

THE **LIBERATION** MOVEMENTS SPEAK

The World Conference against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa was held in Lisbon, Portugal, June 16-19. Four leaders of the liberation movements of the area attended: Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe; Oliver Tambo, of the African National Congress of South Africa; and Sam Nujoma, of SWAPO of Namibia.

On June 18, the African leaders gave a press conference in which the unity and strength of the liberation movements in the struggle against the oppressing, colonialist regimes of southern Africa were reflected.



ON MATERIAL AID

Joshua Nkomo: Our people and specially our youth need material aid; this is providing schooling for them; this means providing food and clothing for them, so we do hope that some of the supporting nongovernmental organizations that are here, or the conference itself, can create a fund for the liberation movements of southern Africa, and that might alleviate some of the problems that face us. And that is apart from the arms, of course; those arms would be very much welcome, because we are in a period where we need arms much more than the other material help. But of course soldiers must eat; they need clothes and footwear. All those things are important.



NAMIBIA AND WESTERN "PRESSURES" ON SOUTH AFRICA

Sam Nujoma: I must say that an impression has been created by the western news media, and racist South Africa in particular, that the suspension of the Turnhalle Conference is something positive, that it is progress. But, as far as we are concerned, there is no progress whatsoever. Only two days ago, we also learned from the news media of racist South Africa that Vorster is going to appoint a so-called administrative general to administer the territory. This is exactly the same attitude as the puppets with their masters who in Turnhalle have decided to create the so-called interim government. Those are similar maneuvers. So it doesn't make any difference whether Vorster is ready to replace Vanmerder with the Vanseik. It's all the same thing.

Whereas our goal is to continue and intensify the African liberation struggle in order to achieve real independence, which our people inevitably desire in Africa, as well as progressive mankind.

But I would like to underscore that there has been no progress. Just intrigues by those who are assisting South Africa because of their economic interests in Namibia and South Africa itself, to create the impression that Vorster is ready to give up Namibia. If Vorster was ready to give up Namibia, why would Vorster maintain more than 50 000 troops in Namibia? And more military bases are being built; more airfields with very expensive material. For what purposes. That means racist Vorster is not prepared to decrease his colonial administration of Namibia.

The "contribution" of the West can only be welcome if they do it within the framework of the United Nations and support the activities of the UN Council for Namibia, which is the only legal authority over Namibia; but our experience has been Western support of racist South Africa, to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia.



NO MORE WORDS ABOUT NOTHING

Robert Mugabe: When we say we have talked enough, what we are trying to convey is that, in reality, we are tired of talking about nothing. The British have been getting us to talk about nothing. We talked about nothing at Geneva last year, and we spent many weeks on a merry-go-round. Now we are not prepared to be invited to another Geneva. We vowed the British that we had taken a serious position to resolve the conflict which exists in our country. We have asked for their plan for resolving the con-

flict. And the British are not forthcoming with any arrangement. We would like them to recognize that, in our situation, the conflict is between the British, as the colonial power, and the people of Zimbabwe, as represented by the Patriotic Front. That these are the only two organizations, the two bodies, which must resolve the conflict, and negotiations must be between them about something, not about nothing. About removing the causes which have led to the war. That's the starting point. We're not prepared to talk about theoretical constitutions containing democratic aspects, like one-man vote. Not that we are not for this, but that the starting point must be correct. People are at war just now. What is going to happen if we have to consider independence? Is it not that Britain and ourselves must sit together and finally decide that the transference of power must be effected? This is what we would like to talk about. In other words, shall we in the process agree that the instruments of control, including military control, shall be in the hands of the people; or is it Smith who is going to control the country militarily? This is where we differ with the British.



Oliver Tambo: I think, if I may add to this, that what takes away so much from the sincerity of the British is that not only do they talk about nothing

when they do talk, but they involve Vorster in a discussion about the liberation and the freedom of the people of Zimbabwe. As long as the British approach the matter from the point of view that one of the colonizers, Vorster, is presumed to have an interest in the future of Zimbabwe, then these talks are hardly ever to have any meaning. We understand the purpose of this. Zimbabwe is being used to project Vorster as a liberator, not only of the bantustans, but a liberator too of the people of Zimbabwe. That would be the only effect of any "liberation" that could come as a result of the participation of a regime which, even as I speak, is slaughtering people in South Africa, all over the country — and not for the first time. Vorster can hardly be a peacemaker. On the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that, since it is such an important factor in the future of Zimbabwe, the invasions that are being launched against the independent, sovereign state of Mozambique must be directed by those who, evidently, have an interest in the future of Zimbabwe, Vorster included.

The people of South Africa object to the suggestion that the people of Zimbabwe depend for their liberation on the opinion, on the participation of a self-confessed racist, a clear and proven murderer, the administrator and perpetrator of what the United Nations has described and characterized as a crime against humanity. It is a serious reflection on mankind that the head of this regime should continue to be projected as a liberator of the people of Zimbabwe. This is, as Comrade Mugabe says, a matter solely between the British and the leaders of the people of Zimbabwe.

And I'd like to take this opportunity to draw the attention of the world community to the continuing murders that are taking place in South Africa and to say that this has been made possible by the support which the South African regime continues to receive from France, West Germany, Britain, the United States — the gang involved in maintaining the system in South Africa. And they must be held accountable and responsible and answer for the fact that today in South Africa children are being killed again; many are being maimed with bullets, and hundreds are being collected into jails, and we know what happens when they get there. They are assassinated, thrown out of windows. It has been going on for a year now, and it's going on today. It will be going on for as long as Britain, the United States, Canada, France, West Germany, Japan continue to sustain this evil regime.

We hope that this Conference will at last ensure that numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations, by the OAU, by the non-aligned movement, by various international organizations, are carried out to the letter. And the responsibility for that rests not with the United Nations but with the peoples of Africa and their organizations.

Joshua Nkomo: May I add this. Now, the so-called British initiative. What does Dr. Owen say? Dr. Owen says they're going to work out a constitution, and this constitution must go through the British Parliament and so on and so forth. But then, when do we request Mr. Smith to give up power, when do we say to the British, "we are serious," if we are expected to work out the Constitution first? Do we then ask Mr. Smith to walk out of power? And, as Comrade Tambo said, Mr. Vorster is also supposed to play a role. And Vorster is the man who is assisting the oil companies that have been breaking sanctions, to assist Smith to run his murderous trips into neighboring territories. How otherwise would Smith move from Rhodesia into Mozambique, into Botswana if he did not get the oil that flows across the Limpopo River into Rhodesia, assisted by this man called John Balthazar Vorster?

This is the man Dr. Owen wants to use for this round. Now, we do not want to be taken for another ride. We were taken for a ride in Geneva, and we have said, "No, you can't take us for another ride." As Comrade Mugabe said, "We are at war, and what is at stake is to discover and remove the causes of the war." And the people who can remove the causes of the war are the people who are fighting. Not the Salvation Army, but the People's Army. Not the church councils, but the army and those that are contesting and want to remain dominant over the people of Zimbabwe. So this is what we are saying to Dr. Owen. It's not that we're saying we don't want to talk. We will talk. But the right thing to talk about is the war and how to remove the causes of the war. If Dr. Owen is ready to do that, we will talk with him. But, if he wants some beautiful-looking Constitution that is meaningless, then it's a waste of time. We have got to continue the armed struggle and free ourselves. After all, Britain abandoned the effort of removing the "rebel" until we took up arms against the rebel.

NAMIBIA: THE PEOPLE WILL DEFEAT THE ILLEGAL REGIME

Sam Nujoma: The SWAPO and the Namibian people are capable of fighting and defeating the racist and fascist regime of South Africa imposed on Namibia. Therefore, we do not need foreign troops. All that we need at the present moment is some stated weapons in order to be able to wage an effective war of liberation against the enemy forces whose troops are very well equipped, supplied with the armaments of human destruction by France, West Germany, Britain, the United States and all others who are trying to defend their economic interests by maintaining the illegal South African administration in Namibia, through which they can continue to exploit Namibia's mineral wealth, while the Namibian

people are suffering from hunger, disease and undernourishment. We don't need foreign troops. We are capable ourselves of fighting and defeating the enemy.

Secondly, we are fighting to liberate each and every inch of Namibia, including the Walvis Bay; we are making it understood that, during the German occupation of our country, Walvis Bay used to be a British enclave. In this respect, the SWAPO of Namibia does not recognize German colonialism in our country, nor British colonialism nor the Boer colonialism.

A TRUE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF ZIMBABWE

Robert Mugabe: We have concluded that, if any "settlement" is reached, that settlement will not amount to a real settlement. What we are trying to say is that the British just now really cannot cause us a settlement in the country, because they continue to say they are weak, they have no means of bringing down Smith, and the whole exercise they are engaged in is really to get us to stop fighting so they can install a kind of puppet government which will secure their own economic interests. Well, that sort of a solution is not a real solution, and this solution would not be acceptable to us; it won't operate in the interests of the people of South Africa either, because a neocolonialist solution in Zimbabwe will mean a base created for the further entrenchment of capitalist interests in South Africa. But what we are after is a genuine settlement which will remove the long-standing grievances in Zimbabwe and see a government which has the wishes of the people installed; and this government can only get installed if it has got the full instruments of power, and not a government which will rely on the Rhodesian forces for the security of the country.

Oliver Tambo: We make a distinction as it were between a solution and a "solution," in quotes. We make a distinction between majority rule and "majority rule," in quotes.

We believe that Vorster and even the Carter Administration are basically agreed about what is meant by "majority rule." What do they mean by majority rule in South Africa? Vorster says by "majority rule" he means that the African people will be ruled by their majority, in the sense that, in the Transkei, for example, the Xhosas will be in the majority over other tribes; in Natal the Zulus will be in the majority over other tribes; and in some other part of the country some tribe will be in the majority over another. So you will have a series of Bantustans, each ruled

by a majority; therefore you have "majority rule." That is not majority rule. "Majority rule" which means you maintain the Bantustans and have that type of majority rule as considered by Vorster but separates what is called the urban Bantu from the rest of the population and says there should be "majority rule" in the Sowetos or even in the urban areas, "majority rule" there, with Bantustans everywhere.

That's completely meaningless. There can be no majority rule with the Bantustans. But it is meant "majority rule" in respect of the Africans or the blacks generally who live in the cities, excluding the 87 percent who are supposed to live in 13 percent of the country's territory, then that is not majority rule either. So we're not talking about the same thing.

Majority rule means rule by the majority of the 26 million people of South Africa, without reference to Bantu or other expressions of racism. When the enemy puts on your uniform and comes to you as a friend waving your flag, be careful. And we are being careful about the expressions that are being used today very popularly: national liberation, peaceful settlement, majority rule. We are being careful to make sure that the person who wears this uniform of national liberation, uses our slogans, is in fact our friend and means to go along with us to the end of our journey: total and true liberation.

I am referring to the current expressions about peaceful settlement today, current expressions about majority rule, current expressions even by Vorster when he says he is decolonizing and he approves of majority rule, meaning what I have said he means. But we know our friends, and, when they speak our language, we know what they mean. We know our enemies, and we want to make sure that, if they say they have changed, they have indeed changed. Therefore, we have to be vigilant, and already, as I have indicated, the expression "majority rule" covers a sinister scheme to perpetuate our domination.

In addition, for example, Vorster talks of wanting to get Namibia off his back. He talks of wanting to see Namibia free and independent, but at this very moment Vorster maintains more than 50 000 troops massacring and killing our people every day. Isn't that somebody using our slogan, putting on our uniform, in order to deceive us, in order to infiltrate within our ranks and destroy us from within? Even of those who are talking of supporting majority rule, for example...how can they withdraw if their companies own the gold and diamonds and uranium in Namibia and South Africa? They are still putting in more money. When the Rossing-Rio Tinto-Zinc's economy was on the verge of collapse, their banks went to the rescue of the Rossing-Rio Tinto-Zinc. These are the kinds of people I am talking about putting on our uniform and shouting our slogans.

THE SATO: AN INSTRUMENT AGAINST THE AFRICAN AND LATIN-AMERICAN PEOPLES

Oliver Tambo: There are some maneuvers aimed at ensuring the survival of the colonial system in southern Africa. Those schemes need to be exposed and condemned. It is a sophisticated move to make South Africa an impregnable fortress and give it the capacity to carry out its much publicized policy of sending military missions to any part of southern Africa, and it will not end at that. This is a far-sighted, long-term plan to imprison South Africa, to subject it to perpetual threat and to deny it its freedom and independence. South Africa is building on the basis of a NATO-type organization, and, if it is allowed to do so, of course the effects on the prospects of the national liberation struggle are perilous. It is intended to ensure that there is no liberation, that there is continuous imperialist exploitation, not only in South Africa but in the rest of southern Africa. It is a scheme that is aimed at the independence of Mozambique and all the independent countries around that area. South Africa is being built into a military giant, and the involvement does not end with Argentina and Uruguay; the imperialists are specially involved in that kind of scheme. The South Atlantic Treaty Organization would be the NATO of the south. The objectives are the same. The peoples of Mozambique and Angola and Guinea-Bissau were confronted with a small country, weak economically: Portugal, but which had the backing of NATO and was able to sustain a war that went on for more than a decade and collapsed only thanks to the contribution of the Portuguese people. South Africa wants to be another Portugal, greater and stronger and more powerful, backed by another NATO, the SATO, ...but it cannot be. An organization that is being established with the participation of South Africa and the countries that have been mentioned is surely the counterpart; it is NATO in the south, and must be exposed.

I must say that there are members of NATO that have played a very positive role toward us, the national liberation struggle. For example, the Scandinavian countries; Sweden has made considerable contributions to the struggle.

CONCERN FOR THE MISSIONARIES AND NOT FOR THE PEOPLE

Joshua Nkomo: You want to know who killed the missionaries? Now, as a matter of order, I suppose in the United States you are too far away from Zimbabwe to know how many murders there are. I suppose you only hear about the murder of the missionaries. They are murdering far more people than two or three missionaries. Now the regime of Ian Smith kills and murders people in Rhodesia under various pretexts, breaking the curfew, helping the freedom fighters, running with the freedom fighters, whatever that means.

Now the missionaries find themselves in a position where, for some reason or other, they are counted as people who help the freedom fighters, and Smith knows that there is understanding — some understanding — between the people and some — not all — some of the white missionaries; he got hold of our uniforms, our guns, gave them to some black mercenaries to shoot these people in order to bring about misunderstanding between us and the missionaries and, of course, those people whom the missionaries lead.

Now today we talked of killers. Smith is a killer, Vorster is a killer. Yesterday and today, Vorster killed a number of people in South Africa and is continually doing so. Ian Smith is murdering people in Mozambique. He sent his troops into Mozambique last night. May we take this opportunity to condemn what is going on in South Africa, the killing of innocent people in South Africa by the forces of Vorster yesterday and today, and of course his killing has been going on and it goes on every day. May we also condemn Ian Smith for again attacking the independent Republic of Mozambique and killing people there. Now these are the killers, and we take this opportunity to condemn what has gone on yesterday and today in South Africa and the killing of the innocent people of Mozambique by Ian Smith. The freedom fighters are not in Mozambique; they are in Rhodesia; that's where we are. He leaves us in Rhodesia and attacks Mozambique in order to remove the spotlight from Rhodesia to Mozambique, as if Mozambique were fighting against Ian Smith. It is us, the freedom fighters, in Zimbabwe, who are fighting within the country, and to try and confuse issues he has done what he did last night to the Republic of Mozambique.

Robert Mugabe: In addition, I would like to state that, in fact, the campaign against missionaries continues. So you do not have to look for the culprits from amongst the freedom fighters. Ian Smith is the person responsible for pushing Bishop Lamont out of the country; for depriving many other citizens of their citizenship; for imprisoning, as we are talking, several missionaries; and for killing other African priests, like Basil Nya-badza, and recently yet another reverend who was killed about two weeks ago, and the regime has admitted that its forces have killed these people. This is the culprit; you don't have to look for any culprit anywhere else. As we speak, there are three or four priests in jail for helping the guerrillas. We have very good relations with missionaries. They supply us with medicines, with food; sometimes they even give us shelter. This is the crime which they are said to have committed by Ian Smith, and hence the punishment.

CARTER'S DECLARATIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND ON SOUTH AFRICA

Oliver Tambo: What President Carter meant is that the struggle is not for the transfer of power from the white minority to the majority of the people of South Africa, which is what the African National Congress is fighting for. And the struggle is not for the end of the brutal exploitation to which our people are subjected. He means that what South Africa needs is reform, improvements in salaries and slight adjustments with power — political power, economic power and national and military power retained by the present regime, the structure remaining as it is.

A civil rights struggle proceeds from the premise that the people are an independent people, their country is independent and sovereign; that they don't like their government or some of the things it does or some laws it passes and legislates, that they violate human rights of individuals or groups. This is not our position. We have no government as a majority. The black majority has no government in South Africa. It is not independent. It is not sovereign. It has never been. Vorster is not our Prime Minister. His government is not our government. We have nothing to do with it. We are not even allowed to have anything to do with it. Our position is *not* that we would like Vorster to do certain things for us, to pass more humane laws for us, to have his parliament

of whites only and to talk about us but to talk in human terms — we are not making that demand. Our demand is that we must make the decisions ourselves, make the changes ourselves, be the responsibility of our own future. The parliament, when there is a parliament, must be the parliament of the people of South Africa, not a parliament of white people legislating about black people. So the very expression "civil rights" goes to the roots of the whole issue in South Africa. The question of colonial domination, of racist domination, white minority rule which is exclusive for whites by whites about black people and perhaps about whites as well. But our struggle is not a struggle for civil rights. Our struggle is a national liberation struggle such as has been waged in Mozambique and Angola and everywhere else, in Namibia, in Zimbabwe. That is the type of struggle, for the transfer of power to the majority of the people of South Africa. It is not a struggle for the improvement of individual human rights. That kind of struggle will continue as it continues in every country — the struggle for civil rights and improvements — it goes on in the United States, and I would like to hope that there is no longer any cause for concern and worry about civil rights in the United States. If this were the case, we might pay more attention to this line than we do now.

At the moment, these statements are a confirmation, an attempt to confirm and consolidate a status quo: in South Africa, no liberation movement, no national struggle, no armed struggle is necessary; only amendments to apartheid, permission to go into a theater — these are civil rights. The right to stand on the whole platform and not on one part of it, these are issues of civil rights. To be able to board any bus and not to be segregated in different buses. That is a question of civil rights. That is not our struggle. Our struggle is for the total transformation of the entire social and economic structure in favor of the majority of the people and for the benefit of the country as a whole. And for peace, because there will be no peace until we achieve that.