

GUERRILLAS AND MOVEMENTS-IN-EXILE

UNITED NATIONS CONSIDERATION OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Consideration by the UN General Assembly in 1972 of international violence and terrorism was described on page 106 of last year's *Survey*. As mentioned, it was recommended that an international convention on terrorism should be drawn up. The African and Arab blocs were adamant that any definition of international terrorism should exclude the liberation movements. A special ad hoc committee of the Assembly, representative of 35 nations, was appointed to consider the whole question.

The Committee met for nearly a month in July and August. It divided into three groups, one to try to define "international terrorism", a second to study its underlying causes, and a third to consider measures to eliminate the problem. None was able to reach any agreement.¹

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA

Financial assistance given by the World Council of Churches to certain liberation movements is described on page 39.

During December 1972 the U.N. General Assembly adopted by 124 votes to 2 (South Africa and Portugal), with no abstentions, a resolution sponsored by 41 African states. It called on the Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, to continue efforts to strengthen co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. This was particularly necessary, it was stated, in assisting "the victims of colonialism and apartheid in southern Africa" and in disseminating information about "the present grave situation in that area".

The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. R. Patricio, maintained that "the situation as concerns the two Portuguese states of Angola and Mozambique, integrated as they are in the multi-racial Portuguese nation, far from being grave, is very promising for the future socially, economically, and politically".

South Africa's Ambassador, Mr. Carl von Hirschberg, opposed the draft resolution "because of the imputations and the assertions it contains" which, South Africa believed, were "without foundation and unwarranted".²

It was announced during February³ that the incoming Labour Government in New Zealand had contributed about R4 500 to the

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 August.

² *Ibid.*, 15 December 1972.

³ *Star*, 12 February.

UN Trust Fund to help victims of "the repressive and discriminatory practices in South Africa, Namibia, and Rhodesia". The previous government had declined to make any such grant.

The UN and OAU jointly organized a conference held in Oslo from 9-14 April. Costs were met by the Nordic countries. The object was announced as being to consider non-violent ways of ending colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa, but, when the Norwegian Government offered to pay the travel and living costs of representatives of the liberation movements, it became clear that with their presence the conference would not confine itself to peaceful means of achieving its object. The British, American, and French governments decided not to send delegates (although representatives of non-governmental organizations in these countries attended). Delegate after delegate called for support for the armed struggle. It was reported that representatives of the liberation movements were widely accepted as the legitimate representatives of Africans in the countries of southern Africa.⁴

It was announced in May⁵ that a new All Africa Movement had been formed, with headquarters in London, constituting a broad front of the S.A. Communist Party-in-exile, the ANC-in-exile, and the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The object was to extend guerrilla activities in South Africa and Rhodesia. The movement was stated to have the backing of several communist countries and of certain left-wing elements in Britain. Among the leading figures were said to be Joe Slovo, Dr. Jusuf Dadoo, and Jack Hodgson.

Libya is reported⁶ to have made substantial financial contributions to the two Rhodesian nationalist movements-in-exile, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (Zapu) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (Zanu), and to have promised donations of arms and medicines.

According to a report published in September,⁷ Canada is to increase the non-military help it gives to guerrilla movements in Africa. Arab countries are doing so, too.

Other countries and organizations that are helping have been mentioned in previous issues of this *Survey*.

On 8 November, the General Assembly passed a lengthy resolution which, *inter alia*, reaffirmed the legitimacy of the "struggle for liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation by all available means, including armed struggle". This paragraph was approved by 82 votes to 12, with 23 abstentions. Botswana voted in favour of it. Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi and South Africa absented themselves from voting on this paragraph, but Lesotho voted for the resolution as a whole.⁸

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail and Star*, 11 April.

⁵ *Sunday Express*, 20 May.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 September.

⁷ *Star*, 26 September.

⁸ *Star*, 9 November.

ACTIVITIES IN THE CAPRIVI STRIP AND TRAINING OF SOUTH AFRICAN PERSONNEL

The Caprivi Strip, jutting out from South West Africa between Zambia and Botswana, is administered by South Africa and patrolled by S.A. policemen, white and black.

According to a Press report,¹ guerrillas from Zambia attacked a police post on the border during January, wounding six White and one Indian policemen.

At the extreme east point of the "Strip", on the Zambesi River, its border meets those of Zambia, Rhodesia, and Botswana. The villages of Kazungulu and Kasane are in Zambia and Botswana, just to the north and south, respectively, of the river. This has for long been a point of escape to the north for refugees from the Republic and South West Africa. A ferry operated by Zambians used to operate between the two villages, but it was reported² in March that the service had been suspended. S.A. police and Zambian troops were said to have been exchanging fire across the river.

It was announced in April³ that a party of South African African policemen, with a locally-employed African tracker, had been ambushed by guerrillas operating from Zambia while they were on foot patrol, well inside the borders of the "Strip". The guerrillas opened fire with machine guns, killing four policemen and the tracker. A few members of the party escaped.

During the following month several South Africans patrolling the area were injured, one seriously, when the wheel of their vehicle struck a landmine.⁴

In August, nearly 4 000 white S.A. troops were engaged in a six-day military exercise in Gazankulu, the Shangaan homeland in the northern Transvaal, which is fairly close to the Mozambique border. They temporarily recruited more than a hundred local men, nominated by the chiefs, to act as guides and trackers.

GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES IN RHODESIA

The background

As mentioned on page 109 of last year's *Survey*, there was little reported guerrilla activity in Rhodesia during most of 1972. Zapu and Zanu were said to be replanning their strategy. Heavy casualties had led to the abandonment of plans for direct armed confrontation. (The *Sunday Express* reported on 24 December 1972 that, since activities began in April 1966, at least 180 guerrillas had been killed and large numbers captured. Eighteen Rhodesian servicemen, white and black, had been killed.)

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 January.

² *Star*, 10 March.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 April.

⁴ *Ibid* 25 May.

Towards the end of 1972 the new tactics became evident. Guerrillas were no longer coming in camouflage uniforms, bearing arms and equipment, but were wearing nondescript civilian clothes, so that they could easily merge among local Africans. Their arms — lighter and more sophisticated ones — were smuggled in, in advance, and hidden in caches. They no longer sought direct confrontation, but engaged in hit and run tactics. When pursued, groups divided up, leaving a number of trails, meeting one another again some distance away. Local tribesmen were persuaded or coerced into giving assistance.

In a Press interview on 31 January¹ the Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, said that the situation was more serious than his Government had realized. Previously, security forces had been concentrated near the Zambian border. But a breakdown in security had enabled guerrillas to infiltrate tribal areas in the north-eastern corner of Rhodesia, near the Mozambique border: they had been doing so for six to seven months. The border was not easily defined, and Africans habitually moved to and fro across it. The country was extremely wild and difficult to patrol. A number of local Africans had been subverted. Some had been used as porters to bring in arms and ammunition, while others had been sent across the border for training in terrorism.

There are tribal trust lands in this area and also, around the villages of Centenary and Mount Darwin, farms owned by whites, producing mainly tobacco. It would appear, from various reports, that the infiltrators were mainly Zanu members, who had come via Mozambique with the help of Frelimo fighters in the Tete area.

Security forces were reported² to have discovered several caches of arms, including automatic rifles and pistols, light machine guns, grenades, rockets, mortars, various types of land mines, and plastic explosives, mainly of Chinese or Russian origin.

One of the new tactics used by infiltrators was to lay land-mines on dirt roads (or later, in the gravel on the sides of tar strip roads).

The Rhodesian security forces were stated³ to be co-operating with Portuguese troops across the Mozambique border. They had to continue guarding the Zambian border, and, as well, began patrolling the Botswana border. Various reports⁴ have indicated that guerrillas (possibly Zapu) have attempted to infiltrate Rhodesia via Botswana, and that, early in 1973, the Botswana authorities handed over about 28 Rhodesian Africans found in their territory.

Together with some six other liberation movements operating against Portuguese territories or originating in South Africa or

¹ e.g. *Star* of that date.

² e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 December 1972.

³ *Ibid.*, 23 December 1972.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 9 and 17 March.

South West Africa, Zapu and Zanu have their headquarters in the "Zambia National Liberation Secretariat" building in Lusaka, although the guerrilla bases may be in Mozambique or actually on Rhodesian soil.⁵ Further reports⁶ state that, during March, a special OAU committee with representatives from six countries visited Lusaka to try to resolve past differences between Zapu and Zanu leaders, and succeeded in obtaining an agreement for a joint political council and a joint military command. A third movement is Frolizi (Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe), formed in Lusaka in about 1971 by dissidents from Zapu and Zanu.

Landmines and attacks on farms

The initial phases of the new campaign by the guerrillas were the laying of landmines and a series of armed attacks on white farmers and their property in the Centenary area of north-east Rhodesia. The first was made on 21 December 1972 on the farmhouse of Mr. M. de Borchgrave: there was firing at night, and one of his small daughters was wounded. He and the rest of his family went to stay temporarily with a friend on a neighbouring farm. Two nights later this homestead, too, was attacked. This time, Mr. de Borchgrave and his other daughter were wounded. Next day, while security forces were searching for the guerrillas, a military vehicle set off a landmine on the farm. Four soldiers were injured, one of them, a white man, so seriously that he died soon afterwards.

There were further landmine explosions on 28 December, when three white soldiers were injured, and on 4 January, when one white and two African policemen were injured. During the manoeuvres concerned at least three guerrillas were killed and several captured, but a number escaped.

Army and Air Force leave was cancelled, police reservists (including many farmers) placed on two-hour standby, and territorial soldiers warned of likely short-term recall, which began on 6 January.

On 8 January there was an attack on the village of Mount Darwin. No-one was hurt, but a bridge was slightly damaged. On the same day, two white South African policemen were killed and two injured in a landmine explosion in the Victoria Falls area.

Closing of the border with Zambia

Next day, the Rhodesian Government announced that, in spite of a number of warnings, Zambia continued to harbour guerrillas and to allow them to operate from its territory. Until it ceased to do so, Rhodesia would close all border posts, except for exports of copper from Zambia. The Zambian Government retaliated by

⁵ *Ibid.* 17 March.

⁶ *Ibid.* 14 and 19 March.

closing the borders from its side and diverting copper exports. It was reported on 3 February⁷ that the border posts on the Rhodesian side were to be reopened because Mr. Smith's Government had been informed that its objects in closing them had been achieved. President Kaunda denied having made any concessions, and stated that he would consider reopening the Zambian border posts only if the Rhodesian Government began talks with African leaders who were under restriction about progress towards majority rule.⁸ (It was, however, reported subsequently⁹ that two main guerrilla camps near the southern Zambian border, between Kazungulu and Livingstone, had been removed.) Trains taking goods from S.A. to Zambia continue to cross the Victoria Falls bridge, changing locomotives halfway. The trucks are returned empty.

Between 11 January and 15 March, at least seven landmine blasts were reported, apparently in the Chirundu area of Zambia, near the point where the main road from Lusaka crosses the border into Rhodesia. It was stated that 13 Africans had been killed as a result, and 19 people injured, including women and children and a Briton. Zambia claimed that Rhodesians had laid the mines, but the Rhodesian Government firmly denied this. Several Press reports¹⁰ indicated that those responsible might, possibly, have been dissident Zambians: Zambian security men had been active in the area and had made a number of arrests.

Further attacks in the north-east, and preventive measures

On 11 January, three White Rhodesian land inspectors and eight African assistants were ambushed near Mount Darwin. Two of the Whites were murdered and the third, Mr. Gerald Hawkesworth, kidnapped. Nothing was heard of him until 5 February, when the Zanu leader, Mr. Herbert Chitepo, announced that he was being held as a prisoner-of-war in Mozambique. A little later, Zanu produced a letter from Mr. Hawkesworth to his mother, stating that he was well. On 10 October a message sent through an indirect channel again reported Mr. Hawkesworth to be well.*

The Rhodesian authorities set up roadblocks on roads in the northern part of the country. Vehicles coming from tribal areas were searched. Emergency Power (Collective Fines) Regulations were gazetted on 19 January, in terms of which such fines might be imposed on groups of Africans who failed to report the presence of guerrillas in their areas. A few days later the police seized cattle from a tribal trust farm to cover the payment of such a fine. After a clash between security forces and guerrillas in the Chiweshe tribal trust area, a little to the south of Centenary, all African schools and businesses in this area were closed by the authorities

⁷ *Sunday Times*, 4 February.

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 February.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 9 March.

¹⁰ c.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 January.

*He was released in December.

because, it was stated, they were regarded as security risks. A few weeks later similar action was taken in the Chesa African purchase area near Mount Darwin.

Security forces continued intensive ground and air patrols, and made rocket attacks on suspected guerrilla bases. It was announced from time to time that further guerrillas had been killed, wounded, or captured: their names and the numbers captured were not revealed. Casualties were suffered, too, by the security troops and police. The emergency regulations were again amended to increase from five to twenty years the maximum sentence on being found guilty of failing to report the presence of guerrillas as soon as possible. The Air Force dropped thousands of leaflets on tribal trust lands giving warning of these severe penalties.

But violence continued in the north-eastern district. On 24 January, Mrs. Ida Kleynhans was killed and her husband severely wounded when their farm near Centenary village was assailed. About ten days later there was a rifle and grenade attack on a farm a few kilometres to the east: a British visitor, Mr. L. Jellicoe, was killed and an African employee hurt. Two farm stores were looted. Mr. F. Odendaal beat off a prolonged attack on his farm and property on 24 April: as a police reservist he had adequate weapons and returned the fire of the guerrillas. On 16 May Mr. L. E. Konig was dragged from his home in the Mount Darwin area, shot, and killed, two of his African employees were killed, and another two abducted. Mr. L. B. Couve, who farmed nearby, was shot dead on 8 June.

Further casualties resulted from landmine explosions in the north-eastern district. An African truck driver was killed near Mount Darwin in June. During September a White woman was killed and her husband injured near Centenary, and, in another incident, a White and an African were hurt. A White South African policeman was killed in October and a companion seriously injured.

Security forces operating in the region killed or captured more guerrillas, but themselves suffered casualties. Some statistics are given later.

Attacks in other parts of Rhodesia

Violence spread to other areas. In February, Zambian troops opened fire on three White Rhodesian fishermen in a boat near Chirundu, killing one and wounding the others. At about the same time, a territorial soldier was killed and his six companions injured when their truck exploded a land mine on a road not far to the north of Salisbury.

Then there were attacks on farms in the north-western districts of Rhodesia, in the Karoi area. A farm homestead was set on fire during February. Next month, following an attack on a farm-

house and the looting of a store nearby which had a White woman in charge, there was a clash between security forces and guerrillas. Six of the latter were killed and a number (including Coloured men) captured. A White farmer on anti-terrorist duty was killed, and two others severely injured.

A further attack took place on a farm in the Wedza district to the south of Marandellas, a town on the railway line from Salisbury to Beira. The farmer, Mr. A. H. Joubert, was shot and killed, and a store on a neighbouring farm looted. Four guerrillas were reported to be in the area. Security forces tracked down two of them, killing one and wounding and capturing the other. A couple of weeks later an armed African, thought to be one of the band, was found in a bus at Enkeldoorn, about 130 km south of Salisbury. Security forces wounded and captured him.

Measures to protect farms

Farmers in isolated areas were advised by governmental officials to form district security committees which were incorporated into the national security network. Most of the men became police reservists and formed district Police Anti-terrorist Units (Patu), dividing their time between farming and patrolling, and while their husbands were on duty their wives did the farm work. The women mustered for field reserve training in the use of firearms, first aid, and radio operation.

The windows of farm houses were protected with screens of chicken wire as a first line of defence against hand grenades, and sandbagged inside. Some homes were surrounded by security fences. At the height of the emergency many families slept in different rooms each night, not allowing even their own employees to know their plans. Social life was curtailed to daylight hours: people invited to dinner stayed with their hosts overnight. Farmers were in radio contact with one another and the security forces.

More and more civilians were called up for duty, men in the older age groups being employed in office duties to relieve others for field work. This gradually afforded some relief to farmers, as reservists guarded vulnerable farms at night.

Penetration into towns

In March, the authorities warned townsmen that incidents of violence could not be ruled out in urban areas. Police, Whites and Africans, patrolled the streets of Salisbury. At the end of that month two armed Coloured men, alleged to be guerrillas, were arrested in Salisbury.

Mana Pools and Victoria Falls

During May a civilian, Mr. S. Escreet, was killed when the vehicle he was driving detonated a land mine in the Mana Pools

game reserve, in the far north of Rhodesia. His companion was injured. Three months later there was another landmine explosion in this reserve, injuring two members of the security forces. Two further explosions took place shortly afterwards: no details were released. It was announced on 3 October that this popular holiday resort had been closed to the public for security reasons.

On 15 May Zambian troops opened fire on four tourists who were in a gorge below the Victoria Falls, on the Rhodesian side of the border. Two young Canadian women were killed and an American man seriously wounded.

Guerrilla action against African tribesmen

It was mentioned earlier that guerrillas penetrating through Mozambique persuaded or coerced Africans in tribal areas near the border into giving assistance.

The Rhodesian Minister of Internal Affairs told Parliament on 2 May that three Africans had been executed by guerrillas for failing to help them, three African officials had been kidnapped but escaped, eighteen Africans had their huts burned and lost all their property, at least six African stores had been looted, and a number of tribesmen had been abducted for military training.

During the next few weeks three women were killed and several others maimed, guerrillas abducted 22 Africans, 12 of them women, several more stores were robbed and one burned, and two African policemen on patrol were kidnapped.

On 6 July, 17 guerrillas raided a mission school and hospital just to the north of Mount Darwin, abducting 240 pupils, 32 members of staff including teachers, nurses, and maids, and four local African women. The raiders divided into groups making forced marches along different routes through rugged country towards the border. They were hotly pursued by security forces who killed one guerrilla and rescued 191 children from one group. During the operations a schoolgirl was accidentally shot dead by an African policeman. Over the next eleven days more children and some members of staff were rescued, while others managed to escape in small groups and make their way back. It was reported on 17 July that, by then, all the children, teachers, and nurses had escaped or been rescued, but the guerrillas still held three African women maids and four local African women.

During this period, a party of African teachers from a small school set out in a truck to do shopping. The truck detonated a landmine, and two of the teachers were killed and six seriously injured. Another African vehicle driver was killed in a landmine explosion.

On 12 September guerrillas made a night raid on kraals, kidnapping about 96 people, mainly teenagers but including some adult men and women. They were split into four groups and force-marched by night towards the border. Security forces rescued

about 59 from one group and arrested their captors. Some 21 others were rescued later in small groups or succeeded in escaping. One of the boys said that the men and boys were to have been sent to Tanzania for military training. The girls were told that they would be sent to Lusaka.

The bodies of several Africans who had been murdered were found, and several women and girls were raped. On 30 September another school near Mount Darwin was raided. The African headmaster was murdered, his wife and the pupils being forced to watch.

Further amendments to the Emergency Powers (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations were gazetted in May, empowering the authorities to evacuate African tribesmen from the northern border area and to seize or destroy any property that might be used by guerrillas. The Minister of Information stated that people in this area could not lead normal lives because of the degree of intimidation to which they were being subjected. After screening, all those not suspected of crimes would be resettled in an area that was better watered than their present one.

Numbers killed, injured, or abducted

According to Press estimates and information given by Mr. Ian Smith, between December 1972 and 26 November, 179 guerrillas had been shot and killed or died of wounds. The number captured has not been disclosed.

Press estimates of casualties amongst Rhodesian civilians and members of the security forces (which include South African policemen) are:

- 43 civilians (including 14 whites) were murdered, died in action, or were killed in landmine blasts (the total number injured is not known);
- 26 members of the security forces were killed and 60 wounded;
- an unknown number of African civilians were abducted.

Trials of guerrillas and those assisting them

Between February and early August, at least thirteen African and one Coloured guerrillas were sentenced to death in Rhodesian courts. Of these, eleven were executed. One of the sentences was later commuted to life imprisonment. Two Coloured men were each jailed for 25 years, and two Africans each for 30 years, for entering the country as trained terrorists and for bearing arms.

A number of tribesmen received jail sentences for helping guerrillas to bring weapons of war into the country (one sentence of 18 years was reported) or for failing to report the presence in their areas of guerrillas (twelve men convicted of this offence in February were each sentenced to 3½ years' hard labour).

GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES IN MOZAMBIQUE

The general background

Guerrilla activity continues in the Niassa area in the extreme north-west of Mozambique adjoining Lake Malawi and the Tanzanian border, near Vila Cabral; in the Cabo Delgado area in the extreme north-east, adjoining the Tanzanian border and the sea; and in the Tete area which protrudes between Rhodesia, Zambia, and Malawi, where the Cabora Bassa dam is being built. The Nyaja tribes in the Niassa area and the Makonde people in the Cabo Delgado area both have close kinsmen living across the international borders and there is constant movement across these borders, hence it is comparatively easy for guerrillas to infiltrate. Moreover, in these remote areas Portuguese administration was never firmly established. Social development schemes are in recent years being accelerated, but for many years these were neglected, and tribesmen appear to have been fairly easily persuaded that they would be better off if the Portuguese left. Hence, many of them support the guerrillas — others have been coerced into doing so.

In the Tete area, too, the tribes, principally the Chewas, have close kinsmen across the international borders.¹

The Frelimo movement (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) began in the towns among educated Africans, thus it probably has considerable support there, but this is clandestine because of strict security police surveillance. Africans who have joined the security forces come mainly from the central and southern parts of the country, and have no tribal affiliations in the war zones.

Coremo (the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee) is a breakaway group from Frelimo, which operates mainly in the Tete area.

In recent months there has been a fourth front; Frelimo guerrillas coming from Zambia via the Tete district have penetrated further south, to the Vila Pery and Beira districts.

Portugal maintains about 60 000 troops in Mozambique, some 58 per cent of them Africans.² According to various reports³ quoting the Portuguese military command, during 1972 they killed 1 428 guerrillas, as against a monthly average of 18 Portuguese soldiers killed and 29 seriously wounded, mainly through mine blasts. About 300 guerrillas were captured or surrendered. During the first six months of 1973, 823 guerrillas were killed or seriously wounded and 82 were captured or surrendered.

It was stated that since the war began in 1964, the guerrillas had killed 689 civilians (nearly all Africans) and injured nearly

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 February.

² *Ibid.*

³ *c.g. Star*, 29 January and 5 July; *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 February and 17 July.

2 000. An estimated 6 500 people had been abducted to join the fighting forces or to act as bearers. Many were murdered because they refused to assist the guerrillas, and others killed or maimed by the explosion of landmines. In order to protect tribesmen in threatened areas and to prevent them from assisting guerrillas the Portuguese authorities have moved many of them into large protected villages. Leaflets warning against subversion have been scattered from the air, and similar warnings given through loudspeakers in the aircraft.

In the Tete, Vila Pery, and Beira areas the bush has been cleared or thinned along main roads and the railway lines. Armoured rail cars patrol the line, and troops the main roads, to search for land mines. River crossings are guarded by troops in their camouflage uniforms.

Niassa area

There has been considerably less fighting in this area during 1973. It was reported in October⁴ that, five months previously, a group of adults and children had been kidnapped from a village near Vila Cabral and marched to Tanzania. The five children in the group, aged from six to eleven years, were sent to a school where there were numbers of others who had been abducted by Frelimo. After some time, however, they escaped and made their way back to Mozambique through thick bush country. An army patrol found them wandering there.

Cabo Delgado area

Hit and run tactics have been continued, but in the Cabo Delgado area there are reported to have been six or more major attacks as well. One, in May, was on a village being built at Nangade to accommodate Makonde tribesmen. There were, apparently, no casualties from the mortar and rocket firing, but the building operations were impeded by the mining of roads to the coast and ambushing of supply convoys.⁵

An isolated Portuguese military post at Nazombe, 20 km from the Tanzanian border, was attacked by about 400 Frelimo men in June. They were repulsed and more than 50 of them killed, the Portuguese losing 10 men.⁶ During August, Frelimo bombarded a coastal town, about 110 km south of the Tanzanian border and four protected villages nearby, firing rockets, mortars, and automatic guns. They killed four people, wounded 49, and abducted 62 from one of the villages, mainly women and children.⁷ Another village, of 67 huts, was burned down in November, and 14 hostages abducted. A Frelimo leader who defected to the

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 October.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 20 June.

⁶ *Star*, 6 June.

⁷ *Star*, 10 August.

Portuguese said that Chinese advisers in Tanzania were helping to direct these attacks.⁸

Portuguese Army Special Groups tracked down some of the guerrillas responsible for these actions, reportedly killing 100 of them. Some of the troops were wounded; details were not given.⁹

Tete area

Guerrillas have continued to lay landmines on the road through the Tete area that links Rhodesia with Malawi, blowing up trucks, and have attacked convoys with brief bursts of firing. A landmine on the Beira-Tete railway line derailed the engine and six trucks of a goods train during February. There was a more severe explosion in May: two engines and sixteen trucks were badly damaged, the two drivers and two firemen killed, and seven railwaymen injured.

In the Tete area, too, there have been frontal attacks. In March a party of guerrillas estimated to number 100 crossed from Zambia and fired on a military post 10 km from the border. They were repulsed after several hours. Two weeks earlier another outpost had been unsuccessfully attacked. During July guerrillas fired a number of rockets at Estima, the command centre for forces defending the Cabora Bassa dam project. On 14 August rockets were fired at the town of Tete but did no harm to buildings there because troops prevented the guerrillas from getting within adequate range. A counter-attack was launched, heavy Frelimo casualties being reported.¹⁰

Many other guerrillas, said to be more than 200,¹¹ have been killed by troops on patrol or attacking Frelimo camps.

Some tribesmen are reported to have fled across the border into Rhodesia to escape the warfare. Others fled to Malawi when, on 24 October, guerrillas burned down their village of about 80 huts because they had refused to provide shelter and food.

Vila Pery and Beira districts

A first group of 90 guerrillas is said to have penetrated to the south of Tete late in 1972, and by June there were estimated to be 400 of them in the Vila Pery and Beira districts. By then they had killed about 20 people, including police and government officials, mainly in ambushes along roads. The authorities admitted that these infiltrators had had success in subverting local people, and it was planned to resettle nearly 250 000 Africans scattered in homes in the bush into villages that could be guarded. Frelimo's initial plans were, apparently, to strike at the power line being built to link the hydro-electric scheme at Cabora Bassa

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 August.

⁹ *Star*, 31 July.

¹⁰ *Star*, 15 August.

¹¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 January; *Star*, 31 July.

with the S.A. power network, to attack sugar and cotton estates, road traffic, and tourist resorts.¹²

At the time of writing the guerrillas had not penetrated as far south as the Beira-Rhodesia road and railway line. On 1 July, however, they opened fire on a light aircraft that landed at a tourist camp to the north of the Gorongosa Game Reserve (which is roughly 150 km from Beira by road). Of the four occupants of the aircraft, one was killed and two wounded. On 19 July about 90 rounds of automatic fire were shot at the main Chitengo tourist camp in the game reserve. No-one was hurt, but some buildings were damaged.

During the same month, two paratroopers were killed in an ambush along a road running to the north of the reserve, and trucks passing along this road were shot up.

Allegations of atrocities

According to Press reports during January,¹³ two Roman Catholic priests who had been in jail for some 18 months finally appeared in a military court in Lourenço Marques on charges of having made seditious statements. They had, apparently, alleged that troops had set fire to some African huts, burning at least eight Africans to death. One of the priests was reported to have been given a suspended sentence of 20 months plus a fine of about R36, and the other a sentence of 5 months plus a fine of about R123. It seems that they left Mozambique afterwards. Two more priests were in jail awaiting trial.

A British priest and three Spaniards (who had all been expelled from Mozambique) alleged¹⁴ that there had been four massacres in the Tete area. In the latest and worst, occurring towards the end of 1972, Portuguese forces had bombed a village and subsequently razed it to the ground, killing more than 400 people. One of the priests said he had seen an old man lynched and three men and a woman shot, their bodies then being burned.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese forces categorically denied these allegations.¹⁵ Out of 300 to 400 priests working in the war zones, he said, only seven had made allegations of atrocities. Over a period of 2½ years ten such occurrences had been reported, eight of which reports, on investigation, proved to be false. Two soldiers were to be tried, one for having killed two people in the Cabo Delgado area, and the other for having killed three or four in the Tete district. Some civilians inevitably suffered in the fighting, he added, for example if they were present in an enemy base that was bombed. But efforts were made to prevent this. A base from which Frelimo penetrated to the

¹² *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 June.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 17 and 27 January.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 12 July; *Star*, 13 July.

¹⁵ *Star*, 13 July.

south had recently been bombed, but 15 days beforehand the people there had been warned from an aircraft which flew low and used sky-shouting equipment and dropped thousands of leaflets. But civilian casualties resulting from such bombings were totally different from purposeful killing, which was completely contrary to official policy. The Portuguese embassy in Pretoria stated that the British priest had been expelled because of his proved complicity with Frelimo.

It was reported during the following month¹⁶ that senior army officers had been rigorously examining the allegations. Court martial action was to follow the discovery of at least one case of what appeared to have been unnecessary killing in a village in the Tete area. Some human remains had been found among charred personal possessions.

On 25 September it was announced¹⁷ that the Governor and Military Commander of the Tete district had been dismissed suddenly. He was ultimately responsible for the area, and, whether he knew of it or not, it seemed that a massacre had, in fact, taken place on 16 December 1972 at Wiliamo Village. During a hunt for guerrillas, black and white troops had shot at about 100 civilians, of whom 20 to 30 survived. No information had come to light about the 400 casualties mentioned by the priests.

It would appear that there may have been Frelimo casualties that were not attributable to enemy action. The Frelimo leader who defected to the Portuguese in July was reported¹⁸ to have said that he did so because he had received orders from his superiors in Tanzania to kill his own men if they showed signs of cowardice or disillusion.

The two priests who remained in jail were formally charged in August¹⁹ with treason and subversion. It was alleged that they had given direct help to Frelimo guerrillas, had encouraged local tribesmen to co-operate with them, and had spread false information about massacres. They would be tried in open court before a military tribunal.

It was announced on 16 November, however, that the Portuguese Government had granted an amnesty for certain classes of prisoners, which would apply to the two priests. They were repatriated to Spain.

ANGOLA

It appears that there have been no major developments in Angola during the year under review. The MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), based in Zambia, appears still to be the most active of the guerrilla movements.

¹⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 August.

¹⁷ *Star*, 25 September.

¹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 August.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 13 August.

It operates in the south-east of the territory. In this area, as in Mozambique, the Portuguese have resettled many tribesmen in defended villages. Holden Roberto's UPA (Union of the Peoples of Angola), based in Zaire, operates in the north of the territory.

PORTUGUESE GUINEA

The guerrilla force attacking Portuguese Guinea is the PAIGC (African Party for Independence for Guinea and Cabo Verde). Its leader, Amilcar Cabral, was assassinated in January, apparently by the leader of a dissident faction. There was stated¹ to have been friction between the fighters and the intellectual leadership, and between Coloured Cape Verdeans and Africans.

In a Press interview on 25 January, the Portuguese Governor-General indicated that not many of the Africans of the Portuguese Province of Guinea supported the PAIGC. Close on half of the troops in the territory were local Africans. The government was engaged in a vigorous programme of social upliftment.

In spite of the internal difficulties within the PAIGC, it apparently continued its offensive. A Lisbon report in June² stated that there had been heavy fighting. Over a 14-day period, at least 183 guerrillas and 38 Portuguese soldiers had been killed. The guerrillas are said³ to possess Russian ground-to-air missiles with which they shot down several aircraft.

It was reported in October⁴ that the PAIGC controlled large parts of the countryside, but not the towns. In mid-1973, regional councils elected in fifteen areas set up a central PAIGC council of state, and declared this to be the new government of the country. Several states have already recognized it as such.

In a letter to the *Star*,⁵ however, the Portuguese Ambassador in South Africa quoted from a speech made by the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Rui Patricio, to the UN General Assembly. The PAIGC was established in the Republic of Guinea/Conakry, he said, and not in the Portuguese Province of Guinea. During a Press conference at the UN Headquarters Dr. Patricio had stated that the Portuguese Government would welcome a visit by a senior UN office-bearer to any part of the Portuguese Province, at any time that such an official so wished.

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 January; *Star*, 29 January.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 June.

³ *Star*, 4 July.

⁴ *Star*, 11 October, and the *Economist*, 6 October.

⁵ 23 October.