which is a statement of the objectives of our political struggle. It sets out the kind of South Africa we shall establish upon taking our power. In terms of that programme: we fight for a South Africa in which there will be no racial discrimination, no inequalities based on colour, creed or race; a non-racial democracy which recognises the essential equality between man and man. We shall abolish all the machinery whereby a few live and thrive on the exploitation of the many. The wealth of our country, which is abundant, will accrue to the equal benefit of all the people of South Africa. The power of government will rest in the hands of the majority of the people regardless of considerations of race. But our first and immediate task is to win over the power to rule our country as it should be ruled, that is, to replace the regime which consists of a White minority with a people's government enjoying the mandate from all the people. It is the people who will then decide on the methods and the techniques for putting into effect the principles set out in the Freedom Charter.

Question: What are the liberation movements that support the ANC? Is there co-ordination between the ANC and these movements, especially regarding the armed

It has been a cardinal feature of the policy of the ANC from its very inception to work for the unity of the people engaged in the common struggle for attainment of common objectives. In pursuance of this policy, within South Africa the ANC has rallied within the liberation movement all organizations and parties opposed to the South African racist regime and prepared to struggle for its total overthrow. Thus it is that the ANC embraces within itself a number of progressive and militant organizations who accept its leadership and programme of action; outside South Africa, it has sought to pursue the same policy of unity and co-ordination of activities among liberation movements and has established very close working relationships with the fighting movements of Southern Africa and with the majority parties in other parts of Africa. An example of what the ANC understands by unity and co-ordination is the co-operation between itself and ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) -- co-operation which culminated in joint operations involving these parties in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). This is a level of unity and mutual understanding which is possible among all liberation movements and which is to be found in varying degrees among those movements with which the ANC is known to have close relations.

Question: Is there a chance of the revolution breaking out inside South Africa?

There is more than a chance of the revolution spreading on an extensive scale in South Africa. This is a question which of course does not depend only on our will and determination to wage revolution. It also depends on the existence of objective conditions which taken together with the determination of the people make it inevitable. The political struggle in Africa has not been stagnant nor has it been so in the rest of the former colonial world. The defeat of forces of colonialism and imperialism is a process that is

going on, and has been dramatically demonstrated in the victories of the peoples of Africa over colonial rule in the past decade.

The rise and emergence of armed guerillas in Southern Africa is further evidence of this process. Only a few months ago, as I have said earlier, South Africa which has been professing perfect peace within its borders has been drawn fully into armed confrontation with our revolutionary forces. It is clearly only a matter of time before this confrontation spreads itself to the valleys, mountains and bush of South Africa. There is nothing whatever that can halt the spread of the revolution in every part of Southern Africa still under colonialist domination.

In saying this one is not blind to what constitutes the greatest source of strength for the racists and colonialists of Southern Africa, that is, the material and practical backing of international finance flowing from imperialist countries. Nor is one unmindful of the military power of the South African regime built with the active support and co-operation of some Western powers. These are factors which relate not to the question whether the revolution will grow in scope and magnitude but rather to the scale of bitterness and duration of the armed struggle. It has, however, no bearing on the ultimate result which can only be victory for the oppressed people of Southern Africa, and for the complete independence of the Continent of Africa.

Question: Is there no gap between the leaders outside the country and the people inside?

The fact that some leaders of the liberation movements are outside their respective countries means that in varying degrees there is a break between them and the leaders involved in the struggle within these countries. It is a gap forced upon the liberation movements by adverse circumstances and constitutes one of the problems which the liberation movements must solve. But it does not represent a total break. There is communication between the leaders outside and those within the country and it is one of the tasks of the liberation movement as a whole to strengthen and consolidate these communications. At a certain stage of every liberation struggle the need arises for the movement conducting the revolution to be in firm contact with the forces outside its country. This involves placing some of the leaders outside the country and the effectiveness of the arrangement always depends on the strength and durability of the lines of communication between the leaders inside and outside the country. It is to be expected that these lines of communication constitute one of the main targets of attack by the enemy.

Question: In what form do the United Nations decisions help you, especially those concerning economic sanctions?

It was at the instance of the ANC that sanctions as a mode of struggling against the South African regime came to be considered at the United Nations. Thanks to the vigilance and consistent support of the African states as well as Asian and Socialist countries, the UN has taken a correct position in adopting resolutions supporting sanctions against South Africa. To the extent that these sanctions have so far not been applied with any appreciable effect on South Africa, the resolutions have not helped us. But they have failed to take effect precisely because South Africa's major trading partners

have persisted in their policy of economic support for apartheid despite these resolutions, and have as a result sabotaged their effective execution. There are many countries however, in Africa and elsewhere, who have honoured these resolutions and in doing so have helped us not only to weaken the South African regime but also to maintain the type of international pressure which is of considerable assistance to our cause. The decision to apply sanctions against South Africa was vigourously opposed by Britain and is still being opposed. But its correctness as a method of international attack on an evil regime was demonstrated by Britain herself when at her own instance the UN invoked sanctions against Ian Smith. But these sanctions also failed precisely because to succeed they would have had to be applied against South Africa as well. This would be to the detriment of apartheid in the enforcement of which Britain and other powers would play a vital role.

In our view, attention should be focused on those countries which undermine the UN efforts against apartheid. They should be exposed as being parties not only to apartheid as a doctrine but also to its entire machinery and the inhuman effect of that machinery upon the people of South Africa. It should be emphasized however, that we have never regarded sanctions as an alternative to our own struggle towards seizure of power in our own country. Indeed, it is not unlikely that if investors will not withdraw their capital in obedience to UN resolutions, they would nonetheless be compelled to consider their position as the armed struggle intensifies in South Africa.

Question: How do you conceive the struggle against the arms race of the South African racist regime and the supply of weapons by the big powers?

As a liberation movement we are part of an international movement against racism, colonialism and imperialism. We have the support of peoples the world over, including in the USA, Britain, West Germany, France and Japan, the main suppliers of the South African regime. The struggle is one struggle waged by all right-thinking and freedom-loving peoples of the world against the South African regime as being part of and an instrument of the forces that are hostile to the interests of mankind. Our share of this common battle is to fight and destroy the enemy within South Africa with the assistance and support of all our friends; but our international friends have also their own special share of this burden, that is, to get their governments to disengage from South Africa. What is even more important, they should not permit their governments to send arms, which are expressly intended for the liquidation of the people. They must not give their labour to the manufacture of weapons, helicopters, armoured cars and submarines for export to South Africa. To participate in these ventures against the workers whose cause we fight is to commit an act of betrayal against us. At this time in particular, we expect anti-racists, anti-colonialists and anti-imperialists everywhere to play their parts in the armed struggle now spreading throughout Southern Africa.

Question: How do you see the end of apartheid?

Apartheid is a scheme, a device and a machinery for keeping a White minority in political and economic power in South Africa. It is also a machinery which serves the interests of international big business. It hinges on the colour of the skin and has placed the entire African population at the

economic beck and call of this White minority which in turn, by holding the reins of exploitation, becomes the agent of colonial and imperial interests. On the African continent, the concentration in South Africa of 3½ million Whites holding 15 million Africans in subjugation makes that part of Africa a big prize for overseas investors.

The end of apartheid therefore must mean the dismantling of this machinery - the elimination of the agents which the White minority are, and the destruction of the means of exploitation of the African people. This is how I see the end of apartheid. It will therefore represent a transfer of political and economic power from the minority of Whites to the majority of peoples of all colours. There will be no racial discrimination because it will have ceased to serve the cause of exploitation. The bountiful wealth of our country will be shared by all its citizens. Here again the detailed process by which these ultimate objectives will be achieved must be left for decision by the masses after victory. But it is important to emphasize that not even victory in the battlefield represents the end of the struggle for the true independence of the people. It is therefore not possible to spell out how the total and final end of apartheid and all that it means and has meant will be attained. But that the people of South Africa will attain it is historically certain.

Statement by Lucio Barreto de Lara, Member of the Politburo of MPLA (Movimento Popular de Liberacao Angola)

ANGOLA AND THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Question: Comrade de Lara, what progress has been made by the liberation movement in Angola over recent years? What areas does MPLA now effectively control?

Following the crisis period in 1963 we attempted to re-establish contact with certain-internal isolated groups. The first step was to cross the Congo-Kinshasa border. By 1964 two areas were held in Angola but these were without external support and no arms were being sent in. In 1966 however, small detachments which were very well armed and equipped managed to cross the border and get through to this area. This was a most important move in the development of the fight.

It was also necessary to open a new front in the eastern region - and this was achieved in May 1966. In fact 1966 was a very important year for the struggle - from that time the struggle rapidly widened, save for the Cabinda front as our cadres were required to go to the other fronts. Nevertheless even in Cabinda actions took place although these were not spectacular and there were no great developments there.

From 1967 up to the present time we have achieved tremendous and rapid expansion. We are effectively in control of a large area and have a confident programme to enlarge the struggle to the whole of Angola. Our control in these areas is such that food has to be dropped to certain isolated Portuguese troops by air. When garrison personnel is changed they are obliged to travel by certain confined routes only. Our fighting men are now only a matter of 50 kilometres from the centre of the country. In addition we have this year opened a fourth front north of the Benguela railway, which is now being enlarged.

In the third zone we have established a hospital and primary schools at every village where necessary. In Cabinda and the third region we have a centre for revolutionary instruction, where cadres are trained politically and militarily. Here cadres not only learn to read but study the questions of capitalism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, and the struggle for liberation; in other words, complete ideological, political and economic instruction is available. Furthermore there is instruction in the maintenance of arms and such subjects as geography etc.

On the first front, conditions are good but contact remains limited due to the difficult conditions in coming through from Congo-Kinshasa. On the third front however there is little trouble in moving through. On this front we are witnessing an interesting experiment: the population there, totalling more than 100,000 people, have no links now with the Portuguese administration, and supplies must be maintained. It is impossible to help all the people due to lack of money and means. The experiment consists in the following: We get from friendly centres certain basic necessities such as salt, soap and clothing, and these are exchanged with the people in return for food such as manioc and maize for the freedom fighters. As yet we have no figures

to demonstrate the success of this system.

In addition, we have captured great numbers of cattle from the Portuguese. Conditions however are not yet ripe for the breeding and raising of herds. People are needed for this task - and many Angolan refugees have been convinced by the development of the struggle to abandon their refugee status in other countries and return to assist us in this region with cattle-farming.

The decision was taken this year to remove our headquarters from Brazzaville and move them inside Angola. This is a consequence of all the other developments. We have always been preparing for this and now it has become possible to realise the conditions to return. The process is not yet completed but many sections of headquarters activity and operations are now conducted from within Angola. This re-installation of headquarters within the country is a great step and indicates the strength of our position. On the international front, this move created good conditions and much support, and led to the solving of problems within the OAU. The OAU decided to end recognition of Roberto Holden's so-called government, the GRAE (Government Revolutionnaire Angole Exile). This was an important step in the diplomatic struggle to end recognition of Holden's group, for it is a myth that Holden is fighting. Furthermore, we now obtain great material and moral support from sections who were formerly reserved about MPLA but who are now confident and fully supporting us.

The Portuguese themselves admit that internal conditions are worsening from their point of view. We are fighting almost in the centre of Angola - and the region fronting the third front is the most heavily populated of all. The first front is within 40 to 50 kilometres of Luanda. In their panic, the Portuguese are collaborating closely with South Africa and the regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) in an effort to stop further development of the struggle. There is an incident which became public knowledge and which demonstrates this collaboration. A plane with South African troops flew over Angolan territory and gave movement details of guerillas to the Portuguese. They called by radio to the Portuguese command in the area, who were however, because of isolation, unaware of this Portuguese-South African collaboration and complained to the Portuguese authorities of violation of air space!

Question: Your struggle undoubtedly influences the struggle in South Africa. What is the effect on your struggle of the fight which is now unfolding in Zimbabwe and South Africa?

Till now we were alone with FRELIMO in armed struggle, a method of struggle unacceptable to certain people with peace leanings. Sometimes we were accused of going too hastily into armed struggle. These people did not understand the conditions of neo-colonialism. The Smith-Vorster-Salazar clique were working in collaboration against us, but we on our part were far from Mozambique and Frelimo in terms of geographical placement.

With the struggle now in Zimbabwe with the participation of ANC and ZAPU, this may well be a determining factor, because we will be obliged, perhaps sooner than we expect, to have an organized united front to face the collaboration of the fascist neo-dolonialist alliance. This might perhaps also include even some parts of the independent countries facing the Unholy

Alliance with us. Then there is the question of Zambia. We feel Zambia is today a sensitive point: the racists wish to destroy Zambia because they think that to eliminate Zambia would break up the resistance movements. Therefore Zambia needs support, and not only from the peace-loving countries of the world. We too must also support Zambia effectively. If we are able to stop white mercenaries before they even get a chance to attack Zambia, we will be doing a great service to that country.

Question: On the international front, there seems to be a deliberate blackout of news about the Angolan struggle. What is MPLA doing to rally international solidarity with the struggle of the Angolan people?

Naturally we are getting much support from many countries. Firstly some African countries, risking reprisal from the Portuguese colonialists, are granting us the possibility to carry out work in, and gain passage through, their countries. This support is very important. Then we have the support of the OAU through the Liberation Committee. This is a great help to us, and although it is not as yet sufficient, it expresses the will and engagement of African countries to help completely in the liberation struggle. The socialist countries are helping greatly with material and moral support. There is also the solidarity of many international organizations such as trade unions, etc., which offer great moral support and some little material help. We feel however that all this worthy support can be further improved, and we try to mobilize more and more forces throughout the world to support our struggle.

We are in the process of sending delegations to various countries to explain Angolan developments over the past two years, and we always obtain a good understanding. We are confident that as our struggle develops, so we will attract more and more support.

Question: What message have you for the democratic people of the world regarding the future of Angola and Southern Africa?

I am optimistic, but my optimism does not allow me to think that the struggle will be won very soon. The struggle will be long, hard, because we need, firstly, integration of all our peoples in the struggle - South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola. Also we need effectively to mobilize the progressive forces in the world and all forces loving liberty, to stop the dangerous threat of the South Africa-Portugal-Rhodesia Alliance.

We are confident because we have seen, in the seven years of armed struggle we have experienced, that the people will continue fighting until they are victorious. In spite of all difficulties and dangers coming from the Southern African fascist bloc, we know that the people will go ahead and win.