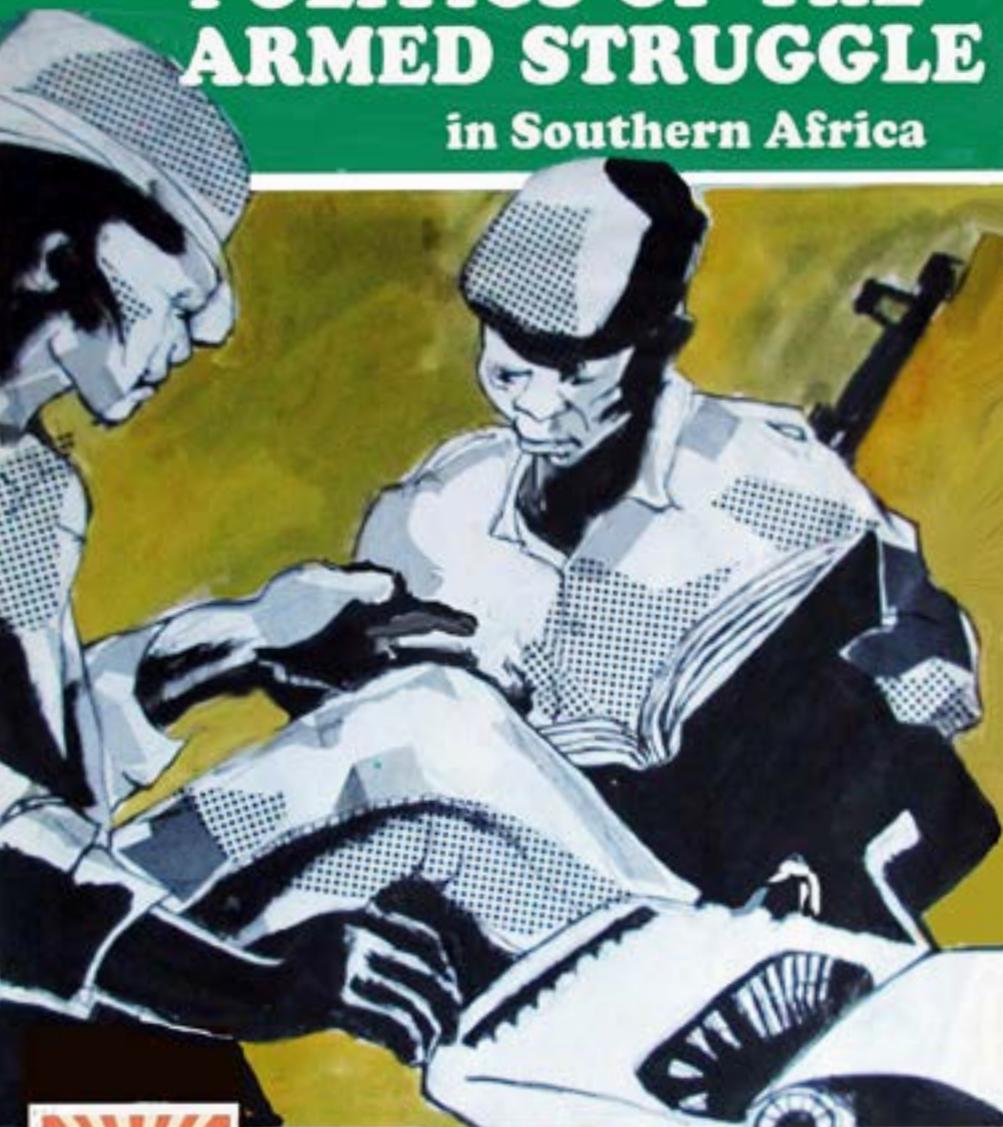
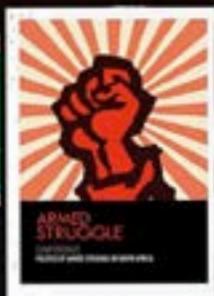


Conference
**POLITICS OF THE
ARMED STRUGGLE**
in Southern Africa



CONFERENCE PROGRAMME & INFORMATION

University of the Witwatersrand
John Moffat Building / East Campus
23 - 25 November 2016



THE POLITICS OF ARMED STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA



In recent years, southern Africa's armed struggle has been the subject of intense discussions both at the scholarly level and in public discourse, with debates around the relative 'success' or 'failure' of armed tactics and the transition from non-violent to armed resistance being among the most controversial. Yet these debates need to be grounded in a deeper understanding of the historical context and of the changing internal and international conditions within which the armed struggle emerged and developed over the years. Moreover, with few exceptions, the experiences of former military cadres, particularly at rank and file level, remain untold and undocumented.

The conference seeks to open up new areas of research and new conversations on this topic which, in spite of its historical significance as a key strategy of the liberation movements over many years and carrying a lot of weight in the lives of thousands of people, has remained difficult to document and understand, not least because of its sensitive nature and associated secrecy. One of the conference's key aims is to provide a space for recounting narratives of the armed struggle from the perspective of its protagonists. A second aim is to make an intellectual contribution to the historiography of the liberation struggle by generating original research and developing new questions and ideas on the armed struggle. Thirdly, the conference aims to foreground the regional dimension of the armed struggle in southern Africa and the reciprocal influence of struggles in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique and Angola.

This conference on the history and politics of the armed struggle in southern Africa is hosted by the Wits History Workshop, the Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (MISTRA) and South African History Online (SAHO). The conference is being funded by the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIHSS) with the support of the French Institute of South Africa (IFAS) and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (RLS).

Wednesday 23rd November

Registration

Time: 15:00 – 17:30

Venue: Foyer – John Moffat Building

The exhibition 'Recollecting Samora - Thirty Years On'

on display in the foyer of the nearby William Cullen Library (curated by Gabriele Mohale and Ruth Muller)

Posters of the Armed Struggle in Southern Africa

on display in the Moffat Building foyer (curated by Judy Seidman)

Opening Public Dialogue:

'The Armed Struggle: Was it Worth It?'

Time: 18:00 – 19:30

Venue: Dorothy Susskind Auditorium, John Moffat Building

Speakers:

Dumiso Dabengwa

Terry Bell

Ayanda Dlodlo

Chair: Adam Habib



Thursday 24th November

Welcome and Opening Remarks

Time: 08:30 – 9:00

Venue: Dorothy Susskind Auditorium, John Moffat Building

First Keynote Address: 'Storied Wars: Personal Narratives and Liberation Struggle Histories'

Time: 9:00 – 9:45

Venue: Dorothy Susskind Auditorium

Speaker: Jocelyn Alexander

Second Keynote Address: 'The Hero & the New Intellectual: Writing and the Armed Struggle'

Time: 9:45 – 10:45

Venue: Dorothy Susskind Auditorium

Speaker: Mandla Langa

Comments & questions

Tea & Coffee

Time: 10:45 – 11:15

Venue: Foyer – John Moffat Building

PARALLEL PANELS 1-2-3-4

Time: 11:15 – 12:45

Panel 1: Strategic and Tactical Turning Points in South Africa’s Liberation Struggle (Part 1)

Venue: John Moffat Building Room A2

Panellists:

1. **Z. Pallo Jordan and Mac Maharaj:** ‘South Africa and the Turn to Armed Resistance’
2. **Simon Stevens:** ‘The “Turn to Armed Struggle” and the “Turn to Sanctions”, 1960-1969’
3. **Dale McKinley:** ‘Umkhonto We Sizwe: A Critical analysis of the armed struggle of the African National Congress’

Chair: Tshepo Moloji

Panel 2: Film Screening

‘Cuba-South Africa: After the Battle’

(Dir: Estella Bravo, 1991, 58 minutes)

Introduced by: Robert van Niekerk

Venue: Dorothy Susskind Auditorium, John Moffat Building

Chair: TBC

Panel 3: Patriotic History and the Politics of Memory in Namibia and Zimbabwe

Venue: John Moffat Extension Building Room 001

Panellists:

1. **Joseph Mujere, Joost Fontein and Munyaradzi Elton Sagiya:** “Those who are not known, should be known by the country”: Patriotic history, liberation heritage and the politics of recognition in Gutu district, southern Zimbabwe’
2. **Henning Melber:** ‘Armed Liberation Struggle and the Post-colonial narrative in Namibia’
3. **Samukele Hadebe:** ‘Challenges in Memorializing ZPRA Legacy’

Chair: Jocelyn Alexander

Panel 4: Military Veterans Post-Liberation

Venue: John Moffat Extension Building Room 101

Panellists:

1. **Frederick Sadomba:** ‘Psycho-social strains of Transition for Zimbabwean Excombatants and its Effect on Peace-building and Post-conflict Recovery, 1980-2016’
2. **Zandisiwe Radebe:** ‘Negotiated out of existence: Fanonian mediations on APLA and AZANLA combatants’
3. **Fumani Mthembi:** ‘From Commissar to Obscurity: The Role of Disorganisation in The Struggle for Liberation’

Chair: Judy Seidman

Lunch

Time: 12:45 – 13:45

Venue: Foyer – John Moffat Building

Lunch time Film Screening

Dieci giorni con i guerriglieri del Mozambico libero (Ten Days with the Guerrillas in Mozambique’s Liberated Areas)

(Dir: Franco Cigarini, Italy, 1972, 23 min).

Introduced by: Chiara Torcianti

Venue: Dorothy Susskind Auditorium, John Moffat Building



PARALLEL PANELS 5-6-7-8-9

Time: 13:45 – 15:15

Panel 5: Strategic and Tactical Turning Points in South Africa's Liberation Struggle (part 2)

Venue: John Moffat Building Room A2

Panellists:

1. **Patrick Mangashe:** 'The armed struggle, the underground and mass mobilisation in South Africa's border region between 1986-1990 through the experiences of MK cadres'
2. **Nkululeko Mabandla:** 'The 1980s student movement and South Africa's armed struggle'
3. **Mike Mzimasi Hala:** 'The Military and the Political in MK Actions in the 1980s: A View from a Senior MK Combatant (Special Ops)'

Chair: Mandla Langa

Panel 6: Biography and Histories of the Armed Struggle

Venue: John Moffat Building Rooms A3

Panellists:

1. **Tshepo Moloi:** "'You have to think of tomato sauce": The life and times of Thembuyise Simon Mndawe, an MK cadre'
2. **Christian Williams:** 'Exile Biography and Un-National History: The Story of Kaufilewa Nepelilo'
3. **Hugh Macmillan:** 'Jack Simons and armed struggle'
4. **Miguel Junior:** 'Agostinho Neto and the armed struggle in Southern Africa (Angola, 1961-1979)'

Chair: Alex Lichtenstein

Panel 7: The Media and Representations of the Armed Struggle

Venue: John Moffat Extension Building Room 001

Panellists:

1. **Ishmael Makanyisa:** 'The role of the media during the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe from 1966 – 1979'
2. **Naitsikile lizyenda:** 'Defending South West: Paratus and the Power of Persuasion'
3. **Garrett Eriksen:** 'Stories, Shadows and Dust: A filmmaker's experience documenting the stories of SADF veterans of the South African Border War'

Chair: Omar Badsha

Panel 8: The Armed Struggle in Poems

Venue: John Moffat Extension Building Room 101

Panellists:

1. **Helen Douglas:** 'Need I Remind Anyone Again?'
2. **Benny Moyo**
3. **Makhosazana Xaba:** 'Journeying'

Chair: Barry Gilder

Panel 9: Film Screening:**Action Kommandant**

(Dir. Nadine Cloete, South Africa, 2016, 90 minutes)

Venue: Dorothy Susskind Auditorium, John Moffat Building

Tea & Coffee

Time: 15:15 – 15:45

Venue: Foyer – John Moffat Building

PARALLEL PANELS: Panels 10-11-12-13

Time: 15:45 – 17:15

Panel 10: Gendering the Armed Struggle

Venue: John Moffat Building Room A2

Panellists:

1. **Jefferson Ndimande:** 'The Subaltern Speaks: ZPRA Women Combatants and the Liberation War in Zimbabwe'
2. **Jonna Katto:** 'Beautiful Mozambique Haptics of belonging in the life narratives of female war veterans'
3. **Bheki R Mngomezulu:** 'Being the shadow of men: Women's role in the armed struggle in Southern Africa with specific reference to Ingwavuma'

Chair: Anne Heffernan

Panel 11: Counterinsurgency and Ethnic Politics within the Armed Struggle

Venue: John Moffat Building Room A3

Panellists:

1. **Garth Benneyworth:** 'Bechuanaland's aerial pipeline: State surveillance, repression and counter-insurgency, 1960-1964'
2. **Lennart Bolliger:** 'The Post-War Life Trajectories and Historical Narratives of Black Namibian and Angolan ExKoevoet and 32 Battalion Members'
3. **John Mwangi Githigaro:** '(Re)visiting the Impact of Ethnic Divisions in the Armed Struggle in Zimbabwe'
4. **Calisto Samuel Remedios Baquete:** 'Genesis of Movements of opposition to Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) in period from 1960 to 1994. The case of COREMO'

Chair: Saneze Tshayana

Panel 12: Film Screening

The Routes to Freedom

(Dir: Patrick Ricketts, South Africa, 60 mins)

Venue: Dorothy Susskind Auditorium, John Moffat Building

Introduced by: **Anton Fisher & Patrick Ricketts**

Chair: Thula Simpson

Panel 13: Mapping the Armed Struggle

Venue: A3 John Moffat Extension Building Room 101

Panellists:

1. **Godfrey Maringira:** "'Underground Operations": Azania People's Liberation Army guerrillas in South Africa'
2. **Jephias Andrew Dzimbahete:** 'Sources about guerrilla activities in the Rhodesian countryside during Zimbabwe's armed struggle: the case of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) field reports'
3. **Asa Mudzimu:** 'Convivialities, violence and deprivation: War and everyday life in guerrilla camps in Mozambique and Zambia'

Chair: Noor Nieftagodien

Public Dialogue:

'Fighting on Two Fronts: Experience and Practice of Gender Struggle within the Armed Struggle in Southern Africa'

Time: 18:00 – 19:30

Venue: Dorothy Susskind Auditorium, John Moffat Building

Speakers:

Thenjiwe Mthintso

Raymond Suttner

Makhosazana Xaba

Chair: Judy Seidman



Friday 25th November

Roundtable Discussion 1:

Socialist Internationalism and the Armed Struggle

Time: 8:30 – 10:00

Venue: Dorothy Susskind Auditorium, John Moffat Building

Speakers:

Piero Gleijeses

Hans-Georg Schleicher

Vladimir Shubin

Chair: Dumiso Dabengwa

PARALLEL PANELS 14-15-16-17

Time: 10:00 – 11:30

Panel 14: Fim Screening

Flame

(Dir: Ingrid Sinclair, 1996, 90 min.)

Venue: Dorothy Susskind Auditorium, John Moffat Building

Panel 15: Debates over Non-violence and the Turn to Armed Struggle

Venue: John Moffat Building Room A2

Panellists:

1. **Robert Skinner:** "Ignoring the temper of the people": the "failure" of non-violence in southern Africa, 1960-1962'
2. **Robert Vinson and Benedict Carton:** 'Albert Luthuli, Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King Jr. and the Use of International Non-Violence in South Africa's Turn to Armed Struggle'
3. **Conrad Chibango:** "Let my people go": a liberation theology perspective of Zimbabwe's armed struggle'

Chair: Phil Bonner

Panel 16: Art and Music in the Armed Struggle

Venue: John Moffat Building Room

Panellists:

1. **Judy Seidman:** "National Liberation is necessarily an act of culture": Visual art of the armed struggle in Southern Africa'
2. **Retha Langa:** 'An unruly counter-movement to the armed struggle: The revival of song as a weapon in contemporary South Africa'
3. **Paolo Israel:** 'Mueda Massacre: the Musical Archive'
4. **Rithuli Orleyn:** 'Banished Struggle Memories Archived In Sound: Amagwijo As Discourse'

Chair: Gwen Ansell

Panel 17: Pan-African Solidarities and the Armed Struggle

Venue: John Moffat Extension Building Room 101

Panellists:

1. **Lazlo Passemiers:** 'The PAC and SWAPO's participation in the "Congo alliance", 1963-1964'
2. **Joel das Neves Tembe:** 'The anti-apartheid struggle and Mozambican solidarity'
3. **Clinarete Munguambe:** 'Nationalism and Exile in an Age of Solidarity: Military co-operation between ZANU and FRELIMO in Mozambique (1975-1980)'
4. **Matteo Grilli:** 'Nkrumah's role in the armed struggle in Southern Africa (1960-1966)'

Chair: Arianna Lissoni

Tea & Coffee

Time: 11:30 – 12:00

Venue: Foyer – John Moffat Building

Roundtable Discussion 2: The Historiography of MK

Time: 12:00 – 13:00

Venue: Dorothy Susskind Auditorium, John Moffat Building

Speakers:

Janet Cherry

Thula Simpson

Ronnie Kasrils

Chair Stanley Manong

Lunch

Time: 13:00 – 14:00

Venue: Foyer – John Moffat Building

Lunch time Film Screening**Stories, Shadows and Dust: Experiences of the SADF Soldier in the Southern African Bush War**

(Dir. Garrett Eriksen, UK, 2012, 36 min)

Introduced by: Garrett Eriksen

Venue: Dorothy Susskind Auditorium, John Moffat Building

PARALLEL PANELS 18-19-20

Time: 14:00 – 15:30

Panel 18: Southern Africa's Armed Struggle and the World

Venue: John Moffat Building Room A2

Panellists:

1. **Kenneth Tafira:** 'Armed Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa and the Global Geo-Political Order: South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola'
2. **Benny Moyo:** 'Socialist internationalism and the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA) – a game-changer'
3. **Chiara Torcianti:** 'The struggle continues: Italian reception of the liberation movement in Mozambique'

Chair: Ralph Mathekgga

Panel 19: Documenting and Archiving the Armed Struggle

Venue: John Moffat Building Room A3

Panellists:

1. **Gabriele Mohale:** 'What comes after the struggle?: From the Archive of Ronnie Kasrils'
2. **Sylvester Dombó:** 'Running out of time? An evaluation of "Capturing a Fading National Memory Project" in Zimbabwe'
3. **Ali Khangela Hlongwane:** 'Re-engaging the Archive, History, Image and Legacy of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) 1961-1994 in contrast with the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission'

Chair: Xolelwa Kashe-Katiya

Panel 20: Film Screening:**Tribute to the Frontline States**

(Dir. Mandy Jacobson and Barbara King, South Africa, 2014, 53 min)

Venue: Dorothy Susskind Auditorium, John Moffat Building

Introduced by: **Shaka Sisulu**

Tea and Coffee

Time: 15:30 – 16:00

Venue: Foyer – John Moffat Building

Closing remarks

Time: 16:00-17:00

Venue: Dorothy Susskind Auditorium, John Moffat Building



**Music and Dance Performance by Massacre de Mueda:
Makumbusho (Recollections)**

Time: 17:00 – 18:00

Venue: The Atrium, South West Engineering Building

Makumbusho explores the effects of slavery on the cultural identity of oppressed peoples. Through dance, song and theatre, the performers voice the disavowal of the slavery system that was once imposed on them. The show blends traditional and contemporary dance, presenting some of the cultural values that have been passed down from generation to generation, highlighting the importance of preserving these for the generations to come.

Artistic Director: Moisés Bilali

Group Director: Atanásio Nhussi

Stage names, performers names and roles:

‘Nangwona-’ - Atanásio Nhussi -Percussionist: singer, main dancer and choreographer

‘Namakwakwa’ - Valério Mwale; Percussionist, main singer, choir and choreographer

‘Ngwidile’ - Maurício Nangonga: Dancer, percussionist, singer and choreographer

‘Ntumissana’ - Constantino Ntumissana: Dancer, singer and choir

(The performance is supported by an ANT Funding Grant from Pro Helvetia Johannesburg financed by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC).)

Public dialogues & Keynote addresses



OPENING PUBLIC DIALOGUE:

‘The Armed Struggle: Was it Worth It?’

In December 2016 (next month) we commemorate 55 years since the turn to armed struggle in South Africa with the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Indeed, in the latter half of the Twentieth Century, armed struggle became a key element of the struggles against colonialism and apartheid in southern Africa – in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

At the time, and against a recalcitrant enemy, armed struggle seemed the only alternative for many liberation movements in the region. Decades later, with liberation struggles behind us, and the lessons of the successes and failures of post-liberation governance in front of us, questions are now being asked in academia, political and civil society circles as to what role the armed struggle really played in liberation.

The title of this public dialogue session is deliberately provocative, with the aim of setting the scene for the conference as a whole which will explore in much and varied detail a range of questions relating to the politics and history of the armed struggle in southern Africa. This provocative title can be interpreted in a number of ways. Given the challenges of post-liberation governance, was the armed struggle worth the sacrifices made or did brave people give their lives in vain? Alternatively, the question can be asked: to what extent did armed struggle contribute to the final outcome of liberation struggles in the region?

In South Africa and other countries of the region, what was the relative weight of armed struggle to other forms of struggle in determining the outcomes? Would it have been possible to achieve the same or similar results without armed struggle? What were the differences in the forms of armed struggle in different countries in the region and how did these forms impact on the success or otherwise of armed struggle? In the final analysis, to what extent did other, external factors, play the deciding role in the outcomes of the struggles in the region?

Other questions may also arise. To what extent have post-liberation societies given due credit to those who participated in and sacrificed in the armed struggle, both in the sense of acknowledging their role and in caring for veterans? To what extent do current critiques of the relevance of armed struggle (and even the role of exiled liberation movements more generally) reflect the benefit of objective hindsight or a more political reflection of disillusion with (or plain opposition to) liberation movements in government?

Speakers: Opening Public Dialogue

Dumiso Dabengwa

was born in Ntabazinduna, Matebeleland, on 6 December 1939.

He was a temporary teacher for one year at Cyrene Mission worked as a Clerk at the Bulawayo City Council in 1958-59, then for Barclays. He joined the NDP and became its Youth-League Secretary at 20. After the NDP was banned, he was arrested and imprisoned; he, was then elected to the same post in the when ZAPU formed. He was one of the first to go for military training in the USSR (specialising in Intelligence). In Zambia, at ZAPU-HQ, he became ZPRA's Military Intelligence Head. He planned and executed with S.A.'s Joe Modise and Chris Hani strategies and joint MK-ZPRA deployments against the Rhodesian and SA regimes.

Dr Dabengwa led the ZPRA delegation at Lancaster House and in the Ceasefire. After Independence represented ZPRA in the Zimbabwe JMC, with Walls and Mujuru then retired from Military Service(1981). In 1982, he was charged with Treason, was acquitted, but still was incarcerated at Chikurubi Maximum Security Prison until release due to Unity Accord agreement. He became Nkululane MP(1990-2000), Deputy Home-Affairs Minister(1990-92), substantive Minister(1992-2000), Bulawayo Provincial Chairperson, Zanu-PF Central Committee(1989) and Politburo(1994) and was instrumental in forming the Mafela Trust(1990) to properly document ZAPU/ZPRA's history, becoming its Chairman, now Trustee. Since 1991, he is also a Trustee of Edward Ndllovu Memorial Trust, Matebeleland Development Foundation, Mater Dei Hospital, Masca and Chairman Matebele-

land Zambezi Water Trust. When ZAPU exited the Unity Accord was elected President and is due for retirement 2020.

Terry Bell

Journalist, labour columnist, teacher, author, broadcaster and life-long trade unionist. A former 90-day detainee and political exile, he was banned for 27 years.

Left South Africa illegally in 1965 and worked briefly as a journalist in Zambia before being granted political asylum in Britain "for his own personal safety" (Kenneth Kaunda).

Returned, with wife, Barbara, to Zambia 1968, forced to leave 1970/1 during Vorster/Kaunda d'etente period. Took up job offer in New Zealand with instructions to "help start an anti-apartheid movement".

In 1979 asked by OR Tambo to start the primary division of ANC school, Somafco. With Barbara, wrote first ANC primary curriculum. Left 1982 because of serious deviations by leadership structures from ANC policies.

In London, established and co-ordinated "Friends of Moses Mayekiso" the largest trade union-based anti-apartheid campaign centred on the "Alex 5". Returned to South Africa 1991.

Ayanda Dlodlo

was born in Soweto and studied in Swaziland.

She joined Umkhonto weSizwe in 1981 and did her Basic Military Training in Caculama in Angola in 1982. She went on to do specialized training in Military Combat Work in Caxito in preparation for deployment to South Africa and the Fronline States

Ayanda worked in various capacities and in different countries during her time in exile.

She was part of the Transvaal Urban Machinery Machinery in Swaziland under the command of General Nyanda In 1984 she spent some time in the Transvaal Rural Machinery based in Zimbabwe

She was recalled to go for specialized Military Intelligence training in the Former Soviet Union towards the end of 1984 Ayanda spent 3 months prior to her departure, in Angola doing news and the weekly Youth feature broadcast for Radio Freedom

On her return from training in the Soviet Union at the end of 1985 she was deployed to the Natal Machinery under the Command of Cde Musi Ngwenya aka Thami Zulu. She worked for some time with Cde Johnny Sexwale setting up infiltration routes for both machinery and personnel. She was later promoted in rank to lead the Natal Machinery's Intelligence Unit until her arrest and deportation to Lusaka at the end of 1988.

In January 1990 she gave birth to her only child Thabang and had to leave him in June that year to pursue studies in Shipping and Transport Management in London.

In 1992 Ayanda returned to South Africa and worked in the logistics sector for Transnet, rising through the ranks in Transnet and gaining further experience in Port operations and Management in both the United Kingdom and the United States. Upon her return she worked for FastFleet a subsidiary of Telkom..

She joined the Department of Safety and Security in 2000. In 2005/6 she helped establish the investigative support Unit of the Directorate for Special Operations (Scorpions).

She was elected as Secretary General of uMkhonto weSizwe Military Veterans Association 2006 and was involved in establishing the Military Veteran Department

She became a member of Parliament in 2009 and was appointed President Zuma's Parliamentary Counsellor until her appointment as Deputy Minister for Public Service and Administration a position she holds to date.

She is a member of the ANC National Executive Committee and heads its sub committee on Legislature and Government.



1ST KEYNOTE ADDRESS: 'Storied Wars: Personal Narratives & Liberation Struggle Histories'

There are many different ways to tell stories about war, each with its particular purposes, qualities and limitations. This paper explores some inventive approaches to telling war stories through fiction, song and film, arguing that these mediums are able to bring the everyday and intimate into the same frame as the grand machinations of liberation movements, and so offer views on war that unsettle dominant stories in productive ways. I use the insights of this work as a spur to explore the attributes of soldiers' own accounts of war. These stories are partial in two senses: they offer an individual's always incomplete picture of a struggle that was geographically vast, organizationally complex, and often bewildering, and they inevitably carry political freight, both in the midst of and in the aftermath of war. Drawing on largely oral accounts from ZAPU's armed struggle, I seek to demonstrate how these stories are able nonetheless to offer valuable views on the shifting meanings of war, past and present. This is in part because oral sources of this kind are not fixed products of the past, but part of an ongoing conversation: it is possible to pose new questions, pursue murky topics, and revisit the political valence of these stories over time. This process expands the scope of what we might call a recoverable past and, much as in the varied war stories I began with, it provides a powerful counter to dominant tales.

Speaker:

Jocelyn Alexander

is Professor of Commonwealth Studies at the University of Oxford. Her research concerns the social and political history of southern Africa. Recent work has focused on the transnational histories of southern African liberation movements, a topic on which she is currently editing a special issue of the *Journal of Southern African Studies* (with JoAnn McGregor and Miles Tendi). She is in addition completing a monograph titled *Prison Rules* on the history of political imprisonment in Zimbabwe from 1959 to 2009. She is the author of *The Unsettled Land: The Politics of Land and State-making in Zimbabwe, 1893-2003*, and *Violence and Memory: One Hundred Years in the 'Dark Forests' of Matabeleland* (with JoAnn McGregor and Terence Ranger). She sits on the editorial board of the *Journal of Southern African Studies* and the publications committee of the International Africa Institute.

2ND KEYNOTE ADDRESS: 'The Hero & the New Intellectual: Writing & the Armed Struggle'

Given the over-arching influence of the publishing industry on the determination of the choices of the narratives that see the light of day – and the gate-keeping role of academia – texts, actual or fictional about the armed struggle, end up gathering dust, unseen and unread by the broader public. A bigger disincentive for aspirant writers, though, is the lack of confidence that what they wish to write or reflect is inconsequential in the bigger scheme of things. My talk is about mining the archive to tell stories of the liberation struggle, writing in the midst of combat, looking at the examples of other writers (and writers organisations) in Angola, Mozambique, Cuba and, of course, South Africa. What can we do to re-legitimise what has been dismissed as “anti-apartheid” writing and thus having no relevance, in the minds of the arbiters of taste, in a modern, democratic country fixated on fantasy and amnesia?

Speaker:

Mandla Langa

was born in Stanger, (KwaDukuza), in KwaZulu. He is one of nine children; his brother Bheki Langa was SA's Ambassador to Russia, his brother Pius Langa, was chief justice for the Constitutional Court of South Africa, and his brother Ben Langa was a UDF activist, who was killed in 1984.

Langa studied at Fort Hare University where he was actively involved in the South African Students' Organisation. He graduated with a BA in English and philosophy in 1972.

In 1976, he was arrested and imprisoned for 101 days; on release he went into exile in Botswana. Langa continued writing poetry as well as political activities.

He joined Umkhonto we Sizwe, trained in Angola from 1980 to 1982. He then worked in in Mozambique, Zambia, Hungary and the United Kingdom, in various ANC posts, engaging in cultural activities, studying and practicing journalism

His short story 'The Dead Men Who Lost Their Bones', won *Drum* magazine's 1980 short fiction contest. He published his first novel, *Tenderness of Blood* in 1987; *A Rainbow on the Paper Sky*, in 1989, a short fiction collection *The Naked Song and Other Stories*, in

1996., his third novel, *The Memory of Stones*, in 2000, *The Lost Colours of the Chameleon in 2008* and *The Texture of Shadows* in 2014. His creative and critical writings appear in numerous publications and collections.

Langa served on the boards of Business and Arts South Africa, the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism, the Rhodes University School for Economic Journalism and MultiChoice South Africa Holdings. He has served as a trustee for Nation's Trust, the Read Educational Trust and the South African Screen Writers' Laboratory. He worked as CEO of the Independent Communication Authority of South Africa, executive vice president of South Africa's PEN (Poets, Playwrights, Essayists, Editors and Novelists) and chairman of the judging panel for the 'Twenty in 20' short story project.

Langa's awards include the 1991 Arts Council of Great Britain's bursary for creative writing (the first South African to receive this); the 2003 convention of the Pan African Writers' Association featured an 'Evening with Mandla Langa'; and he was awarded the South African government's National Order of Ikhamanga in silver in 2007 for literary, journalistic and cultural achievements. In 2009, he received the Commonwealth Writers' Prize for Best Book: Africa Region.



PUBLIC DIALOGUE/2:

‘Fighting on Two Fronts: Experience and Practice of Gender Struggle within the Armed Struggle in Southern Africa’

This public dialogue will explore how issues of gender and the emancipation of women were framed and addressed within Southern Africa’s liberation movements’ armed struggle.

This discussion will begin by looking at the range of lived experiences and circumstances, at theoretical perspectives, and at individual and collective strategies that were found to deal with these conditions.

This involves taking a long, hard look at how gender roles were defined and imposed and acted out – but also resisted and reconstructed -- within the liberation movement’s armed struggle. Coming from societies where patriarchy has been so deeply entrenched, Southern Africa’s liberation movements inevitably discovered patriarchy and gender oppression within in its own ranks. These problems ranged from stereotyping, discrimination, harassment and gender violence; to the embedded structural distortions recognised in the remark that “patriarchy is a far broader concept than sex, sexism, and sexual violence”.

But within their ranks, liberation armies also developed tools to fight oppression: awareness, theory, belief in and commitment to equality and humanity. So this dialogue will ask whether, and how, the political consciousness of national liberation struggles extended to issues of gender oppression and emancipation. How do the lessons from the liberation struggle apply to the intersection of race, gender, and class?

This is not a matter of historical interest only. This dialogue will conclude by asking: how has this critical aspect of our liberation history impacted our post-independence society today? When the armed struggle for national liberation ended, did the “return to normal life” mean that cadres simply returned to patriarchal norms that were challenged during the armed struggle? What are the lessons learned about gender struggles in these years, and how can we take these forward?

Speakers: Public Dialogue 2

Thenjiwe Mtintso

became a political activist in the early 70s, in the South African Student Organisation (SASO) and Black Consciousness Movement (BCM); which led to her expulsion from the University of Fort-Hare. She was detained several times, tortured and banned for political activities in the 70s.

Mtintso went into exile in 1978, where she joined the ANC and uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK). She underwent military training in Angola; and also trained at the Fé del Valle School in Cuba. She served as an MK commander in several front-line posts, until MK was disbanded in 1993.

Mtintso returned to South Africa to become an ANC member of Parliament; she was appointed the first chairperson of the Commission of Gender Equality in 1997.

In 1998 she was elected as the Deputy Secretary General of the ANC. She also served as a member of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party (SACP).

She holds a BA and Master of Public development and Management degree from Wits.

In 2007 she was appointed as South Africa’s Ambassador to Cuba; in 2010, South Africa’s Ambassador to Italy; she is currently Ambassador to Rumania.

Raymond Suttner

is an Emeritus Professor at the University of South Africa and a Part-time Professor at Rhodes University.

He initially taught law but later obtained a cross-disciplinary PhD in political studies, sociology and history at the University of the Witwatersrand. He has held academic positions at six South African Universities and been a visiting fellow at Jadavpur University in Kolkata, India.

He is the author of over 85 scholarly publications and numerous media articles. His books include *The ANC Underground*, *Recovering Democracy in South Africa*, and *Inside Apartheid’s Prison* (to be republished next year in augmented form with a post-prison afterword)

His current research interests include Chief Albert Luthuli, Nelson Mandela, ethical leadership, gender and sexualities.

Suttner served over 11 years in prison or house arrest for activities against apartheid. He was in the leadership of the ANC, SACP and UDF but, since 2006, has been in disagreement with the direction followed by the leadership.

Makhosazana Xaba

is the author of two poetry collections: *these hands* (2005) and *Tongues of their Mothers* (2008). Her poems have been anthologized widely. She is the author of, *Running and other stories* (2013), which won the SALA Nadine Gordimer Short Story Award in 2014. She is the co-editor of, *Queer Africa: New and Collected Fiction* (2013) which won the 26th Lambda Literary Award for the anthology category in 2014.

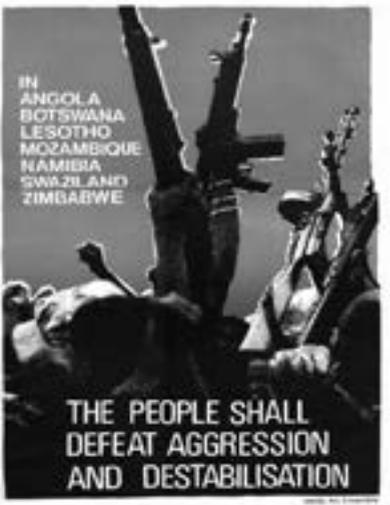
Khosi’s long term project is a biography of biography of Noni Jabavu. Her personal and political essays and biographical fragments on the Noni project have been anthologized widely. She holds an MA in Writing (with distinction) from Wits University. She is a feminist activist at heart with many years of experience the NGO sector working in local and international organizations focused on women’s health and philanthropy. She was an anti-apartheid activist and spent a few years in exile.



ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION 1: Socialist Internationalism & the Armed Struggle

Discussions will explore the impact of socialist internationalism on the armed struggle in Southern Africa with particular reference to the Cuban, Soviet and GDR experiences. Issues include:

- The motivations for Soviet, Cuban and East German support for African liberation movements from the 1960s - including material, financial, and political (both ideological and diplomatic) aid for anti-colonial/liberation struggles;
- The role and impact of military assistance from socialist countries (weaponry, military training, and active participation);
- The impact of socialist ideology on Africa's liberation struggles and especially on the strategies and tactics of armed resistance, as well as the influence on the organisational and ideological development of southern African liberation movements.
- International socialist response to US/West support for counter-revolution in southern Africa and the role of global geo-political struggles in southern African liberation struggles.
- The relationship between African liberation movements, post-liberation governments and socialist countries.
- The role of socialist internationalism and historical interventions in negotiations and post-independence settlements.



Speakers: Roundtable discussion 1

Piero Gleijeses

is a professor of US foreign policy at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University. His publications include:

Visions of Freedom: Havana, Washington, Pretoria and the Struggle for Southern Africa, 1976-1991 (Chapel Hill, 2013), awarded the 2014 Friedrich Katz Prize of the American Historical Association; *Conflicting Missions:*

Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976 (Chapel Hill, 2002), awarded the 2003 Robert Ferrell Prize of the Society of Historians of American Foreign Relations;

Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944-1954 (Princeton, 1991);

The Dominican Crisis: The 1965 Constitutionalist Revolt and American Intervention (Baltimore, 1978;

rev. ed.: *La Esperanza Desgarrada. La rebelión dominicana de 1965 y la invasión norteamericana*, Havana, 2011).

Both *Visions of Freedom* and *Conflicting Missions* have been published in South Africa, by Wits University Press and Galago respectively. They are based on twenty years of research in the closed archives of Cuba (Glejeses is the only foreigner who has had access to these archives), in the archives of South Africa, the United States and a score of other countries, as well as interviews with about 300 protagonists from Cuba, the United States, Angola, South Africa, and other countries.

Glejeses is going to be in South Africa for a conference on 'The Politics of Armed Struggle in Southern Africa'.

Hans-Georg Schleicher

was born in 1943 in Germany. He completed studies and postgraduate studies at Martin-Luther-University Halle (MA and Ph D in history).

Between 1969 and 1990 he served in the Diplomatic Service of the German Democratic

Republic (GDR), assigned to various African states and at the United Nations; including GDR Ambassador in Zimbabwe, and Head of Mission in Namibia. He was head of the Southern Africa Section and Deputy Head of Africa Department in the GDR Foreign Ministry

Since 1990 he has researched Southern Africa and German Africa policies with the University of Hannover and the Association for International Policies and International Law, Berlin; as visiting lecturer at German universities and in various African states

He has published books and other contributions on GDR and German Africa policies and on Southern Africa in Germany, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Tanzania.

Schleicher has worked as a consultant in Germany and Southern Africa, Electoral Observer in South Africa and Namibia, and International adviser with the Independent Electoral Commission in South Africa

Vladimir Shubin

is Principal Research Fellow of the Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. He has Doctor of Science (History) degree from the Moscow State University and Ph D (Honoris Causa) degree from the University of the Western Cape.

Before joining the academia from the latest 1960s he was involved in the political and practical support for the liberation struggle in Africa.

He is an author of seven books including (in English) *Social Democracy and Southern Africa*, *ANC: a View from Moscow* and *The Hot 'Cold War': the USSR in Southern Africa*.

Apart from Soviet/Russian state awards - Order of Friendship, Order of Red Star, eight medals and "Combatant-internationalist" badge - he was bestowed with the South African Order of Companions of O.R. Tambo (silver) for his "excellent contribution to the struggle against Apartheid and Colonialism in Southern Africa".

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION 2:

The Historiography of MK

The roundtable aims to discuss the state of the historiography on Umkhonto weSizwe, the largest of South Africa's liberation movements' armies. After the end of apartheid, the opening of new archives and a number of important oral history projects under the new democratic dispensation have enabled a new wave of research and writing on the liberation struggle, in the form of both scholarly and personal accounts. This new body of historical work has been characterised by a variety of ideological and methodological approaches. Yet, the armed struggle has been difficult to document and penetrate as a topic of research because of the scarcity of written records and the secrecy that is still associated with it. All three roundtable speakers have made significant contributions to the historiography of MK as political insiders and scholars. We invite our roundtable speakers to address some of the following questions:

What, in your view, have been the most influential works on the history of MK from the time of its formation to the present? What are the key strategic phases in the development of MK and the armed struggle according to this literature? What are the key debates and arguments that this literature has produced, for example around strategy and tactics, the relative success and failure of MK and the influence of the Communist Party? What are the limits of these debates? What are their ideological underpinnings? How do you see your own work in the context of these debates and what has been your contribution to the historiography? To what extent has the scholarly literature on MK been able to capture the personal experiences of MK soldiers, particularly at rank and file level? What has been the significance of autobiographical accounts and memoirs for the development of the historiography of MK? Why do women's voices and gender issues continue to be largely absent from the literature on MK and the armed struggle? How have difficult aspects of MK's history, particularly problems of malcontent and abuses that were perpetrated in the camps, been dealt with in the literature? To what extent is the current historiography of MK (and South Africa's liberation struggle history more broadly) grounded in an African and international, rather than exclusively South African, context? What are the major gaps and limitations of the current scholarship? What new areas of research and analysis are emerging and in which directions do you see the historiography developing in the future? What new archives are emerging? Why does the armed struggle remain such a charged and controversial topic of scholarly as well as public debate in the present?

Speakers: Roundtable discussion 2

Thula Simpson

is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies at the University of Pretoria. His research focuses on the history of the ANC and the liberation struggle, and his work has featured in a number of journals and book chapters, culminating in his book *Umkhonto we Sizwe: The ANC's Armed Struggle*, which

was published by Penguin in 2016. He will be the editor of a volume, *The ANC and the Liberation Struggle in South Africa: Essential Writings*, which will be published by Routledge in 2017, and will feature chapters from the leading contributors to the historiography on the ANC and the struggle against apartheid.

Janet Cherry

is a South African human rights activist and academic. She is currently Professor of Development Studies at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University in Port Elizabeth. She has a PhD in political sociology from Rhodes University.

Her main areas of research are human rights, democratic participation, social and political history, gender and sustainable development.

She is the author of *Umkhonto we Sizwe: A Jacana pocket history* (2011) and has contributed to the SADET volumes on the South African liberation struggle, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*.

She was a researcher for the SA Truth and Reconciliation Commission and has published a number of articles on South African political and social history, human rights and development.



Ronnie Kasrils

was born Johannesburg 1938. He served in MK from its inception in 1961 as member of the Natal Regional Command and was involved in several of its sabotage operations before fleeing abroad in 1963.

He trained in Odessa, USSR in 1964, and later in Moscow in 1983 as MK's Chief of Military Intelligence.

He was based in Angola, 1977-80 as political instructor and then Regional Commissar, and served in all the Front Line states to 1990 when he returned to South Africa as part of Operation Vula.

He was member of the ANC's NEC from 1987-2007; SACP Central Committee 1985-2007; Deputy Defence Minister (1994-99); Water & Forestry Minister (1999-2004); and Minister for Intelligence Services (2004-8) when he resigned from government.

He has written numerous articles on MK; and two books: "Armed and Dangerous", and "The Unlikely Secret Agent." He holds numerous MK medals as well as Soviet and Cuban decorations.



Paper Abstracts

(presented here in the order that they appear in the conference programme)

Panel 1: Strategic and Tactical Turning Points in South Africa's Liberation Struggle (part 1)

Z. Pallo Jordan and Mac Maharaj:

'South Africa and the turn to armed resistance'

This paper focusses on the circumstances under which various political organisations, particularly the ANC and the SACP, in South Africa turned to the armed struggle as a means to prosecuting the armed struggle in the early 1960s. It looks at the setbacks and shortcomings that this shift in strategy and tactics suffered and the challenges that arose at the time.

From the perspective of the ANC and its allies it is important to appreciate that the armed struggle, if one may borrow the formulation by Clausewitz, is an extension of the political struggle.

The paper seeks to unravel some of the complex theoretical and empirical issues that were at play across the broad spectrum of organisations that regarded themselves as opposed to the apartheid system.

We focus on the features of the mass struggles in the fifties and the repressive actions of the State culminating in the massacres at Sharpeville and Nyanga, the

imposition of the State of Emergency and the mass detentions that created a climate in which by 1960-62 almost all organisations that could lay claim to be part of the struggle had concluded that the time had arrived for armed resistance to apartheid. Even elements in the Liberal Party became involved in sabotage activities.

The paper draws together the range of groupings and organisations that entered this field in the early sixties, looks at the response of the State and the setbacks that these different efforts endured.

It concludes at the point where international solidarity becomes a significant force against the repressive actions of the apartheid state and the continuation of the liberation struggle depended on the regrouping of forces of the ANC and MK in exile.

Simon Stevens:

'The "turn to armed struggle" and the "turn to sanctions", 1960-1969'

Scholarship on the "turn to armed struggle" in South Africa has flourished in the past decade. But the overwhelming focus on the adoption of violence as a central element of the strategy of the liberation movements has tended to obscure the other elements of that strategy. Those other elements include what can be called the "turn to sanctions," which occurred simultaneously, and which established campaigns for economic sanctions as one of the central forms of international anti-apartheid solidarity action. Meanwhile, the literature on global anti-apartheid activism – generally written by scholars with quite different regional and thematic specialisations – rarely engages directly with the relationship of external anti-apartheid campaigns to the newly-launched armed struggle. Though often treated as discrete subjects, however, internal and international anti-apartheid activities were components of a single strategy, and can only be fully understood when studied as such. Drawn from the author's current book project on the international history of anti-apartheid boycotts – which is based on research in more than seventy archives in six countries – this paper asks why leaders of the liberation movements came to believe after 1960 that UN economic sanctions were both desirable and feasible. And it analyses the shifting ideas within the movements regarding the specific role that sanctions could play in ending apartheid. This shows that, initially, sanctions were generally perceived as a means of causing sufficient economic hardship to bring about a realignment in white politics, so that the National Party would be replaced in power by a more reformist white government that would be willing to negotiate with the opponents of apartheid. As the liberation movements turned to armed struggle, however, the purpose of sanctions came to be understood quite differently. Sanctions were now seen as a means of facilitating the armed seizure of power by degrading the state's capacity to resist guerrilla warfare.

Dale McKinley:

'Umkhonto We Sizwe: A critical analysis of the armed struggle of the African National Congress'

The early dominance of an ANC leadership comprised of the black petty bourgeoisie and traditional chiefs was tied to a strategy of non-violence and incorporation.

The result was that the ANC was unable (and/or unwilling) to respond to militant struggles that were being waged against increasing racial and capitalist oppression. In turn, this failure created the conditions for a reactive turn to externalised and armed struggle.

By ruling out the possibilities and potentialities of long-term internal mass mobilisation and organisation and opting for armed propaganda (which, under the objective conditions at the time, logically could only end up being externally based) to stimulate the same, the ANC and SACP situated the context and content of that struggle outside the masses.

A brief review and analysis of the ANC's key documents and then organisational (internal) as well as practical (external) activities related to the armed struggle from the late 1960s until the early 1980s cumulatively shows that an armed propaganda campaign could only realistically be used as a new pressure tactic for a larger accomodationist strategy that would increasingly rely on international conditions and actors for sustenance.

As a result the internal mass struggles inside South Africa took place without much organisational basis, direction or discipline, leading to much of their revolutionary potential being squandered. The key ingredients for a potentially insurrectionist seizure of power in the South African context - strategically organised, armed and nationally consolidated organs of people's power - were absent.

Given the generally stressed state of the external organisation and the international pressures it now faced, a negotiated settlement was really the only route the ANC could take. It would now utilise mass and armed struggle for two specific purposes: to act as pressure levers on the apartheid state in the lead up to future negotiations; and to ensure that the mass base was involved in the macro-strategy of a negotiated settlement.. Necessarily then, the possibilities of an armed, revolutionary, people's 'seizure of power' with the potential to lay the foundation for a fundamental political and socio-economic transformation in South Africa, never saw the light of day.

Panel 3: Patriotic History and the Politics of Memory in Namibia and Zimbabwe

Joseph Mujere, Joost Fontein and Munyaradzi Elton Sagiya:

“Those who are not known, should be known by the country”: Patriotic history, liberation heritage and the politics of recognition in Gutu district, southern Zimbabwe’

The politics surrounding the memorialisation of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle has long been manifest in the highly elitist, exclusivist and partisan, and hierarchical system of district, provincial and national heroes acres that forms the backbone of state commemoration. After 2000, this was deeply intensified with a new narrowed nationalist historiography that Ranger labelled 'patriotic history' (2004), through which ZANU PF arrogated to itself the liberation credentials by which it continued to effectively marginalize any political opposition. 'Patriotic history' is a term that has found considerable purchase amongst Zimbabweanist scholars over the last

decade. However, ten years on from Ranger's seminal article, there remains a lacuna of studies focusing on what purchase ZANU PF's 'patriotic history' has had in specific contexts and locales, and what kinds of alternative commemorations it sometimes afforded and enlivened. The tendency has been to critique the predominance of a few ZANU PF spokespeople and eccentric ideologues, rather than explore what 'patriotic history', afforded other, long muted, localist agendas, or how it gained traction in specific material and imaginative contexts. Examining renewed efforts in the late 2000s by war veterans, relatives and survivors to monumentalize two war-time massacres sites in southern Zimbabwe, this paper explores the localized politics of recognition with which 'patriotic history' was entangled, through which it gained local saliency and traction. Based on interviews at Kamungoma and Hurodzavasikana massacre sites, we explore the complexity and complicity of different 'agencies', actors and agendas involved to examine how ZANU PF's renewed historiographical project re-fuelled local efforts to remake communities and landscapes marked by violence and death, and gain recognition and recompense for losses and sacrifices made. Unlike elsewhere where war veteran-led exhumations reflect the failures of state commemoration what is striking at Kamungoma and Hurodzavasikana is the relative absence of unhappy spirits or problematic human remains. Although hasty burials, landscapes unsettled by the mingling substances of bodies and soil are part of the story, at these sites the metonymy of past violence is more affective in the scarred bodies of survivors, in the failed futures of youth and kin lost, and of recognition delayed or denied.

Henning Melber:

‘Armed Liberation Struggle and the Post-colonial narrative in Namibia’

The South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO of Namibia) had a unique status among anti-colonial movements. Fighting South Africa's illegal occupation of South West Africa/Namibia, dubbed by the United Nations as a "trust betrayed", it resorted to armed struggle in the 1960s. SWAPO was subsequently recognized as "the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people" by a United Nations General Assembly resolution since the mid-1970s. The political culture in Namibia since Independence in 1990 is much characterized by the dominance of SWAPO as a former liberation movement and its official history cultivated. This paper summarizes the stages and relevance of the armed struggle and its relevance for the liberation of Namibia. It contrasts the heroic narrative of SWAPO's claim to have liberated Namibia through the barrel of the gun with some of the 'hidden histories' related to the armed struggle and its realities, which do not have much visibility in the official historiography.

The paper thereby seeks to contribute to a more nuanced assessment of the country's patriotic history as regards the role of the armed struggle and its relevance in the post-colonial political culture.

Samukele Hadebe:

'Challenges in Memorializing ZPRA Legacy'

Inasmuch as history is the property of victors, so is memory. Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA) is one of those liberation forces who did not win political power at the attainment of Independence in Zimbabwe. ZPRA's war effort has largely remained an untold story or where reference is made it is often a footnote. The very sacrifice of ZPRA cadres and the role of their political wing Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in the liberation of Zimbabwe has been subject of debate as claims by their competitors belittle their role. Zimbabwe's official history says little and hence not much has been popularized on the contribution of ZPRA in the liberation struggle.

Efforts to recollect ZPRA history faces a number of challenges, chief among being the lack of war records that were confiscated after Independence and allegedly destroyed. It could be literally said that the destruction of the war records and the official narrative that marginalizes ZPRA war effort were meant to erase the memory of ZPRA legacy. The post-Independence fortunes of liberation movements seem to be crucial in determining how the liberation war is remembered or not remembered. ZPRA history could be said to be anecdotal to the histories of other liberation forces who eventually won power.

This paper intends to interrogate the post-war situation in Zimbabwe as significant in shaping the memory of ZPRA. Some post-war situations include the political turmoil and armed clashes between ZPRA and its sister liberation force –Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), the banditry in Matabeleland and Midlands, the Gukuruhundi genocide, the Unity Accord and its aftermath. It shall be further argued that perhaps it might not be possible for many ordinary Zimbabweans to ever appreciate ZPRA war effort since it is perceived largely from the lens of the post-liberation era.

Panel 4: Military Veterans Post-Liberation

Frederick Sadomba:

'Psycho-social strains of Transition for Zimbabwean Excombatants and its Effect on Peace-building and Post-conflict Recovery, 1980- 2016'

The work examines Zimbabwe's struggle from the harmful effects of the war against colonialism. Appropriate trauma interventions must be grounded in Zimbabwe's complex history as well as incorporate Zimbabwe's constructs of trauma and healing. Zimbabwe's long history dates back to the Portuguese, Germany expeditions and the subsequent British colonisation in the 1890s. This work aims at surveying the extent to which traumatic events are a feature of life in Zimbabwe and aims to provide a comprehensive research that documents the pervasiveness of traumatic events on post conflict recovery and reconstruction. Before Zimbabwe gained her independence in 1980, thousands of Zimbabweans were members of armed formations and participants in the war of liberation. Former combatants numbering about 100 000, who had been operating under an environment of "kill or be killed,"

laid down their arms and anxiously waited for the Commonwealth supervised election. The much awaited , independence finally came in April 1980 after a bitter, widespread and protracted struggle. The struggle pitted the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and the Zimbabwe African People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) against the Rhodesian Security Forces (RSF). The two guerrilla forces faced a formidable enemy, which was strongly supported by apartheid South Africa, and the Portuguese in both manpower and equipment . 1980. By 1978, the RSF had a battle-hardened army well suited to counter guerrilla warfare. In short, fighting a ferocious war with the RSF who were well motivated and equipped and did not particularly observe laws of armed conflicts in prosecuting the war, left open and invisible scars on the surviving ex-combatants. Thus bitter liberation war left a legacy that is powerful and uneasy as the "terror" and "violence" recreated in the memories of the ex-combatants, which they are unable to forget some 36 years after independence.

Zandisiwe Radebe: 'Negotiated out of existence: Fanonian mediations on APLA and AZANLA combatants'

Fanon argues that, for the wretched of the earth, full humanity can only emerge through the effort to impose one's existence onto another. That is to say, the resistance against the dehumanizing effects of colonial conquest leads to the dignity of the spirit and thus at the center of armed struggle is the quest for ontological resistance. In the context of South African therefore, where the Blacks are consigned in what Fanon called the 'zone of nonbeing' the armed struggle as carried out by "Poqo" which later became popularly known as the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (APLA) and later the through the Azanian National Liberation Army (AZANLA) the was the highest expression of Black subject formation. The ability to pick up arms against the dehumanizing consequences of coloniality, is the first step towards decolonization; a process that seeks to give birth to new ways of Being, framed in new language qua new humanity. Fanon also observes decolonization cannot be born from a process of negotiated settlement between the colonizer and the colonised. Decolonisation emerges from the re-appropriation of power and the land through armed struggle. Negotiated settlements that become known as the South African 'miracle' transition from apartheid to peaceful democracy marked the fragmentation of Black humanity. At the political level therefore, South Africa's negotiated settlement culminated into the in the breaking of spirit of black resistance as carried by APLA and AZANLA. This study interrogates the gains made by post-apartheid South Africa, arguing that such gains are ontologically premised on Black erasure. Negotiated settlements in the context of the lived experiences of APLA and AZANLA combatants, culminated into dehumanization qua social death at the birth of 'freedom'.

Fumani Mthembu:

‘From Commissar to Obscurity: The Role of Disorganisation in The Struggle for Liberation’

Popular perception would have us believe that liberation was won through organisation. Indeed, high levels of organisation were required to manage a globally dispersed set of people working towards a common goal. In addition, there is an increasing effort to place emphasis on the multiplicity of organisations that contributed to the struggle for liberation. However, the notion that those organisations engaged in the struggle were inherently organised in their actions or modes of operating is seldom explored. This paper seeks to deal directly with this question by unpacking the life of Fannie Pakhola. Fannie Phakola joined the movement for liberation as a teenager and soon found himself in exile. At the peak of his service to the movement, Phakola served as an MK commissar in Angola. However, upon the unbanning of the ANC, Phakola, along with many of his comrades, arrived home to no money, no leadership, no plan. They had fallen through the cracks, along with their experience and training. This paper thus reveals a seldom articulated aspect of the struggle for liberation: organisational disorganisation. In particular, it explores this question and its implications in the context of post-apartheid South Africa. At the level of the individual, the paper asks whether good men and women were possibly lost to the transformation project as a function of disorganisation? By implication and perhaps more fundamentally, the paper asks whether the conditions surrounding the transition and the material form of ‘victory’ led to a type of disorganisation that has been detrimental to the continuation of the struggle for genuine liberation?

Panel 5: Strategic and tactical turning points in South Africa’s liberation struggle (part 2)

Patrick Mangashe:

‘The armed struggle, the underground and mass mobilisation in South Africa’s border region between 1986-1990 through the experiences of MK cadres’

The ANC’s decision to embark on armed struggle came in the wake of similar armed risings by colonised people in the post-war period, in the continent and elsewhere in the world. Whilst acknowledging this background as a general reflection of the world’s political complexion of the time, this paper will look at South Africa’s particular conditions. It will look at the road the ANC travelled towards the actual decision to take up arms and examine whether the oppressed people in South Africa were ready for this path. The Vietnamese experience (Five Fighting Factors) will be used as a ‘formula’ to determine if the ANC’s own armed struggle stood any chance of success at the beginning of the 1960s.

The purpose of the underground was to enable the ANC’s political message (its ideology) to take root and spread in the country, by creating clandestine

organisational networks capable of sustaining this work whilst avoiding the eye of apartheid’s political police. This clandestine network was to also therefore act as the bedrock on which the armed struggle would rest, its main support. The paper will also look at the extent to which the underground was able to deliver on these ‘key performance areas’.

The South African political reality points to the masses mobilised independently of the underground, seen in the rise of independent black trade unions, the UDF and later the MDM coalition, is there any contradiction?

We will try to answer this question by looking at the example of the relationship between the underground and mass mobilisation in the then Border Region during 1985-1990, drawing on own personal experience and that of other MK cadres.

Nkululeko Mabandla:

‘The 1980s student movement and South Africa’s armed struggle’

Resistance against the apartheid state violence was an uphill battle as unarmed youth were met with the brutal armed force of its repressive machinery, resulting in death, arrests, or severe physical injuries and psychological harm. The killing of eleven year-old Hector Peterson in the 1976 Soweto students’ uprising demonstrated apartheid’s brutality towards unarmed black children. Young people grew up almost overnight. Following the criminalization of black organizations in the 1970s, and the deaths in detention of young black leaders. These included Mapetla Mohapi, Steve Biko and Lungile Tabalaza (in 1976, 1977 and 1978 respectively), the apartheid regime had gloated that it had crushed the liberation movement and importantly, the will of the people to resist.

This paper focuses on a group of comrades who cut their teeth in the 1980s Fort Hare University student boycotts and later became celebrated fighters and commanders of MK. It traces their political consciousness in the hot fires of revolt, fanned, among others, by the widespread resistance to the so-called ‘independence’ of the Transkei and the militant worker’s struggles led by the South African Allied workers Union (SAAWU) in East London. Based on primary and secondary accounts, as well as personal knowledge, the paper maps the MK military trajectory of these friends, including their involvement in one of the longest recorded shoot-outs between MK and the apartheid forces inside South Africa.

The paper argues that apartheid state repression and propaganda failed to dissuade this youth from the path of revolution and in particular, from joining the armed struggle. It argues that the inter-sectional struggles of the 80s, involving students, workers and the community, gave the above students far-reaching political and organizational experience which enabled them to survive for long periods as underground operatives and success in their armed engagements with apartheid security forces. The contribution of the 80s youth to the South African struggle and, in particular, the armed struggle remains hidden. This paper intends to address this gap in the literature.

Mike Mzimasi Hala:

‘The Military and the Political in MK Actions in the 1980s: A View from a Senior MK Combatant (Special Ops)’

Mike Mzimazi Hala was part of the 1976 generation who played a key role in energising and shaping the various sites of struggle for the national liberation of South Africa. Profoundly effected by the conditions of severe repression in apartheid South Africa Hala joined Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) after the June 16 student uprising. His formidable strategic capabilities in a military environment led rapidly to a position of leadership in MK. As the first commander of MK Special Ops, he underwent military training the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Ghana and Cuba; participated in key MK campaigns and operations; developed close relations with key figures in the ANC (notably Chris Hani) and developed an extensive knowledge of political and social issues.

In his input Mike Hala will reflect on his experiences of military training and combat; on the extent to which this training and combat prepared him; and how this experience related to the mass political anti-apartheid struggles within South Africa in the period of the 1980’s. He will, in other words, reflect on the relationship between military combat work and mass political struggles, drawing from his personal experiences and observations as a senior combatant and leadership figure within MK who was deployed within the country after receiving military training. He will draw upon his personal experience to reflect on the concept of political cadreship within MK.

Panel 6: Biography and Histories of the Armed Struggle

Tshepo Moloji: ‘

”You have to think of tomato sauce”: The life and times of Thembuyise Simon Mndawe, an MK cadre’

On 8 March 1983 Mndawe was found dead in his cell at the Nelspruit Police Station. He was 21 years old. In a brief period of two and half years, Mndawe helped to revive resistance politics in parts of the Lowveld region of the then eastern Transvaal (today’s Mpumalanga province). In 1980, while employed by the KaNgwane homeland government, he joined uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK, Spear of the Nation). He recruited young people and sent them out to receive military and underground training; was involved in the attack of the base of the South African Defence Force in Tonga. More importantly, Mndawe played a vital role in re-invigorating the ANC’s politics in KaNgwane during the land deal. This paper will attempt to demonstrate that when the members of MK recruited Mndawe they found him prepared; he was already conscious of the unconcealed discrimination and injustices prevailing in the country, or at least in his immediate surroundings. His reserved nature, Christian practices and employment made him an effective MK underground operative.

Christian Williams:

Exile Biography and Un-National History: The Story of Kaufilwa Nepelilo’

In the history of Namibia’s liberation struggle, Kaufilwa Nepelilo’s story is largely unintelligible. As one of hundreds of contract laborers to leave Namibia during the early 1960s in search of opportunities in postcolonial Tanzania, Nepelilo soon found himself living at Kongwa, the site of the first guerrilla camp granted to SWAPO and other liberation movements then supported by the OAU. A reluctant “freedom fighter” at best, Nepelilo’s account of life at Kongwa focuses not on preparations to liberate Namibia from colonialism but rather on escalating tensions between rank-in-file guerrillas and the camp command. Nepelilo’s story is not a classic “dissident” narrative either, however. In contrast to critical historiography, which introduces Kongwa in the context of SWAPO’s 1968 “Kongwa Crisis,” Nepelilo focuses on the inequities of camp daily life and recurring mundane conflicts over seven years. Moreover, he highlights events that he experienced personally and that have fallen outside historiography altogether, including confrontations at Kongwa after 1968, the imprisonment of Namibians in Tanzanian and Zambian jails during the early 1970s, and the repatriation of Namibians as “Angolan refugees” during the early 1980s. Such oversights in the literature reflect the social geography of exile and how this geography has been reproduced as national history in Namibia and other Southern African countries. Nevertheless, Nepelilo’s story has not been “silenced.” Rather, it has been narrated often among friends who share stories of their exile pasts to support one another in postcolonial Namibia. Through engaging with these stories, this paper not only present the biography of one former exile/guerrilla, but also suggests how new histories of exile and armed struggles may be written.

Hugh Macmillan:

‘Jack Simons and armed struggle’

This paper is based upon a forthcoming Jacana pocket biography of Jack Simons, following up on one published on Chris Hani in 2014. Simons’s relationship with the ANC and MK in relation to armed struggle and political education is interesting and complex. He opposed the turn to armed struggle in 1961, together with Moses Kotane and Chief Albert Luthuli, allegedly under Quaker influence. With his wife Ray he may have later accepted the establishment of MK. In Lusaka in 1969 he played a major role as a mediator in defusing the crisis within MK following the failure of the Wankie and Sipolilo Campaigns, and the subsequent Hani Memorandum. It was that time that he began his first course in political education for freedom fighters. This had a significant influence on Hani’s political work in Lesotho between 1975 and 1982. Between 1977 and 1979 Simons spent about nine months teaching political education courses in the MK camps in Angola. His camp diaries are a major source of information on life in the camps at that time. He consistently argued that more time should be devoted to political education and was always certain that the main role of MK people inside South Africa would be political, not military. The emphasis on the political was officially confirmed in 1979, following the visit of Tambo, Slovo and others to Vietnam, through the ‘Green Book’ on which Simons had some influence.

Miguel Junior: ‘

Agostinho Neto and the armed struggle in Southern Africa (Angola, 1961-1979)

The armed struggle in Southern Africa encompasses many particular and concrete situations. Therefore, the best way to understand the armed struggle in southern Africa is to consider each case in a timely manner and then incorporate them all. Thus, the focus here is the armed struggle in Angola. However, the armed struggle in Angola can also be treated as a whole or separately from, since in this country there were several movements of national liberation. But this text analysis focuses on the armed struggle led by the Popular Movement of Liberation of Angola (MPLA) under the leadership of Agostinho Neto. Soon we will examine, firstly, the armed struggle from 1961 to 1974 the MPLA and check the strategic thinking of Agostinho Neto over the national liberation struggle in Angola.

But as the concept of the armed struggle is broad and embraces all forms of armed violence and to make use of the armed forces, then in the context of this approach there is also space to go over the wars experienced by Angola in the pre- and post-independence periods. Since this was a consequence of the internal conflict and the intransigent position of Angola over the last bastions of colonialism and the apartheid system. So, secondly, we will address the fundamental aspects of these wars more articulate with Agostinho Neto's ideas concerning the struggle against colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa.

These are the two central points of communication on Agostinho Neto and the armed struggle in Southern Africa.

Panel 7: The Media and Representations of the Armed Struggle

Ishmael Makanyisa:

‘The role of the media during the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe from 1966 – 1979’

The paper seeks to explore the role of media within and without Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) during the liberation struggle from 1966 to 1979. Both print and electronic media played significant roles in the struggle for independence in Southern Africa and Zimbabwe in particular. Propaganda by the media houses from both warring parties was on one hand used to impart the combatants with political education and moral support for them to remain resolute despite the heavy casualties often suffered from either side in the battle front. On the other hand, the media from the White Rhodesian regime was meant to discourage the civilian population from rendering material, information and moral support to the combatants hence, the masses were at the centre of the warring parties. The Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) used the Mozambican Broadcasting House through the voice of Zimbabwe tunnel whilst the Rhodesia National Army (RNA) used the Rhodesia Broadcasting House from within the country. The main thrust of the media from the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

(ZANLA) side was largely meant to mobilise the masses through political education based on the Maoist literature. In order to thwart the efforts of ZANU (PF), the colonial regime in Southern Rhodesia made use of both the print and electronic media in her propaganda and the prime objective was to separate the civilians from the freedom fighters often referred to as ‘terrorists’. On methodology, the research largely dwells on oral interviews from former Rhodesian soldiers and ex-guerrillas whose majority are still alive today. Moreover, the focus group discussion also forms core of the methodology since the key informants on the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe were the rural masses whose majority is still around. However, desk research and archival materials can also be used to authenticate the data gathered from oral interviews. Thus, the paper argues that the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe was not only waged by the freedom fighters, civilian population, business community but equally important was the role of the media houses from both warring parties. Therefore, popularising only the combatants and other stakeholders at the expense of the media houses is a misrepresentation of historical facts.

Garrett Eriksen:

‘Stories, Shadows and Dust: A filmmaker’s experience documenting the stories of SADF veterans of the South African Border War’

South Africa has a relatively well-documented history, however the South African Border War (1966 – 1989) is not as well explored as it could be. The experiential narratives of the South African Defence Force (SADF) soldiers who fought in this war opens new avenues of understanding South Africa’s turbulent past. In documenting their experiences, what does the filmmaker learn about Constructed Memories and the act of storytelling itself?

The purpose of this paper is to ask questions on subjective experience and Constructed Memory. How do the two relate and in what way do they relate to social media spheres and especially for those of the filmmaker and the film documentary? Specifically, how do these dimensions play out when the subjective experience pertains to the experiences of former SADF soldiers who fought in the Border War?

The experiential narratives contained in Constructed Memory can provide a different explorative avenue for historical events, that is to say, different views of the same war in this case. The accompanying documentary *Stories, Shadows and Dust* (links below) showcases the experiences of five former SADF soldiers, allowing the audience to share in their experiences and draw their own conclusions. This paper then seeks to explore the concept of their memory constructions against the backdrop of emotional contextual experience with specific focus on film media representations of the Border War.

This work is designed to shed light on why not only telling stories is important, as any Historian would tell you, but why their emotional context provides the human element; the element which allows one to connect with and understand; the element which constructs the memory and relives the story, passing it on to the next group or generation until it becomes a part of the collected social consciousness of the story-telling world that is human society.

Ali Khangela Hlongwane:

‘Re-engaging the Archive, History, Image and Legacy of the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (APLA) 1961-1994 in contrast with the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’

This paper reflects on the place, image and legacy of the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) initially known as Poqo and later renamed the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (APLA) in 1968. The paper investigates how APLA’s place, image and legacy is framed in the oral testimonies of PAC activists, in their autobiographical writings, in the various publications of the PAC particularly Azania Combat. In the conclusion it reflects on how this legacy and memory is framed and reflected in the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

By studying the Azania Combat and other relevant PAC publications and comparing them with the final TRC report the research engages with how the PAC and its ideologues have over the years fashioned the rationale behind the PAC’s adoption of armed struggle, their campaigns, armed operations and networks from 1961 until the suspension of armed struggle in 1993 and the advent of the TRC. The paper will explore the archive, history and memory of the PAC’s armed struggle in four significant periods, the Poqo era; the advent of APLA in 1968; the post 1976 period; and the 1980s leading to the suspension of armed struggle.

At its founding in 1959 the PAC like all other South African liberation movements did not set out to engage in armed struggle. APLA, The Azanian People’s Liberation Army, Submission to the TRC’s Armed Forces Hearings, This route was only taken up subsequent to the banning, imprisonment and banishment of the organisation’s leaders and members. The organisation’s route to armed struggle takes on an approach described variously as insurrection, terrorist and over years evolves to embrace ideas of armed struggle or guerrilla warfare in ways that will be demonstrated in the body of the paper through the four periods identified as the Poqo era; the advent of APLA in 1968; the post 1976 period; and the 1980s leading to the suspension of armed struggle.

Panel 8: The Armed Struggle in Poems

Helen Douglas:

‘Need I Remind Anyone Again?’

I will present a cycle of poems that explore armed struggle as “an act of love” (Kgositsile, “Red Song”), from a larger work-in-progress based on three years running a safe house in Johannesburg for Operation Vula and 25 years trying to figure out what it all meant. Here is a sketch of the ideas I am working with:

We take for granted, as given, that violent resistance to oppression can be just and justifiable. Of course it is! And yet, all the political, military and philosophical elements of armed struggle emerge from, and depend on, a prior ethical order of responsibility for the suffering of others. This is the mark of the human, and the mark of love: that the life of another can be more important than one’s own.

The deliberate decision to take up arms –against an oppressor, to put one’s life on the line for and with others, opens up a weird prophetic moment in which – however fleetingly and precariously – revolutionary freedom, equality and solidarity are tangible, present and real. It opens another kind of identity, another view of politics, and another relationship to difference. (Love, in other words.) One finds oneself pledged to the work of peace in the name of an emancipated future that remains to be fulfilled.

Benny Moyo

This is a collection of poems written about the armed struggle from a Z.I.P.R.A./Z.A.P.U perspective. The poetry covers themes of peasant-worker struggles, Pan-African and International socialist support for the armed struggle. It celebrates the Z.A.P.U/A.N.C, Z.I.P.R.A MK alliance.

Makhosazana Xaba

‘Journeying’

Panel 10: Gendering the Armed Struggle

Jefferson Ndimande:

‘The Subaltern Speaks: ZPRA Women Combatants and the Liberation War in Zimbabwe’

The paper explores women’s role as combatants in one of Zimbabwe’s liberation armies- the Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army (ZPRA). The paper employ a gender lens as a theoretical backdrop as well as the life history approach to unpack and explore the ZPRA’S women roles as combatants in Zimbabwe’s war of liberation. The paper utilises personal interviews with both ZPRA male and female combatants as well as written sources such as newspapers and archival material to explore the contribution of female combatants. Zimbabwe’s liberation war’s historiography is a contested narrative dominated by contradictions, tensions, silencing and othering. Space on the liberation war has been occupied and filled by the official ruling party narrative which appropriates the ruling ZANU PF party the major role in the liberation of the country. Further to that, the historiography of Zimbabwe’s liberation war has been androcentric, a narrative told from a masculine perspective where women are on the margins as the subaltern. The paper argues that women were not passive actors in the struggle, they were not just couriers, caregivers, nurses or combat wives and mothers, instead they were active on the frontline, some rose up the ranks to become trainers and commanders fighting to liberate their country. The papers’ novelty is to broaden and widen the discourse on the war of liberation, moving it away from the dominant-male and masculine narrative, to one of inclusivity where the voice of women are heard and their experiences captured. It further highlights that attitude towards accepting women as combatants were influenced by different time epochs as well intensity of the struggle.

Jonna Katto:

'Beautiful Mozambique Haptics of belonging in the life narratives of female war veterans'

Between 1964 and 1974 thousands of young people in the rural areas of northern Mozambique were mobilized by the guerrilla army FRELIMO to fight against Portuguese colonial rule. Hundreds of girls and young women also became engaged as guerrilla fighters in FRELIMO's political-military campaign for national independence. My paper concerns the relationship between FRELIMO nationalism and the female bodies that it sought to represent and mobilize. It is based on twelve months of multi-sited fieldwork among Ciyawo-speaking communities in northern Niassa between 2012 and 2014.

Drawing on Arnold Berleant's concept of aesthetics, this paper explores the shifting senses of socio-spatial belonging in the life narratives of female ex-combatants. Aesthetic engagement, as Berleant argues, involves our whole body and all our senses in the active perception of the environment. As the analysis shows, aesthetic sensibility is deeply intertwined with the ex-combatants' experiences of socio-spatial attachment/detachment. It influences the way belonging is negotiated at different scales (e.g. nation, province, village, family, and globe). Negotiations on one scale effect negotiations on another and cannot be isolated from each other. In the female ex-combatants' narratives, the 'national' often intertwines with the 'personal' in a violent relationship, evoking what can be called the haptics of the 'bush'. Even today, the paper argues, the aesthetics of the 'bush' and the aesthetics of home continue to be negotiated in relation to each other. Moreover, negotiating one's relationship and belonging to landscape is a gendered practice. Gender, age and one's social and economic position as a veteran together crucially shape the female ex-combatants' sense of socio-spatial belonging. Thus though the category of ex-combatant closely binds these women to the state, their experience of Mozambique is not only mediated by the spatial politics of Frelimo nationalism. The paper shows that the Mozambique that takes shape in the female ex-combatants' narratives is not a homogenous, unified landscape; rather, it is perceived as consisting of multiple and unequal landscapes that are valued according to different scales of beauty.

Bheki R Mngomezulu:

'Being the shadow of men: Women's role in the armed struggle in Southern Africa with specific reference to Ingwavuma'

The armed struggle is one of the main episodes in the political history of Southern Africa. South Africa is no exception in this regard. The armed struggle affected all sections of society, albeit in different forms and magnitude. Invariably, post-liberation histories and politics of the armed struggle tend to present men as the protagonists of the struggle. In a way, this is understandable given that more men than women were visible in direct combat with the oppressive regimes. However, most of the battles won by male combatants would have been impossible without women's contribution. A cogent analysis of liberation histories through interviews and archival documents shows that women played a significant but sometimes inadvertently

overlooked role in the armed struggle. Using Ingwavuma as a case study, this paper demonstrates how women contributed to the armed struggle in Southern Africa. The paper draws from an on-going project which is based on interviews conducted at Ingwavuma between 2014 and 2015. Further interviews are currently being organised with different cadres who operated in the area and have since occupied senior positions in government. These interviews will be augmented by archival research to be carried out in Pietermaritzburg. The thrust of the argument in this paper is that any history about the politics of the armed struggle which excludes women would be incomplete. As such, the paper proposes that instead of 'infusing' women in the histories of the armed struggle they should, in fact, be considered as key role-players and as people who kept the struggle alive. Whether the focus is on South Africa as a country or Southern Africa as a region, the reality is that women made a significant contribution to the armed struggle. Their role should be recognised, not out of empathy, but because they deserve to be noted as such.

Panel 11: Counterinsurgency and ethnic politics within the armed struggle

Garth Benneyworth:

'Bechuanaland's aerial pipeline: State surveillance, repression and counter-insurgency, 1960-1964'

The road and rail pipelines operated by the liberation movements in Bechuanaland were known as the "road to freedom." An aerial pipeline enabled high value South African political refugees and freedom fighters to move through the Protectorate as fast as possible. This air bridge ran from Lobatse, via Kasane, then over-flew Northern Rhodesia to Mbeya, and then to Dar es Salaam before returning to Bechuanaland. It operated as a mini-airline called Bechuanaland Air Safari's and was financed by Bechuanaland's government and a local millionaire businessman. Set up to support the needs of Britain's Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) this air bridge enabled SIS close surveillance of potential security issues within Bechuanaland, whilst simultaneously assisting organisations that would one day gain political power. The aerial pipeline further facilitated Britain's 'double game' of balancing its immediate interests with the Republic, versus its policy of 'reinsurance' which hinged on discreetly building contacts with the liberation movement leaders, while aligning to the longer term trends of changing political realities in Africa. This made it a key intelligence target for South Africa's security establishment who needed to penetrate this air bridge as part of their clandestine operations in Bechuanaland. Through surveillance and informants, they could then interdict the movement and activities of key personnel involved in liberation struggle operations at that time. This paper examines the setting up and operation of this air bridge, some of its key personnel and pilots, surveillance operations by the South African Police and counter intelligence actions against them by the British authorities connected to supporting this pipeline.

Lennart Bolliger:

'The Post-War Life Trajectories and Historical Narratives of Black Namibian and Angolan ExKoevoet and 32 Battalion Members'

Histories of southern Africa's liberation struggles have been primarily written in the frame of thenation and have thus largely neglected the significant role played by transnational and inter-regional connections in shaping those struggles. In this paper, This paper explores the complex and seemingly paradoxical dynamics of 'national liberation' through the case of black Namibians and Angolans, who were recruited into the South African police counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet, and the South African Defence Force's 32 'Buffalo' Battalion, and now reside in South Africa. It argues that the initially temporary 'alliances' between these soldiers and South Africa's security forces assumed a degree of permanence in the form of new and enduring military identities and loyalties. These often contradictory identities and loyalties have remained salient in influencing the history and politics not only of southern Africa as many ex-Koevoet and 32 Battalion members have served as 'private security and military contractors' in the region as well as in other parts of Africa and the world. By analysing the post-war life trajectories and historical narratives of these soldiers, this brings into the focus the transnational character of the liberation struggles and the painful legacies of the conflicts' 'internalisation' along familial, ethnic, racial, political and ideological lines.

Calisto Samuel Remedios Baquete:

'Genesis of Movements of opposition to Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) in period from 1960 to 1994. The case of COREMO'

This work intends to study in a historical way the genesis of movements of opposition to Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), in the period from 1960 to 1994, to understand the dynamics of the conflicting groups. Given that it is impossible to cover all the groups, the aim of this work will be COREMO. This study is aimed at analyzing the nature of the causes of antagonism among groups, political parties and armed movements in Mozambique, based on the deconstruction of "ethnic conflicts", to show that the main reasons were of ethnic and economic dimensions. The working methodology mostly consisted, among others, in confrontation of memories, a number of studies, interviews, primary documents, inherent to correspondences, and reports from COREMO and PIDE/DGS files.

First the analysis focused on the pre-colonial period, characterized by antagonism among ethnic groups, and dispersed resistance struggles, followed by colonial period, consolidation and divisions for leadership of nationalist movements. Further on it analyzes the armed struggles period until the ceasefire agreement, moments of conflicts, above all, the rival external and internal forces threatened by independence and creation of a new nation.

It also examines the apparent degeneration of COREMO and finally the reaffirmation stage of opposition parties and movements in the multi-party system period.

Keywords: COREMO, FRELIMO, Nationalism, Ethnicity and Political Movements

Panel 13: Mapping the Armed Struggle

Godfrey Maringira: "'Underground Operations": Azania People's Liberation Army guerrillas in South Africa'

The liberation struggle in South Africa, was fought in the townships. However, very little scholarships acknowledges the ways in which 'underground operations' were coordinated in the townships against the apartheid government forces. This paper examines underground operations by APLA guerillas, in particular their hidden activities in the fight against apartheid forces. The paper is based on life stories of APLA ex-combatants now living in the townships of Gugulethu, Nyanga east and KTC settlements in Cape Town.

Keywords: Azania People's Liberation Army, ex-combatants, military identity, liberation struggle, South Africa

Jephias Andrew Dzimbanhete:

'Sources about guerrilla activities in the Rhodesian countryside during Zimbabwe's armed struggle: the case of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) field reports'

This paper discusses the significance of one notable source of the activities of the liberation armies in the battlefield during Zimbabwe's war of liberation. These were field reports that were compiled by the frontline guerrilla fighters. The focus is on the field reports assembled by the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), one of the liberation armies during the liberation war. The author had the privilege of perusing through the documents, which were housed at the Zimbabwe African National Union/Patritic Front (ZANU/PF) headquarters in Harare, when he was conducting fieldwork for his doctoral studies. Guerrilla activities included military operations, interaction between the rural populace and the fighters, sanctions on liberation fighters for wrongdoings or contravention of set rules. This study seeks to subject these documents to critical scrutiny as Zimbabwean liberation war historiographical sources.

Asa Mudzimu:

'Convivialities, violence and deprivation: War and everyday life in guerrilla camps in Mozambique and Zambia'

The key thrust of the paper is to paint a mosaic of life in the rear camps of Zimbabwean guerrilla war of independence. Life in the rear camps constituted a critical position in the sustenance of the Zimbabwean liberation struggle. The importance of the rear camps had been attached to the training of the Zimbabwean army and the basic duty of transporting war necessities to the front. Apart from this logistical position, the rear camps had a rich convivial and introverted circumstances which, like the events at the front, shaped the flow of the liberation struggle. Most of the time was spent in the rear camps in Mozambique and Zambia, and these camps which were not only all about war, violence and bombing were as important as the



front. The structure of these rear camps, the concept of the parade as well as food rationing depict a somewhat desirable and adorable location in the reconstruction of the liberation war meta-narratives. In light of this, the study examines the everyday life relating to the social events in the rear camps. It locates this in the broader debates and narratives surrounding deprivation and disease outbreaks arguing that the everyday life in the rear camps was part and parcel of the liberation struggle which also impacted on its outcome. The study will therefore often be sustained by inter-disciplinary context, including numerous photographs, secondary sources as well as oral interviews.

Panel 15: Debates over Non-violence and the Turn to Armed Struggle

Robert Skinner:

“Ignoring the temper of the people”: the “failure” of non-violence in southern Africa, 1960-1962’

In March 1962, members of ‘Africa Freedom Action’ waited in Mbeya, Tanzania, for the call to lead a peace march across the border into Northern Rhodesia in support of the Zambian anti-colonial movement. The call never came. What had been envisaged as a pacifist counter to the emerging agenda of armed struggle in southern Africa and a movement ‘vital to ... the fate of non-violence in southern Africa’ ended as little more than a footnote in the history of decolonization.

But, between 1959-1962 international peace campaigners had established close links with African leaders, forging what seemed to be the basis for a transnational pacifist network. From anti-nuclear campaigns in Ghana through to the launch of a World Peace Brigade (WPB) - volunteers who would ‘would go to any area of tension in the world to practise moral “jiu-jitsu” on the warring inhabitants’ - activists sought to place African struggles at the heart of the global peace movement. WPB members, including the anti-apartheid activist Michael Scott and the African-American civil rights campaigner Bayard Rustin, focused efforts on nationalist and post-independence leaders in Africa. In early 1962, they had taken part in the Pan-

Africanist Conference of East, Central and Southern Africa in Addis Ababa, where they fostered the support of Kaunda. They launched Africa Freedom Action in the belief that Northern Rhodesia was the weakest link in the edifice of settler colonialism in southern Africa, but also in the hope that Kaunda’s support for non-violent action might act as a counter to the advocates of armed resistance in the region.

Along with the planned march, the group entered into discussions with Nyerere to establish a training centre for WPB volunteers. But instead, the camps that were established in Tanzania by 1964 served volunteer MK fighters. The ‘fate of non-violence’ had been sealed. But this history reveals something of the counter-narratives of the movements for liberation in southern Africa, and that far from being an inevitable development, the armed struggle developed in a complex interplay of nationalist and transnational politics. These unfulfilled peace campaigns nevertheless disclose the regional and international webs that helped give form to southern African liberation movements as they took shape in the 1960s.

Robert Vinson and Benedict Carton:

‘Albert Luthuli, Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King Jr. and the Use of International Non-Violence in South Africa’s Turn to Armed Struggle’

Albert Luthuli, ANC president from 1952-67, and Africa’s first Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1961, was one of the most renowned and respected African leaders of his era. His personal charisma, moral authority, and stirring vision of racial reconciliation and a non-racial, democratic South African rainbow nation made him a popular leader and potential head of state.

On December 16, 1961, as Luthuli returned to South Africa from Oslo, Norway, where he had just accepted his Nobel Peace Prize, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) initiated sabotage attacks in several South African cities, initiating the ANC’s turn to armed struggle that raised several questions: Did Luthuli, who had so eloquently defended Gandhian non-violent principles, now advocate violence? Had he been disingenuous in Oslo about his commitment to non-violence? Or was he a victim of an internal coup, with more militant ANC members like Mandela unilaterally steering a new course? Did he support MK and the turn to armed struggle? Or was his position on non-violence and armed struggle far more nuanced than previous scholars have indicated?

South Africans, and scholars of the anti-apartheid movement, continue to debate the turn to armed struggle, fuelling a vibrant historiographical debate in South African history that features several contrasting claims. For instance, the South African intellectual and anti-apartheid activist Raymond Suttner has argued that Luthuli viewed MK and the turn to armed struggle as “just means” to achieve a post-apartheid state. In contrast, recent Luthuli biographer Scott Couper has argued that Luthuli maintained a principled non-violent stance that led to his marginalization in the ANC. The historian Stephen Ellis affirmed Couper’s view, adding that South African Communist Party members (including Mandela) dominated MK and the strategic direction of armed struggle. The historian Paul Landau modified Ellis’ claims by emphasizing the ANC’s leadership role in the turn to armed struggle and tracing a decade-long preparation for armed struggle within a Luthuli-led ANC that had an official policy of non-violence. President Zuma’s claims at a 2010 Luthuli Memorial

Lecture that Luthuli not only sanctioned the armed struggle, but also named MK, and public outcry about Couper's arguments, reminds scholars that there is also a parallel, sometimes overlapping and frequently passionate public discourse about the role of Luthuli and Mandela in this iconic turn to armed struggle. What was Luthuli's position on armed struggle? What was the role of Mandela, himself a future winner of a Nobel Peace Prize winner, in this pivotal moment in South African history? How is Martin Luther King, Jr., famous for his American Civil Rights activism, relevant to this South African anti-apartheid story? Based on a forthcoming biography of Luthuli, this paper uses new archival sources to answer these questions and advance the historiography in this contentious, controversial area of South African liberationist history.

Conrad Chibango:

“Let my people go”: a liberation theology perspective of Zimbabwe's armed struggle

The decision by the Zimbabwean nationalists to resort to armed struggle in the fight against the white minority regime of Rhodesia brought division in the society and even among Christians. Both the white minority regime on the one hand and the liberation war movements on the other hand, blamed each other for the war atrocities that left many dead. This paper discusses the theological justification of the Zimbabwean liberation war. Since about 80% of the population in Zimbabwe is Christian, it is essential to consider the theological legacy left by this liberation war. The issue of whether going to war is right or not is not new in the history of Christianity. In the middle ages, Thomas Aquinas put forward the 'just war theory', a model which political leaders could use to decide whether it was right or wrong to go to war with any enemy. Based on the commandment 'thou shall not kill', is also another view but which accepts no circumstance in which any war can be justified. In the wake of oppressive regimes and poverty mainly experienced in the third world since the end of the 2nd World War, a theology based on the notion of liberation of the oppressed masses through both theory and activism, arose, beginning in Latin America. In South Africa, it took the form of Black Theology. In the light of Liberation Theology, this paper assesses the armed struggle in Zimbabwe in the light of Liberation theology. It is argued that liberation theologians would have supported the war but highlights that some atrocities committed by the liberation movements during the process did not merit justification.

Keywords: Liberation theology; just war theory; option for the poor; liberation war; social justice.

Panel 16: Art and Music in the Armed Struggle

Judy Seidman:

“National Liberation is necessarily an act of culture”: Visual art of the armed struggle in Southern Africa

The visual arts were fully represented within the culture of liberation that flourished within Southern Africa's liberation movements. However, relatively little has been written about visual arts representing the armed struggle. This paper aims to explore the visual arts created around the armed struggle; and begin to position this within a broader understanding of the culture dynamics of Southern Africa's liberation movements. This work is intentionally “participant and activist research”, based on the author's experience as a visual artist who worked with MK in the frontline states.

It is widely recognised that music, poetry and dance were integral cultural expressions within the liberation movements; styles were developed and practiced within military camps, then adopted throughout “liberated zones”. In contrast, the visual arts followed a different trajectory. Military spaces and structures provided little or no capacity for practicing the visual arts. Physically, there is no time and space to create works, no secure space for storage and exhibition, and little capacity for reproduction or distribution. Security issues arose over representation of fighters – photographs and realistic portraits of active fighters potentially became a danger if taken by the enemy. Thus, relatively few visual artists produced artworks expressing their experiences while simultaneously participating in the armed struggle - the outstanding example being Thami Mnyele. This paper in part discusses direct (in some cases personal) experiences of the problems encountered in this situation, and solutions found for them.

Most visual art about the armed struggle was produced within the mass movements that supported the armed struggle, to mobilise support for liberation armies, and to commemorate successes and sacrifices (key examples include art by Medu, and the work of Malangatana and the murals of Maputo). Another subset of visual artwork came out of solidarity movements, often adopting visual memes developed by other liberation struggles to Southern Africa. One result of this was that “art critics” who felt uncomfortable with the alignment to socialist ideologies accused artists in Southern Africa of using images that repeated propaganda and clichés, as opposed to drawing upon real experiences, beliefs and commitments, especially of the armed struggle. These debates played out in styles, symbols, and content of the visual art produced; moreover, they may play a role in more recent silences over assessing this body of artwork around the armed struggle as part of our visual heritage.

This paper concludes that the lack of recognition accorded to the visual art of the armed struggle forms part of a broader failure to address the positive impact of the armed struggle in cultural practice and belief for our emergent, democratic societies.

Retha Langa:

‘An unruly counter-movement to the armed struggle: The revival of song as a weapon in contemporary South Africa’

Struggle songs have been resuscitated as a potent weapon in volatile political battles in postapartheid South Africa. Many struggle songs are recalled and repurposed to mobilise support or humiliate opponents. This dynamic deployment of song takes place in the context of the country’s struggle past becoming an increasingly lively battlefield for conflicts between political rivals. Views on the role of song during the armed struggle, specifically the notion of song as a weapon of struggle, will be examined and compared with its utilisation in post-apartheid South Africa in search of an answer to why songs composed under the oppressive conditions of apartheid continue to have such a visceral impact today. A range of contexts were studied, including the deployment of song at the elective conference of the African National Congress in 2012 and a museum exhibition on the function of song during apartheid. The court transcripts of the “Dubul’ibhunu” trial between AfriForum and Julius Malema in 2011 were analysed against the background of the scholarly literature on song and the armed struggle. Focus groups will also be held to gain a better understanding of people’s memories of the role of song during the armed struggle. Song is harnessed as an uncontrollable, unpredictable weapon in the heat of political clashes in ways that form a vibrant counter-monument – in the sense used by James Young – to the armed struggle. This study of song furthermore also casts light on people’s ideas about what history should do, who has the right to claim ownership of it in contemporary South Africa, and why some existing commemorative projects to the armed struggle are experienced as alienating.

Paolo Israel:

‘Mueda Massacre: the Musical Archive’

Like Pidjiguiti in Guiné-Bissau or Baixa de Cassanje in Angola, the massacre that occurred in the northern Mozambican town of Mueda on 16th June 1960 has been inscribed in the nationalist narrative as the breaking point of anti-colonial unrest and the trigger of the armed liberation struggle. In the past twenty years several scholars have questioned the central tenets of the nationalist interpretation, especially idea that the stakes of the demonstration was political independence—a claim considered too lofty to be articulated by a mass of illiterate peasants guided by leaders enmeshed in ethnic organisations. Caught between the rhetorics of resistance and revisionism, the colonial archive and oral testimony, nationalism and ethnicity, the event itself has been rendered illegible.

To rescue June 16th from this deadlock this essay turns towards a different kind of historical material: song. Proceeding archeologically, it moves from songs that reproduce the official version; to more ancient songs that express some direct experience of the event, however layered and reformulated; to the songs that were sung at the time of the massacre. These songs pave the way to a reinterpretation of the massacre: from the point zero of a vanguardist history of national consciousness, to a utopian moment in which independence appeared as a possibility, however

unclearly understood, the political imagination expanding beyond any consideration of objective constraint.

Rithuli Orleyn:

‘Banished Struggle Memories Archived In Sound: Amagwijo As Discourse’

“As Blacks we come to understand that we cannot enter into the structure of recognition as a being and incorporation into the community of beings without that structure collapsing...” So memorializing and archiving the armed struggle in song presents us with a way to reflect on the armed struggle archive, as distillation of the ensemble of the aesthetic, where Sound and Language are metonyms for what is excluded and what enjoys recognition and incorporation in the world as we know it, respectively. This condensing of Freedom and Oppression into placeholders, namely: Sound and Language, foregrounds underpinnings of suffering in a manner that foment a way to talk about Pan-African Black Consciousness ideology as counter-dominant narrative adequate to deal an iconoclastic blow to oppression qua black-suffering (Black suffering as defined in the lexicon of Fanonian or Steve Biko school of thought).

The collections of songs composed in exile by combatants coming from ideologically different movements (in the struggle against apartheid) weave psychic inheritance to experience of which Blacks have no recollection. The songs interrogate loss that locate Black existence in Fanon’s “Zone of Nonbeing”, where Black corporeality exists in a ferment characterized by suspension of ethical relations

The study zones in on the ideological difference posited by APLA (PAC military wing) versus MK (ANC military wing) against the carnage of nine dispossession wars that took place in the Cape of South Africa between late 1700 and late 1800. This is a period dotted by gratuitous white violence which constructs a new, never before imagined, subjectivity— a Black subject defined by lack, erasure; a subject defined by equivalence to absence.

As we engage with this Black subjectivity whose speech is silent in the face of gratuitous violence that forms it, two dictums map our conceptual framework: 1) Word is first and foremost sound and 2) Where speech is forbidden noise or sound becomes discourse. We explore this discourse in the subtext of silence and discordant disruptive sounds of exile song collection

Panel 17: Pan-African Solidarities and the Armed Struggle

Lazlo Passemiers:

‘The PAC and SWAPO’s participation in the “Congo alliance”, 1963- 1964’

After the May 1963 summit of the Organisation of African Unity in Addis Ababa, the President of the Republic of Congo, Cyrille Adoula, granted permission to a number of Southern African nationalist movements to establish their political and

military headquarters in Congo. The purpose of this initiative was to transform the newly independent republic into a centre of African nationalism, and provide a base at Kinkuzu from which Southern African liberation movements could launch a coordinated offensive in their struggle for independence of the subcontinent. Both the Pan African Congress (PAC) and the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) participated in the Congo alliance. The alliance was the first time a Southern African liberation movement received permission from an African government to set up a military base in exile to train its recruits. It was also one of the first attempts by Southern African nationalist movements to join forces in order to liberate the subcontinent militarily. However, persisting leadership problems and bad logistical organisation and planning among its members, combined with the Congolese government's own political instability, made the Congo alliance a short-lived affair. The current historiography has largely neglected this early episode in southern Africa's armed struggle. By making use of interviews conducted with PAC members who were based in Congo, as well as a variety of new archival sources collected in South Africa, the UK, Belgium, and the United States, this paper comprehensively outlines the formation and breakdown of the Congo alliance and provides a detailed account of the PAC and SWAPO's participation in it. In doing so, it documents the experiences of some of the PAC's first military combatants. Such an examination furthermore illustrates the fluid relationship that existed between independent African states like Congo and Southern African liberation movements.

Joel das Neves Tembe:

'The anti-apartheid struggle and Mozambican solidarity'

The anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa was one of the most important event of the last quarter of the XX century. The struggle against apartheid was conducted within a regional context of decolonization armed struggles in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia. From Tanganyika to battlefields in southern Africa the liberation movements shared friendship and solidarity. The southern region benefited from OAU and international solidarity in support of its struggle for freedom.

With the advent of independent states in the region, the role of Frontlines States was strengthened and solidarity against apartheid was intensified with neighbouring countries providing close military, logistics and political support to freedom struggle in South Africa. Thus the last quarter of XX century witnessed a strong regional solidarity and confrontation by Apartheid regime against Mozambique and other countries in the region. The solidarity was built under historical relations and friendship foundations between bordering countries. This paper will discuss the experiences of anti-Apartheid solidarity by Frelimo's government and Mozambicans in general. Sources will be drawn from interviews and local press.

Key words: anti-Apartheid struggle, frontlines states, Frelimo, solidarity.

Clinarete Munguambe:

'Nationalism and Exile in an Age of Solidarity: Military cooperation between ZANU and FRELIMO in Mozambique (1975-1980)'

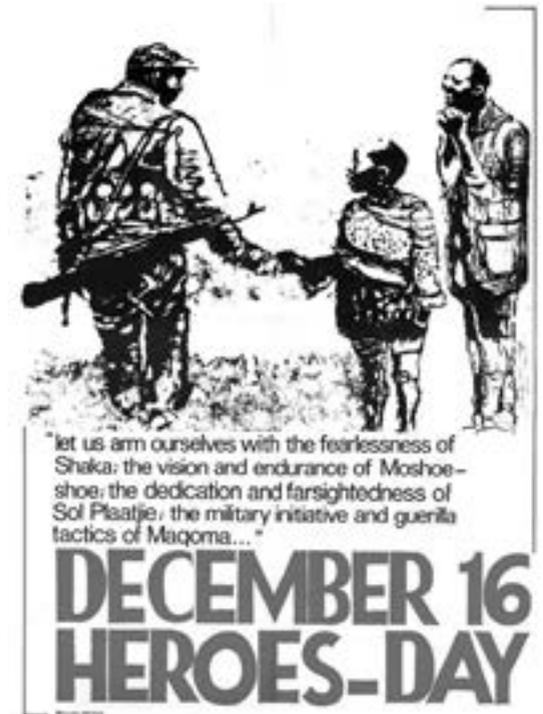
This article attempts to examine the political and military cooperation between Frelimo and ZANU, as soon as Mozambique independence. It analyses the ways in which Frelimo supported ZANU's struggle for liberation of Zimbabwe. It argues that the political and military support that Frelimo offered to ZANU, can be seen as one of element in a matrix of mutual cooperation and assistance that tied the liberation movements of Southern Africa together during the struggle for independence and against white minority regimes. This cooperation was motivated in part by feelings of reciprocal identification of one cause by another, as well as by moral values such as justice, friendship and brotherhood.

The political and military support that Frelimo gave to Zimbabwean liberation movement was also extended to Mozambican's ordinary people, particularly those who lived in the border areas in Manica, Tete and Chicualacuala. It is important emphasis that this was all facilitated by Frelimo's revolutionary ideology and justified by its political propaganda, which argued forcefully that the liberation of Mozambique would not be complete as long as Zimbabwe remained under white minority rule. The building of sense of solidarity was made much easier by the common ancestry, language and culture of those Mozambicans and Zimbabweans living in the border zones. The article is based on the analyses of archival material, newspapers, mainly the daily Notícias, Tempo, Southern Africa Magazine and Zimbabwe News as well as few interviews with Frelimo militants and Mozambicans who had contact with militants of this nationalist movement.

Matteo Grilli:

'Nkrumah's role in the armed struggle in Southern Africa (1960-1966)'

Between 1957 and 1966 Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana provided African liberation movements with funds, political support, and military training. In Nkrumah's estimation, Southern Africa was a key battle ground for Africa's future and the harsh confrontation with White settlers led him to abandon non-violence as a strategy. Both South African political refugees and members of nationalist parties of South Africa's neighboring states were hosted in Ghana. Although Nkrumah officially pushed for a



united front, the PAC not the ANC was given a leading role in Ghana's anti-apartheid plans, leading South Africa towards socialism and Pan-Africanism. From a military perspective, Poqo maintained its collaboration – although not always fruitful – with Accra. This paper aims to reconstruct the transnational military network that was built by Ghana. As Jeffrey Ahlman has shown, Accra's military involvement in the region still requires more research. Specifically, Ghanaian weapons were transported across the region, often being routed through the vast net of embassies that Nkrumah had created in Africa. Information on this routes can be either found in the Ghanaian and British papers or they are provided by informants I interviewed who witnessed these events. Based on newly available sources from the Ghanaian archives, Ghana's involvement in the armed struggle in Southern Africa will be discussed to determine the extent to which Ghana's Bureau of African Affairs contributed to liberation in Southern Africa between 1960 and 1966. Moreover, the competition with the OAU Liberation Committee will be analyzed.

Panel 18: Southern Africa's Armed Struggle and the World

Kenneth Tafira:

'Armed Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa and the Global GeoPolitical Order: South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola'

The armed liberation struggle in the Southern African countries of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola got into full swing from 1960. The struggles coincided with the post World War Two inception of the so-called Cold War pitting western capitalist countries and the socialist Eastern Block, with the Soviet Union at its headship. As the West and the East ideologically, politically and economically competed for control of the global geo-political order where they played a silent war, Southern Africa experienced a hot war. The socialist block supported the liberation movements in form of material, financial and weaponry while the West aided counter-revolutionary and reactionary insurgents. Since 1488 when Bartholomew Diaz circumnavigated the Cape and 1652 when Jan Van Riebeeck founded the colonisation of South Africa, and 1795 when the British arrived at the Cape, the Southern African region has been incrementally and gradually assuming strategic and geo-political importance in global order. Indeed Southern Africa, unlike other parts of Africa, experienced a large contingent of settler colonialism, who stationed in the region and made it their home. Western imperial capital set up base and extracted labour, resources and wealth which the region is endowed. These factors would determine the nature, form, direction and outcome of the liberation struggle. Having patterned out this background, it is the intention of this paper to analyse how the global geo-political order influenced the armed struggle. Secondly I look at how and why Southern African armed liberation movements failed to inflict military defeat on their erstwhile colonial masters. Thirdly I explore how this led to the nature of the post-colonial and post-Soviet order.

Key words: liberation struggle movements' geo-political colonial armed

Benny Moyo:

'Socialist internationalism and the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA) – a game-changer'

After the sabotage operation by youth wing cadres of the National Democratic Party {N.D.P} of the early sixties, the formation of the Zimbabwe African People's Union [ZAPU] saw the first group of cadres sent for training in the then U.S.S.R and China. Among these cadres were those who were later constitute the Luthuli detachment, led by J. Dube and deputized by Chris Hani- a joint Z.A.P.U-A.N.C operation. Thereafter in the sixties, cadres were sent for training in various military disciplines in the entire socialist block-the U.S.S.R, Czechoslovakia, the Germany Democratic Republic, Romania, Yugoslavia, Poland and Cuba. As the struggle intensified and qualitatively changed to assume a conventional form, Z.I.P.R.A crafted the final push and sent cadres to Romania and Yugoslavia to train tank and armoured cars fighters while some were sent to the U.S.S.R to train as M.I.G jet fighter pilots and different facets of regular warfare. Meanwhile in Zambia, Angola and Ethiopia there were East Germany, Russian and Cuban military advisers and instructors.

Meanwhile the weapons provided by the socialist countries particularly from 1978 onwards changed the whole complexion of the war. The surface to air missiles meant the Rhodesians could not continue to enjoy air superiority. Apart from the military hardware and support through international socialist solidarity Z.A.P.U/Z.I.P.R.A were able to access food, medical supplies, foot wear and scholarships for its cadres. Typically Z.I.P.R.A was structured along socialist lines with all units having a political commissar as the deputy commander.

Key words:- internationalism, socialist solidarity, military hardware

Chiara Torcianti:

'The struggle continues: Italian reception of the liberation movement in Mozambique'

During the '70s, Italian public opinion was seriously involved in liberation struggle in Mozambique. In particular in Emilia region, communist party and leftist movements organized campaigns and published magazines about this issue. Reggio Emilia Hospital healed Frelimo's wounded warriors; and a local family hosted Samora's son Samito. As to the cultural field, this struggle was represented as a continuation of Italian Resistance during the Second World War, using a similar lexicon and imaginary. "A lucha continua" was the rallying cry of the Frelimo movement; but the same words (Lotta continua) were the name of an Italian far left extra-parliamentary organization, which at that time resumed and disputed partisan legacy, so creating a spatial and temporal circuit. The present paper deals with Italian support to Frelimo and representation of its struggle as prismatic reflex of Italian experience and identity, with particular with particular regard to Reggio Emilia' experience. Main sources are Reggio Emilia - Africa Archives in Reggio Emilia .

Panel 19: Documenting and Archiving the Armed Struggle

Gabriele Mohale:

'What comes after the struggle?: From the Archive of Ronnie Kasrils'

Some of the leading independent archives in South Africa, particularly University archives such as Historical Papers at Wits University, have been documenting the struggle against Apartheid, including the armed struggle, prior to 1994 through collections of activists, civil rights organisations, political formations, trade unions and political trials against enemies of the Apartheid state. However, the archives of South Africans in the anti-Apartheid struggle outside South Africa, being the archives of exile, consist to a large extent of collective collections generated by the main role players in exile such as the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress. What seems to be absent from the narrative of exile, apart from oral accounts of memories in the form of interviews, are individuals' own documentations of the armed struggle. That is not surprising, giving the covert nature of the armed struggle. Using the extensive collection of Ronnie Kasrils at the Historical Papers Research Archive, this paper wants to bring out some of the items which are representative for aspects of the armed struggle, particularly in the MK camps in Angola, following the Youth uprising in 1976 in Soweto and other townships. In doing so it also wants to investigate possible reasons behind the absence of similar archives, and at the same time wanting to encourage others to contribute every bit of trace there is, for future generations to see and to understand the road which they travel beyond the borders of their home country.

Sylvester Dombo:

'Running out of time? An evaluation of "Capturing a Fading National Memory Project" in Zimbabwe'

In Zimbabwe, the history of the liberation struggle is very important. In this vein, the Zimbabwean government in 2007 launched an ambitious program to capture the memories of people involved in the liberation struggle; both veterans and collaborators. It was pointed out that 27 seven years of independence posed a great risk to the preservation of the country's liberation history as participants were either dying or losing their memories. Resultantly, the government in collaboration with the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe, the National Archives of Zimbabwe and the History Department at the University of Zimbabwe launched a program called Capturing a Fading National Memory. This article evaluates this program; how it was planned and executed. It also looks at the representativeness of the informants and their subjectivities. The article basically looks at the challenges in executing oral history project in a country then suffering serious economic and political challenges. How did the operating environment affect the end product? With the benefit of hindsight, what can we learn from the recent turbulence in ZANU PF as those formerly regarded as liberation icons are now seen as having played no part in the struggle. Was capturing a fading memory enough or we need a second volume of the same programme representing views of the present?

Films

Cuba- South Africa: After the Battle

Director: Estella Bravo, 1991, *Run time:* 58 minutes

Synopsis: Filmed on location in Angola, South Africa, Namibia and Cuba this documentary examines the Angolan war from all sides and features remarkable footage and interviews with soldiers and grieving families of those who were killed in that war.

Awards: Silver Apple, National Educational Film and Video Festival and Golden Gate San Francisco Film Festival.

Dieci giorni con i guerriglieri del Mozambico libero (Ten Days with the Guerrillas in Mozambique's Liberated Areas) (1972)

Director: Franco Cigarini, Italy, 1972, *Run time:* 23 min

Synopsis: Between August and September 1972, a delegation of the "Committee of Health Aid for the People of Mozambique" from the Italian city of Reggio Emilia was invited by the leaders of FRELIMO to visit the liberated areas of that African country. During the trip the cameraman of the Municipality of Reggio Emilia, Franco Cigarini, filmed some shots that were subsequently edited in this audio-visual product. The film documents the efforts of FRELIMO in the reorganisation, on the economic and social fronts, of the territory then under its control. Great attention is paid to the two key issues managed by the liberation movement: education and health care. The twinning between the Hospital of Reggio Emilia and the one of Cabo Delgado (led by FRELIMO) started in 1970, and this special relationship is one of the subjects of the film. Ultimately this movie wants to highlight not only the discipline and social awareness of the leadership of FRELIMO, but also the close relationship that existed between the local population and the guerrillas.

Action Kommandant (2016)

Director: Nadine Cloete, Ma'engere Film Productions, South Africa, 2016 *Run time:* 90 min

Synopsis: Action Kommandant is the untold story of slain South African liberation fighter, Ashley Kriel.

During the oppressive apartheid era Ashley was known as the Ché Guevara of Cape Town's notorious 'Cape Flats'. He was born into a single-mother, working class family in Bonteheuwel and grew to become the symbol of 1980s youth resistance.

Ashley's story is told through pockets of memory opened by those who were closest to him. A wound unended is explored through these intimate interviews.

The film opens with the voice of Ashley's mother, Ivy Kriel. This audio interview travels with us throughout the film as it introduces various chapters of Ashley's life. It serves to humanize the Ashley that has become such an icon. Ivy Kriel worked as a

tea girl at a factory and her only son's involvement in anti-apartheid movements was not something she welcomed immediately.

At 13 years old Ashley organized a protest march around his primary school before he had joined any political organization. His close friend, Gavin Adams, speaks about how they were cool cats and started a street gang called GAP. The GAP brothers joined the Bonteheuwel Youth Movement (BYM) where Quentin Michels was the chairperson. It was here that Ashley was introduced to ideologies of the then banned African National Congress.

The film traces this guerrilla soldier's development from being a member of the progressive BYM through to addressing crowds on public platforms. Ashley's popularity grew to such an extent that it became increasingly riskier for him to be an underground operative of the ANC in the Western Cape.

How did Ashley go into exile? What happened to him in the Umkhonto Wesizwe (MK) camps? What were his MK duties when he arrived back in Cape Town? Will we ever find the truth about his death?

Ashley Kriel contributed to revolutionizing working class youth. The film shows never seen before footage of Ashley's funeral and explores what went wrong with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission investigation of his murder. In a haunting last recording of his voice he sings: 'Don't mourn for me, organize'

The Routes to Freedom

Director: Patrick Ricketts, South Africa. *Run Time:* 60 min

Synopsis: The documentary gives a much-needed perspective on the role played by the people of Botswana, before and after independence from Britain, in support of the liberation struggles in Southern Africa. In particular the documentary explains the origins, operation and impact of the Francistown-Kasane route and its significance in the region's history of resistance to colonialism, racism and apartheid.

On a political level, the central thesis of the film is that colonialism, racism and apartheid inextricably linked the destinies of the countries of Southern Africa. Political organisations, as well as ordinary citizens of the region, realised that no country would be free until all are free. There was indeed a selfless sense of solidarity across Southern Africa.

On an operational level, the film shows that the movement of people through the migrant labour system gave activists, particularly those in Botswana, the building blocks on which to build a reliable and efficient route into exile and military training for thousands of young men and women who sought to continue the political struggle through armed means. These brave and committed individuals could later return to their respective countries to conduct military operations through these very same routes.

On a historical level, the film uses never before seen interviews with those directly involved in operating this vital pipeline to freedom, as well as those who were transported by the Botswana pipeline workers. The film fills a gap in the commonly understood history of armed resistance in Southern Africa by elevating this essential contribution of the Botswana people to its rightful place.

Among those who feature in the film are: Mike Dingake, Klaas Motshidisi, Simon Tladi, Marten Kapewasha, Helao Shityuwete, Chris Hani, James April, Baba Dlamini, Timothy Williams and others.

Flame

Director: Ingrid Sinclair, 1996, *Run time:* 90 min.

Synopsis: Set during Zimbabwe's War of Liberation, two fifteen year old girls, Florence and Nyasha, leave their traditional village to join the guerrilla army fighting based in the bush. It's a new world. The training camp is harsh, but in many ways it broadens their horizons. They train with the men and no longer kneel before them as they did in the village. They take classes in political education. But they also find out that one of the trainees is sleeping with a Commander - the only girl with food and soap to relieve the everlasting dirt and hunger. They're horrified, but before long, Florence too is forced to sleep with a Commander. The story unfolds with birth and then tragic death, till grief pushes Florence, now with the war name of Flame, to become a crack soldier. Based on true stories and detailed research, the film never shies from the complex and contradictory actions and decisions faced by a traditional young woman in her new task as a soldier. It is this web of understanding that universalizes difficult discussions about war and independence, loss and victory, gender and politics, and has given FLAME a universal perspective that has led to worldwide demand.

Festivals, Awards: Cannes Film Festival, Director's Fortnight; Human Rights Watch, New York (Nestor Almendros prize); Amiens (Best Film, Best Actress); JCC, Tunisia (Special jury prize); Southern African Film Festival (Best film); M-Net TV (Best music); Annonay (Best film); COE Milan (Best film); Mill Valley; Mannheim (Best documentary) and many more.

Stories, Shadows and Dust: Experiences of the SADF Soldier in the Southern African Bush War (2012)

Director: Garrett Eriksen, 2012 *Run Time:* 36:09 min

Synopsis: An intimate documentary covering the experiences of five SADF veterans who served in Angola during the South African Border War. A mix of archive footage, interviews and slides illustrate the story of these individuals on what their time on The Border meant to them, what they experienced whilst deployed and how it impacted their relationship with the world at large.

"An intimate documentary covering the experiences of five SADF veterans who served in Angola during the South African Border War. A mix of archive footage, interviews and slides illustrate the story of these individuals on what their time on The Border meant to them, what they experienced whilst deployed and how it impacted their relationship with the world at large."

Tribute to the Frontline States

Director: Mandy Jacobson and Barbara King, South Africa, 2014, *Run time:* 53 min.

Synopsis: A Tribute to the Frontline States tracks three generations of Sisulu's through to their return from exile from the Frontline States. This portrait recognizes the extraordinary alliance known as 'The Frontline States', whose generosity and bravery provided a home in exile to one of the longest-lived revolutionary movements on the African Continent. Illustrious liberation movement icons Thabo Mbeki, Kenneth Kaunda, Joachim Chissano, and Ketumile Masire, detail how the Frontline States put themselves in harm's way in this high-risk venture to secure South Africa's Freedom.



Biographies

Benneyworth, Garth

Garth is a historian who specialises in South African military history with a particular focus on the Armed Struggle and the South African War (1899-1902). He is published on the Armed Struggle. In 2015, the Routledge Taylor & Francis Group chose his paper, *Armed and Trained, Nelson Mandela's 1962 military mission as Commander in Chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe and provenance for his buried Makarov pistol*, as one of 12 publications under the category History to honour Nelson Mandela's life and legacy. Garth developed a number of key post 1994 heritage projects, including the Nelson Mandela National Museum where he served as a Councillor, the Chief Albert Luthuli Museum and Liliesleaf. During 2001 to 2008, Garth pioneered the first ever archeological surveys and excavations on 7 Black concentration camp sites dating from the South African War (1899-1902), a subject of his PhD Degree.

Bolliger, Lennart (University of Oxford)

DPhil Candidate in International Development at the University of Oxford

Carton, Benedict (The College of William and Mary and George Mason University)

is the Robert T. Hawkes Professor of History and Africa Coordinator of the African & African American Studies Program at George Mason University, Virginia, USA. He received his PhD in History from Yale and taught at the University of Natal (now U. KwaZulu-Natal), where he was twice a Fulbright scholar. He is the author of *Blood from Your Children: Colonial Origins of Generational Conflict in South Africa* (2000) and co-editor of *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present* (2008). His recent essay on armed struggle, 'Forgetting Apartheid: History, Culture and the Body of a Nun' (with Leslie Bank), appeared in *AFRICA* 86,3 (2016). Carton's next book with Robert Vinson is titled, "Shaka's Progeny, A Transnational History: Zulu and Americans in the Arc of Racial Justice, 1820-2000."

Chibango, Conrad (Great Zimbabwe University)

is a lecturer in the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies at Great Zimbabwe University.

Cloete, Nadine

is an independent documentary filmmaker passionate about identity and history as themes in her work. The documentary about Ashley Kriel is her first feature film.

Dombo, Sylvester (Great Zimbabwe University)

teaches history at the Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo School of Arts and Humanities. His research interests include media democracy, land reform, religion and politics.

Douglas, Helen

From 1987 to 1990, Helen and Rob Douglas kept a safe house in Johannesburg as part of Operation Vula. They were recruited in Canada, where they were active in the anti-apartheid movement, and returned there when Vula was uncovered. The questions raised by her experience in South Africa led Helen to study philosophy. Returning to South Africa in 1997, Helen now works as a counselling philosopher in Cape Town, offering an engaged, emancipatory alternative to orthodox psychotherapy. Her first book, *Love and Arms: Violence and Justification after Levinas*, came out in 2011 and she has published extensively on philosophical practice. Her current project is a more poetic and personal meditation on war, the underground, subjectivity and peace. Website: www.philosophy-practice.co.za.

Dzimbahete, Jephias Andrew (Great Zimbabwe University)

is currently a History lecturer at Great Zimbabwe University. with a D. Lit. & Phil. degree in History

Fisher, Anton

is a former MK operative in the Western Cape; he produced the film *The Routes to Freedom*

Eriksen, Garrett (Stellenbosch University)

grew up in Oudtshoorn in the Western Cape working with animals at a wildlife park, then studied History at Rhodes University, with an interest in military history. After he completed an MSc in African Studies at Edinburgh University, where he produced the first film-based dissertation in departmental history.

Grilli, Matteo (University of the Free State)

is a historian specialized in the history of modern Africa, dealing in particular with the history of decolonization and Pan-Africanism. He obtained his BA in History at the University of Rome in 2008 and he completed his MA in "Afro-Asian Studies" at the Univ. of Pavia in 2010. In 2015, he completed his PhD at the Univ. of Leiden and the Univ. of Pavia (Joint-PhD program). In 2016, he joined the International Studies Group of the Univ. of the Free State as a post-doctoral fellow.

Hadebe, Samukele (Public Policy Research Institute of Zimbabwe)

is a director at the Centre for Public Engagement, an independent think tank on citizen participation in public policy processes in Zimbabwe. He previously held a similar position at the Public Policy Research Institute of Zimbabwe. He worked as a principal director, Government of Zimbabwe 2010-2013 and previously he was a lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe (1995- 2009). He holds a doctorate in linguistics and has published extensively in lexicography, Ndebele literature and culture.

Hala, Mike (Rhodes University)

born in Queenstown, was part of the 1976 generation who played a key role in energising and shaping the various sites of struggle for the national liberation of South Africa. Hala was a student activist at his school, Mzomhle High, and harassed and detained by the apartheid security police. In the midst of his matric year, Hala sought out the African National Congress (ANC) and South African Communist Party (SACP) in exile. Profoundly effected by the conditions of severe repression in apartheid South Africa at the time Hala opted to join Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). In recognition of his formidable strategic capabilities in a military environment he rose rapidly to a position of leadership in MK. As the first commander of MK Special Forces, he underwent military training in locales such as the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Ghana and Cuba; participated in key MK campaigns and operations; developed close relations with key figures in the ANC (notably Chris Hani) and developed an extensive knowledge of political and social issues. With the advent of democracy Mr Hala was part of the process of the integration of various statutory and non-statutory military forces after 1994. In 1996 Hala left the new South African National Defence Force (SANDF). He has served in various senior management positions in the Eastern Cape Provincial Government, and is currently employed as Director of Security for the Eastern Cape Department of Health.

Hlongwane, Ali Khangela (City of Johannesburg)

works for the City of Johannesburg as Head of Museums and Galleries. He holds a Ph.D. in Heritage and an MA in Public Culture and Biography and Society both from Wits University. Hlongwane is co-editor with Sifiso Ndlovu and Mothobi Mutloatse of *Soweto 76- Reflections on the liberation struggles. Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of June 16, 1976* and editor of *Footprints of the "Class of 76": Commemoration, memory, mapping and heritage*. He has published in various journals including the *Pan African Journal*, *Journal of African Cultural Studies* and *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*. His research interests are in heritage, memory, commemoration and the life histories of Pan Africanist Congress activists (veterans).

Israel, Paolo (University of the Western Cape)

was born in Rome, Italy. He studied Philosophy at the University of Rome "La Sapienza", where he graduated with a dissertation on oral style in traditional Italian storytelling. In 2001 he enrolled for doctoral studies at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in Sciences Sociales of Paris, with a focus on the anthropology of art and performance. Since 2002

he has carried out research in northern Mozambique on themes connected with dance, music, magic and history. His book, *In Step with the Times: Mapiko Masquerades of Mozambique* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014) charts the historicity of Makonde masquerades throughout the twentieth century. He has also written on traditional storytelling, orality, liberation songs, contemporary art, and witchcraft. He lives at works in Cape Town.

Jordan, Zweledinga Pallo

was born on May 22 1942 in, Kroonstad, Orange Free State, grew up in Cape Town. He was active in politics since age 7 selling movement newspapers; and active in Cape Peninsula Student's Union and later the Modern Youth Society as teenager.

He worked for the ANC in the Department of Information and Publicity (DIP) as head of Research on a full-time basis from 1975; and was appointed head of Radio Freedom in 1977.

In 1979 Jordan was appointed director of the ANC's first internal mass propaganda campaign, "The Year of the Spear", marking the centenary of the Battle of Isandhlwana of 1879.

He led a number of delegations of ANC scholars to international conferences and seminars in Zimbabwe, Tanzania, the USA, Britain, and the then USSR.

He served on the National Preparatory Committee for the Kabwe Consultative Conference in 1985.

He was elected to the National Executive Committee(NEC) 1985 and served as administrative secretary of the NEC secretariat from 1985 to 1988.

Jorday was convenor on the NEC's Strategy and Tactics Committee; and served on the NEC's sub-committee on Negotiations and the NEC's sub-committee on Constitutional guidelines.

In 1989 he succeeded Thabo Mbeki as director of information and publicity.

Jordan accompanied Oliver Tambo, Mac Maharaj, Chris Hani, Thabo Mbeki and James Stuart to the meeting between White business leaders and the ANC at the Luangwa Game Reserve, Zambia in 1986.

He was part of the ANC's delegations to the IDASA-sponsored Dakar (1987) and Paris (1989) conferences.

He returned to the South Africa in June 1990; he was re-elected to his NEC position at ANC conferences held in 1991 (the ANC's first elective conference inside the country in 30 years), and again in 1994, 1997, 2002 and 2007.

Jordan served as Minister of Posts and Telecommunications; Environmental Affairs and Tourism; and Arts and Culture.

Junior, Miguel (Institute Military Technical Angola)

is currently a Lieutenant General Angolan Armed Forces. He holds a Masters of Military History and a PHD in History. He is also Professor of Military History at the Institute

Military Technical Angola; and the author of several books and many articles on Defense, Security and History.

Katto, Jonna (University of Helsinki)

is a doctoral student from the University of Helsinki. She's completing her doctoral studies at the Department of World Cultures in 2016. Her research is about female guerrilla soldiers who fought in the Mozambican war of independence from 1964 to 1974.

King, Barbara

is a producer, content director, writer of documentaries and talk shows in South Africa since 1993. Her documentaries focus on socio-political-cultural aspects of Southern Africa.

Langa (née Grobbelaar), Retha (University of the Witwatersrand)

is currently completing her PhD degree in Heritage at the University of the Witwatersrand. Her thesis focuses on the deployment of struggle songs as active heritage in political battles in contemporary South Africa. Retha successfully applied for her Master's degree to be converted into a PhD in 2013. She has an Honours degree in History from the University of the Witwatersrand (with distinction) and a BPhil degree in Journalism from Stellenbosch University.

Mabandla, Nkululeko (CAS, UCT)

founded the People's Learning Theatre Organization after returning to South Africa after political exile, Mabandla and worked as a consultant in the areas of management of change and organisational development. Nkululeko has also worked in the Film and TV industry as an actor, director and script writer. In 2010, he went back to further his education which had been cut short by his anti-apartheid activism and completed an MA, with distinction, at UCT's Sociology Department in 2012. Nkululeko's thesis was entered into an international competition, sponsored by Leiden University's (Netherlands) African Studies Centre (ASC-Leiden), and won the Afrika Thesis Award 2012, for the best thesis based on original empirical research on Sub Saharan Africa. His thesis, has since been published in book form in 2013. Nkululeko is a doctoral fellow at the Institute for Humanities in Africa. His current research is on Chinese traders in South Africa's rural towns.

Macmillan, Hugh (African Studies Centre, University of Oxford, University of the Western Cape)

is a historian who has published widely on the history of Southern Africa. His most recent books are *The Lusaka Years: The ANC in Exile in Zambia* (2013) and *Chris Hani, a Jacana pocket biography* (2014). His pocket biography of Jack Simons is in the press. He is currently a research associate at the African Studies Centre, University of Oxford and

an extraordinary researcher at the University of the Western Cape.

Maharaj, Mac

has been active in the freedom struggle since 1953. During its course he has served on the central committee and politburo of the SACP, and as secretary of the Internal Political Reconstruction Department of the ANC, on the Revolutionary Council and Politico-Military Council as well as the NEC of the ANC. In the U.K. he was a founder member of the AntiApartheid Movement.

Mac served a term of twelve years on Robben Island Prison. During the negotiations and transition he was joint secretary of Codesa and the MultiParty Negotiation Forum and the Transitional Executive Council. He served as Minister of Transport in the first democratic government of SA. He retired in 2015 after serving as spokesman of the President from 2011-2015. He edited *Reflections in Prison* and has been the subject of a biography by Pdraig O'Malley entitled *Shades of Difference: Mac Maharaj and the Struggle for South Africa*.

Makanyisa, Ishmael (Great Zimbabwe University)

is a lecturer at Great Zimbabwe University. He holds a Master's degree in African History from Midlands State University in Zimbabwe, and is currently a permanent lecturer in the School of Arts and Humanities and teaches History and Development studie with a great passion for contemporary issues and past events. He is also a PhD part time student in Development Studies with Wits University

Mangashe, Patrick

was recruited into the ANC in 1977, joined MK in 1978, underwent military training from 1979 to 1983. Infiltrated back inside in 1986, based in the Border region. He oined the NIA in 1985; he is presently reading for History Masters with the University of Fort Hare.

Maringira, Godfrey (University of the Western Cape)

is a VolkswagenStiftung Foundation Post-Doctoral Fellow at the University of the Western Cape. His areas of interest include the ethnography of war, Veterans life in the aftermath of conflict and Military landscapes

McKinley, Dale T.

is an independent writer, researcher and lecturer who has been based in Johannesburg for 25 years. He holds a PhD. in International Political Economy from the University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill in the USA. Dale is a long-time political activist and has been involved in social movement, community and liberation struggles for over three decades. He is the author of four books and has written widely on various aspects of South African and international political, social and economic issues and struggles. Dale

occasionally lectures at university level and is a regular speaker at various civil society and academic social and political conferences and events. He is a regular contributor to the South African print media as well as commentator on radio and television.

Melber, Henning (Nordic Africa Institute)

graduated in Political Sciences (PhD) and Development Studies (habilitation). He had joined SWAPO as a son of German immigrants in 1974 and was exiled from 1975 to 1989. He was Director of the Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit (NEPRU) in Windhoek from 1992 to 2000 and then re-located to Uppsala/Sweden to become the Research Director of the Nordic Africa Institute (2000-2006) and subsequently the Executive Director of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (2006-2012). He is a Senior Advisor to both institutions, Extraordinary Professor at the Department of Political Sciences/University of Pretoria and the Centre for Africa Studies/University of the Free State and Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies/University of London. He is co-editor of the Africa Yearbook (Leiden: Brill), managing co-editor of Africa Spectrum and editor-in-chief of the Strategic Review for Southern Africa.

Mngomezulu, Bhekithemba Richard (UWC/Mzala Nxumalo Centre)

comes from Ingwavuma in northern KwaZulu-Natal Province in South Africa. He has seven academic degrees in Politics, History and Education, plus a Senior Secondary Teachers Diploma. Five of these degrees were obtained at South African universities while two (including his PhD) were obtained at Rice University in Texas, USA. To-date, Prof. Mngomezulu has published four books, three book chapters, twelve book reviews and several journal articles. He has presented over 90 academic papers nationally and internationally. He is the Professor of Political Science at UWC and also serves as the CEO of the Mzala Nxumalo Centre for the Study of South African Society. Prof. Mngomezulu is the President of the Economic History Society of Southern Africa and belongs to many other academic bodies. He also serves in the Nelson Mandela Museum Council. His research interests include: international relations, African comparative politics, higher education and traditional leadership.

Mohale, Gabriele (Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand)

is an archivist at the Historical Papers Research Archive at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Originating from the German Democratic Republic, she studied and worked in the printing industry for 11 years, when she got married to a South African living in exile in GDR. She left for Tanzania in 1990 joining her husband who then returned to South Africa in 1991.

She worked at the ANC Headquarters until 1994 and later took up employment at the University of the Witwatersrand. Over the years she graduated with a Bachelor of Information Science from the University of South Africa (UNISA) and a Masters in Heritage Studies from the University of the Witwatersrand.

Moloi, Tshepo (History Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand)

is a researcher in the History Workshop Research Group, University of the Witwatersrand. He is the author of A Place of Thorns: Black political protest in Kroonstad Since 1976 (Wits University Press, 2015). He has published on student politics in South Africa. He is currently researching histories of resistance in Mpumalanga province in the 1980s and 1990s.

Moyo, Benny (Mafela Trust)

holds a Certificate of Education, Bachelor of Education and Masters in Education, {Father was a member of the ZAPU national council} He is a poet and teacher, Board member of Mafela Trust

Mthembi, Fumani (Knowledge Pele)

is the managing director of Knowledge Pele, the research and development subsidiary of the Pele Energy Group. Highest education level: MA Science and Development.

Mudzimu, Asa (Rhodes University)

is a student doing MA in African History at Rhodes University, South Africa; completed Honours in History degree with the University of Zimbabwe; worked as a History teacher in Harare before became a Teaching Assistant at the University of Zimbabwe, History Department. Mudzimu has many research interests including the legacy of colonialism, medical history and the liberation struggle.

Mungambe, Clinarete (Universiity of the Western Cape)

studied at UWC, achieving a Master in History December 2007; and BA-Honors in History, Eduardo Mondlane University. From 2012 he worked as Research Assistant at the History Research Center (CPHLLN) in Maputo ; from December 2007 to May 2009 as Research Assistant in the Research Project "Methods and Results of Health Campaigns in Mozambique, 1975 1985", Karonlinska Institut.

Mujere, Joseph, (University of Zimbabwe)

is a senior lecturer in the History Department at the University of Zimbabwe. He is also Research Associate in the Society, Work and Development Institute (SWOP), University of the Witwatersrand. He holds a PhD (History) from the University of Edinburgh. His research interests include migration, belonging, citizenship as well as media and society. Some of his articles appear in journals such as South African Historical Journal, Journal of Southern African Studies, Africa and Journal

Ndimande, Jefferson (Solusi University, Zimbabwe)

studied History as well as Literature in English for an undergraduate degree in

Zimbabwe, and then later on took up Peace and Conflict Studies at postgraduate level. Currently he teaches courses at the Department of History, Peace and Conflict Studies, in Conflict Theory, Peacebuilding, Human Rights and other areas. His research interests range from the International relations of liberation movements, borderlands and the Zimbabwean liberation war with a particular focus on the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZPRA) which was the armed wing of Zimbabwe's African Peoples Union (ZAPU). Narratives of the history of liberation movements tend to capture the exploits of the 'great men' those who perhaps were leaders and commanders, yet leaving out the 'little men' who without them, there would not have been the foot soldiers, He is also influenced by the ideas of Michel Foucault and Gayatri Spivak's concept of the subaltern, and the life histories approach which empowers the subaltern to tell his or her story, to bring them into the grand narrative. He uses an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the past and has been 'experimenting' with integrating linguistics in order to unfold and understand more about the past.

Orleyn, Rithuli (The Con Magazine, Afrikadaa)

is a contributing editor for The Con Magazine and a writer for a French magazine on art and politics called Afrikadaa; she has written for Mail and Guardian and Mahala portal, and co-authored a postgraduate study paper on Social Determinants of HIV among Men who have Sex with Men in Cape Town (a paper yet to be published). As a song-writer, her work features on two SAMA nominated albums by an artists who's work, in film, garnered a nomination for Oscar awards.

As part of her activism, through Blackhouse Kollektive Philosopher in Soweto Series vehicle, she has convened and chaired public lecture events graced international luminaries Prof Charles Mills (USA), Prof Lewis Gordon (USA), Prof Janine Jones (USA), Prof Mogobe Ramose (RSA), and clinical psychologist Dr Umar Johnson (USA). She trained in Information System, Project Management and Business Analysis at Cape Peninsula University of Technology.

Passemiers, Lazlo (University of the Free State)

is a PhD student at the Centre for Africa studies at the University of the Free State; he has recently submitted his thesis, 'South Africa and the 'Congo crisis', 1960-1965', which examines South African involvement in and perceptions of the 'crisis' during Congo's First Republic. He has been awarded a three year post-doctoral fellowship at the University of the Free State.

Radebe, Zandi (UNISA)

is an academic at the Department of Political Sciences at the University of South Africa, teaching Political Philosophy at third year level. Research interests include Decoloniality, Black consciousness and Critical Race Theory, Fanonian

Thought, Radical African feminist and Black Feminism; currently enrolled for a PHD program at UNISA focussing on the Negotiated Settlements and the lived experiences of APLA and AZANLA combatants.

Patrick Ricketts

is director and producer of *The Routes to Freedom*; he is a former MK commander.

Sadomba, Frederick (Zimbabwe Open University)

is currently senior lecturer and chairperson in the department of peace, leadership and conflict resolution at the Zimbabwe Open University. Areas of interest include defence and security, peace studies, national security, human security, gender and conflict.

Seidman, Judy

is a visual artist who worked as a graphic artist with ANC in various frontline states from 1972 to 1990; as a member of Medu Art Ensemble (Gaborone) 1980 – 1985; with MK structures 1985-1990; and subsequently in Johannesburg. Seidman has written extensively on visual arts and culture of resistance; books include (as part of Posterbook Collective) *Images of Defiance* (1990); and *Red on Black, the Story of the South African Poster Movement* (2007).

Skinner, Robert (University of Bristol, UK)

works on the history of transnational social movements and has written extensively on the origins of anti-apartheid activism, and more recently on peace campaigners and decolonization. He has taught at the Universities of Sussex and Bristol in the UK.

Stevens, Simon (St John's College, University of Cambridge)

has been appointed as Research Fellow at St John's College, Cambridge University for 2016-2017; In September 2017, he will take up a Lectureship in International History at the University of Sheffield (UK). He completed undergraduate and master's degrees at the University of Cambridge, and then a doctorate in History at Columbia University in New York. He is currently a Max Weber Postdoctoral Fellow at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. His doctoral thesis, defended in October 2015, was entitled "Boycotts and Sanctions Against South Africa: An International History, 1946-1970"; forthcoming as a monograph. Stevens has published in *Diplomatic History and Humanity* (forthcoming, 2016), and contributed chapters to *The Breakthrough: Human Rights in the 1970s*, eds. Samuel Moyn and Jan Eckel, and *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World*, ed. Quinn Slobodian.

Tafira, Hashi Kenneth (Archie Mafeje Research Institute)

is a researcher at Archie Mafeje Research Institute, University of South Africa. He holds a doctoral degree in Anthropology from University of the Witwatersrand.

Tembe, Joel das Neves (Arquivo Historico de Mocambique)

holds a PhD in African History from SOAS; Director of National Archives of Mozambique

and Lecturers at Eduardo Mondlane University. Research interests and some publications on Nationalism and liberation struggle in Mozambique and Southern Africa

Torcianti, Chiara (Istoreco)

graduated (first level degree, 3 years) in Cultural Anthropology in 2005 with a thesis entitled Bahutu and Batutsi. A historical and anthropological analysis of Rwandan “ethnic groups” at the University of Bologna; earning a second level degree (2 years) in History of Europe (Contemporary Curriculum) in 2008 with a thesis of History and Institution of Modern and Contemporary Africa entitled Healing local practices and social change in Rwanda between Colonialism and Independence. In 2015, she achieved a post-graduate specialization (Italian “Master”) in Historical Communication with an audio-visual product entitled On the footsteps of Mario and Fermo (at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uDtn6XT6Y7w>). Currently, she is studying at the School of Archives Management, Palaeography and Diplomacy of State Archives in Modena. Since 2014, she has collaborated with the Historical Institute for the Resistance and the Contemporary Era in Reggio Emilia (ISTORECO). In 2016, she was appointed to handle the Reggio-Africa Archives and the African Collections stored in ISTORECO. Publications: – Healing customary practices and social change in Rwanda between Colonialism and Independence, in Nicolini B., Taddia I. (eds), *The Horn of Africa. Medicine, Politics, History*, Novalogos (2011); – Busana, 1922-1926. The summer sanatorium for veterans affected by tuberculosis, in *RSRicerche Storiche*, n.12 (April 2016), p. 9. October 31st, 2016

Vinson, Robert Trent (The College of William and Mary and George Mason University)

is Cummings Associate Professor of History and Africana Studies at the College of William and Mary. He is the author of several books and articles, including *The Americans are Coming!: The Dream of African American Liberation in Segregationist South Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012), *Before Mandela, Like A King: The Prophetic Politics of South African Anti-Apartheid leader Chief Albert Luthuli* (Athens: Ohio University Press, forthcoming) and, with Benedict Carton, *Zulu Diasporas: South Africa, the United States and Black Liberation*.

Williams, Christian (University of the Free State)

studies Southern Africa’s liberation struggles and their aftermath through the experiences of Namibians who lived in Africa’s frontline states during the struggle years. He completed his Ph.D. in Anthropology and History at the University of Michigan and was a fellow at the University of the Western Cape’s Centre for Humanities Research before moving to the Free State, where he now lectures in the UFS Department of Anthropology. Williams’ monograph, *National Liberation in Postcolonial Southern Africa: A Historical Ethnography of SWAPO’s Exile Camps*, was published in 2015 with Cambridge University Press.

