

by avert and covert manoeuvres to regroup reaction in the South to meet a threat which they rightly consider common to them all. It will no doubt, attempt to use its considerable resources to pre-empt the full consequences of the recent events. If we do not succeed in creating a liberation unity as a counter to this, we will miss an historic opportunity.

4. Our liberation movement must (even apart from the alliance referred to in 3) urgently strengthen a working relationship with FRELIMO so as to work effectively and co-ordinate our strategies. It has become more urgent than ever to pursue the decision that was taken on this question at the last R.C. meeting.

We all know that our considerable efforts up to now have been hampered by the absence of a friendly border and proper lines of communication between internal forces and external resources. It is only when this became possible on a meaningful scale for ZANU through North-East Mozambique that a sustained impact is being made by its guerrilla forces. No doubt other exile groups from South Africa must be thinking along the same lines, and unless we stake our claim at the earliest stage we might find ourselves effectively excluded and replaced by these groups to the detriment of the whole future of our struggle.

In regard to the broader alliance mentioned in paragraph 3, we appreciate that there are a number of problems of implementation connected, among other things, with the existence of competing groups in most of the territories, some of whom, despite their negative role, unfortunately still find sponsorship from a few African countries who otherwise play a very positive role on liberation questions. If this factor makes impossible an early joint conference between the genuine liberation movements, the holding of bilateral meetings between the ANC and each of the others may be a good beginning in pursuit of the objectives of more general collaboration.

the ruling class on the most effective answer to this threat. These contradictions which cannot in themselves trigger off any fundamental change, become an important factor in the capacity of the enemy to maintain its cohesion and solidarity.

For all these reasons it is becoming more vital now than ever before for our whole movement to exploit to the full the possibilities which have opened up. More particularly:-

1. It has become a matter of the greatest priority to mount effective operations against the enemy within our own country to complement the current upsurge of manifold resistance by our people. Such actions will not only serve to advance the struggle but will also demonstrate both to the people of South Africa and the world that the ANC is the main force in the struggle against the racist colonial regime in South Africa. This will also inevitably demoralize the enemy even further and reduce his readiness to commit his armed forces outside South Africa.

2. It is also vital to mount an intensified propaganda drive amongst our people, to encourage the feeling which must be spreading, that radical change in the whole of Southern Africa has become a more realistic immediate perspective. In addition, our slogans and message must deepen their understanding of the measures which are necessary to enable them to act as an effective organised force.

3. It is now, more than ever, vital for the liberation forces in the whole of Southern Africa to establish a broad alliance and closer collaboration for the implementation of revolutionary strategy in the complex as a whole. A united approach, not only politically, but also in the practical field, is in the interest, not only of our own struggle, but also of the genuine liberation movements in all the territories. It can be expected that South Africa will respond to the changed situation

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John P. de
annexure

ON THE PORTUGUESE COUP DeBAT

The recent events in Portugal have enormous significance, not only for the liberation forces in the Portuguese territories in Africa, but also for Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. It is too early yet to predict whether the democratic political energies which have been released in Portugal by the recent coup will be sustained and powerful enough to force an immediate settlement in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola on the only acceptable basis - a handing over to the real liberation movements immediate and genuine independence.

But it is in any case obvious that the recent events have made the conditions of struggle immeasurably more favourable, not only for the freedom forces of the Portuguese territories, but also for those in the other unliberated territories. It is reasonable to predict that even in the absence of a negotiated settlement in Mozambique, rapid advances will be made by the forces of FRELIMO there.

The developments in Portugal and the resultant consequences in Portugal's colonies have a significant bearing on our own struggle viz:-

(a) An important pillar of the tripartite alliance - Portugal - will either be eliminated or weakened considerably in its capacity to sustain its armed operations.

(b) Conditions for struggle by the Zimbabwean forces will become increasingly more favourable in direct proportion to the successes of FRELIMO, with Smith facing a situation in which he has no safe access to the coast except through South Africa and a hostile border of over 1,000 miles.

(c) In South Africa itself the masses of our people will gain enormous encouragement from the changed and changing situation. Within the enemy camp, the fear of the liberation forces creeping closer is no longer a projection for the future, but an immediate reality, and we can as a result, expect an increase in the tensions and contradictions within

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