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TRANSCRIPTION

Speaker	Dialogue
MN	This is an interview with Amos Ngwenya who has agreed to be interviewed as part of the Zenzo Nkobi Photographic Archive Project. The interview is being conducted by Mary Ndlovu and Zephaniah Nkomo on behalf of SAHA and Mafela Trust. This interview is conducted on 22 November 2010, Bulawayo.
MN	So Amos, first of all can you tell us a bit about yourself. How did you come to be in the struggle and what role you played
AN	Well, I first joined the armed revolutionary movement in Zimbabwe, Southern Rhodesia then, in 1957 at the formation of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress which was banned; then the National Democratic Party was formed in 1960. I was one of those people which attended, and then after it was banned, ZAPU was formed December 1961, then banned in 1962. Then after our restriction to various places [inaudible] we met again. Then the party, the National Executive of ZAPU, held a meeting in January 1963 in Salisbury, Harare, to review the pledge not to form another party. It was discussed; the meeting lasted many hours from 8 in the evening up to 2 a.m. Finally the meeting reaffirmed that we would not form another party but now, to enter into armed struggle. Then after that meeting...
MN	This was in which year?
AN	January 1963. Then after that meeting, after that decision, then the National Executive decided to open external offices, but we had an office already but it wasn't functioning in



Speaker	Dialogue
	<p>Tanzania; I think the man who was there was David .. David Mpongo. Then they decided to open offices in Zambia, but before its Independence, but I'm thinking that it was clear that the following year Zambia was going to be granted Independence. Because of those meetings it was the most reasonable place for ZAPU to operate from. So then myself and the late Willie Musarurwa were appointed the two representatives to Zambia. We were the people to open an office there, in 19.. I still remember the date - 8th of March, 1963,. Well we went on there, our main information was diplomatic work and also mobilization of Zimbabweans who were resident in Zambia, in all the cities and rural areas like Mumbwa where there were many Zimbabweans there, to participate in the preparation of the armed struggle and most .. some of the guerrillas were recruited from Zambia from those Zambians who were there, those Zimbabweans who were in Zambia Then in 1964, then rather before that the headquarters of ZAPU, the external headquarters was in Dar es Salaam, but then in 1964 then it was transferred to Lusaka. In fact I would say all liberation movements from Southern Africa, ANC of South Africa, SWAPO, FRELIMO, MPLA all moved to Zambia to operate from there.</p> <p>So then I would say we remained two, myself and Musarurwa. Musarurwa came home, he was arrested and detained. I remained to run the office myself on my own. There are some people who came there recruited but they were on their way for training for military training .. China, North Korea, GDR and other countries like that, Soviet Union, where the majority went to .and. then when the ... then the people came especially after the 1963 Cold Comfort Conference, the Vice President James Chikerema, George Nyandoro, JZ. Moyo, T.G. Silundika, Edward Ndlovu were appointed to go and operate from outside the country, to lead the armed struggle from outside, in Zambia. So they all came out there so we had to [inaudible] over the whole administration of the party with myself and another administrative officer but not a member of the national executive. So this went on in that form, the time came after the training of Akim Ndlovu, Dumiso Dabengwa, many others; then a military structure was formed. ... military, with Akim Ndlovu as the commander, intelligence section also formed with Dumiso Dabengwa appointed the head of the intelligence department. These were known as the military wing of the party, but doing separate functions, intelligence and military operations but working together and having same meetings as commanders of the military wing.</p>
ZN	What was it called?
AN	It was called the Special Affairs Department. [laughter] At that time well the military operations was a special affair - only the Vice President, James Chikerema, and J Z Moyo were responsible who would report to others later on, I mean on those matters which could be informed to other people. That means there were certain issues which could not be released, isn't it. So we went on very well with that one 1964, 65, 66, 67.
MN	Were there military operations going on?
AN	Oh yes going on yes they were going on. The major one that went on was the one that was carried out jointly with Umkhonto we Sizwe of South Africa in Wankie and, also in western Mashonaland - Sipolilo and other places like that. So I was in administration at the time so but at the same time representative for ZAPU in Zambia there operating the



Speaker	Dialogue
	external office. Now another person that joined us Stephen Parirenyatwa who took over after ...when Musarurwa had been detained inside the country. He came outside. So we went on like that. There were changes here and there. One time Stephen Parirenyatwa was transferred to Dar es Salaam, the other one was taken to Lusaka, but I remained there just seeing to all these people
ZN	How as the co-operation of Zimbabweans who were living in Zambia, who went there during the Federation?
AN	Oh they co-operated very well. We formed branches in all the major cities of Zambia. Livingstone, Choma, Mazabuka, Lusaka, Kabwe - which was Broken Hill at the time - Ndola, Lunashya, Kitwe, Mufulira, Chingola, Bancroft, and then also rural areas like Mumbwa, Liteta, these were areas with a large population of Zimbabweans; they all also belonged to ZAPU. Of course, in 1963 in August there was a split. You see that; you see then of course that thing brought all the functions to an end; it was quite a big problem. Fortunately the ... those people who joined ZANU wanted to take over the offices but the Zambian government intervened, said 'no,no,no [inaudible] in terms of our laws you cannot if one person remains here he owns property of ZAPU
ZN	So from the time of the split up to 1971 how was the party operating?
AN	It was operating very well; it had grown strong, very strong outside the country
ZN	What changes were there, what new things came
AN	I don't see any, except the branches expanded, the number of branches increased during that period. Many young people joined the party structures... from Zambia formed those branches, adding to those that came from inside the country. You remember I think it was 1967 when the OAU forced both ZAPU and ZANU to recruit 50 recruits within two weeks. It was very difficult, because they wanted to judge which one of the two had support. So that's when we used what we called we used a Swahili name.. we actually ... the British called it press-ganged
ZN	<i>Chikuwa</i>
AN	<i>chikuwa</i> that's right yes. Chikuwa ... I mean Nkiwane would tell you the details because they were the ones who were operating things there in the field there
ZN	What was the game here in <i>chikuwa</i>
AN	<i>Chikuwa</i>
ZN	<i>Chikuwa</i> , what was the game
AN	The game was to just force the Zimbabweans physically ... all these I mean men of good age to join they were forced into it and we, where they were trained. You see it became a big big thing by newspapers. Not only in Zambia, the whole world. [inaudible] We said "No even in the days of Lobengula here the young people were compelled to go to the armed forces". You see. But it ended there, you see, but we continued to have people coming from Zimbabwe, inside the country going through Botswana, they were lifted from there by plane to Lusaka, then some selected for scholarships others for training and so forth. And it was going very well.



Speaker	Dialogue
ZN	What was the spirit like upon the preparations to get the the ... those who were in detention released. What was the spirit like in Zambia
AN	To us the main the main task there was the the intensification of the armed struggle rather than releasing people who were in detention. They would all be released if we won the war, defeated the enemy. This was what we had in mind you see, that sort of thing... The aim was really to intensify and win the war, you see that was our ...although the the the opportunities for talk ... to talk were left open, but the main task was intensification of the armed struggle to win the war and be ruled by us. Then of course we had a problem in 1967 again you know.
MN	OK We don't want to go into a lot of details about the political split but what changed then after ..
AN	The change took place after the departure of Chikerema and George Nyandoro, you see in 1971 ... 1970-71. We were detained. There were also some young people who carried out a mutiny, arrested the leaders - this was 1970; then the Zambian government intervened, then took everybody to a camp - Mboroma that's where we were camped there; and then they asked one of their senior officials - Aaron Milner who was the Secretary General of the Zambian government - to assist to to solve the problems there and then he did that but some of these people led by Walter Mtinkulu including these boys .. can I mention their names ...Mathema, Cain Mathema ... quite..
ZN	Owen Tshabangu
AN	Owen Tshabangu, yes, you see, refused that they could not follow the decision of the ZAPU leaders that were there, then they were then handed over to the Zambian government and the Zambian government would not keep them there in the country where they were there on the permit of ZAPU. So they asked other countries to take them and then the British government took them. So there was no reason why these boys should [inaudible] So then after that, after the departure of Chikerema in 1971, then that's when the bigger change took place. One, there were only three members of the executive who were there JZ Moyo, Silundika, and Edward Ndlovu who were later on joined ... Jane Ngwenya joined. So these three definitely could not carry all the duties of the requirement of the struggle at that time. So finally it was agreed that there was need to form a Revolutionary Council which included other people who were not in the executive . that time as I said the representative of the party, the commander of ZPRA and at that time the other person we had was the representative of the Trade Union, Aaron Ndlovu. So, we formed that council, we had a review, and then JZ was elected chairman and also was acting commander in chief acting on behalf of Nkomo. Then Dumiso Dabengwa was elected Secretary of the Revolutionary Council and at the same time remained director of intelligence department and his deputy was Ethan Dube. So I would say that then ... a new commander was appointed. That's when Alfred Nikita Mangena was appointed.
MN	What year would this be?
AN	71
MN	Oh this was already in 71. So this photograph of of of JZ, is it a good likeness of him? [3B-



Speaker	Dialogue
	52-02] Is that the way you remember him?
AN	Yes, exactly,exactly exactly. There is no change, that`s what he was
MN	What kind of person was he?
AN	He was a very courageous person, discipliner, some of us did a good job because of his discipline positions [inaudible] yes and faithful, he would not listen to lies, in fact you could not tell lies to him
MN	He could know when you were lying
AN	Yes, committed person to the revolution,you see, yes, committed to the revolution. It's unfortunate that [inaudible]. So ..
MN	So in that period he was ... he was the person, the politician mainly responsible for the military side.
AN	Exactly, yes as the commander and of course with [inaudible] now on behalf of the Revolutionary Council. So he was the one who would report to his colleagues on the problems, the problems that he was experiencing
MN	And the Revolutionary Council was made up of both military and political
AN	Yes, that`s right, the command, it was not everybody, the commanders
MN	And the members of the National Executive, and a few others.
AN	And also representatives, also the representatives outside. It was indeed at that time you see when I was appointed [inaudible] external headquarters
ZN	Would it be correct to to to refer to the term that was being used then, that they were being called the externalizing committee
AN	No no no they were part of the ZAPU national executive responsible for the external operation of the party - military and political forces
MN	So would you say that the political ..politicians remained the ones controlling policy
AN	Yes precisely, precisely, although because now I`ll say that the Revolutionary Council I mean sort of took over the responsibility for that; they could no longer take decisions alone. That's what it is. So this went on very well. And one of the decisions that was taken at the formation of the Revolutionary Council ... Nobody could hold a senior position who had not had military training. I was one of those ones in a senior position who went for training in the Soviet Union [inaudible]
MN	Oh. Did JZ have military training?. .
AN	JZ had trained before, in China I think
MN	Oh he went to China
AN	Yes, well China supported us, you see, but because of its conflict with the Soviet Union decided to support the splinter groups, not only in Zimbabwe but all of Southern Africa. So this is what happened. So it went on The next problem was of course the death ... I



Speaker	Dialogue
	mean of Josh .. no of JZ Moyo.
MN	OK before we get there, let`s say how things changed when the people came from home. When those people were released in 1975 ...
AN	Oh yes I know ok I know... there wasn`t much change really, but it could have been, but not much ... I`d say most of them fell in line with what had been established for example we had adopted the the socialism, you see, we had .. well we ... we had produced a document "The Ideological Concept" This was produced by the leadership outside the country. Those who came from inside the country accepted it; you see, that was the position; there wasn`t not much really change I`d say because I mean nobody opposed to the armed struggle, nobody opposed to what was already being done there; there could be some changes but I think
ZN	That transition
AN	The other change that took place was 1975 you see, after... 1974 there was a ...we had a unity accord that was actually imposed on us ... that is, all political parties in this country, ZAPU, ZANU and the ANC Zimbabwe National Council that was led by Bishop Muzorewa to organize people to oppose the Pearce Commission ... so it had become a party that was operating [inaudible] so then the Frontline states, Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania you see well initiated it ..this this unity accord, I remember it was in November 1974, I can`t remember the date. One resolution was that there ... they should prepare for a congress in March 1975 to elect the leadership; it feels that ... if ZAPU has its own Congress then ... those who are outside, outside there ... JZ was the Treasurer at the time, he was elected the vice - the second vice-President of ZAPU you know, and then T.G. Silundika was elected Secretary for Information obviously and then the same with Edward Ndlovu.
MN	Yes, there .. the photograph there
AN	That`s right, So so that now this was the changes - that those who were inside the country came outside, Musarurwa and so forth but some of them came after the death of JZ Moyo
MN	OK so up ... but up until 1975 it was JZ and then Edward and Silundika
AN	Jane Ngwenya
MN	O K I think this is Edward. What was his role specifically?
AN	He was the secretary for the party and also responsible for foreign affairs.
MN	OK and then T.G.
AN	He was Secretary for Information also responsible for Education
MN	I think he appears in that photograph there, this one [1E- 05-19]
AN	No. This one it was after Jason Moyo died after Nkomo had come - then he was secretary for foreign affairs
ZN	Later
MN	So then ... so those changes had already been made before most of the people came from home



Speaker	Dialogue
AN	That's right, Yes
ZN	This transition had also problems, what problems
AN	Which transition?
ZN	The transition of new people coming from Gonakudzingwa joining in
AN	Oh yes, no I think what the problem really was .. what it would do ... this was the challenge of Nkomo's when he came outside taking charge of the party, cause instead of appointing someone to lead, to replace JZ Moyo , he chose to come outside to lead the party [inaudible] so that now when people came outside to Zambia from detention and so forth, now it was now his responsibility to find assignments for these people. This is what happened.
MN	So,so most of them after being released from Gonakudzingwa, they didn't immediately come to Zambia
AN	No
MN	It was after JZ's death?
AN	Yes, it was specially after the death of JZ, after, after Nkomo Nkomo's departure to then lead the party from outside that the majority left the country to join him
MN	Let's give a date to that, JZ died January 77
AN	Yes, I can't say
MN	So after that
AN	After that from time to time people came ... For instance there's a young man that appears with Edward, Makoni you see this young man.[4A-89-22] These young men came there unknown through Botswana. You know after the departure of Chikerema, and Nyandoro then there was propaganda against ZAPU that ZAPU was a tribal party so we were forced to co-opt this young man and Philemon Makonese, there were three of them into the executive I remember [inaudible]
MN	Makonese is here
AN	Yes, he's here, that's right ... that's right so ... he was a very good man that one, we went for training together, he had been to the Soviet Union before. The time when he went for training [inaudible] he had been a student in the Soviet Union. So so now that was the only way by which we could you know handle this accusation this criticism of ZAPU that it was tribal
MN	But if we look at this photograph here, where we've got people in uniform and politicians together, even there, is this not Mutinhiri? [1C-19-04]
ZN	No this is Cele
MN	Oh, Cele
AN	Those were commanders, that's why they were invited to the birthday.



Speaker	Dialogue
MK	OK so this photograph is a birthday party
AN	Yes, that's a birthday party
MN	Allright
ZN	Yes, at Aaron Milner's house
AN	At Aaron Milner's house
MN	OK what year would this have been?
AN	This was in 77 Nkomo was already outside the country in 77, it was before I had been transferred to [inaudible]
MN	OK since we have the ... both the politicians and the military here in this photograph, could you just clarify again how the politicians and the military related to each other.
AN	They related in in in as members of the Revolutionary Council. So the commanders of the army were members of the Revolutionary Council ... that's where they met the politicians on political issues, then after that the military would go and carry out their duties you see and the politicians remaining in the offices
MN	How many commanders would there have been? At this level
AN	There wasn't that many; I would say that first of all Mangena, JD - Dube, Report Moyo ... Mpoko yes, Report Mpoko then Mnyanyi, Cele, this one came later ...[inaudible]
ZN	Harold ... Masengo
AN	Masengo yes he came later; uAmbrose came later
MN	OK Mutinhiri. And this one? [inaudible discussion] Is he a commander? The commanders didn't wear any regalia that showed their position?
AN	No, no, no except their[inaudible]
MN	They simply had on the same uniform as everybody
AN	No no no
MN	They didn't wear stripes or medals or anything
AN	No no if they were in the army ...
ZN	They [inaudible] this senior officers
AN	You seldom see officers wearing suits or whatever it is they put on this [inaudible] outside
MN	And then the commander in chief was ...
AN	JZ Moyo
MN	Until he died
AN	Yes I mean the commander, the commander in chief, the commander the acting commander was JZ Moyo; the commander in chief was Mangena. That's right,
MN	Right, but then wasn't Nkomo then when he came wasn't he considered the supreme



Speaker	Dialogue
	commander
AN	No it was not considering, he assumed that position .[laughter]. just because the person who was acting was no longer there and he assumed
MN	Allright But JZ didn't take a title as commander.
AN	He was an acting commander
MN	Oh he was
AN	Acting on behalf of Nkomo, yes
MN	Oh I see, allright ok ok. So the the commander in chief was under the ..
AN	Yes, that's right, that's right
MN	What did he call himself?
AN	Who?
MN	Nkomo. What did he call himself? Supreme commander or what?
AN	Yes.
AN	The supreme commander, yes
MN	OK So the ... the two groups, the military and the politicians, they met in the Revolutionary Council
AN	Yes, in the Revolutionary Council, yes
MN	How often would they meet?
AN	Oh it depended on the developments, but otherwise [inaudible]
MN	Really? OK.
AN	And the number, you see, they also increased because some people were appointed to it who at first did not qualify, people like uSaul ¹ and Lazarus Mpfu and others who got into it ..the numbers had increased from what [inaudible]
ZN	The bringing in on board of Jane Ngwenya, what did it represent? Jane Ngwenya
AN	Jane Ngwenya was representing the women, but later on then she was appointed to be responsible for heading the Social Department, the Welfare Department assisted by a trained welfare officer, Atwell Bokwe
MN	Atwell Bokwe, yes, he's there I think
AN	That's right
MN	OK and then there's another ... there are two other group photographs here, there's this, let's look at this one first, this one. [1C-18-23] Can you tell us what was going on in this photograph?

¹ Saul Gwakuva Ndlovu



Speaker	Dialogue
AN	As far as I'm concerned, I look at this place, I think it was at FC camp, where there was a meeting. I remember, I went to attend that meeting but I left immediately after the meeting had started for something else which ... at the offices; it was usual, I think, a meeting that included the military officers, but what happened at the end of the meeting I didn't see, because I wasn't there ..I think that's when they had this ...
MN	But these people behind they don't look like military
AN	These people were the staff, typists and secretaries and ...yes
MN	OK and it looks like they're addressing the press about something after the meeting
AN	After the meeting yes
MN	Was that common to call a press conference and ...
AN	Yes, yes it was it was I remember one day when they were at a Revolutionary Council meeting at the board room at Zimbabwe House, then after that there was a press conference and one time one young journalist from Australia ... he was an Australian but [inaudible] asked a very silly question. Nkomo was very angry I remember
MN	You don't remember the question
AN	I don't remember the question.
MN	What ... what would be the purpose of the press conferences then, which journalists would you be targeting particularly.
AN	No no journalists, all journalists because we had to inform the world about what was happening, what we were doing, you know, that's right.
MN	What type of thing ... in what type of situation would you say "let's call a press conference"?
AN	Well the decisions taken there on political issues
MN	Political issues. Military you didn't announce in a press conference
AN	No,no,no, no that's one of the problems that was created by Chikerema when he invited British television journalists, took them to the camps that's where the trouble started, that's right
MN	The matter of handling the press, yes. Maybe you could just identify the people here for us. [1C-18-23]
AN	Well well this Saul Ndlovu, then Edward Ndlovu here, then these girls, I know she's in UK. This one I don't know, she was from Harare, this one became Cele's wife.
MN	Oh yes, yes.
AN	These other young boys, [inaudible] <i>umfana lo</i> [trans this boy here] Hunzwi, there
MN	Hunzwi, with his face partly obscured
AN	That's right, yes uNxele, I can't remember [inaudible] but this one I think was from Salisbury



Speaker	Dialogue
ZN	Edward with his pipe.
MN	And then obviously Nkomo and this one is
AN	Munodawafa yes
AN	No if I see Edward, I remember when we went to Canada, to Cuba in 1965, we were a big delegation [inaudible] he was head of the delegation, when we got there ZANU had sent two chaps ... one of them was now this man who is Commissioner of Elections, a judge
MN	Chiweshe?
AN	No no not Chiweshe No, Mutanbanengwe So Ndlovu said “ no we can’t have these people attending this conference”. He approached
ZN	Edward?
AN	Yes
MN	He said what?
AN	“You could not have, we will not attend the conference if ZANU delegation is attending” and they were chased away [laughter] ... so they were chased away.
MN	So it was always a battle out there on the foreign front
AN	And we were very powerful at that time, ZAPU, very very powerful
ZN	Characterwise how was Edward?
AN	He was brave; Edward would not think of what word to say if he would think of telling you what is right. Edward, you see, he would not grudge, he would tell you what you are but at the same time call you “ let’s come and have a drink here”
MN	Then this this later photograph... [1E-05-19]
AN	This was 79
MN	This is a bit later is it
AN	This was ... no 78
MN	And why would these particular people have been gathered here
AN	We were all the representatives
MN	Representatives of what
AN	Of the party in different countries .. so we had been asked to come for briefing, you see that, and then the others who were here they had been appointed to represent but they had not gone to those countries where they were supposed to go like Cele for example was going to represent in Hanoi; yah ... no he didn’t go there
MN	Did he go there in the end? He never went there?
AN	He never went there. So this was a photograph showing the representatives of the party in different countries.



Speaker	Dialogue
MN	There are quite a number there
AN	Quite a number, yes. I was already in Finland. This chap was in Nigeria he was CZ [Moyo] yes he was in 77 that year he was sent there
ZN	No, he came in 1978 to Zambia
AN	Then that year he was sent there; he was sent there, he didn't stay long
MN	Sent where?
AN	To Sweden then later on already this one had been appointed to take over this one.
MN	So there were representatives in western European countries, in African countries, where else
AN	No it was western European countries, America, because we had a representative in Cuba, covering all of South America
MN	He`s not there, is he
AN	Mayisa, Mayisa
MN	Oh, OK
AN	This one was in Nigeria, West Africa. I don't know who was it ... I think this one was now in Egypt, yes, he was in Egypt... Saul was still in ... I don't know whether he ... because he was appointed to represent in GDR, East Germany. This one [Naison Khezwana] was in London; he was not ... he was representing the party because he had gone there for treatment; he remained there, then before someone was appointed he remained acting as representative of the party in London.
MN	And in the Middle East, you had somebody in Egypt, anywhere else?
AN	We had someone in Iraq and Libya, but Libya was in Africa, well of course, Tanzania it was the first office to be opened, yes..and which other one... and then later we had another one in Senegal, where Mrs Sihwa was
MN	And Algeria? You didn't have anyone in Algeria?
AN	No, this one ...
MN	He was Algeria?
AN	he was assigned there
MN	Nigeria, not Algeria
AN	Yes Nigeria we had a representative
MN	And Algeria?
AN	Algeria, the first one we had was Noko [Molao}, the late Noko; later on [inaudible] was sent to represent there and then
MN	Stephen [Nkomo]
AN	Yes Stephen... when Noko was in Algeria, Stephen was deputising in Egypt...after .. after



Speaker	Dialogue
	then they were transferred to, Noko was transferred to Cairo and Stephen Nkomo to to Algeria.
MN	And how often would you come together for a meeting like this
AN	Well, like I think we came twice , [inaudible]twice
MN	And you`d be briefed on the political situation, the military situation ...
AN	That`s right, the military Yes exactly
MN	And as representatives was your role diplomatic only or you were also responsible for looking for support, material support...
AN	Both, both,for all ... it was myself and Noko who had executive powers we could take decisions [inaudible] so for example in the World Peace Council where I was, because the President of that organization was a strong supporter of ZANU... if you went to ... well, we used go to conferences or seminars, if there was no representative of ZANU I would then register as a representative of Peace Council, the secretary of the council yes [inaudible]
MN	OK and then there`s this one where you were signing something with Nkomo. [2A-47-19] Where where did Nkomo operate from?
AN	He had an office at Zimbabwe House, Emmasdale. He could sometimes meet certain people at his house near the President, Kaunda's house, the one that was attacked in 197...
MN	Did he sleep at that house, the one in ...what's the name of that...
AN	At first he used to live there but we changed that after some time but it.. when he was given that house by Kaunda, he used to sleep there, yes
MN	And then sometimes held meetings there.
AN	I remember one day I did a terrible thing, not because I wanted to. I was the only one ..most people had gone out, but some of them had gone to a party. Then I met with them, they said "look you are in charge", make sure that things are done properly .. and we were making preparation for a group to go to, to Soviet Union to be picked by the Soviet airline which had no permit to stop in ...oh they were going to Angola but that plane had no permit to stop in Angola unless it had been given permission. So then, I think I over-drunk and I went to sleep. It was terrible so they got a problem they couldn't find [inaudible] in the morning so they were supposed to go by this airTanzanian airline it was supposed to take them ... but the following flight was the Soviet Union it did not have a permit to stop. oh oh... this fellow Nxele came to me and said "now look, there's a problem; Omdala is going to kill you today; you'd better see him now". I went in the morning, very early in the morning .. I was prepared to be fired. So when I got there he said "No no, I want to send .. these men to be flown out today, that's your business". I had good relations with Zambian officers. I was lucky that when I jumped out I went in



Speaker	Dialogue
	the office, I found a friend of mine “this is the problem; I want you to do it now, you see, I’ll bring an application later, but you remain writing. I did that, ...then by twelve o’clock I went to report [Nkomo says] “I know you were drunk “
MN	But how did you find working with Nkomo?
AN	Oh Nkomo was easy .. how can one describe him? he was strict, serious, but he had no [inaudible] he would judge the mistake what is called a genuine mistake something that well you .. he loves people you know that he was very sympathetic[inaudible]
MN	And here you seem to be signing something. [2A-47-19]
AN	Yes, that ‘s what I don’t know what was written you see it has got [inaudible] I think that’s what it is.
MN	But do you remember the occasion?
ZN	The turning point
AN	The turning point, that meant ... that meant you see the advance of the armed of the guerrilla war. It was at that stage where it has to transform into conventional war you see that they were prepared to establish areas inside the country, liberated areas
MN	Sort of conventional warfare.
AN	Yes that’s right
MN	So why were you being asked to sign then?
AN	We had to because we were senior politicians
MN	So what was the implication of signing. what did it mean to you to sign
AN	Well If you see something which has elements of secretiveness .. you have to operate according to to the requirement, carry out the job and keep it as a secret, explaining it as necessary
MN	OK so this this was part of a swearing to secrecy.
AN	That’s right, yes
MN	OK let’s go to this ... this last photograph. [1E-34-06] [Dumiso Dabengwa and Alfred Nikita Mangena]
AN	Well Dabengwa, we started working together as far back as 1960. He was chairman of the youth league, the secretary was late Pilane Ndebele, others were John Mabhena [inaudible] now quite a number of our chaps
ZN	Pilane Ndebele killed by a bomb
AN	That’s right, from Nkayi yes, so ... they left the country after the Cold Comfort Conference, you see while in Zambia they were in preparation to go for training. I think it was the first



Speaker	Dialogue
	people to go for training in the Soviet Union there could have been others, but I think they were the first. There were other chaps like Joseph[inaudible] Edward Bhebhe, Ethan Dube ... those I'm mentioning went for military training, intelligence training Now this young man, I met him in 1965 in Chingola, Mangena. He was a student at the time he was staying with his uncle Sam Ngwenya, Sam Ngwenya you see. He used to attend the meetings ... this young man he used to ask questions, I was very impressed when I first met him. So when we decided to recruit cadres for training offered by Algeria .. so he was one of them who volunteered, he left his school, yes. So they were about over a hundred ... they were the first group to go for training in such a big number and so while there after training then there were 74 to go for academic ... well for military academy and train as trainers [inaudible]
MN	Where was that?
AN	Same country
MN	So in Algeria
AN	In Algeria, yes. After their training there, the OAU opened a training camp in Tanzania, Morogoro so they were the ones who went as trainers of other cadres from Zimbabwe, him and ... they are all dead There's only this one Chirenga who is still alive, the rest died
MN	So from from training, he went to train as a trainer and then he then he came to train others
AN	That's right, yes
MN	He didn't go into the front immediately
AN	No not immediately. He only went to the front after the end of the crisis with Chikerema when we reorganised the military command. That's when he was appointed the commander. That's when he was appointed commander of the military army being renamed ZPRA. Zimbabwean Peoples Army. Naturally, because of the close relation, co-operation between the two departments, they came very close to each other. This one was handling intelligence and this military. There was nothing which they could carry out without the knowledge of intelligence; similarly he was commander he knew exactly what intelligence was doing, that's right.
MN	So ... and the intelligence operated both in Zambia and inside the country
AN	Inside the country, inside the country, inside the country. And I think they went on very well. I don't remember when there was any misunderstanding between the two, I can't remember, no there wasn't
MN	So up until Mangena's death, he was ...he died as commander
AN	Yes, he died as commander, yes
MN	And Dabengwa, he went on being in charge of intelligence.
AN	He went on being with intelligence But I think by the time when Mangena died I was no longer in Lusaka, I wasn't in Lusaka I was outside he died when I was outside I was[inaudible] but I used to come home there; then I think when, after after the end of the war and the return home, Dabengwa was also I mean included into the military operations



Speaker	Dialogue
	during discussions of the integration of the armies
MN	With the ...
AN	With the [inaudible]
MN	So he played a big role there. I've heard it said that if he had not been there, the ZPRA cadres might not have co-operated with the integration, is that true?
AN	I don't think so, but I think the final word there was Nkomo as commander in chief there, because I remember ... I was still outside the country you know when there was a fight between ZPRA and ZANLA at Entumbane. It was Nkomo stopped that. So one day when I was there the President of the Revolutionary Council was he was [inaudible] also then he asked ... he told me that he listened to BBC news and heard that Nkomo stopped that fighting, but they were hoping for the ... for the war to continue; they believed that ZPRA would win and ZAPU would win because we had lost elections. They were supporting that So he said he was disappointed, but those who were talking to ... there were two chaps who we were working with from the Soviet Union. They had been talking about that ... no it was after three years when these people [inaudible] they always used to be at the office, but that day after work he came ... "what are you doing [inaudible] no let's go and drink" I said o.k we went then [inaudible] we got there one he says ah I'm sure you were surprised why it the invitation to come and join us [inaudible] many years back. We heard your conversation [inaudible] Every Sunday one or two of us got to Moscow for briefing on what was happening in the world, country by country. They say that's why we are ahead in [inaudible] issues they say you know [inaudible] before you spoke about the country you know, we told people there whether they choose socialism or capitalism we are not worried ... says they don't know the other one, but then Nkomo is a great man, he must be respected because of this great division he saved his people because [inaudible] the South African army, Rhodesia and ZANLA were ready to intervene on that fight; they aimed to destroy Matabeleland [inaudible] They said if he had not stopped that the few that were going to survive, it would take them many years to recover. So I understood, that's why I am defending Nkomo today, because he saw that no, no, there'd be no country.
MN	And you spent most of your life ... I mean your good years, in the struggle.
AN	That's right.
MN	Do you regret?
AN	I don't, I don't. I was not forced. No no far from it, no I will tell you I attended my first political meeting in South Africa in 1954 an ANC meeting. It was a man from our home area there who was a member of ANC. So I used to visit this chap because he was a student doing correspondence [inaudible] I used to borrow books because I was fond of reading. So when I went there one Sunday morning he said "no no no, today I wanted to go to a meeting. At a place called Sophiatown [inaudible] Square," [inaudible] square ... so we went there ... I was surprised. Big speakers the late [inaudible], JB Marx
ZN	JB Marx?
MN	Yes Moses Potane that's right [inaudible] so one man spoke about the way Africans were



Speaker	Dialogue
	<p>being treated, referring to the Minister of Native Affairs at the time, Verwoerd, you see because I know, [inaudible] in the evening if you met and you did not have a pass you'd be arrested. He mentioned all the things ... at that time you ... in the evening at night there if you did not have a pass you would be arrested. He mentioned all those things. [inaudible] At that time you see I used also to go and play madice [gambling] so those things were wrong there, people were arrested for that.. So then he spoke very strongly about that then I said, yes we should [ibaudible] take over power then we'll play amadice, we will not be arrested. ... but then at the end of the meeting another fellow there joined us and now "let`s go to .." there were shebeens at that time but it was a club where the senior politicians were in deep discussion there. Ah ... it was a high I really was very impressed. It was from that day I stopped going to church. Whenever I heard there was a meeting I would not miss that meeting. Then I began to think about what was happening in my country. At that time there was African, African ... Bulawayo Mirror African Mirror which was a Bulawayo newspaper. Makhatini Guduza was [inaudible] So every weekend we'd go to a place called Zoo Lake, spend time there, some singing, others so forth ..so some of us playing dice then we came to the newspapers some children said "Get away" [inaudible] but I bought... you know what I saw ... a picture of members of the Matabeleland Home Society at a meeting discussing constitution. One of them was Sikhwili Moyo, S.K. Moyo. I was so impressed, I made a cutting, kept the thing and[inaudible] so I followed that Federation so I knew what was happening when Nkomo went to London you see to take part I think in discussing the constitution of the Federation.</p> <p>So when I came back home, 1957 I came to Bulawayo. One day I was coming from town near St Patrick`s, there was a road coming from [inaudible] he was walking I met him ...I could see no I think this is the man who is in that picture. I said how do I do ... how do I stop him [inaudible] I followed him, there was a big meeting in Stanley Hall when I got there it was many outside ..I could see JZ Moyo, Lazarus Nkala, Edward Ndlovu, quite a number of chaps there what do I do but [inaudible] but how shall I see this fellow? Then I had a got a job at Supersonic, then I got a house, I was looking for a house in Mpopoma as a lodger. Sikhwili [inaudible] Sikhwili did not have his own house, he was looking for a house, so he got one from a certain lady [inaudible] I don`t know who advised me to go and see that lady,[inaudible] then I found Chikerema [inaudible] there; he was talking to some people, he didn`t even talk to me, he was busy. Finally I was going to this other [inaudible] he was going to rent the big house, then I take the small lodging. I said, Oh I'm going to {inaudible} this old man I worked hard to get money to go and buy bread, [inaudible] blankets,pots. First night, when we met there he cooked some food, he called me there in [inaudible] he didn`t have blankets ..[inaudible] then we started talking, then I told him that I was in South Africa at that meeting. yah 8 o`clock we started talking [inaudible]</p>
MN	And that`s how you got to...
AN	That`s right, that`s how I got
ZN	A new inspiration
AN	On my own, yes on my own, yes and the people who I worked very closely with ..Edward,



Speaker	Dialogue
	Sikhwili...[inaudible] JZ Moyo no...[inaudible] Sikhwili Edward Sikhwili sometimes took me to some places That's how I joined. I joined voluntarily
MN	OK. I think we have to end it there for today. So thanks very much.

