

Everywhere a hit-and-run war— and no sign of "freed territories"

silence while they "swept" the area, probing every inch of cover. When they filtered back to the convoy an officer told us: "A couple of them probably came down from the ridge to get some food. They must have heard us coming."

The following day, from a helicopter, we watched the Tropa Especial, Portuguese commandos who have become experts in bush warfare, go into action against the guerrillas on the ridge.

Several sharp bursts of automatic rifle fire sent up flocks of brightly-hued birds from the trees below. Thin strands of smoke hung on the heavy air. A group of 12 "freedom fighters," hands clasped above their heads, appeared in a clearing at gun point.

The prisoners were not handled gently. The Tropa Especial had just heard about another guerrilla raid, this one at Cafungo, a small settlement on the edge of the eucalyptus forest where Angola meets the former Belgian Congo.

At dawn a few days earlier about 50 labourers who chop fuel wood for the British-owned Benguela Railway, a vital link between the Central African copper belt and the Atlantic coast, were travelling to work on two trailers drawn by a tractor.

A burst of machine-gun fire from the trees killed the tractor driver. As the forestry workers, all local Africans, tumbled from the trailers they came under automatic rifle fire from all sides.

The attack killed 17 and wounded 30. Within an hour a Portuguese patrol was on the spot, but the guerrillas had fled, leaving a trail which led to the Congo border.

Mobutu angered

In Addis Ababa the Organisation for African Unity congratulated the guerrillas, men of Roberto Holden's Angolan Liberation Front, on their success. But a senior O.A.U. official commented in private to Close-Up that whoever had ordered the shooting "was an ass."

In Congo Kinshasa, where the movement is based, President Mobutu, who relies on the Benguela Railway to export his Katangese copper, was reported to have been angered by the attack.

This is the pattern of war in Angola, a war which Portugal has been waging for eight years and to which she has committed some 80,000 troops and 40,000 African soldiers and Home Guard.

There was an increase in guerrilla activity from 1966 when the Popular Movement for Angolan Liberation Front, launched new breakaway group, launched new attacks in eastern Angola from Zambia.

travelling in the bush areas of northern Mozambique is hazardous because of guerrilla activity. But Close-Up travelled many of the main roads unhampered.

Accepting that in the vast expanses of wild bush country FRELIMO guerrillas might have been conducting morning assembly in an alfresco classroom, it was difficult to accept this as "liberated territory". Portuguese forces are here in strength. Guerrilla actions are sporadic, and it is certain they are launched and sustained from the Tanzanian bases. The situation hardly amounts to insurgent "control".

The war has achieved something for the warlike Macondes, from which FRELIMO recruits many of its guerrillas, and other tribes in the northern regions. For the first time the Portuguese are spending large sums on developing the area with new roads and agricultural reform programmes.

The epicentre of the war in Mozambique, however, is now switching from these northern regions to the Tete district, where work has just started on the massive Cabora - Bassa hydro-electricity scheme.

This joint Portuguese-South African project is to construct a 500-foot dam on the Zambezi to provide power for southern Mozambique and South Africa. It would have tremendous economic impact on central and southern Africa and could attract one million White settlers to the territory.

Both FRELIMO and its small but active rival, the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee (COREMO) have made the Cabora-Bassa scheme their priority target. "We shall either destroy the dam or make it completely uneconomical," a COREMO man told us in the movement's Lusaka H.Q.

As in Angola, there is an absence of popular support for the insurgents except among the Maconde tribe.

The most significant factor about the revolutionary campaigns in both Angola and Mozambique was the sudden and simultaneous intensification of activity in the summer of 1966.

Portuguese forces in both territories became aware that the guerrillas were using more advanced tactics and more sophisticated weapons than before. The reason was simple: large cadres had just returned from courses at military training centres in Communist countries, and a constant supply of Russian and Chinese arms was being shipped into Black Africa.

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there have been several instances of villagers reporting the presence of armed strangers.

There is no indication of warfare being waged continuously on Rhodesian soil.

SOUTH AFRICA has watched with increasing concern the assaults on its northern neighbours—Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique. The Prime Minister, Dr. Vorster is only too aware that his country is the main target of all African nationalists.

During the past year South African forces have been helping the Rhodesian security forces in the Zambesi Valley "to give our boys practical experience in bush warfare".

The South Africans also have a large military staff, headed by a colonel, in Dr. Banda's friendly Malawi, through which many Mozambiquan and Rhodesian guerrillas travel.

In Pretoria Close-Up was assured by a senior official that the South Africans knew of at least 3,000 "young Bantu" who had been trained in Communist countries and who were sitting with Russian and Chinese arms in other African countries "waiting to attack."

In the former mandated territory of South-West Africa, some 3,000 South African troops are stationed along the northern borders with Angola and in the Caprivi Strip, a thin finger of land jutting into Zambia. There is also a large operational air base in Caprivi and armed South

African helicopters are a familiar sight in the area.

This force has been in action against rebels of the South-West Africa People's Organisation, a small but well-trained and equipped force which infiltrates through Zambia and Angola into the Ovambo tribal area, from which most of them have been recruited.

The gravity with which the South Africans view the threat was reflected in an unprecedented military exercise last August. Code-named "Operation Sibasa," the exercise involved 5,000 troops in nine days of manoeuvres in the Northern Transvaal.

"Operation Sibasa" was announced shortly after Mr. Vor-

ster and Mr. Ian Smith of Rhodesia met and discussed the theory of "hot pursuit" of infiltrators into Zambia.

Zambia, the cockpit of Africa, is also the epicentre of the threatened "African revolution." As we have shown, the Zambian Government condones and controls the operations of guerrillas from its territory. But Close-Up found that the fears of South African, Rhodesian or Portuguese pre-emptive raids into Zambia were very real in Lusaka.

Not so long ago, Mr. Pieter Botha, South African Defence Minister, told Parliament in Cape Town that "countries providing bases for terrorists operating against South Africa should note that this could lead to South

Africa hitting back hard." In Lusaka that warning was taken in conjunction with the build-up of the large South African force based on Caprivi Strip, a force much larger than the sporadic S.W.A.P.O. incursions would appear to warrant.

But while South Africa is waving its iron fist, it is also making elaborate economic overtures to the Zambians under Mr. Vorster's verligte or outward-looking policy.

This come-into-my-affluent-parlour technique has worked with Malawi and shows signs of winning South Africa friends in other parts of Black Africa. The economic aspects must be tempting—and the only strings would be the denial of access to the

freedom fighters. But President Kaunda is the man least likely to befriend South Africa.

The much-vaunted TanZam railway, a project to link Zambia's copper mines to the Tanzanian coast through 1,000 miles of Africa's trickiest terrain, has begun. After years of discussions and surveys by Western consortiums the contract has gone to the Chinese. Already, 1,200 Chinese technicians have arrived in Africa, 350 of them in Zambia, to begin survey work. Experts say the railway will take at least 10 years to complete.

No doubt the question has already been posed in Peking and Pretoria: what logistical difference could that railway make to the Black offensive on the White

fortress? And is it just coincidence that the Zambians order ground-to-air missiles at the same time as the South Africans announce the firing of their own short-range rocket on a Zululand range?

It is this evidence of an African arms race, coupled with the increasing Communist influence, that leads Close-Up to its conclusion. Today, the "war of liberation" means guerrillas slowly nibbling away at the White fortress without any major victories. Tomorrow, if the massive Communist aid continues at its present rate, it could turn Central Africa into a world flashpoint—an African Vietnam, as prophesied by President Kaunda.

THE END



African soldiers helping to guard Rhodesia's northern border.



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There was an increase in guerrilla activity from 1966 when the Popular Movement for Angolan Liberation began the fight for Total Independence of Angola, a breakaway group, launched new attacks in eastern Angola from Zambia.

Nevertheless the freedom fighters have achieved little more



Rhodesian official picture of rocket launcher and rocket of Communist origin captured from terrorists.

in military terms than harassment by ambush and hit-and-run. Close-Up has found no evidence that any well-populated area has been "liberated" or that guerrillas control any significant sector of the territory.

The key to this lack of success lies in the fact that they are not getting the support of Angolan Africans. Close-Up found that the peasant population, especially in the border areas where most of the action is, are terrified of both sides. But they see and understand that the Portuguese are the stronger, using sophisticated N.A.T.O. aircraft and weapons. They would rather flee than offer help to the rebels.

The Portuguese have trained "Home Guard" units of tribesmen. They have also concentrated on propaganda aimed at showing the freedom fighters as marauding bandits and murderers. As a result the guerrillas still have to operate from over the borders.

While the Portuguese accept that they are unlikely to crush guerrilla activity entirely, they are determined to secure every inch of their African frontiers.

Portugal's new Prime Minister, Dr. Caetano, has made it clear that he intends to follow this policy, set down by Dr. Salazar, despite the fact that around 40 per cent. of his country's budget goes on the defence of the African territories.

★ **MOZAMBIQUE**, Portugal's eastern colony and the other flank of the White fortress, is faced with much the same situation as Angola. Some 45,000 Portuguese troops ceaselessly patrol several hundred square miles of bleak bush territory in the northern part of the territory, which borders on Tanzania.

It is from the many camps in southern Tanzania that the Mozambique Liberation Front launches its guerrilla attacks. FRELIMO claims to have 10,000 trained fighters inside the territory controlling the northern fifth of Mozambique. Its ambassadors are fond of flourishing pictures showing open-air schools and field hospitals which they say were taken in the two "liberated" provinces of Cabo Delgado in the North-east and Niassa, adjoining Lake

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RHODESIA at this period became aware that large scale guerrilla offensives were being prepared in Zambia by the banned Z.A.P.U., the Zimbabwe African People's Union and Z.A.N.U., the Zimbabwe African National Union. After six years of minor incursions and internal subversion, Z.A.P.U. in 1966 had formed a military alliance with the African National Congress of South Africa, a Soviet-sponsored organisation, and Z.A.N.U. linked itself with the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa, under Chinese influence. Larger infiltration duly followed.

In March, last year, the largest incursion was discovered when a Rhodesian game warden came across a footprint of an American sports boot (sold widely in Black Africa at £7 10s. a pair) which guerrillas were known to favour.

Rhodesian security forces picked up the trail and found that about 100 men had established five strategically placed and well-camouflaged bunkers in a wooded, hilly area east of Lake Kariba in the Zambesi Valley.

This group appeared to have been crossing the Zambesi frequently, building up stockpiles of arms and ammunition without being spotted. Another group of 50 crossed from Zambia near the Kariba dam in August, last year.

In both cases the Rhodesian forces, by this time reinforced by some 300 of South Africa's paramilitary police, were able to kill or capture most of the rebels.

'Red Frontier'

According to official Rhodesian figures, 160 guerrillas have been killed for the loss of 12 Rhodesians, including Black troops of the Rhodesian African Rifles. One South African policeman has also been killed in action in Rhodesia.

To the Rhodesians the Zambesi River is now, as their propaganda puts it, "The Red Frontier" of Africa.

The Zambesi valley is about the least hospitable terrain to be found anywhere in Africa.

The Jesse bush and the wage 'n betje bush grow almost visibly during the wet season. In October temperatures reach 120°F. and it can take several hours for an armed patrol to cover two miles.

In these conditions one battalion of the Rhodesian African Rifles and one battalion of the Rhodesian Light Infantry are committed to full-time border patrol with a Special Air Service squadron in support.

When guerrilla presence is proved, a code-named operation is launched immediately. Other regular troops are flown to the valley with the Royal Rhodesian Air Force carrying out air reconnaissance and, if possible, air-to-ground strikes.

In the event of a large incursion, Rhodesia's 7,000 territorial reservists are also placed on alert. Around the town of Feira on the Mozambique border, Rhodesian forces maintain constant radio link with the Portuguese troops.

The South Africans in Rhodesia patrol the western sector.

Internal security is efficient. There is little evidence that the tribesmen and villages in the Zam-

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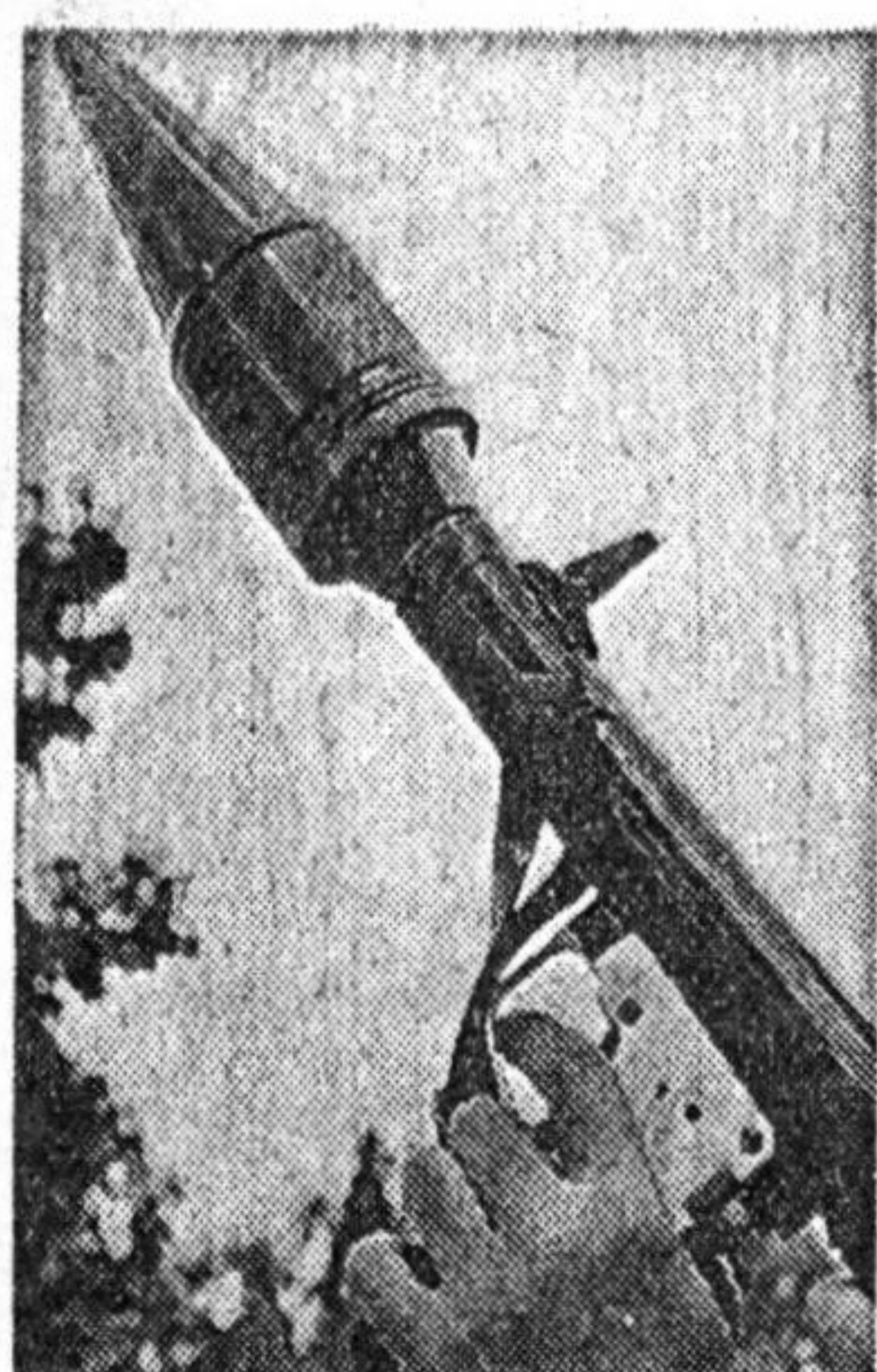
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