

# INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BULLETIN

VOL. IV. No. 1.  
MAY - JUNE 1969.  
PRICE 2s.



## KHARTOUM CONFERENCE AND SIX LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

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THE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BULLETIN  
is published bi-monthly, five  
copies per year (there is no issue  
for the period JULY/AUGUST).

Subscription 10/- per year  
post free

Individual copies may be obtained from:

The International Department,  
Communist Party of Great Britain,  
16, King Street, London, W.C.2.

or:

CENTRAL BOOKS LTD.,  
37, Grays Inn Road,  
London, W.C.1.

Individual copies are two shillings each

THE  
KHARTOUM  
CONFERENCE

and the

SIX  
LIBERATION  
MOVEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

The six liberation movements described below are as follows:

ANGOLA: The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola: MPLA.  
President; Agostinho Neto.

MOZAMBIQUE: The Mozambique Liberation Front: FRELIMO.  
Acting President; Uria Simange.

GUINEA: The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape  
(Bissau) Verde Islands: PAIGC.  
General Secretary; Amilcar Cabral.

SOUTH AFRICA: The African National Congress: ANC.

Acting President-General; Oliver Tambo.

ZIMBABWE: The Zimbabwe African People's Union: ZAPU.  
President; Joshua Nkomo.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA: The South West African People's Organisation: SWAPO.

President; Sam Nujoma.

These six liberation movements represent more than 30 million Africans who are at war, fighting against Portuguese colonialism and white supremacist regimes. Behind the alliance of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia stand the imperialist powers who see in colonial oppression and apartheid their best guarantee for the safety of monopoly capitalism's investments.

World opinion is becoming increasingly aware of the extend and achievements of these liberation movements, which, receiving aid from the socialist world, look also to the progressive forces in the capitalist countries to develop increasing solidarity with their struggles.

An important development in rousing world public opinion was the organising in January this year of the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies and Southern Africa. Held in Khartoum, it was attended by representatives from 50 countries and many international organisations.

The Communist Party of Great Britain was represented by John Gollen, General Secretary, and Jack Woddie, Head of the International Department. As part of the Communist Party's contribution towards the publicising of the decisions of the Conference and the struggles of the peoples of the Portuguese Colonies and Southern Africa, we devote our bulletin to a study of the six liberation movements leading their battle for freedom.

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THE LIBERATION  
MOVEMENTS IN THE  
PORTUGUESE COLONIES  
OF ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE  
AND "PORTUGUESE"  
GUINEA.

Portugal was confirmed in her occupation of these three countries by the Treaty of Berlin 1885. Her rule has been characterised by brutal suppression of all opposition, by ruthless exploitation utilising forced labour and imposing forced cultivation, and by utter neglect of the social needs of the people.

In Angola and Mozambique there are white settlers and the law provides for segregation in education, in the allocation of land, in types and methods of cultivation. Even change of residence of Africans is carefully controlled.

Portugal has the highest level of emigration of any European country and the authorities have tried to direct it towards Angola and Mozambique.

Governor-Generals administer through appointed chiefs. The overwhelming majority of Africans are defined in law as "natives" which means that they are unable to participate in any citizens rights. A tiny handful of "assimilados" have some slight privileges in relation to jobs and education but they must be literate, fluent in the Portuguese tongue and have the level of "personal and social habits" which are assumed to be characteristic of Portuguese citizens.

Portugal is the weakest link in the anti-liberation front and the colonial wars are placing enormous strains on her economy. With the lowest per capita income in Europe and the most widespread social backwardness, the fascist government devotes 43.8 per cent of its budget to military expenditure. It is using over 100,000 Portuguese troops against the liberation armies in Africa. In relation to Portugal's population this is a greater military effort than that of the United States in Vietnam.

It is clear that without the assistance of the United States, West Germany and Britain, operating through NATO, and without aid also from South Africa and even Japan, it would be impossible for her to continue.

She uses a conscript army and has recently been forced to

extend the period of service from two to four years. Women are now also involved in some forms of military conscription. There is considerable demoralisation among Portuguese troops. The Johannesburg Star has estimated that an average of 100 are killed each week.

South Africa gives considerable military assistance in Mozambique and Angola both through troops and through medical services and supplies.

In 1951 Portugal went through the motions of changing the colonial status of Angola and Mozambique by the new law which changed them into "Overseas Provinces of Metropolitan Portugal".

In 1955, in answer to the United Nations, she denied having any non-self governing colonies and was admitted to the membership of the United Nations.

In 1960, however, the United Nations defined the Overseas Provinces as non self-governing territories and called on Portugal to take immediate steps to transfer all powers to the people. With the political backing of the United States and Britain, Portugal has persistently defied this request and the request to comply with the United Nations Resolution 1514 on non self-governing territories.

Portugal is supported by the imperialist powers to ensure that they will be able to extend their penetration of the area under her rule to exploit its extremely rich mineral resources.

The three independence movements, MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC., formed the Conference of National Organisations in Portuguese Colonies (CONCP) in 1961 to help to develop closer links between them and unify their campaigns.

THE POPULAR  
MOVEMENT FOR  
THE LIBERATION OF  
ANGOLA.

Angola covering an area of 481,350 square miles is one of the largest countries in Africa. Its population totals about 5,300,000 giving a density of only 11 per square mile.

The capital is Luanda with 400,000 inhabitants. The country is divided by the Portuguese into 15 administrative regions.

Coffee is the major agricultural product but the country is extremely rich in minerals and exports diamonds and iron ore. There has been a rich oil strike off the coast of Cabinda which the Gulf Oil Company is exploiting. It is expected to produce 30,000 barrels a day.

While Portugal and the rest of the "Overseas Provinces" made a serious trading loss in 1967 Angola produced a surplus of £50 million.

The Portuguese and South African Governments have recently signed agreements for the construction of hydro-electric dams on the

river Cunene to provide power for new industrial projects in South West Africa.

A South African military base is under construction in Lusanbo in South Western Angola and South African soldiers are at present operating in the regions of Cuando-Cubengo and Mexico.

The Development of MPLA. Resistance to Portuguese domination has been continuous in one or another form. The African National League was formed in 1929 arising from a group of intellectuals who wrote against colonialism and aroused national consciousness.

The most decisive changes took place after 1945. The MPLA was formed in December 1956 by the merging of FLUA (the Party for the United Struggle of Angola) and MIA (the Movement for the Independence of Angola). It was joined in 1958 by MINA (the Movement for the National Independence of Angola).

Throughout 1957/59 MPLA worked in the towns and rural areas. The Portuguese were also building up their forces and introduced the PIDE (political police) into the country. In March 1959 there were mass arrests of MPLA members.

The 4th February 1961 saw the launching of the armed struggle with attacks on the prisons in Luanda to effect the escape of political prisoners. This event has become the symbol of the Angolan people's struggle. The Portuguese retaliated by massacres of the people; 5,000 were killed in Baixa de Cassanga and 3,000 in Luanda.

The freedom fighters took refuge in the north west and within three months had liberated the area apart from the towns.

The MPLA which fights for the liberation of Angola from all forms of imperialist domination firmly resists tribalism and racialism and emphasises its links with the Portuguese people who also suffer from the fascist regime.

It was continually harassed by the Union of the People of Angola (UPA) led by Roberto Holden. UPA was supported by the United States and the Government of Adoula in Congo (Kinshasa). UPA advanced tribalist slogans and urged its followers to kill MPLA members and literates. Even this organisation had to take up arms against the Portuguese but it also attacked MPLA forces and prevented its members trained abroad from re-entering Angola.

In April 1962 Holden announced the formation of the "Grae", the Government in exile, recognised by the Organisation of African Unity. MPLA continued its struggle and in 1964 reopened the Cabinda Front. This led to a new powerful upsurge of the struggle and of support for MPLA inside Angola which has been consistently maintained until today. In 1964 the Organisation of African Unity recognised MPLA and in 1968, withdrawing its recognition from Holden's "Grae", accepted MPLA as the only

organisation fighting inside the country.

The MPLA now operates in ten of the fifteen administrative districts, controlling one third of the territory of the country and one fifth of the population.

As from 3rd January 1968, the Executive Committee of MPLA decided to establish the Organisation's Headquarters inside the country.

The liberated regions are administered by Action Committees directly elected by the people. There are acute problems of supplies for health centres, schools and for refugees who flee from the Portuguese forces. New villages are being formed, inhabited by people from all the different ethno-linguistic groups as a major contribution to breaking down tribal barriers.

The General Strategy of the MPLA. At the beginning of 1967 Agostinho Neto, the President of the MPLA, called for "the generalisation of the armed struggle throughout the national territory". This marked the opening of a new phase, and a new front was opened in the North East of Angola.

At the First Assembly of the Third Region in August 1968 Neto announced:

"Other regions will be developed this year, so that there should be a number of combat fronts, but only one enveloping the enemy in an encirclement which will paralyse him and render him inoffensive. This will be the prelude to the final blow which will culminate in the seizure of political power by our people".

He added that the headquarters of the organisation were no longer outside the country and were now operating in one of the regions controlled by the Movement. This fundamental statement illustrates the essential aspect of the MPLA's strategic line - the struggle must be waged inside the country.

"It is therefore a question of conducting a protracted revolutionary war, extending throughout the national territory and encircling the towns, which are also mobilised by clandestine work and which will be taken in the final phase of the war.

"It is also a question of waging a guerrilla war, which will be transformed into other more advanced stages, without ever totally abandoning the guerrilla form.

"The MPLA's struggle is a politico-military one, with emphasis placed on the political aspect. This is the reason for the great attention the MPLA pays to the work of mobilising and organising the masses of the people, both those in the liberated regions and those still under the foreign yoke. That is

"why the MPLA makes it its constant concern to train cadres who are good both from the political and the military point of view.

"The liberation struggle of the MPLA has a profoundly national content, so that all Angolan ethnic groups and social strata should join it. It is the consistent policy of the national front, without at the same time neglecting the establishment of a party structure within that front".

Angola in Arms. 1969. p.20

THE MOZAMBIQUE  
LIBERATION  
FRONT.

Mozambique covers an area of 298,000 square miles and has a population of about 7 million, giving a density of 23 per square mile.

About 2.5 per cent of the population are Portuguese settlers. The main economic activity of the country is agriculture, with crops such as rice, cotton, cashew nuts, tea and sugar. There are great rivers with enormous hydro-electric power potential.

The average per capita income is £30 per annum, with African skilled workers averaging a wage of £6.10s. per month and European skilled workers £28 per month. The average annual income of a cotton farmer is about £5 from which he pays about one-fifth in taxes.

Ninety-seven per cent of all Africans are illiterate and only 20 per cent of pupils in primary schools are African and 6 per cent in secondary schools. There are about 4,555 "assimilated" Africans who have such limited rights as Portuguese fascism allows (i.e., access to certain jobs and limited franchise) but all Portuguese, of whom 50 per cent are illiterate, have citizens' rights.

An agreement between the Portuguese and South African Governments provides for the recruitment of an average of 100,000 Mozambiquans by the Transvaal Chamber of Mines. South Africa pays £2 per labourer and Portugal is allowed to collect taxes from the workers. Another 200,000 work in other jobs in South Africa and also in Rhodesia.

The Development of FRELIMO. Before the present armed struggle there were isolated actions against Portuguese rule which were violently suppressed. Some outstanding protests and actions were the revolt of dockworkers in Laurenco Marques in 1950 and again in 1956, the African uprising against poisoned food in 1948 in Inhambane and the Mueda protest in which 600 people were massacred in 1960. In that year African societies and clubs such as the African Association and the Central Organisation of Negroes in Mozambique were closed down.

In 1947 an organisation of African students was formed, NESAM, one of whose members was Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, the President of FRELIMO until his assassination in February, 1969.

In 1961 Mozambiquan organisations were founded in the neighbouring territories of Malawi, Rhodesia, Zambia, Kenya, Tanzania and Zanzibar†

In 1962 FRELIMO was formed from three of these organisations; UDENAMO, (Mozambique National Democratic Union, formed in Rhodesia), MANU (Mozambique African National Union, formed in Kenya and Tanzania), UNAMI, (African Union of Independent Mozambique, formed in Malawi).

The first Congress of FRELIMO met in September, 1962. The four main features of its programme are as follows:

- 1) To liquidate Portuguese colonialism and its evils.
- 2) To realise the unity of all Mozambiquans and to mobilise them for the struggle of national liberation.
- 3) To build an independent Mozambique, developed and prosperous, where power shall belong to the people. (This includes the concept of a multi-racial state).
- 4) To follow a foreign policy of solidarity and co-operation with all the peoples, governments and organisations dedicated to the cause of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism.

The Second Congress of FRELIMO was held from 20th to 25th July, 1968, inside liberated territory.

Resolutions were adopted on the following:-

- 1) The Armed Struggle.
- 2) The Administration of the Liberated Zones.
- 3) National Reconstruction.
- 4) Social Affairs.
- 5) Foreign Policy.

The Resolution on armed struggle stressed the problems of developing stronger armed forces:

"Though politically stronger we are still militarily weak. In order to get our victory, we have no other way but to change the direction of this imbalance; we will do it, but for that a great effort is required from us. Our war will therefore be a hard and long one".

The struggle is characterised as "a people's struggle" requiring the "total participation of all the masses of the people". In addition to guerrilla forces FRELIMO is developing a people's militia which is

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\* Urie Simango, Acting President of FRELIMO since the assassination of Dr. Mondlane, was one of those who worked among Mozambiquans in Rhodesia between 1957 and 1962, as a pastor of the Evangelical Church. He left Rhodesia under threat of deportation and worked in Tanzania on the founding of FRELIMO.

described in the resolution as having the following duties:

- 1) Transport of material and the sick.
- 11) Reconnaissance and patrol of the zones in which they work against the infiltration of enemy troops and agents.
- 111) Fighting, when the enemy invades the region.

"The organisation of the people's militias" says the resolution, "is an important form of integrating the masses into the armed struggle".

The resolution also calls for good treatment of Portuguese soldiers taken prisoner. "We should re-educate them as much as possible and, according to our interests, eventually let them free".

Resolutions 2, 3 and 4 indicate ways of improving the administration, production, education and health services in the liberated zones. Resolution 5 on Foreign Policy lays great stress on the world wide character of the anti-imperialist struggle. It expresses deep appreciation of the assistance given by Tanzania, Zambia, Algeria and the UAR, and the socialist countries of Europe and Asia.

In addition to the adoption of important resolutions concerning the direction of the struggle, important reorganisation of the highest directing body of the Movement was carried through.

"Before the Second Congress there was only one directing body; the Central Committee, with three functions; legislative, administrative and judicial. At the second congress the Central Committee was expanded from twenty to forty members, comprising people elected by the Congress and by the Provincial Councils and has responsibility for legislation. The Political and Military Committee was established to study and resolve the urgent problems of the struggle in these spheres and to submit semi-annual reports to the Central Committee. Finally, the Executive Committee consisting of the President, the Vice-President and the Secretaries of the Departments, direct the struggle, carrying out the policy established by the Central Committee within the directives laid down by the Congress itself.

"This reorganisation of the top structural organs is already proving highly successful. The expansion of the Central Committee to double its original size permitted the inclusion of militants who work in the political and military front lines. The presence of these new members has made a valuable contribution to the work of the Central Committee and has reduced the distance that was developing between the cadres and the masses".

Source: "Mozambique Revolution" No.36. Oct-Dec.1968.

In face of military defeats the Portuguese are turning their attention to the FRELIMO organisation itself and attempting to destroy it

by other means. They are developing propaganda campaigns directed towards the villages and representing the freedom fighters as bandits and terrorists.

Utilising tribalist, regional and religious differences they endeavour to stir up antagonism and suspicions. On 9th May 1968 the offices of FRELIMO were attacked by disaffected Mozambiquan elements and a leading cadre killed.

The murder of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, President of FRELIMO, in February 1969, is a further step in the attempt to liquidate the leadership of FRELIMO by assassination and terror.

On April 3rd 1969 the Portuguese announced the defection of Mzee Lazaro Kevandame, formerly a leading member of FRELIMO but recently removed from all responsible positions in the organisation.

There are also circulating, proposals to divide the country, with the northern part for Africans, ruled by a puppet regime, and the southern half settled by white immigrants with strong links with South Africa. This is an attempt to produce sham political alternatives to armed struggle for real liberation.

FRELIMO now occupies about 25 per cent of the territory in Mozambique in which live about 800,000 people. Towns and garrisons are still held by the Portuguese. The organisation trains most of its recruits inside the country. It is estimated that there are about 70,000 Portuguese troops in the country in addition to the Air Force, Navy personnel, PIDE and the Provincial Organisation of Volunteers. There are also South African troops.

The Liberated Areas. In all liberated areas forced labour and cultivation is abolished. FRELIMO endeavours to develop co-operative agricultural production and to produce a surplus over the immediate requirements of the villagers to provide for those whose crops are destroyed by enemy action.

Where co-operatives do not exist, villagers cultivate extra plots. The FRELIMO army grows its own food wherever possible. Foreign trade is conducted between the liberated areas and Tanzania and local small-scale industries have been set up for soap making, salt digging and the manufacture of agricultural implements.

There is a network of small clinics and first-aid posts though there is a desperate shortage of staff and supplies. In spite of this by 1967 100,000 people had been vaccinated against smallpox.

FRELIMO sets up schools in the areas which operate under great difficulties. There is a shortage of teachers and at present the aim is to have one teacher for every 100 pupils. Materials are in short supply and children write in the dust with their fingers.

The Mozambique Institute has been established in Dar Es Salaam. Its Director is Janet Mondlane, widow of PRELIMO's first President. The Institute gives secondary and specialised courses to young people who will return to work inside the liberated areas.

The 1969 New Year Message of Eduardo Mondlane to the people of Mozambique stated:

"Our struggle is a just struggle. It is part of the struggle of the world's people against exploitation of men by men. Our struggle is against colonialism, imperialism, racialism and tribalism. We must reaffirm our determination to fight and defeat Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, in order to achieve our total liberation, the total liberation of Africa and the liberation of all oppressed peoples.

"We must continue the armed struggle united, without tribal, religious or racial divisions, from North to South, from the Rovums to the Maputo, all of us against the common enemy - Portuguese colonialism and imperialism.

"In the New Year we must take one more step towards the victory which will ultimately be ours. Let us fight with the courage which has traditionally and historically always characterised our people.

"Independence or death. Victory is ours!"

THE AFRICAN PARTY  
FOR THE INDEPENDENCE  
OF GUINEA AND THE  
CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

Guinea (Bissau) was not finally conquered until 30 years after the Treaty of Berlin. It has an area of about 14,450 square miles, a population of 800,000 and a population density of 55 to the square mile. There are no Portuguese settlers, only businessmen and administrators.

The main economic activity is agriculture producing groundnuts, palm oil, timber and rubber. There are important deposits of bauxite. Trade is controlled by the Portuguese monopoly C.U.F. which also controls the Overseas National Bank.

The country was created an "Overseas Province" in 1963. In their 80 years occupation of the country the Portuguese have set up 45 schools with a total of 2,000 pupils. Ninety-nine per cent of the population is illiterate, there are fourteen African University graduates. There are two hospitals with 300 beds.

The  
Development  
of PAIGC.

Until the early 1950's the small group of lower middle class Africans envisaged a tolerable future as "assimilados". By 1954 most of them realised the falsity of their hopes and there developed a number of cultural, social and other sporting organisations which were then banned by the Portuguese authorities.

The PAIGC was founded in September 1956 under the leadership of Amilcar Cabral, one of the few Africans from his country who had had the opportunity of a college education in Portugal. He is an agricultural engineer and he knows both the towns and cities of his country intimately.

The Party was based on groups of from 3 to 5 members to maintain the necessary secrecy. Very soon, the militant, mainly lower middle class members, were joined by the dockers of Bissau and the water transport workers.

On August 3rd 1959 a strike of port workers at Pidjiguiti was brutally broken up by the Portuguese authorities and resulted in the death of 50 workers. The PAIGC decided to prepare for armed struggle in face of this clear indication that the colonialists were not prepared to tolerate peaceful and democratic forms of struggle. This led to an extension of the work to the countryside but the Party still maintains an organisation in the towns although it does not organise events which would provide the occasion for savage reprisals against the people.

In 1960 a wave of repression was directed against the Party which moved its headquarters to the Republic of Guinea, i.e., the former French colony). Here cadres were trained and then returned to Guineé (Bissau) to work in the countryside explaining the aims of the Party, winning mass support and training, in turn, new cadres.

It is important to note the careful preparation which preceded the actual launching of armed struggle, and which involved a careful analysis of the class forces of the country, the winning of support for the political aims of the Party and the recruitment of men and women for the struggle.

From PAIGC bases inside the country acts of sabotage were launched June 30 - July 1, 1962. By the end of July the Portuguese declared a state of siege and followed it by mass arrests. The Fourth Conference of Party Cadres held in Conakry, August-September 1962, decided to launch armed struggle and the first major engagement was in January 1963, in the South. By the end of that year the liberation movement controlled about one third of the territory.

In February 1964 the Party Congress was held inside Guinea (Bissau) itself and adopted new forms of organisation and Party structure. All aspects of the struggle were brought under the control of the democratically elected leadership of the Party, military, political and administrative.

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\* Footnote: Gerard Chaliand, in his excellent book "The Armed Struggle in Africa" (Maspero 1967) gives the numbers of wage workers as 25,000 to 30,000. They comprise drivers, garage mechanics, domestic servants, vendors as well as port workers, transport workers and water transport workers. These last three form the most conscious sections of the working class and along with garage mechanics provide the most disciplined and militant sections of the guerilla movement.

Alongside the military struggle there is the effort to lift the political level of the people, to get rid of tribal differences, religious splits and other antagonisms which weaken united opposition to the Portuguese.

These difficulties are being successfully overcome and the basic question now facing the Party is to lift the level of productive technique and develop the advance towards a change in the country's social structure.

Two thirds of the country is now controlled by the PAIGC. In the liberated zone there are 157 schools with 15,000 pupils and in spite of the terrible shortage of drugs and supplies there are clinics and health centres everywhere. The Party is striving to begin national reconstruction even while the war continues. Food supplies are now adequate to feed the population of the liberated zone, and the army, and to provide a surplus for international trading. Experimental co-operatives have been set up and mutual aid teams are being established.

The Portuguese have lost control of the land battle and fight from the air using fragmentation bombs and napalm.

"Today the Portuguese administer nothing in our country. They are an army of occupation in a few small areas and the principal towns. This army of occupation has become a terrorist army".

(Evidence by Amilcar Cabral to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights)

It is significant that now the PAIGC army is launching attacks against army camps and barracks.

The Strategy  
of the PAIGC

In an interview published in Tricontinental No.8, 1968 and reprinted in Marxism Today, March 1969, Amilcar Cabral made the following statement about the tactical principles followed by the guerrilla army.

"To determine the tactic for struggle in our country, we had to take into account the geographical, historical, economic and social conditions of our own land, both in Guinea and Cape Verde.

It was by basing ourselves on the concrete knowledge of the real situation in our country that we set down the tactical and strategic principles of our guerrilla struggle.

We can say that our country is very different from other countries. In the first place it is quite a small country, about 36,000 km in Guinea and 4,000 km in Cape Verde. While Guinea is on the African continent, Cape Verde is in the middle of the sea, like an archipelago. We took all of this into consideration, but in addition, Guinea is a flat country. It has no mountains and everyone knows that in general the guerrilla force uses the mountains as a starting point for the armed

"struggle. We had to convert our people themselves into the mountain needed for the fight in our country, and we had to take full advantage of the jungles and swamps of our country to create difficult conditions for the enemy in his confrontation with the victorious advance of our armed struggle.

As for the other tactics, we follow the fundamental principle of armed struggle or, if you prefer, colonial war; the enemy, in order to control a given zone is forced to disperse his forces; he thus becomes weakened, and we can defeat him. In order to be able to defend himself from us he needs to concentrate his forces, and when he concentrates his forces he allows us to occupy the areas that are left empty and work on the people politically to prevent the enemy from returning.

This is sure to happen, because our people are mobilised. They are aware of what they are doing. Also, the liberated regions of the country where we are developing a new society are a constant propaganda for the liberation of other parts of our country".

Marxism Today, March 1969, page 91.

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The Liberation Movements Fighting  
White Minority Rule.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST  
THE WHITE MINORITY  
REGIMES IN SOUTHERN  
A F R I C A.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

"It is the combination of the worst features both of imperialism and colonialism within a single national frontier which determines the special nature of the South African system". The Programme of the South African Communist Party.

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The Republic of South Africa covers an area of 470,000 square miles. Figures for population are only approximate, as there is no proper registration of African births and deaths.

Estimated Population: African: 13 million; White: 3,500,000; Coloured: 1,500,000; Asian 500,000.  
Population density is approximately 38 to the square m.

Annual per capita income: White: £410; Asian: £80; Coloured: £58; African £50.

Annual per capita expenditure on education  
White: £75; Coloured and Asian £30; African £6.05.

Land Thirteen per cent of the total land is set aside for the use of Africans who constitute 70% of the population.

The apartheid system which forces the Africans into reserves and special areas maintaining them as a reservoir of cheap labour without social

or political rights is enforced by a massive system of oppressive laws. These include pass laws, the Group Areas Acts, the Suppression of Communism Act, The Terrorist Act, The Criminal Procedure Law (known as the 180 day law).

£150 million is spent annually on the armed forces and the police who staff this system.

The African peoples of the Republic of South Africa have a continued history of opposition to Boer expansion and to British colonialism. By 1880 their lands were under the control of European Governments, British or Boer.

With the discovery of diamonds in the Orange Free State and of gold in Witwatersrand in 1886 the antagonism between Boer and British rulers sharpened. In 1902 the Boers were defeated and the Transvaal and Orange Free State taken over. The Treaty of Vereeniging established the joint system of Anglo-Boer oppression of the African peoples.

The Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 without any consultation whatsoever with the coloured and African peoples, who in their resistance to European conquest had not been able to find the unity which might have saved them.

"The oppressed peoples of South Africa had to pass through the fire of the disintegration of tribal societies, the proletarianisation of the masses of the people, and the absorption of modern concepts of national and social liberation, before their unity could find realisation in a form which could seriously challenge white imperialist domination.

"That form was found in the modern liberation movement headed by the African National Congress, which is supported by the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the South African Communist Party, plus organisations of women, youth, etc.

Background Paper on 'The Struggle for National Liberation in South Africa' presented by the Africa National Congress at the Khartoum Conference, 1969.

#### The development of the African National Congress.

The A.N.C. was formed in 1912; at first it was called the Native National Congress. It struggled against pass laws and land acts through widespread militant actions. In 1927 the Congress moved to the left, and continued the struggle to defend the African peoples and build the greatest unity with all other sections. The highest expression of this unity has been the formation of the **Congress Alliance**, embracing the National African Congress, the Indian National Congress, the Congress of Coloured Peoples, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the Congress of Democrats (composed of progressive white people). A further expression of this unity was the adoption of the Freedom Charter at the Congress of the People in 1955, as the programme of the united front of national liberation in South Africa with its main demand of a democratic and non-racial society.

The 1950's were characterised by the mass actions and the growth of unity which the Government replied to with increasingly severe repressions, including the mass treason trial of 156 leaders of the national liberation movement which opened in 1956 and went on for four years.

The ANC was declared illegal throughout the country in 1960

"The campaigns before 1960 had been based on militant mass actions such as strikes, boycotts and civil disobedience. But the situation internally and the upsurge in Africa resulting in the emergence of many independent states, caused a change of policy. The national liberation movement decided to prepare for armed struggle. The terrorism practised by the Government against the struggles of the people made it clear that this was the only way out. Therefore, the liberation movement added armed revolution to the methods to be used to overthrow the apartheid regime. In 1961 Umkhonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) came into existence as the military wing of the liberation movement. Numerous acts of sabotage took place. People were sent abroad for military training which they could not get in the country. Thousands of freedom fighters were imprisoned in retaliation. These included foremost leaders of the national movements and the Communist Party.

"In August 1967 the ANC announced its military alliance with the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the first military engagement near Wankie marking a decisive stage in the development of the liberation struggle." \*

#### THE ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION

Rhodesia covers an area of 150,333 square miles.

#### Population (estimated)

African 4,210,000; White 225,000; Coloured 13,700, Asian 10,000.

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\* P.A.C. In 1958 there was a minority breakaway from the ANC which formed the Pan-Africanist Congress. This group was hostile to ANC's policy of a multi-racial alliance. It was also motivated by anti-Communism and was patronised by various United States organisations as a result. More recently it has adopted in some quarters a policy in support of the Chinese Communist Party's position.

In 1961 the Organisation went underground and some of its members in 1963 launched the Poqo terrorist activities. In its activities overseas PAC has proved to be politically and organisationally unstable. It is certainly penetrated by the Intelligence Services of South Africa and other imperialist countries, and has divided into several hostile factions.

Annual per capita earnings:

African £138      Rest of the population £1,361.

Life expectation:      European 68 years; African 30 years.

Annual per capita Expenditure on Education

European £113      African £9.10.0d.

Under the Land Apportionment Acts of 1931 and 1941, 41 million acres of land are reserved for Europeans. This is the best land. The rest, amounting to 44 million acres and made up of sandy, infertile and rocky areas, is reserved for Africans.

In 1923 Southern Rhodesia was declared a self-governing colony on the basis of a referendum in which 8,774 votes were cast for responsible self-government against 5,989 for union with South Africa.

The Central African Federation, set up in 1953 and comprising what was then Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) Nyassaland (Malawi) and Southern Rhodesia, was dominated by Southern Rhodesia. By 1963, after determined struggles by the independence movements, Zambia and Malawi won self-government.

The 1961 Constitution for Southern Rhodesia, much discussed in negotiations between the Smith regime and the British Government, enshrines white minority domination of the country. The 1965 Declaration of U.D.I. and Labour's refusal to suppress the white rebellion and willingness to negotiate with Smith, left the liberation movement with no alternative but armed struggle.

The Development of the Zimbabwe African People's Union

The early beginnings of the Zimbabwe African People's Union are to be found in the formation of the first African National Congress in Rhodesia after World War I. The most effective organisation, however, was not formed until 1955 when George Nyandoro and James Chikerema founded the African National Congress Youth League. In 1957 this became the African National Congress with Joshua Nkomo as its President and James Chikerema and George Nyandoro as Vice-President and Secretary-General respectively.

It is important to note that all three have wide trade union experience, Joshua Nkomo was the General Secretary of the Rhodesian Railways' African Employees, while George Nyandoro worked among farmers and rural workers.

"Under the slogan 'Forward Ever, Backward Never', the African National Congress advocated a policy of national unity of all the African people, overcoming tribal and racial barriers alike. The Congress opposed the pass laws and other discriminatory legislation, and pledged to establish a democratic Rhodesia based on the policy of one man one vote. From the beginning

the ANC was open to members of all races, and a number of whites, Asians and Coloureds, took out membership cards and associated themselves with the country's premier African organisation."

(Sechaba, Vol. 2, Number 6, June 1968).

Disturbances in Nyasaland (Malawi) were used by the Rhodesian Government as a pretext to ban the African National Congress in 1959. On January 1st 1960 the National Democratic Party was formed and campaigned against the Central African Federation. It rejected the 1961 Constitution. The Party was banned in December 1961, to be succeeded after eight days by the formation of the Zimbabwe African People's Union.

During 1962 ZAPU led strikes, boycotts and mass actions in its demand for one man one vote, and after only nine months' legal existence was banned. It was decided in 1963 to send a section of the leadership abroad to conduct the open struggle and win international support, while the remainder would stay in Rhodesia and organise the underground struggle. Almost immediately Joshua Nkomo and the Executive Committee members in Rhodesia were arrested and detained.

There was a split away from ZAPU by a small group under the leadership of Reverend N. Sithole who went on to form the Zimbabwe African National Union. This in turn was banned in 1964. Its main basis appears to be among students while ZAPU is undoubtedly the most broadly based among the African workers and farmers.

On the declaration of U.D.I. by the Smith regime in November 1965, ZAPU called for:

1. One Man One Vote.
2. No Independence Before Majority Rule.
3. No Negotiations with the Smith Regime.
4. Comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions.
5. Moral and material support for the Zimbabwe people in their struggle for independence based on universal suffrage and majority rule.

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**THE ARMED  
STRUGGLE.**

The White minority rulers of Rhodesia and South Africa have adamantly refused to concede even the most elementary political and social rights to the African majority. One by one the few avenues of peaceful protest have been closed and the repression of the independence movements has become increasingly violent. In such a situation the independence movements have no viable alternative but to take up arms.

In the Report adopted by the South African Communist Party "The Developing Armed Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa" the special features of the struggle against white minority rule were outlined.

"The National liberation struggle in South Africa takes place not in a backward but in a developed capitalist country. The enemy is not a metropolitan imperialist power thousands of miles away. It is essentially (its close ties with Western imperialism notwithstanding) the South African monopoly capitalist class, based within the country itself, in control of a powerful state apparatus and backed by a modern industrial economy.

.....  
"Again the task and aim of national movements in 'normal' colonial countries was to get the imperialists out of the country. It was not and could not have been the defeat and conquest of the imperial power itself. This position enabled compromises to be reached at varying stages of the struggle: the more or less gradual and piecemeal transference of political power to the hands of the indigenous leaders (whether really representative or not); the withdrawal of the imperialists to their home territories. But the liberation of our country cannot be accomplished without the actual defeat and destruction of South African imperialism itself; the overthrow of the present state.

.....  
"It is precisely factors such as these which account for the exceptionally protracted and bitter struggle of the oppressed people in South Africa and which sometimes lead to pessimistic assessments of the duration and even the outcome of the revolution.

"Such assessments overlook the fact that everyone of the apparent strengths of South African imperialism contains within itself incurable sources of weakness and instability which are bound increasingly to assert themselves as the revolutionary struggle mounts in intensity.

"Unlike the West European and U.S. imperialists, the South African monopoly bourgeoisie has no stable and secure base from outside the country from which to operate and to which to retreat. Its economy ---- industry, agriculture, transport, etc., - depend overwhelmingly on the non-white labour force without whose cooperation it cannot for long wage war or even survive.

"The  $\frac{3}{2}$  million whites are not sufficient even to man the supervisory jobs in the economy, administration, and repressive organs of state even in 'normal' times, still less during a period of protracted guerrilla warfare and civil strife. Hienstra has said that he could 'mobilise 100,000 men in a very short time'. That may be so -- the question is whether white South Africa could maintain such a large force for any length of time without subjecting the economy and structure to intolerable stresses and strains. It must be borne in mind that at all times the abnormally large police apparatus is 'stretched' in applying and enforcing the innumerable laws intended to oppress and terrorise the people. The restraining of guerrilla struggles is bound to evoke a rising tide of turbulence and revolutionary unrest in town and country, imposing still further burdens on the police-military apparatus.

"It is not intended by drawing attention to these important factors, to suggest that the tasks facing South African revolutionaries are simple, or capable of quick and easy accomplishment. On the contrary, the task is complicated and difficult, and the struggle will be bitter and may well be protracted over a long period. But it is certain that the South African ruling class is by no means 'invincible'. It can well be defeated by determined and resourceful action employing all means of struggle, political, industrial, and military, resting on organisation and unity, and able to mount a sustained and rising tempo of revolutionary action.

"The question of armed struggle in South Africa cannot be approached purely as a military question. Particularly in its opening stages, the armed conflict cannot take the form of a headon confrontation with the military and police forces of the South African State. The task of the armed units is basically a political one. Their operations must be designed to help organise and rally the masses, and arouse them to action around their practical problems and grievances.

(Printed in AFRICAN COMMUNIST NO.34. 3rd quarter 1968) .

The ANC and ZAPU issued a joint statement on August 19, 1967 signed by Oliver Tambo, Deputy President of ANC and James Chikorema, Vice-President of ZAPU:

"Furious fighting has been and still is taking place in various parts of Southern Rhodesia.

From the thirteenth of this month, the area of Wankie has been the scene of the most daring battles ever fought between Freedom Fighters and the White oppressors' army in Rhodesia. Only last night the Rhodesian regime admitted having been engaged in a six-hour battle yesterday. In fact, fighting has been going on continuously for a full six days.

Both the Rhodesian and South African regimes have admitted that South African Freedom Fighters belonging to the African National Congress have been involved in these courageous battles, fighting their way to strike at the Boers themselves in South Africa.

"We wish to declare here that the fighting is going on in the Wankie area and is indeed being carried out by a combined force of ZAPU and ANC which marched into the country as comrades-in-arms, we are facing a common enemy, fighting for a common purpose, facing a common fate, hence a combined force for a common onslaught against the enemy at every point of encounter as we march down for the liberation of our respective countries."

Since that announcement armed actions have continued, although the information services in Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa, try to conceal all news regarding them. They also persist in claiming that the freedom fighters march in to Rhodesia from Zambia, although the liberation movements have made it clear that they have bases inside the country. It is thought that the South African and Rhodesian authorities fear the effect on white minority morale if they acknowledge that there are bases in the territory concealed and assisted by the African people.

The first action took place at Wankie and the June 1968 issue of SECHARA carried the following:

"Readers will remember we estimated rebel dead at that time as at least 66. Absolutely reliable sources now report that the racist rebel forces of Smith and Vorster actually lost 196 dead and many more injured. An even more encouraging aspect of the Wankie fighting was the support, in the form of food, shelter, and information, given by the African population to the Freedom Fighters. Local inhabitants were often materially responsible for leading the racist forces into traps and ambushes. As a result at least 7 civilians were arrested in Tjolotjo after the fighting, several being tortured to death."

It was at Tjolotjo that 200 Freedom Fighters engaged the Rhodesian forces for 48 hours and South African armed 'police' were flown in to help. There were also at the same time actions in the Zambezi River Valley, Northern Matabeleland, and the area between the Victoria Falls and the Kariba Dam.

A second offensive was launched in March 1968 as the rainy season began to draw to an end, from joint bases inside Rhodesia. The fighting did not take place in the Zambezi River Valley as the Rhodesian regime claims in order to support their fiction that the Freedom Fighters 'invade' from Zambia. In a press conference held in Lusaka on March 19, James Chikerema said that the fighting was going on deep inside Zimbabwe and was a development of the struggle in the country.

Since then there have been reports of fighting near Doma about 40 miles from Sinbad.

All white adult male farmers in Zimbabwe are eighter in the police reserve or doing military training. They are all under stand-by orders for 24 hours a day. South African troops have been moved in to assist the Rhodesia forces and move freely and openly about the country.

Though acutely aware of the dangers and problems that face them, the two organisations are active in cementing their alliance and developing the training and equipping of their forces and in working for mass support for their troops.

"Our revolution will be a complete success! There is no question about it --- we shall go on fighting until we are in complete control of our affairs. One need only look back at history and see how the Algerians fought for their independence against 400,000 French troops in occupation. Today Algeria is independent. The total settler population of Zimbabwe is only 25,000, but time and again we have been told that the Rhodesian and South African defence forces would prove invincible. We have already disposed of this fallacy forever in the battlefield in the autumn of last year. Like all peoples fighting for their own liberation, we are armed not only with weapons, but with our own inner, immovable

determination to liberate ourselves whatever the odds."

George Nyandoro. Interview in SECHABA Vol.2 No.5.  
February 1968.

### The South West African People's Organisation.

Population 600,000 approximatly. Area 318,000 sq.m. Density 1 per sq.m.

The territory is shielded from the coast by a coastal strip of desert. Though bare of vegetation it is rich in diamonds. Off the coast there are rich fishing grounds and the country has two fine natural harbours.

Consolidate Diamond Mines controls 99% of the total output of diamonds making £19 million profit per annum. There are other valuable mineral resources including copper, lead, zinc, vanadium, exploited by foreign monopolies. The country is also the world's largest producer of Karakul pelts.

The name South West Africa is rejected by the liberation movement as a mere geographical designation. The name of their country is Namibia. It was colonised by Germany whose possession was 'confirmed' by the Treaty of Berlin. There was intensive armed resistance to German occupation which was met by savage slaughter of the people.

In 1918 South West Africa was declared an International Mandated Territory of the League of Nations. The trusteeship was given to the Government of South Africa to administer it on behalf of the British Government. South Africa has treated the country as a colony.

"What is true of the rest of Southern Africa is true of Namibia. Virtually all of the Africans are extremely poor. The Africans of Namibia who form 87% of the total population own only 98,000 square miles, while the 85,000 colonialists (14%) own 220,000 square miles."

(Message of Mr. Sam Nujoma to the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies and Southern Africa. Khartoum. 1969).

In 1960 Ethiopia and Liberia submitted their case to the International Court at the Hague arguing the violation of the trusteeship. The Court upheld South Africa. South African domination of the country continues because of the support given to her by the imperialist governments.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SWAPO. In 1957 young Namibians formed the Ovamboland People's Congress. They were workers employed in South Africa in Cape Town and mining areas. There have been two changes of name since then reflecting the extension of support inside Namibia itself. In 1958 it became the Ovamboland People's

Organisation with Mr. Sam Nujoma as its President, and in 1960 the South West African People's Organisation. It embraced all ethnic groups except those in the Caprivi Region due to South African restrictions.

In 1959 a demonstration organised by the Ovamboland People's Organisation was fired on, killing 11 and wounding more than 50 people.

In 1961 SWAPO leaders were restricted and deported. Later that year some were rescued, and escaped from the country, including the President. In 1962 a military training programme was begun and a programme for political education introduced to demonstrate to the people that they must win their own independence and to prepare them for armed struggle.

On July 18, 1966 the International Court decision in favour of South Africa was given. It was clear that only struggle by the Namibians themselves would liberate their country. Armed struggle was declared on August 26, 1966.

#### The Armed Struggle.

The zones of operation of the Namibia Liberation Army, the military wing of SWAPO are in four regions of the country:

- 1) Northern Region - Ovamboland and Okavango.
- 2) North Western Region - Keokoveld.
- 3) Grootfontein District in the Central Region and
- 4) North-Eastern Region, the Caprivi Strip.

"We do not, for the time being, claim to have liberated areas, but we do have large areas which are under our control. These areas contain hundreds of thousands of peasants. In these areas our fighters are running some semi-administrative functions such as medical and social services and as yet at a small scale they teach the people to read and write. It is true also, that up to now, the enemy does send in its superior number of forces into these areas. But since it cannot maintain forces there permanently, it naturally will leave a much weaker number behind which soon becomes an easy target of the guerrillas".

Message of Mr. Sam Nujoma, op cit.

The South African forces carry out savage reprisals against the population; they have executed villagers, imprisoned hundreds in South African prisons and they have poisoned water supplies.

"Those enemy brutalities will never deter our people's resolution to persist in the armed struggle. On the contrary, and this has already been proven, with each enemy repression hundreds

of patriots are coming into the ranks of the revolutionary fighters. For we believe that our victory over the racist forces is surely inevitable.

"In our just struggle we have the active support of all progressive mankind the world over. We have the support from African countries through the O. A. U. Liberation Committee, and most important, the Socialist countries' assistance to our movement in all fields have added an impetus to this struggle. Progressive organisations in the Western countries have also given us assistance and solidarity."

Mr. Sam Nujoma, op cit.

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\* DECLARATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLES \*  
\* OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA : KHARTOUM JANUARY 1969. \*  
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From more than fifty countries and from a number of international organisations we came to Khartoum to support those fighting to rid Africa of the remains of colonialism.

We meet at a time when the forces of National Liberation, enjoying the support of the forces of progress and socialism, are challenging the aggressive forces of imperialism, colonialism and racism, and are scoring new victories for their freedom, independence, and social progress.

We met to face the challenge to Africa and to humanity presented by Portuguese colonialism and the white supremacy regimes of Southern Africa.

We heard fresh and authoritative reports from those who actually suffered, endured and fought against these vile tyrannies.

Our Conference heard with great indignation about the forced silencing of opposition, of the thousands of African patriots suffering imprisonment, torture and death for demanding their rights and human dignity. We learnt with grave concern how the imperialist countries are backing the anti-African regimes with money and arms.

The Conference received authentic and alarming evidence of the serious threat presented by the imperialist-backed Pretoria-Lisbon-Salisbury alliance to the independence of every African country and to world peace.

We have decided with unanimity that Africa and the world must take action to give more effective help to the African Liberation Movements fighting for the freedom of their peoples. Coming to Khartoum from all over Europe, from Asia, from America, North and South, we solemnly resolve that this Khartoum Conference shall prove a historic new stage of advance in Africa's march to freedom, independence and unity.

A state of war exists over a large area of the African continent. Since February 4th, 1961, the people of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, under the leadership of MPLA, PAIGC AND FRELIMO have been fighting, in a vast armed confrontation, the crumbling Portuguese colonial empire, sustained by the NATO powers. The wars of national liberation in these African areas have reached a level where substantial areas have been liberated, have achieved sovereignty, where exploitation by international monopolies has been ended.

In Zimbabwe, the guerrilla fighters of the military alliance of the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU) and the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa are conducting increasingly widespread guerrilla operations against combined police-military forces of the illegal Smith regime and fascist Republic of South Africa. In Namibia, guerrilla forces of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) are fighting and intensifying the liberation struggle against the South African colonial forces.

The spreading and developing aggressive war by imperialists is of direct and immediate concern to the whole world, and in the first place to the people of Africa. It is part of the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle; the fight of unconquerable Vietnamese people to rid their country of American imperialist aggression; of the mounting fight of the fraternal Arab peoples against imperialist-backed Zionist aggression.

The war for Southern Africa is not only the internal problem of the liberation movements and peoples involved. It has already been internationalised.

PORTUGAL - the poorest and most backward country of Europe, could only carry on thanks to the ever-increasing share of West Germany, U.S. and other imperialist countries in the profits of the African territories concerned.

Similarly the racist regimes in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe are sustained by the massive practical support of world imperialism, and in particular British imperialism, who reap huge dividends from the natural wealth and cheap forced labour of the African inhabitants, rightful masters of these lands.

The British Government, in pursuit of its imperialist designs by continuing its colonialist oppression of the African people of Zimbabwe has risked a racial war in Southern Africa with dangers of engulfing the neighbouring independent African countries.

Expansionist South African imperialism, in close alliance with Portuguese colonialism and the settler regime in Zimbabwe, and backed by world imperialism, constitutes a grave menace to the neighbouring African independent countries, and ultimately to the independence of every African State.

The existence of these racist regimes, their aggressive alliance, and their economic, financial, political and military support by imperialism constitute a major threat to world peace.

The Conference declares its fervent and unequivocal support for the freedom fighters of the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa.

It calls upon the progressive, anti-imperialist force of the entire world to back the armed struggles which have been forced upon them as the only possible alternative to slavery for the foreseeable future.

The Conference calls upon democratic forces everywhere to support the political demands of the liberation movements for independence, democracy and the unqualified and immediate implementation of majority rule.

The Conference calls on all governments to recognise the liberation movements as the alternative and future governments of the territories concerned; to break off all relations with the illegal and despotic regimes, to give every facility and aid to the representatives and supporters of the liberation movements and remove every let or hindrance to their noble missions.

The Conference calls on all democratic organisations and individuals in all countries constantly to educate public opinion regarding the true facts of the situation in unliberated Africa, to contribute material aid for the freedom fighters, for the defence of political prisoners and support of their dependents; to isolate the racists from participation in every sort of international sporting, cultural, and similar activities.

FORWARD TO THE LIBERATION OF PORTUGUESE COLONIES AND  
THE OPPRESSED LANDS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!

FREEDOM FOR THE SOUTH -- THE ONLY SAFEGUARD OF AFRICAN  
INDEPENDENCE, UNITY AND PEACE!

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