

THE QUESTION OF "ZAIRE"/CONGO

The History of the 1977-78 Uprising in the Congo

The Struggle Continues
Conquer or Die

All for the People
Nothing Without
the People



FLNG

by the
Congolese National Liberation Front



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INTRODUCTION

The Congo is a focal point of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism in Africa. Occupying a geostrategical position, economically and militarily, it stretches from the Atlantic coast of Africa in the west, almost to the east coast of the continent. The Congo is bordered by the People's Republic of the Congo, Central African Republic, Sudan, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, Zambia and Angola. It is a country tremendously rich in key natural resources coveted by imperialism: it is the world's leading cobalt producer, one of the leading copper, manganese, tin and gold producers, and the world's largest source of industrial diamonds. The hydroelectric potential of the River Zaire (Congo) was estimated ten years ago at

13% of the world's potential. This wealth is not in the hands of the Congolese people, it is controlled by imperialist states and transnational corporations which have created devastating poverty for the masses of people. President Mobutu, neo-colonial ruler of the Congo, is known throughout the continent as the "Shah of Africa." He is run by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the CIA. Mobutu's regime is responsible for the creation of over half a million refugees and has leased one-tenth of the total land in the country to Germany for missile tests and research. Politically, Mobutu's goal is to destroy African national liberation and serve as a base for neo-colonialism and counterinsurgency throughout the continent.

The imperialist powers, with the US now at their head, have been deeply intervened in the Congo for over a century. The Berlin Treaty of 1885 made King Leopold of Belgium sovereign of the "Congo Free State," and by 1908 the Congo was made part of Belgium. Throughout the 20th century the Congolese people have been subjected to some of the most brutal forms of colonial domination and exploitation in the world.

The US military and CIA, together with mercenaries and armed forces from Belgium, France, Morocco, Egypt, China, and advisors from Chile and Israel have long been engaged in a brutal war against the Congolese people. It is the force of NATO and its allies that keeps the regime of Mobutu in power. The armies of imperialism are the guarantee that the country's riches flow to the west, and that "Zaire" remains a base from which to attack revolution in Africa. Today there are over 20,000 Belgian and allied troops stationed in Zaire.

In 1960 the Congo became independent under the leadership of the great African patriot Patrice Lumumba. This movement towards independence inspired revolutionary struggles for national liberation throughout the world and threatened imperialism. From the moment that it became clear that Lumumba was dedicated to creating a Congo free from colonialism and exploitation, the western powers set about planning his murder and the sabotaging of independence. Lumumba was assassinated in 1961 by the CIA and other forces with the complicity of the United Nations, whose troops destabilized Lumumba's government. From this point on until today, the Congo has been an international battlefield in the struggle against imperialism.

The 1960's was a period of intense struggle: in 1964 three-fourths of the country was liberated and the first military intervention by the US, Belgium, South African advisors and mercenaries, Rhodesians, and Cuban exiles took place. On June 19, 1968, after a decade of struggle, the Congolese National Liberation Front was created in clandestinity. Based in Angola, the FLNC fought on the side of the MPLA in the war to liberate Angola. In two offensives in 1977 and 1978 the FLNC defeated Mobutu's army and only massive intervention by imperia-

list troops prevented a revolutionary victory. The FLNC is the political/military vanguard of the Congolese people; it is a Marxist-Leninist organization deeply rooted in the people's tradition of resistance. The FLNC through its practice has shown itself to be the legitimate representative of the Congolese people and the only force capable of leading the nation to genuine independence and socialism.

The revolutionary struggle in the Congo is confronting neo-colonialism with a strategy of protracted people's war. Neo-colonialism is a world phenomenon, a weapon of imperialism. The FLNC is a leading force in this struggle because it totally refuses to compromise with the external and internal pressures of imperialism, refusing to sell the struggle short for immediate gains.

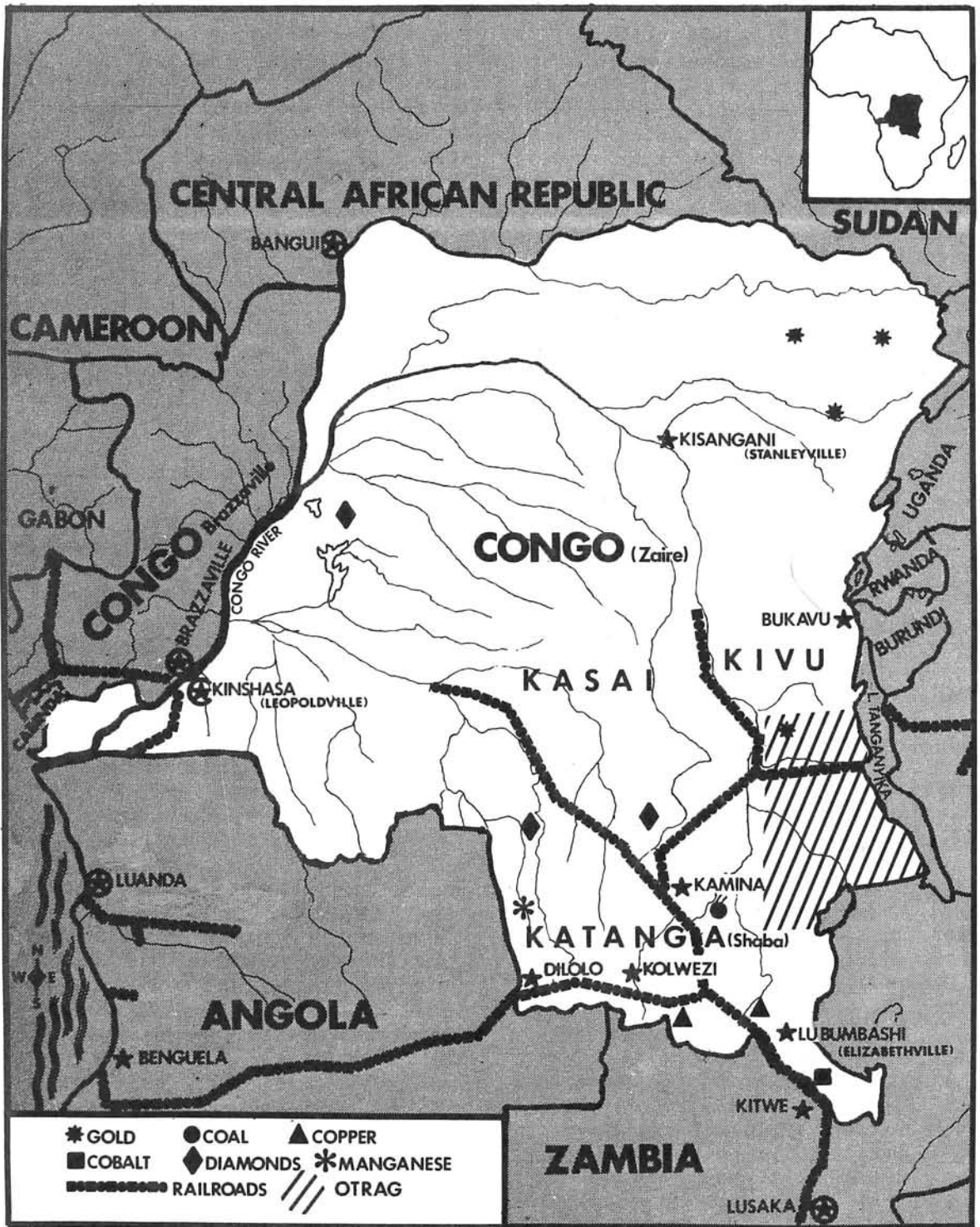
The Congolese struggle has deep bonds of solidarity with the Black Liberation Movement in the U.S. Lumumba and Malcolm X were contemporaries, revolutionary leaders who were killed by the CIA for fighting for national liberation. Black people disrupted the UN when Lumumba was killed, and during the NATO intervention of 1978 hundreds of Black G.I.'s from the 82nd Airborne refused orders to fight in the Congo.

In the US we have been subjected to racist media campaigns and disinformation for years about the most basic facts concerning the Congo. In 1977 and 1978 as battles raged and NATO troops invaded, the only news available was that the FLNC was a "group of savages, secessionists murdering European nuns." Now, in the fall of 1981, the crisis of the Mobutu regime is intensifying as is the development of the revolutionary struggle. We must break through our ignorance and the lies about the Congo by creating a solidarity movement that will concretely join with this struggle in confronting US imperialism.

If you are interested in learning more about the Congo and building solidarity with the FLNC, please contact Prairie Fire Organizing Committee at Box 14422, San Francisco, CA 94114, or Freedom Rising: Africa Solidarity Committee at Box 22, 3543 18th St., S.F. CA 94110.

VICTORY TO THE FLNC!

Prairie Fire Organizing Committee



*The shaded area was leased to the German firm OTRAG for missile testing. The Germans effectively have regained colonial control of the land, resources and people in this area.

MESSAGE FROM U.S. REPRESENTATIVE OF FLNC

Dear Friends,

On behalf of the FLNC (Congolese National Liberation Front) and of the people of the Congo, I would like to ask for your support in our struggle for national salvation.

Our nation is struggling to survive under the intolerable conditions imposed on our country by the fascist dictatorship of Mobutu Sese Seko. Mobutu was put into power by the U.S. CIA in 1965, and has used the wealth of the Congo (Known in the U.S. as Zaire) to make enormous profits for the multinational corporations and for himself. As a result, Mobutu - known as the Shah of Africa - is one of the wealthiest men in the world while the people of the Congo are among the poorest.

Today, one out of every two children born in the Congo is dead before the age of 2 because of malnutrition and preventable diseases. Our average life span is 32 years, and people eat approximately one meal in 36 hours. During Mobutu's rule, not one hospital or school has been built. And to maintain control, Mobutu has used his CIA-trained police forces to inflict a reign of terror on the masses of Congolese people and particularly on those who openly oppose him. As a result of these conditions, there are now hundreds of thousands of Congolese refugees living in camps in neighboring countries.

Since 1968, the FLNC has been leading the struggle of the Congolese nation to overthrow Mobutu and again gain control over our destiny as an African nation. This is the legacy of Patrice Lumumba, the great Congolese patriot and revolutionary, and we are mobilizing the Congolese people to realize his vision of a truly independent country, freed from imperialist control and committed to using our vast land, labor, and resources for the development of our people and of all of Africa. For the past thirteen years, we have lived, worked, and fought with the masses of our people, and it was only the full military might of the U.S. and its allies that kept Mobutu in power in the face of the 1977-78 uprisings led by our fighting forces.

Our struggle is a difficult one, fought against not only the Mobutu dictatorship but the combined forces of U.S.-led imperialism. We are currently faced with the responsibility of both waging the political and armed struggle inside the country as well as having responsibility for the refugee camps that house our compatriots who have fled the country.

We ask for your solidarity and your support. We need clothes and medical supplies for the refugee camps. We need funds to pay for supplies, to build schools and clinics, to pay for shipping. The neocolonialist nature of the Mobutu regime has made it more difficult to obtain funds from the international agencies that have aided other liberation movements, and we rely on those who support African liberation and oppose imperialist domination of Africa.

We are committed to the full liberation of the Congo; two of our slogans are, "Victory is Certain," and "Conquer or Die." We will fulfill our historical responsibilities and know that international solidarity is critical for our victory. We hope that you can contribute to the liberation of the Congolese nation from imperialism and neocolonialism, to the cause of African liberation worldwide, and to the defeat of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

Contributions on the East Coast can be sent to the Material Aid Campaign for ZANU-PF; P.O. Box 1276; Stuyvesant Station; NYC, NY 10009; on the West Coast, send contributions to Regional Young Adult Project, c/o John Brown Book Club, P.O. Box 14422, San Francisco, CA 94114.

In Solidarity, Serge Mukendi, U.S. Representative, FLNC

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In recent years, we have seen our country, formerly called Congo-Kinshasa and today incorrectly called "Zaire," re-emerge onto the international scene.

In fact, since March 8, 1977, "Zaire," where the rhythm of life was quite uneventful until then, through the good will of "President-General" MOBUTU, has not ceased to be in the news.

The popular uprising that began on that date, led by the Congolese National Liberation Front (FLNC), marked a major turning-point in the almost routine political life of our country. The intervention of foreign troops, notably French, Moroccan, Egyptian, Sudanese and Ugandan, supported by western mercenaries of different origins, achieved the singular distinction of allowing "President-General" Mobutu to remain in power. It did not succeed, however, in eliminating the action of the insurgents, and, still less, the causes of the insurrection. In fact, these insurgents reorganized themselves and completely restructured their armed struggle against the political regime in Kinshasa. This allowed them to launch, less than a year after General Mobutu had announced that the insurrection had been crushed, a new offensive which liberated the town of Kolwezi, an important mining center in south-east "Zaire," in the province of Katanga or "Shaba."

Despite reinforcement by foreign troops—some of those who have intervened in his behalf since March 8, 1977, western mercenaries from France, W. Germany, Belgium, Great Britain, USA, South Africa, etc., despite the increase in the number of western military "advisers and technicians," and their great firing power, Mobutu's army had to retreat. About 15,000 soldiers in Mobutu's army were dislodged from the town of Kolwezi by a little more than 5,000 FLNC troops.

From then, nothing could halt the advance of these troops in all directions, a

major portion of the "Zairian" air-force having been destroyed on the ground at Kolwezi. The liberation of the provinces of Katanga and Kasai, strategically important regions economically, would have been achieved. These provinces, in fact, contained most of the "Zairian" mineral wealth: copper, cobalt, diamonds. This action would have cut heavily into the little credit the Mobutu political regime still had at its disposal from the powers, generally western, which supported it, more as a function of the economic wealth which attracts them and which Mobutu has always allowed them to pillage.

From that moment, one question was posed in the west: how to avoid the fall of General Mobutu and his rotten regime if they lost control of such important regions at a time when the country had totally sunk into the most complete economic chaos? This question was asked only because of the great preoccupation of the western powers with safeguarding the enormous profits drawn from the pillage of "Zairian" economic riches. General Mobutu, more than any other government since King Leopold II, has established himself as the best guard-dog of their enormous self-interests that Congo-Kinshasa has ever known.

The political objectives of the Congolese National Liberation Front (FLNC), in fact, certainly did not correspond to the slavish neo-colonialist aims which western imperialist powers have always harbored towards the Congo. The stake was, therefore, a major one: victory by the FLNC would basically bring into question again the slavish domination imposed on the Congo-Kinshasa people for over a century. Which definitely meant the end of the theft of all Congolese economic wealth—mineral, plant, agricultural, financial, etc.—of exploitation of the Congolese people by imperialist monopolies established in Congo-Kinshasa, paying starvation wages for exhausting, arduous labor and, finally, the abolition of the trade in luxury items coming from western imperialist metropolises.



1978—Soldiers of the Congolese National Liberation Front led a popular uprising against the neo-colonial Mobutu dictatorship.

Finally, Congo-Kinshasa would cease to be that reservoir of low-cost raw materials and cheap labor just as it would no longer be that wasteland for luxury goods reserved for a small minority, or of other non-productive goods.

The liberation of the single town of Kolwezi, the so-called economic pulse of "Zaire," reflected this plan. And you certainly would not ask a thief not to steal you. Western imperialist powers inevitably had to intervene—and with force—to avoid another major tragedy since the victory of the Indochinese revolutionaries and of the former Portuguese colonies of Africa.

Thanks to a new military air-borne intervention—this time, French-Belgian-American—the failing regime of General Mobutu re-established its dictatorship over Kolwezi.

Four Imperialist Interventions

This was the fourth military intervention by western imperialist powers since the achievement of political independence by our country.

Like the first operation, 10 days after the proclamation of this independence like the second, organized on November 24, 1964 in Stanleyville (today Kisangani), and the third which occurred in April 1977, this fourth military intervention achieved one single objective: it perpetuated the slavish domination by the imperialist west. It perpetuated this domination by breaking anew the unconquerable will of the Congolese people to live freely in their own country, free of any foreign domination.

In fact, by choosing the revolutionary nationalist organizations, led by PATRICE LUMUMBA, at the end of the struggle against Belgian colonialism, instrument of imperialist slave domination of the Congo until June 30, 1960, the Congolese people clearly showed their desire for true independence and liberty.

For only these organizations alone had any true objective conception of independence for the Congo and of the sovereignty of the people. In their political program, it was clearly stipulated that the independence of the Congo would be genuine only if it satisfied the basic essen-

tial needs of the masses of the Congolese people. Thus, the Congolese economy must be oriented to this fact and allow a gradual increase in the material and cultural standard of living of the masses.

The political system should have been based from then entirely on true democracy to really allow the masses of people to express their desires as a function of their happiness and all the people to exercise their sovereignty in their country without which national independence would be only an empty illusion.

For a people long scorned, humiliated and enslaved, true democracy, therefore, remains the best guarantee of national sovereignty and independence, just as it would allow real social progress which can only be achieved if social equity and justice are initially assured to all.

It was on this political program that the freely expressed choice of the Congolese people was based in the general elections, the only democratic ones known to this day, organized by the colonial authorities in May 1960.

It goes without saying that this choice could not correspond to the neo-colonialist wishes of the imperialist powers. For these, the achievement of independence by the former colonies was not a question of a change in the economic relationships woven during colonialism. For them, what only mattered was satisfying the needs of the industrial monopolies of the western capitalist metropolises and not the essential basic needs of the masses. In this case the national economy of a former colony should remain extroverted and oriented to the provision of only raw materials and not independent or oriented to satisfying the needs of residents.

How could one then reconcile a gradual increase in the standard of living with exploitation of the working masses; creation of industries corresponding to the fundamental needs of these masses with the sale of luxury goods coming from imperialist metropolises? How to reconcile the development of an adequate social infrastructure—schools, hospitals and dispensaries, etc.—without public investment? And where would that come from when there are no public savings due to the financial levies imposed by the imperialist monopolies established in the former colonies to their detriment: transfer of profits with

income laboriously amassed through the sale of raw materials from public debts contracted by post-colonial states to financial institutions in western countries, fiscal privileges, etc.

In sum, how to conceive of neo-colonialist slavish domination within a political system guaranteeing and scrupulously respecting true democracy? The history of humanity has not yet recorded the case of persons belonging to a nation or to a people who have freely accepted slavery. It has always been imposed. But since the Congolese people had chosen those who concretely reflected their desire for true independence and effective liberty, it was necessary at all costs to crush this hope. The political elimination of Lumumba—by a military coup d'état on September 14, 1960 by Col. Mobutu on the instructions of the CIA—followed by his physical elimination and later, the hunting down to death of all his loyal companions involved in the hornet's nest that was the national union government, fit well into this framework.

All attempts by the Congolese people—who never considered themselves defeated—to regain their liberty and to restore the democracy which would assure their sovereignty and, therefore, guarantee the independence of their country, have always been opposed by the crazy, implacable will of the imperialist powers to keep them in slavish domination.

Thus, on November 24, 1964 after liberating $\frac{3}{4}$ of their territory, the Congolese people, under the leadership of the National Committee of Liberation (CNL), created by the Lumumbists, saw their liberation struggle, interrupted one year earlier, resurge following the Belgian-American military intervention.

Having forged a new structure over almost a decade (1968-1977), revolutionary armed struggle of liberation for the nation's well-being was resumed from March 8, 1977, a struggle which they have permanently maintained since then despite two new military interventions—in April 1977 and May 1978—by western imperialist powers and their chief African lackeys.

For more than 2 years, consistently harassing Mobutu's puppet troops, the soldiers of the Popular Armed Forces of Congo-Kinshasa (FAPC), the armed division of the FLNC, have never stopped

bearing high the flag of the liberation struggle for the national well-being of the Congolese people.

The Mobutu Plan—Divide and Rule

Faced with this persistent, implacable desire to struggle on the part of the Congolese people, against the slavish domination of the imperialist west which, its back to the wall, found itself constrained to develop other strategies to safeguard the huge profits which this domination had earned them for close to a century.

Faithful to the adage "divide and rule" which allowed them to impose this domination and maintain it until now, the world imperialists immediately thought of pulling the old irons out of the fire. Counting on subjectivism, they wanted to dig up and extend the weaknesses which they hoped to find in the natural differences existing within the Congolese people. They sought to cut into the unity of the masses forged through almost 20 years of living together in the darkest misery equalled today only by that in the shanty towns surrounding the large neo-colonialist metropolises: Rio de Janeiro or Sao Paulo, San Juan, Manila, Singapore, Djakarta, Bangkok, Cairo, Casablanca, Dakar-Medina, Abidjan-Trechville, Accra, Lagos, Douala, Franceville, etc.

Once more, emphasis was placed on ethnic, linguistic or regional differences. Representatives at Kinshasa of western imperialist powers became philanthropists whose interests suddenly turned toward the great "Zairian" traditional chiefs and to problems confronting their people. Generous handouts generally ended these meetings at the time when the dictator of "Zaire," "President-General" Mobutu, worked like the devil to find some means of financing the plan conceived in 1976 by the International Monetary Fund (IMF)—this conscience of the imperialist west—and baptised since 1977 in his name. The plan's success allowed him to alleviate somewhat the misery of the masses and, therefore, to recover some popular standing. However, this is a big gamble. The success of the so-called "Mobutu Plan" allowed the dictator of "Zaire," at least as he calculated, to cut the ground from beneath the feet of his opponents and also of the Congo-

lese revolutionaries.

For if he must in particular avoid swelling the ranks of the Congolese revolutionaries, "President-General" Mobutu must also hold his head with all his rivals: those opponents—generally newcomers—of his regime whose strategy consists of seeking to retake from him the support of the western imperialist powers and whose tactics consisted of sounding the alarm on the dangers of the victory of communism in "Zaire" if Mobutu still remains in power due to the radicalization of the whole opposition. President Mobutu is clearly convinced that with the funds that he would receive within the financial scheme of "his" famous plan, he would again be able to organize prestigious boxing matches like that between Foreman and Muhammad Ali or invite other big international musical groups like James Brown's or Pacheco's—opium to make the masses oblivious to their misery.

Nobody there is a fool. Objectives advocated in the "Mobutu Plan" would not satisfy essential fundamental needs of the Congolese people and, still less, improve their standard of living.

Everyone knows that its partial success demands yet more sacrifices by the Congolese people. The austerity advocated in this plan simply means asking Congolese people to further tighten their belts when they can no longer do so. This is actually already the case in the wake of frequent devaluations of the "Zairian" currency. And the foreign exchange to be gained as a result of the plan's measures in financial improvement would serve more to ease transfers abroad by subsidiaries of multinational companies exploiting "Zaire" and the little remaining would go to so-called "Zairian" businessmen to purchase luxury goods needed by the dignitaries in the "Zairian" regime. The objectives of the "Mobutu Plan" would serve only to provide the Congolese people with sugar-coated pills to make them believe that they were appeasing their hunger, to the rhythms of James Brown and Pacheco and others like that.

International imperialist circles know this also. They therefore demand policies beforehand. They demand that Mobutu show that he has regained some credibility with the people or that he is no longer threatened politically. That



During the colonial period a common punishment for a village's failure to meet Belgian rubber quotas was the random cutting off of hands.

is why he persists in having world opinion believe that the concept of political opposition is non-existent in "Zaire," unless encouraged by vagabonds living in Brussels, who have no influence in the country. Mobutu, who wants to be democratic following injunctions from the conference of imperialist powers, protectors of "Zaire," held on June 5, 1978 in Paris, goes so far as to say that the concept of political opposition does not exist in African tradition. Which contradicts the practice of another promoter of "Africanity," who equally presides over destinies in Senegal, the "father of Negritude," Leopold Sedar SENGHOR, who established an appearance of political pluralism. One can also cite the example of the path taken by Nigeria or Upper Volta: countries which, to listen to the dictator of "Zaire," would not be African. Unless he wants us to again believe that, according to his famous theory of "authenticity," the "Zairian" individual presents in Africa his/her own peculiar characteristics. Then why not conclude that the "Zairian" is the only one in the world who takes pleasure in slavery? But facts are stubborn and the postcolonial history of Third World countries brings a harsh denial.

Nevertheless, one cannot understand how the same regime which denies the existence of opposition is the same one which undertakes eloquent contacts with certain obliging opposition organizations to have them come to terms with it, to decree a general amnesty and prolong it repeatedly to allow all opponents to return to "Zaire" and, especially, to plan diabolical maneuvers to denigrate and undermine what does not exist, as he claims.

Until now, the Mobutu regime has not been able to prove that the political opposition, of which the FLNC still remains the spearhead, does not exist. Also, despite their good will, imperialist powers still hesitate to finance the "Mobutu Plan." For them, only favorable psychological conditions among the masses would allow its realization—which General Mobutu cannot satisfy, having completely lost all credibility with the people. And until their new clients acquire some support with the people, or if you like, until the members of this fifth column which the Mobutu regime denounces, acquire a certain credibility in "Zaire," western

imperialist powers will feed the Zairian regime promises. For better than anyone, these powers are convinced of that "wisdom" laid down by Abraham Lincoln, a former President of the U.S.: "You can fool all the people some of the time, you can fool some of the people all the time, but you can never fool all the people all the time."

Terror and Phony "Liberalization"

Slavish imperialist domination has always been based on force and deceit. Also, you replace dictators when the lies that they recite no longer distract the people from their extreme misery. This is thus the application of the golden rule that when you have squeezed all the juice from a lemon you throw it into the garbage and replace it with a juicier one.

The history of dominated Latin America is marked by several examples of "pronunciamentos" one after the other to crush the popular will.

It is this practice that Mobutu has introduced into our country, in fact in Black independent Africa, with the coup d'état he carried out on September 14, 1960, on the instructions of the CIA, against the legal and legitimate government of Patrice LUMUMBA. General SUHARTO would do the same in 1965 against the revolutionary nationalist, non-aligned government of President SUKARNO, and this tradition would be pursued in September 1973 with General Pinochet's coup d'état against the Popular Unity government of President Salvador Allende.

That is the political destiny world imperialism reserves for the subjugated Third World.

That is what the Trilateral Commission, the moving force behind the exploits of the imperialist West, made the Latin American "democrats" and "liberals" clearly understand: "democracy is a big luxury for Latin America"—which means a Third World slavishly dominated by international monopoly capitalism.

Also to allow their new clients to reinforce their popular base, western powers, protectors of "Zaire," dictated to the arch-corrupt Mobutu regime a so-called policy of liberalization and democratization.

Liberalization of the Zairian political life imposed by the Paris Conference is one means of catapulting politicians of this fifth column to the political forefront. Radio and television broadcasts of parliamentary debates allow new and better clients of world imperialism to win fame in the eyes of the masses for diatribes addressed to members of the "Zairian" government. To balance in the eyes of the masses, the harshness of the austerity measures, the new public administration leaders of "Zaire" of which Mr. Blumenthal is chief, decreed a moratorium on enterprises owned by Zairian officials closest to General Mobutu. Which makes them seem the greatest squanderers of public funds and allows them to "whitewash" the other barons of "Zaire," members of the fifth column.

However, world imperialism only intends to call in the service of its new clients if Mobutu's regime is again subjected to a violent, political contest. In this way, the newcomers could reach a compromise with the insurgents. Mobutu's offers of amnesty having been rejected by the organized "Zairian" opposition, it is impossible for the latter to achieve this aim.

For, as always, world imperialism counts on two checkboards. It can only encourage Mobutu's departure in case of distress and only if its clients are in a position to control the political situation with the revolutionaries with whom they would be obliged—increasingly obliged—to cooperate in his departure. The regime actually being a monarchic and autocratic dictatorship, it goes without saying that whatever replaces it, even inspired by imperialism, would be obliged to restore pluralist democracy. And there is no guarantee that, in this context, new clients would emerge victorious in a popular vote. The victory of the revolutionary nationalists in general elections of May 1960 over organizations created and supported by Belgian colonialism, particularly the so-called National Party for Progress (PNP), better known as the Party of Paid Blacks (Parti des Noirs Payes), is not yet erased from the memory of the strategists of slavish domination.

Thus it would be fitting that, in any case, the process of weakening that the revolutionary Congolese movement would be deterred. The proliferation of so-called political organizations allegedly opposed to the dictator is a ready example of this.



Only the combined might of three Western nations was able to defeat the 1978 FLNC offensive. Here French Foreign Legion troops are airlifted to Kolwezi in a US C-141 while their officers confer with US advisers. Twenty thousand such troops remain in the Congo today.

Western Troops in "Zaire"

Parallel to this, to guard against any eventuality, the imperialist powers, protectors of "Zaire," have arrogated to themselves the right to organize the military security of "Zaire." Agreements for direct military intervention today link Zaire with some of these countries, France and Belgium notably, as well as with the most aligned African countries on the policy of slavish domination of western imperialist powers. This is the case of Morocco, Egypt and Senegal. Other African countries—Gabon, Central African Republic, Ivory Coast, Sudan and Burundi—have agreed to serve as bases for external military intervention in "Zaire." To complete the array of security measures, troops from western imperialist countries—West Germany, France, Belgium, notably—will hence permanently station troops in military bases at their disposal: Kamina, Kinshasa and Kitona (for the Belgian contingent evaluated at 1,250 persons); Kongolo, Kalemie and Manono (West Germany: 750 soldiers); and Ngungu, Kinshasa, Kolwezi, Kananga, Likasi and Lubumbashi (France: 2,000 soldiers). Besides, satellites will henceforth be observing all the "Zairian" borders to detect any movement of troops or any suspicious grouping, while the number of "military advisors and technicians" coming from all over—the neo-mandarin, so-called People's China, Israel, France, Belgium and Chile—would assure the make-up or recycling of soldiers and of agents of "Zairian" political policy. Finally, mercenaries—almost 10,000 today—from throughout the west—U.S.A., France, West Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, South Africa, etc.—would spearhead the future "Zairian" army.

This division of the country was not enough, subversion could come from outside, and it was necessary to normalize relations between "Zaire" and its neighbors. After Zambia and Angola, anticipate normalization of relations between "Zaire" and Tanzania, where General Mobutu, to erase his support of the bloody Idi Amin and to remove any last concern, intends next to make an official visit. Remember that Tanzania energetically opposed American-French-Belgian intervention in Kolwezi and recently predicted a

fate similar to Idi Amin's for other African dictators.

All these measures have one aim: to crush if not weaken the revolutionary Congolese movement of which the FLNC is actually the advance guard and armed wing. It was a surprise to see Mobutu again sound the alarm in February 1978 and ask western imperialist powers, protectors of "Zaire," to send other contingents to reinforce those already there. Without doubt, Mobutu wanted to cut the grass from under the feet of the famous fifth column which, impatient to change guard, would want to precipitate his fall by provoking minor disturbances in "Zairian" towns.

For added assurance, the dictator of "Zaire" proposed a pact of collective security to Angola and Zambia which would permit him to track down "Zairian" refugees living in these countries as he does in Congo-Brazzaville, in Central African Republic, in Sudan, in Uganda (under Idi Amin), in Kenya and in Burundi. And to gain the adherence of these future partners (Presidents Kaunda and Neto), Mobutu imagined a monstrous farce: an attack on "Zaire" by one of his trustees who had gained the trust of some of his obliging opponents.

Suddenly, Mobutu wanted to aim at other targets; to discredit any opposition to his dictatorship, therefore, to remove any possibility of its external moral support; to regain some standing in Africa where he enjoys a public notoriety worse than that of Tshombe and Muzorewa combined and, especially, to prove to his imperialist masters that his army could guarantee the security of "Zaire" and that they no longer heed the advances of his opponents. Faced by a squad of 12 apprentice mercenaries whom the "Zairian" press converted into a whole regiment, a battalion of "Zairian" paratroopers would have certainly conquered them. However, the risk of seeing revolutionary organizations take advantage of teleguided scuffles between Mobutu's army and the 12 mercenaries at Goma to incite a popular uprising, would be great. Much more so when the FLNC soldiers, who were constantly harassing the coalition forces under Mobutu's banner, have passed beyond the Kolwezi-Dilolo-Kapanya triangle in which they were confined. Im-



FLNC President Lieutenant-General M'Bumba and comrades confer in liberated zone. "One does not gain independence on a silver platter, it is taken by force."

perialist circles preferred to thwart the coup by denouncing the mercenaries' plan.

The Congolese National Liberation Front

However, in pursuing the revolutionary armed struggle for national liberation, FLNC, like other clandestine organizations which rigidly structured the daily struggle of the Congolese masses against Mobutu's neo-colonial, fascist dictatorship, instrument of slavish domination of the imperialist west, intends to clearly prove that nothing in the world could stop the advance of a people towards liberty and social progress. Despite repeated attempts by imperialist agents to make them compromise before the altar of neo-

colonialism, sapping their cohesiveness and unity, undermining them internally so as to weaken them, the FLNC, today the only political Congolese organization which best reflects the true, deep legitimate aspirations of all the Congolese people, pursues the struggle for national liberation. Relying solely on their own forces and on the help of the Congolese masses, not using any foreign assistance, the FLNC has scored several successes in this long and difficult task. For the FLNC has never had illusions about the difficulties or the length of the struggle. But however long, the struggle of the Congolese people for their effective liberation will triumph after surmounting all obstacles which world imperialism and local agents will lay in its path.

Members of the FLNC are convinced of this truth, for oppression and exploitation carry in themselves the germs of insubordination and revolt which, to be fully accomplished, should end in revolution. And the present struggle is nothing but the continuation of that begun by the Congolese people since Simon KIMBANGU, resumed by Patrice LUMUMBA with more clarification, and finally pursued through the National Committee of Liberation created by Lumumbists. Always faithful to the teachings of Lumumba whose memory is perpetuated through the struggle against slavish imperialist domination, FLNC is clearly persuaded that:

As long as a people is not independent, as long as they have not completely assumed their destiny, they lack the essential. And this, despite the advantages of a system of domination.

—LUMUMBA

But also because it would be useless to await further compromise when one knows that sooner or later, it would be necessary to reconsider everything, to review everything: "to create new structures adapted to our own conditions of existence" (LUMUMBA) because

the choice which has always been offered to us is nothing but the alternative: Liberty or continued subjugation.

—LUMUMBA

Because "between liberty and slavery, there is no compromise," the Congolese people under the direction of the FLNC "prefers to pay the price of Liberty."

For "Liberty is the ideal for which, at all times and through the ages, men have struggled and died."

Everywhere throughout the world, men have struggled, struggle and will always struggle for the triumph of the ideal of Liberty. As the venerable HO CHI MINH, great hero and defender before the era of the struggle of oppressed peoples, stated: "Nothing is more precious than liberty and independence." However, the memory of LUMUMBA reminds the FLNC

that:

History has shown that Independence is not given on a silver platter. It is taken. But to seize independence for the Congo it is necessary to organize to mobilize all the resources of the country. It is with this unified force that we have dealt a mortal blow to decaying capitalism.

Today, the time for plans is over in Congo-Kinshasa. As Kwame Nkrumah, father of African independence, said: "If we merely needed words and slogans to bury imperialism, it would have been long buried thousands of kilometers underground."

Thus it is that ten years after the formation of its first active cells, the FLNC rose up to continue the struggle of the Congolese people for a better future. Leading a tough guerrilla struggle in the province of Katanga, it moreover continues the mobilization of the masses and further structures their struggle on concrete bases. And at a moment when it again will judge appropriate, it will resume new major offensives to destroy all reactionary and puppet forces.

However, the FLNC will never change into triumphalism. It knows that the liberation of Congo-Kinshasa will still need a lot of great sacrifices in human lives and other hardships for the Congolese people. It knows that, like in all wars and especially wars of liberation, some battles will be won and others will be lost.

But it solemnly proclaims that, since March 8, 1977, slavish imperialist domination entered into its twilight . . . For today, more than yesterday, the Congolese people, under its guidance, is persuaded that:

1. History will remain an endless repetition as long as one does not heed its lessons.

(Congolese history is as particularly rich in the vile maneuvers of world imperialism to perpetuate their slavish oppression as in the weaknesses of political patriotic organizations.)

2. Following the principle of inertia, to stop a force of given strength, it would be necessary to oppose it with another force of equal strength. To overturn it would take a force of strength greater than its own.

(Therefore, one must know the real strength of imperialism, a force whose power of intervention is known, but whose capacity definitely depends on internal support within the oppressed nation or people. As the great African hero, Amilcar Cabral, said: "However one judges imperialism, do not forget that it only succeeds through collaboration with internal forces: rice is cooked inside the pot.")

The Congolese people, guided by the FLNC, developed this conviction through the experiences of their own daily existence and not on indications coming from abroad. As the venerable Ho Chi Minh stated:

Beneath the shock of the pestle,
the grain of rice suffers,
But once the test passes,
admire its whiteness!
Such are humans in the world
in which we live;
To be a man,
one needs the pestle of misfortune.

Also, always objecting to an opposition by simple negation of the dictatorial Mobutu regime, the FLNC called on all factions now wanting to represent this desire of the Congolese people, to struggle around a political platform, the objectives of which are:

1. The struggle against the monarchic and autocratic dictatorship presently in power in Kinshasa until its total liquidation;
2. Building a true democratic state:
 - (a) where all democratic liberties or rights would be respected and where the government in power would always be born

of the freely expressed desire of the great majority of the people;

- (b) which would guarantee the sovereignty of the people and the independence of the country;
- (c) which would work for the real social progress of the Congolese masses, i. e., for the constant satisfaction of the essential fundamental needs of the masses and an improvement in their level of material and cultural life as well as for establishing social equity and justice;
- (d) which would cooperate with all states in the world solely on the bases of equality, reciprocity and mutual respect.

Reflecting the deep legitimate aspirations and guaranteeing the true majority interests of the Congolese masses, this minimum political program of struggle is increasingly gaining support, creating panic in international imperialist circles who are unable to restrain the enthusiasm which it has aroused despite several attempts at sabotage by their agents—including certain eleventh-hour opponents—whose mask of opposition can no longer cover their misdeeds within the Congolese revolutionary movement.

Thus, step by step, the slogans of the FLNC are concretized:

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES;
CONQUER OR DIE.**

**ALL FOR THE PEOPLE;
NOTHING WITHOUT THE PEOPLE.**

Unifying party of the struggling Congolese people, the Congolese Progressive Students (ECP) could not but fit their struggle into the framework laid down by the FLNC, at whose side they struggle courageously.

Appendix:

Do not confuse the removal of Lu-

mumba on September 5, 1960 by KASAVUBU, which was nullified by the Congolese Parliament and by the success of the reconciliation achieved between these two personalities, due to the efforts of certain parliamentarians, which caused Mobutu's intervention of September 14th. Besides, to break the revolutionary zeal of the Lumumbists on the verge of their military conquest of Katanga (early 1961) and to prevent this conquest from legitimizing their government (Gizenga government in

Stanleyville) over that of the government of Kasavubu (the second government led by Ileo) which covered Mobutu's power, the latter, again on the orders of the CIA, interrupted negotiations with Gen. Lundula for a reconciliation between their respective armies and, therefore, between the Stanleyville and Leopoldville governments. The reconciliation would intervene in the conclave held at Louvanium (Leopoldville) in August 1961, in the early days of the government presided over by ADOULA.



Members of the FLNC Central Committee meeting in liberated zones.

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE FLNC

1978-81

Brussels (International Press Center)
February 2, 1978

In the name of the Central Committee of the Congolese National Liberation Front, I have to thank the democratic organizations and all persons in love with the ideals of liberty, justice and peace in Belgium, who have constantly seen to it that the voice of the Congolese people, who are presently experiencing the most tragic period of their history, be not stilled by the money powers who, for almost a century, have been drawing enormous profits from their oppression, their over-exploitation and the systematic pilage of all the economic wealth of their country.

My thanks are addressed especially to individuals and democratic organizations in Belgium who formed the "Zaire-Kommittee" and the Lumumba Committee; two organizations which, in spite of their limited means, try, not without success, to supply objective information on our country, Congo-Kinshasa. To the Progressive Congolese Students (ECP) who, despite the great risk they run as much for themselves as for their relatives living in regions dominated by Mobutu's fascist and neocolonial dictatorship, have never accepted the fait accompli of this dictatorship, and always bear high the flame of resistance of the Congolese people within the heart of Congolese youth. It is, I believe, concern for informing international public opinion which motivated this present press conference. It is without doubt the desire to objectively inform this opinion which made the organizers of this conference, the ECP and the "Zaire-Kommittee," dare to invite to it the Congolese National Liberation Front which represents today the deep legitimate aspirations of the people of Congo-Kinshasa.

Since the launching of the armed revo-

lutionary struggle for national liberation by our organization, international public opinion, particularly Western public opinion, has followed the political evolution of Congo-Kinshasa only through information largely and favorably commented on by a major part of the Western press. The latter, as one knows, exercises a major influence on international public opinion.

Major events with evident political character are knowingly read so as not to tarnish further the totally discredited image of the political regime presided over by Mobutu, and especially so that the regime does not lose the little credit at its disposal from those who were called to intervene in the framework of the famous "Mobutu Plan"—a plan prepared by the offices of world imperialism, notably by the experts of the International Monetary Fund and Belgium, a plan initially and falsely called the "Marshall Plan" for Zaire.

Congolese People Wage Revolutionary Struggle

Also, major protest actions undertaken by the Congolese working masses, such as the strikes which still paralyze all socio-economic activity in the Congo, are reported in the Western press only as trivial and banal. The election boycott by more than 90% of the Congolese electorate recently in our country has not been raised in information related to the "Zairian elections." The conspiracy of silence organized since the offensive by the Popular Armed Forces of Congo-Kinshasa (FAPC), the armed branch of our organization, the FLNC, with a view to implanting the freedom fighters within the country, was quickly exaggerated with the censorship imposed on the press by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of certain West European countries. This caused all

the information supplied by the FLNC on the political situation in the Congo not to ever be published or reported by the international press.

This was the case with the broad mobilization of the popular masses undertaken by the FLNC, action confirmed by the implementation of the plan to boycott the elections made in September 1977 by the FLNC. This action could not be carried out if the FLNC was not solidly implanted in the heart of the popular masses throughout the country and thanks to the FLNC partisans, protest movements and popular resistance, another form of political struggle, today acquire major importance and manifest political significance.

The conspiracy of silence organized in the West has particularly prevented the broadcast of the successes reported by

the fighters of the Congolese Revolution which the FLNC leads today, over Mobutu's army. Today in fact, the FLNC freedom fighters in the provinces of Katanga (Shaba) and Kasai are still spreading and the operations of harassment of Mobutu's forces intensify further. It stands to reason that from the time the military intervention of certain Western countries, notably Belgium, France and West Germany, to reinforce the capacity for resistance of the Mobutu army, became increasingly open, better could not be expected.

In fact, if it is no longer a secret today for anyone that mercenaries from the United States of America, Great Britain, West Germany, and France are no longer counted among Mobutu's army—mercenaries whose financial support is borne by West Germany—one should equally note that the number of European "counsellors



French Foreign Legion and Belgian troops retook Kolwezi in a reign of terror after FLNC defeated Mobutu's army.

and advisors," chiefly Belgian and French, have greatly increased in Mobutu's army. This also comprises a battalion of Moroccan soldiers remaining in Kolwezi and 100 Egyptian pilots and mechanics for military airplanes, the number of which increased when the Mobutu state was recognized as insolvent by all its creditors.

The military "counsellors and advisors" occupy themselves with anti-guerrilla operations, heavy artillery, electronic surveillance in combat zones, while the mercenaries spearhead the Mobutu army.

To avoid the daily desertion of "Zairian" soldiers from the Mobutu army, and faced with an increased demand for western mercenaries coming from racist and minority regimes in power in southern Africa, the money powers which support Mobutu's decaying political regime are now recruiting African mercenaries. After integrating Angolan looters groups into the FNLA and FLEC into Mobutu's forces stationed in Bas-Congo and Kwango, today it is the turn of the UNITA bandits who were transferred from Namibia to Katanga. From Kolwezi, where South African planes landed them, mercenaries supplied by UNITA proceeded to the urban centers located near the zones of the freedom fighters.

The number of western and African mercenaries in Mobutu's army has just passed 5,000 persons. For several reasons, this number will increase in a few days. The first reason is that the Mobutu army must number at least 100,000 in a short time. The second reason for it is that the desertion by Zairian soldiers is taking alarming proportions and, finally, the number of those killed within this army grows with the desperation of the money powers of whom Mobutu still remains the chief lackey in Congo-Zaire, to liquidate the FLNC. This latter assumes major importance in having the idea of the capacity of the Mobutu regime to assure the security of goods and persons gain credit in financial circles unwilling to respond to the appeal by the Belgian government to participate in the international financial consortium which must finance the so-called "Mobutu Plan."

For the poison campaign led notably by Belgium concerning the "democratization" of political life in Zaire did not

succeed in swaying the total conviction of these financial circles.

The West Moves to Recolonize the Congo

These constantly raise the pursuit of the armed struggle and the existence of a great revolutionary current in the heart of the Congolese people as a basis for their refusal or hesitation to finance the "Mobutu Plan." The takeover by Belgium of the economic life of Congo-Zaire—definitely recolonization of the Congo by Belgium since economic activity is the very basis of all social activity—is no longer a guarantee against the armed struggle. With reference to this takeover of the Zairian economy by Belgium, the FLNC must inform international public opinion as well as Belgian opinion, that the inevitable consequence of the involvement which the Belgian state has just made would be to see Belgium militarily involved in Congo-Zaire in a more pronounced manner than it is now, that is by sending more and more troops. This risks, contrary to the wishes stated by the Belgian newspaper *La Libre Belgique* (Free Belgium), further dividing the Belgian and Congolese peoples.

There is evidence today that the Congolese people, like other peoples in Africa and the Third World, reject this "regime of colonialism" without the presence of the colonialist, as they rejected for 50 years the regime of "colonialism with the colonizer present" under which they lived until June 30, 1960. One must not confuse the bitterness that they bear vis-a-vis this political regime which arose after September 5, 1960, the date of the fall of the Lumumba government—bitterness which is sometimes expressed by parallels or comparisons with the political regime before June 30, 1960, the only one under which the present population of the Congo—with the nostalgia for pure colonialism and, besides, infatuation with the return of the latter—lived. For, if they fought for long years for national independence, the Congolese people will never accept recolonization, either partial or indirect;

that is, they will never accept this colonialist regime with the presence or limited participation of the former colonizer which the money powers wish to impose on them today.

One fact is also evident today: that the Congolese people in 1977 are politically more mature than they were in the 1950's.

And that having realized the true cause of their misery, viz. the seizure by the money powers of the economic wealth of their country, they intend to wage a merciless struggle to put an end to this seizure. And they have just recently proved it. By blowing up the AFRIDEX company which supplies explosives to companies exploiting the mineral wealth of the Congo, the working masses of Likasi carried out an obvious political act: that of no longer accepting the pillage of Congolese economic riches. Also, the west in general and Belgium in particular as it concerns the Congo, must know that the recolonization of Africa, as it is already advocated with plans for new colonial pacts, called "pacts of Euro-African solidarity" will never be a solution to the problems posed today by the continued exploitation of African peoples and the pillage of the economic wealth of their countries by a handful of individuals who are proprietors of these grand enterprises which exploit a large section of humanity with, notably in the Third World, the collaboration of some corrupt individuals who seized political power and maintain it by force thanks to considerable military support that the money powers—which constitute this handful of individuals—supply them.

And, exactly as the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs said it, the Mobutu political regime, with or without Mobutu at its head, is definitely the last one to serve western interests in the Congo, and only, it is always understood, insofar as there is exploitation of Third World peoples, pillage of the economic wealth of their countries, safeguard of the market for finished products supplied by enterprises in western countries and a labor market for their nationals by western interests.

On his return from the Congo, the present Belgian Minister of Cooperation, Mr. Outers, emphasized it well: To western

interests, it is only the profits withdrawn from the Congo by a handful of Belgians allied with other nationals of western countries, who exploit the Congolese people by paying them starvation wages in exchange for brutal toil and who pillage the wealth of the Congo in collaboration with Congolese traitors of whom Mobutu is the leader.

Western interests have always spoken of the interests of western peoples. For the latter have never been and could never be opposed to those of the peoples of the Third World, and particularly, of the Congolese people. The Belgian, even when working in Congo-Zaire, lives and will live off of his labor. And nothing says that if the Congo is no longer subject to seizure by monopolies, that the Belgian, the Frenchman or any other national of the West could no longer return there to work. The FLNC must emphasize once more: the struggle for national liberation of the Congolese people which it is leading is not aimed at any people, is not aimed at any state. It is aimed essentially at ending the misery of the Congolese people, the fundamental cause of which is the domination of the Congo by money powers. It is only to end this domination and to work for the true well-being of all the Congolese peoples that the FLNC is struggling. And it will perhaps not be useless to remember that this well-being can only come from an economic development conceived as a function of the gradual increase in the standard of living of the working masses and of the constant satisfaction of their basic needs. This is what the arch-corrupt and decaying regime presently in power in Kinshasa has never been able to and will never know how to do, given its congenital nature and in spite of any plan that it would have conceived and to which major financial assistance would have been designated. For it is public knowledge that a part of this aid will return to European bank accounts of well-known citizens of "Zaire"; the part designated for the so-called economic recovery, as it is called today, will only affect the economic sectors which interest the western monopolies and not the sectors involving the satisfaction of the basic needs of the people of Zaire. Misery could therefore never end.

The FLNC Fights for Total Liberation

It is to end this misery that the FLNC fights against the domination of the Congo by the money powers. And where there has been domination, there has never been even formal democracy. For no people likes slavery or servitude. Consequently, working within the framework of the Supreme Council of Liberation (CSL) with the People's Party of the Revolution, the FLNC struggles for the establishment of true democracy, for true national sovereignty of the Congolese people, i.e. for the absolute right of the Congolese people to freely determine their own destiny. Thus in Congo-Kinshasa, the FLNC will tirelessly pursue the struggle against all agents of the money powers to their total destruction. On the international level, the struggle by the FLNC aims to substitute relationships of domination which presently characterize the foreign relations of the Congo, with cooperative relations with all the peoples of the world, i.e., all states which manifestly express this.

Definitely, for these relationships of domination, the FLNC intends to substitute relationships based on mutual interest and collaboration on a basis of equality and with reciprocal respect for the sovereignty of each people. Then, the FLNC has to solemnly advise all international public opinion that any investment made in the Congo under the present climate of domination, or if you wish, any aid supplied to the present regime to maintain itself, must be classified as lost funds. For the Congo will never know peace unless there is an end to the system of domination by the money powers which the fascist regime of Mobutu established 17 years ago. Finally, in conclusion, the FLNC wants to emphasize for all those who, for humanitarian reasons, invoke, like the Belgian Minister for Cooperation, Mr. Outers, the danger of civil wars and the subsequent loss of lives, that it is the domination of the Congo by imperialist powers which remains the primary reason for the civil wars which the Congo has always known. That, by its policy characterized by a generalized neglect on the



African people all over the world denounced the murder of Patrice Lumumba in 1961. Above, demonstrators in Cairo Egypt burn US embassy car.



Black people shouting "You are all murderers, you murdered Lumumba," disrupted UN whitewash of Lumumba's assassination.

social level, Mobutu's regime has been and still remains the principal cause of natural death which monthly plunges into mourning hundreds of thousands of Congolese and which, in any case, is already the cause of the present civil war raging in the Congo. And to put an end, not only to the civil war, but also the political assassinations and to the early natural death widespread in the Congo, there is only one solution: Mobutu's resignation.

Let his friends, like Mr. Outers, make him understand this. But the Congolese people, under the leadership of the FLNC know, since Lumumba's assassination, that liberty has its price. And this price they prefer to pay to end forever the infernal cycle— orphan, orphan's son, and orphan's father—which characterizes the society in which they have lived for five centuries.

However, to wage their struggle—today for national liberation and tomorrow for the development of their country—the Congolese people, under the leadership of the FLNC will always rely on its own forces. Since March 8, 1977, the FLNC has not stopped proving it. But it does not object and will not object to any dis-

interested support from progressive, freedom-, justice- and peace-loving peoples. And as stated by the late, lamented hero of the Congo, Patrice Lumumba, for whom we commemorated the 17th anniversary of his assassination with the deliberate assistance of the present leader of the Congo, Joseph Desire Mobutu: "To the concerted action of the imperialist powers, of which the Belgian colonialists are only the instrument, we must oppose the united front of free and struggling peoples. We must confront the enemies of liberty with the coalition of free men."

Also, the FLNC appeals to all western peoples and particularly to the Belgian people to oppose the maneuvers of their leaders to drag some of their sons into new colonialist adventures which will ruin forever their relationships with the Congolese people.

However, conscious today more than ever that "... independence is not given on a silver platter but is seized," the FLNC affirms and will always affirm:

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES:
CONQUER OR DIE!**

-FLNC

PRESS RELEASE—CONGO-KINSHASA
March 8, 1978

External Representation
Benelux

*Message from the President of the FLNC
to the Congolese People*

Congolese Comrades,

March 8 is a date which will forever remain memorable in the history of the Congolese people.

In fact, it marks the launching of the armed struggle for national liberation by the FLNC to liberate the Congolese people from imperialist exploitation and from the oppressive regime of Mobutu.

Since its creation almost ten years ago, the FLNC as a Movement of national liberation, has constantly reinforced itself politically and militarily. And after analyzing the situation of misery in which the Congolese people were plunged by a puppet regime, in the service of international capitalists, the FLNC took the firm decision to launch an armed struggle for national liberation on March 8, 1977 to bring down the anti-people regime in Kinshasa characterized by a total incapacity to manage the affairs of state for the good of the people.

Mobutu, hard-pressed, found the pretext to mask the agony of his regime by imputing to the FLNC the responsibility of a "sabotage" of the national economy when that was already in chaos. It must be remembered once again that the armed struggle conducted by the FLNC from the province of Shaba did not have a secessionist aim, as Mobutu and his imperialist masters claimed.

The Congolese people understood that it was a maneuver by their enemies to sow division and thus prevent all the Congolese people from supporting the just struggle conducted under the leadership of the FLNC.

Not only did the Congolese people understand but, besides, are in solidarity with the FLNC. That is the meaning of the popular uprisings which are widespread throughout the country and which

are met by massacres, favorite arms of a dying regime. These massacres, far from preventing the struggle from continuing, only reinforce the conviction of the Congolese people of the justness of their struggle under FLNC leadership. Far from deterring the people, they only retard the victory which is, however, inescapable.

That is why, strengthened by this popular support, the FLNC continues the armed struggle relying on its own forces without waiting for any help from outside. While he prides himself on the confidence of the Congolese people and, despite a well-armed army, Mobutu has yet not hesitated to ask and obtain mercenaries from several foreign countries, who have fought and continue to fight against us.

Is there any more convincing proof that this guard-dog of imperialist interests does not have popular standing?

The Congolese people can be assured of victory, thanks to their courage and determination to support the legitimate struggle led by the FLNC.

This is why, in the name of the Central Committee of the FLNC and in my personal name, I ask the Congolese people to join me in observing a moment's silence in memory of all fighters who have fallen on the battlefield. . . . These martyrs of the Revolution, our heroes, who accepted death in the liberation of our people from the claws of imperialism and thus, in saving the Congolese nation, I can assure that their memory will be respected by continuing the armed struggle until total liberation of our country.

As for you, liberation fighters in the FLNC, the Congolese people can be proud of you on seeing the courage and the determination with which you showed the world that you are capable of defending their cause. In any circumstance, throughout the struggle, you have, in fact, proved your strength in facing the puppet army despite the military support that Mobutu received from his French and Belgian imperialist masters through intermediary regimes such as Morocco, (Idi Amin's) Uganda, Egypt, etc.

And at this precise moment, Mobutu cannot claim, despite all his support, that he has won the war, for the struggle continues throughout Congolese territory.

Comrade liberators,

Thanks to your conviction, your determination, your experience and your discipline, you constantly prove that you are not afraid of mercenaries of any type. In fact, since the offensive of last March 8, you have faced some major powers besides Mobutu's puppet army.

For all those French, Moroccan, Ugandan and Egyptian pilots whom you crushed were nothing but soldiers in the

regular armies of the above-mentioned countries.

Thus, in the name of the Central Committee and in my personal name, I ask you to persevere with the same determination and the same discipline; do not give the enemy any respite, for he must be constantly harassed until the total liberation of our country.

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!
CONQUER OR DIE!**

March 8, 1978

Lt. General Nathaniel Mbumba
President of the FLNC



The FLNC, "resolutely committed to the struggle for total independence, democracy and socialism," fights to put control of the Congo's enormous wealth back into the hands of the people.

PRESS RELEASE—CONGO-KINSHASA

March 18, 1978

Mobutu Kills with the Complicity of Imperialism and the Collusion of "Zairians"

The Congolese National Liberation Front informs world opinion of the following:

Once more, the fascist, neocolonial regime in power in Kinshasa has just been caught in another major shameful crime. After Lumumba, Okito, Mpolo, after Kimba, Bamba, Mahamba and Anany, after Lubaya, Mulele, the students at Louvanium in 1969 and 1971, as well as tens of thousands of Congolese taken away and discreetly eliminated in the caves of Binza, Mobutu has again killed more children of the Congo.

But if we must condemn the author of this odious and infamous crime, we must not forget all those who, in one way or another, armed the murderer and those who lent assistance.

Once more, the complicity of representatives of world imperialism and particularly the Belgian government is obvious. In fact, to forestall popular attacks or certain surprises on the Mobutist regime, which has been, remains and will always remain the best guarantee of its enormous profits, imperialism has managed and will always manage to denounce any action which will implicate Mobutu's bloody regime. This operation is easy for it if it knows the authors and all the modalities of this action.

This would be even better facilitated if there are Congolese willing to—*consciously*—inform imperialism of the actions conceived by other Congolese against Mobutu's bloody regime. This is precisely what happened.

After Mampa was condemned to death, you have Kalume and his companions exposed, condemned to death and assassinated with the complicity of intelligence agents of the Belgian government, overseer of the imperialist undertaking in the Congo, agents who are members of the so-called opposition movement, M.A.R.C.

In fact, convinced that without the support and complicity of the Belgian govern-

ment, it was impossible for them to change the political situation in the Congo, the members of M.A.R.C. contacted Belgian imperialist circles to whom they reported information concerning preparations for actions that some patriotic soldiers of the Mobutist army wanted to undertake. These soldiers had submitted their proposals to Congolese political organizations in either false or real opposition to the regime so as to obtain their support.

But M.A.R.C., so as to obtain the support of the Belgian government, indispensable in its eyes, let them pass as its members and from then, presented itself as author of these preparations. And to convince its listeners, it delivered up the names of the true authors, its so-called members.

This allowed the Belgian government to come into possession of "first-hand" information and to report it faithfully to the bloody Mobutu. In fact, the Belgian government which is the official representative of the money powers exploiting the Congolese people and pillaging the economic wealth of their country, does not intend to see the regime presently in power in Kinshasa toppled, as long as the FLNC, the most important revolutionary organization and true reflection of the deep, legitimate aspirations of the Congolese people, poses a major threat to the continuation of the enormous profits which the money powers withdraw from the Congo.

Also, thanks to the Members of M.A.R.C., the Belgian government transmitted Col. Mampa's intentions to Mobutu.

Thanks to M.A.R.C. again—there is no more scorn on this point for it is the second time—the Belgian government transmitted to Mobutu the intentions of Kalume and his friends.

Condemnations by members of M.A.R.C. will no longer deceive anyone: they must make them to allow themselves to continue wearing the mantle of opposition and to continue thus to expose other Congolese who will inform them of their



General Mobutu, the Shah of Africa.

plans against the Mobutu regime.

The Congolese, particularly FLNC partisans, will not forget that it was the Belgian government which exposed Colonel Mampa, Major Kalume and his friends. They will not forget that it was the members of M.A.R.C. who informed the Belgian government on Colonel Mampa, Major Kalume and his friends.

The FLNC has to remind all Congolese that revolutionary armed struggle is the *only way* to national liberation and the safety of the Congolese people.

Also, the FLNC, which had noted its reservations on the outcome of the ac-

tions planned by these patriotic soldiers of Mobutu's army, calls all Congolese patriots and particularly the patriotic soldiers who remain in Mobutu's army, to rejoin its ranks, like a good number of soldiers of the Kamanyola division, rather than continue to be faithful to the works of agents of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!
CONQUER OR DIE!**

(signed) N. Mbumba
Lt. General and President
of the FLNC



FLNC Photo

FLNC fighter placing mine for surprise attack on Mobutu's troops.

Section: Europe

**PRESS RELEASE—CONGO-KINSHASA
March 21, 1978**

The Congolese National Liberation Front (FLNC) brings before world opinion the information that at the end of a desperate struggle which brought the FLNC freedom fighters against the puppet Mobutuist forces, in the region of Kasaji, from March 18 to 20, 1978, the general of the Zairian brigade, Ikuku, 3 majors and a captain were killed.

At the same time, a train which was transporting some military equipment exploded on a mine placed by the FLNC freedom fighters 20 kilometers from Lubudi. These freedom fighters, after neutralizing the Mobutuist soldiers who were escorting this train, took possession of several heavy and light arms as well as of ammunitions. The rest was destroyed.

The FLNC recalls that the action undertaken since March 8 of last year (1977), is presently pursued with more determination by the freedom fighters and explains the recent events related here.

The FLNC states besides, that the international press, fed by the Zairian press agency (AZAP), organizes a true conspiracy of silence on the actual situation in Congo-Kinshasa (Zaire) and thus makes itself an accomplice of the Zairian dictator and assassin, Mobutu Sese Seko.

Finally, the FLNC insists on the fact that the armed struggle it is waging in Congo-Kinshasa aims to liberate the Congolese people completely from the corrupt and antisocial regime at Kinshasa and warns the imperialist powers who do not always understand that Mobutu's regime no longer has any internal democratic credibility and therefore is obliged to organize violence to maintain itself in power.

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!
CONQUER OR DIE!**

**The President of the FLNC
Lt. General and Commander-in-
Chief of the Popular Armed
Forces of Congo-Kinshasa,
Comrade in Struggle,**

(signed) N. Mbumba

PRESS RELEASE—CONGO-KINSHASA September 26, 1978

The Congolese National Liberation Front Continues the Struggle for National Liberation in Congo-Kinshasa

Two months were hardly adequate for the Popular Armed Forces of Congo-Kinshasa (FAPC), the military branch of the Congolese National Liberation Front (FLNC), to restructure itself as a function of the new situation in "Zaire." That resulted, notably on the military level, in the presence in "Zaire" of a military force—allegedly Inter-African—comprising troops from Morocco, Egypt, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Central African Republic, Togo and Gabon—in the ranks of Mobutu's army comprised largely of mercenaries from the west (French, Belgian, West German, English, American, white South African) as well as Africans (members of UNITA, FNLA, FLEC, puppet Angolan organizations) as well as troops from countries in imperialist western Europe. In the latter case, there were: a battalion of Belgian soldiers (850 men spread throughout the chief towns of the province of "Shaba": Kipushi, Kamboye, Likasi, Lubumbashi, and whose general quarters were at Kamina), a battalion of West German soldiers (750 commandos in the towns of Manono, Kalemie and Kongo-lo) and a reinforced French battalion (1,100 men between Lubumbashi, Likasi, Kolwezi and Kananga to Kasai) while another battalion of French troops were quartered in the chief towns of "Bas-Zaire" to Kinshasa.

Thus, after setting several ambushes to harass Mobutu's forces to the maximum, FLNC guerrillas launched on August 22, 1978 a far-reaching attack against the Moroccan battalion (800 soldiers) stationed in the town of Sandoa. Less than an hour later, the FAPC was in control of the entire Sandoa area, routing the Moroccan soldiers who, on fleeing, left behind 150 dead, 87 wounded and 32 prisoners.

The shelling carried out by Mirage planes piloted by French and Egyptian personnel and using bombs hollowing out craters 8 to 10 meters in diameter, as well as napalm bombs, compelled the FLNC, commanded by Major George Mansoji,

to fall back, taking away the bodies of their three companions killed during the bombing and their 8 wounded.

The massive intervention of the "Zairian" military air force at Sandoa was prolonged for 2 days, to allow the arrival of 3 battalions sent as reinforcements from Kasaji. These were harassed some kilometers from Kasaji and had to turn back abandoning on the ground 48 dead, 38 of whom were from the west.

In two months (from mid-July to mid-September), the FAPC laid 153 ambushes putting out of combat more than 1,300 soldiers from the coalition troops in "Zaire" under the NATO banner (including wounded); they destroyed 57 armored vehicles, more than 350 lorries and military jeeps and recovered a lot of military equipment of all kinds originating in major western imperialist countries and even from "People's" China. During this time the FAPC recorded only 18 dead and 20 wounded.

The FLNC recalls for international public opinion that: no longer would the conspiracy of silence knowingly laid around "Zaire" on the instigation of the slavish powers, protectors of "Zaire," crush the voice of the Congolese people in claiming their desire for liberty, the different measures desired by these powers and executed by Mobutu under their guard could not distract their attention from the fixed objective:

The reconquest of national independence in Congo-Kinshasa taken by world imperialism three months after its proclamation thanks to the active involvement of the present dictator of "Zaire," President-General Joseph-Désiré Mobutu Sese Seko.

The fascist neo-colonial "Zairian" could then normalize relationships with all countries bordering "Zaire," undertake with some of these governments to forcibly repatriate "Zairian" refugees who live there, in flagrant violation of international law "so that they do not swell the ranks of the FLNC"—as is the case in the Sudan and in Zambia—and resort to elec

tronic or satellite surveillance of the borders of "Zaire." He could no longer even prevent the FLNC from continuing to organize the Congolese people *inside* "Zaire," as has been done since 1976, and to pursue its struggle for national liberation.

The only cleavage existing today in "Zaire" is political. It is that which opposes the oppressed and superexploited Congolese people to the neo-colonial fascist, monarchical and autocratic regime in power in Kinshasa.

Thus, no more will the increase in those loyal to world imperialism, such as Karl I. Bond, mean respect for personal liberties by the dictatorial regime of Mobutu, no reconciliation on a tribalist or regionalist basis which was its principal motivation, would be considered *democratization* of the political life in "Zaire."

Consequently, the Congolese National Liberation Front (FLNC) will continue the revolutionary armed struggle for national liberation as long as true democracy is not re-established: that which would allow all the Congolese people to involve themselves in an irreversible way in the path of social progress, which will guarantee Congo-Kinshasa its true independence and the Congolese nation, total sovereignty in its own country.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES! CONQUER OR DIE!

For the Congolese National
Liberation Front (FLNC),

Lt. General Nathaniel Mbumba,
President of the Central Committee
and Commander-in-Chief of the
Popular Armed Forces of Congo-
Kinshasa



Belgian puppet Moise Tshombe greets one of the white mercenaries hired to defend the secession of mineral rich Katanga province from the nationalist Lumumba government.

EXTERNAL DELEGATION OF THE FLNC

November 9, 1978

The FLNC and the Brussels Meeting on the Mobutu Plan

Regarding the Brussels meeting of the following powers and organizations: West Germany, England, Saudi Arabia, Belgium, Canada, United States, France, Holland, Iran (under Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi), Italy, International Monetary Fund, and the EEC (European Economic Community) a meeting aimed at examining the implementation of the recovery plan for Zaire's economy, called the "Mobutu Plan"—the FLNC:

—Recalls that it is the policy of exploitation and repression, revived by the pretension of the Mobutu regime, which explains the economic decay and social asphyxiation presently existing in Zaire;

—Notes that the bankruptcy of the Zairian regime has been universally declared by the capitalist powers, the same ones which established it and maintain it in power;

—Observes that twice, in 1977 and in 1978, when the Zairian people, under its leadership, expressed the desire to free themselves from the Mobutu regime, to better assume their own destiny, the above-mentioned powers intervened militarily on the side of Mobutu against the legitimate aspirations of the people of Congo-Kinshasa. In the same way, in June 1978, in Paris, they set up a so-called military force, which up to now is occupying Zairian territory, in great defiance and violation of the charters of the UN and the OAU; while, meeting in Brussels in July 1978, these same powers granted so-called emergency assistance to Mobutu's regime, assistance which would be better called an "oxygen tank" for a dying government.

—States that despite this military and economic assistance, the Zairian people, guded by it, has not disarmed; and that the economic and social situation in Zaire has continued to worsen, even if during this time Mobutu receives, with pomp, in his village sanctuary, foreign delegations at the expense of the Prince, during the transferral of the body of his late wife and

which he offers in the style of the Vatican's Sistine chapel;

—Says that the Mobutu Plan is a delaying tactic by imperialism aimed at hoaxing the Zairian people and destined to prolong the reprieve for the Mobutu regime. To this end, it could not surprise the vigilance of the Zairian people;

—Draws the attention of the powers concerned that the system of forced labor was abolished in Zaire, that this country acceded to independence on June 30, 1960, that in no way will the Zairian people implement a task or register with the Mobutu Plan, that the above-mentioned powers do not have to pretend to create our happiness in our countries and especially against our will;

—Insists on the fact that sending nationals of the powers concerned and IMF experts to Zaire with the purpose of readjusting the economy is a sign of political blindness or in any case, of bad faith. Zaire's recovery depends on Zairians themselves first of all and demands a change in structure and implies the resignation of the Mobutu regime:

—Is surprised that the powers concerned say that they belong to the "free" and "democratic" world, when their daily practice in the Third World shows the contrary; the Zairians, like elsewhere today, the Iranians, Nicaraguans, Chileans, like other peoples of the world, have the right and liberty to choose their institutions and their social and economic system, without the powers concerned having each time to speak of alternatives to dictatorships;

—Invites all Zairian peasants, workers, laborers and intellectuals to boycott any present and future activity arising from the Mobutu plan; and

—Makes an appeal for solidarity to all progressive humanity who favor the just struggle of the Zairian people.

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!
CONQUER OR DIE!**

EXTERNAL DELEGATION OF THE FLNC November 11, 1978

The FLNC and the Organization for the Liberation of the Congo (OLC)

From the article in the newspaper, *Le Soir*, from November 9, 1978, commenting on the creation of the Zairian opposition group within the OLC, the External Delegation of the FLNC recalls that the FLNC, created since 1968 by the Congolese, is the only political and military grouping struggling for the overthrow of the dictatorial, corrupt and antisocial Mobutu regime. It consists of compatriots from all regions in the Congo (Zaire) and objects to all tribal, regional and other distinctions. In the search for the unification of the Zairian opposition Movement, the FLNC initiated attempts at dialogue which ended, in 1977, in the formation of the CSL (Supreme Liberation Council) comprising the PRP (People's Revolutionary Party) and the FLNC.

The CSL opens its doors to all Congolese patriots who intend to work for true liberation and for the re-establishment of democracy in the Congo. The FLNC is surprised, however, to find out that instead of rejoining the CSL, certain organi-

zations manifestly inspired and manipulated by the hidden forces without real standing in the country, are doing their utmost to multiply common fronts to vague objectives and have the unadmitted aim of sowing confusion and delaying national liberation. FLNC invites the public to surround themselves with vigilance vis-a-vis such phantom organizations, and reaffirms its faith and determination to continue the armed struggle under all its forms with a view to accelerating the liquidation of the neo-colonial system represented by Mobutu and his "barons." The FLNC is in no way bothered by the OLC and has no idea, given that it is the only legitimate movement in Congolese history, to rally to such a non-representative organization. It denounces the numerous maneuvers aimed at discrediting it and sowing division within it. Finally, the FLNC denounces the conspiracy of silence of which it has been the victim in recent times by the press, particularly the Belgian press, which, however, largely echoes organizations which often represent only their authors. The struggle continues.



FLNC Photo

FLNC President/Lieutenant-General M'Bumba fires US-made M-16 captured from Mobutu's troops.

EXTERNAL DELEGATION OF THE FLNC

1981

The F.L.N.C. brings to the attention of the international community and, in particular, the American public, the following:

In light of the escalation of the war in our country, Congo-Kinshasa (Zaire) on all fronts (politically, militarily, and diplomatically), the corrupt and moribund, fascist and unpopular regime of the "Shah of Africa" Mobutu Sese Seko has reacted in his usual manner. He has increased the repression on the Congolese people through attacks by the C.N.D.I. (the Zairian CIA) and by the Zairian Army. The army, instead of attacking the F.A.P.C. (the military wing of the F.L.N.C.) which is relentless in its attacks on imperialism and the Zairian Army, has escalated attacks on the people.

Mobutu is now sending C.N.D.I. agents outside the country to attack and kill his opponents and particularly F.L.N.C. members. For instance, he has appointed an ex-C.N.D.I. chief as ambassador to Paris. In Belgium, he appointed as ambassador the ex-chief prosecutor of Zaire

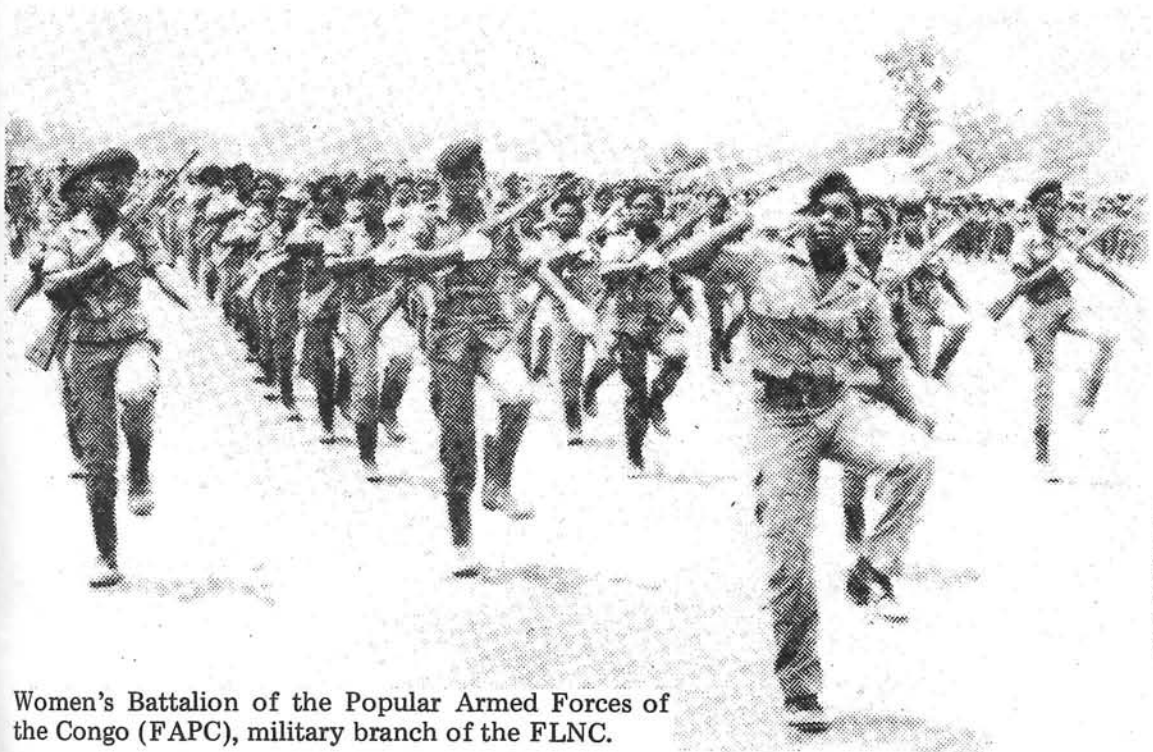
who sent many opponents to death.

Now in the U.S.A. he has sent killer agents such as Aka and Makemo to this country. Aka was formerly in Belgium with the purpose of killing opponents. Aka and others were then sent to Tanzania and Zambia where they kidnapped many F.L.N.C. members in collaboration with corrupt elements of the secret service of those respective countries. They crossed the borders into Zaire where our comrades were killed.

The F.L.N.C. urges all progressive-minded people to publicize this information and to speak out against this heightened level of attack against the Congolese people and its vanguard and fighting arm, the F.L.N.C.

For more information, contact the United States representative of the F.L.N.C. in care of the Material Aid Campaign for ZANU-PF at 212-868-3330.

For more information contact the Congolese National Liberation Front, U.S. Section, P.O. Box 2919 Grand Central Station, New York, N.Y. 10007.



FLNC Photo

Women's Battalion of the Popular Armed Forces of the Congo (FAPC), military branch of the FLNC.

The Statutes of the Congolese National Liberation Front

CHAPTER I: GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Article 1. The creation of the CONGOLESE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (F.L.N.C.) represents the triumph of the thought of Patrice Lumumba, the logical consequence of the political experience of the Congolese people in the neocolonial situation to which the Congo-Kinshasa has been subjected since independence on June 30, 1960.

Article 2. THE F.L.N.C. is the vanguard revolutionary organization of the people of Congo-Kinshasa, which is known today as the Republic of Zaire.

The purpose of the F.L.N.C. is to regroup all of the active forces of the country, notably the peasants, the workers and the revolutionary intellectuals, in order to build a popular political-military FRONT. Its fundamental task is to lead a national liberation struggle which will bring about the annihilation of the fascist dictatorship now in power in Kinshasa, and institute in its place a popular government which will end the regime of exploitation of man by man imposed upon our people by imperialism and its total lackeys.

Article 3. The F.L.N.C. is a revolutionary and a progressive movement. It seeks to become the leading nucleus of the Congolese people, drawing its power from the masses of workers and peasants, the militants and the revolutionary intellectuals resolutely committed to the struggle for total independence, democracy and socialism.

The F.L.N.C. exists for the people.

It serves the people, that is to say, it serves the exploited masses of the Congolese people.

Three general principles characterize the F.L.N.C.: revolutionary theory, political-military discipline, and a oneness with the masses, a militant solidarity with all the oppressed people struggling in the world.

FIRMLY committed to the struggle of oppressed people, the F.L.N.C. resolutely unites with all parties and movements which pursue the same objectives as it does, and it supports all movements and peoples engaged in the national liberation struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, and imperialism.

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Between freedom and slavery
there can be no compromise.
We chose to pay the price
of freedom.

Patrice Lumumba