

committee for a FREE MOZAMBIQUE



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Dear Friends of Mozambique,

Since some time has elapsed since our last News and Notes, we have prepared a slightly longer issue this time. The topic is the growing political, military, and economic alliance between Portugal and South Africa in defense of white minority rule in southern Africa.

New York CFM has been getting more involved in NAAIC (North American Anti-Imperialist Coalition) activities in the last months. In late April some members of the Committee attended a NAAIC regional conference in Boston and we participated in some NAAIC sponsored activities following the conference. Among these was an educational center in Washington D.C. on May 20 and 21 (when people were in Washington for the anti-war march) at which the different NAAIC groups sold literature, held discussions, and showed films and slides. Although not very many people attended the march and hence the turnout at the NAAIC center wasn't as large as we had hoped for, we did establish contact with many new people who were interested in learning about the Mozambican struggle and we also learned a lot ourselves from the other groups. New York NAAIC groups are working on plans for future coordinated efforts on a long range basis.

We were pleased to welcome back Sharfudine Khan, the FRELIMO representative to North America, who just returned from Mozambique. Since he returned just a few days ago we have not yet heard all the latest news from Mozambique, but we will include this in our next newsletter.

Our film, "Behind the Lines" has been receiving widespread distribution. In addition, for the last month we have been distributing a slide show and tape prepared by Liberation Support Movement, a group in Canada and on the West Coast which does support work for MPLA, FRELIMO, and PAIGC. We are also working on a slide show for high school groups on FRELIMO.

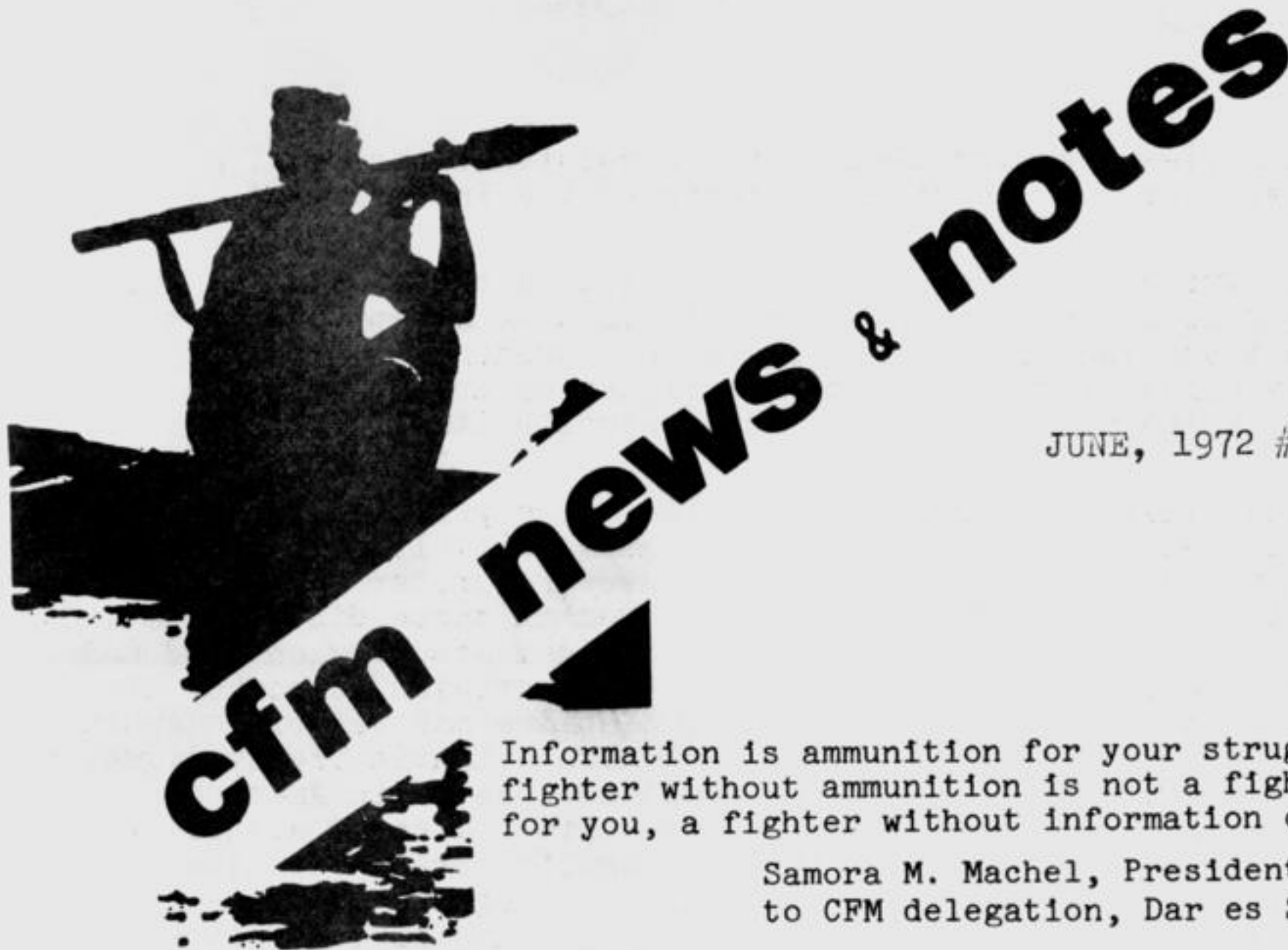
Venceremos, CFM

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"We don't need anybody else...We've got oil, they've got gold and wonderful fruit, and we both have good wine. Who needs the rest of the world?" (quote by Portuguese settler reported by Jim Hoagland, Washington Post, May 13, 1971)

GOLD AND OIL: MEN AND MACHINES - THE GROWING SOUTH AFRICAN PORTUGUESE ALLIANCE

The fact that Southern Africa is a bloc is well recognized by the liberation movements which struggle against the same enemy, by the ruling white racist and colonial regimes which form the "Unholy Alliance" of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal, and by Western capitalist countries which are aligned with those regimes. This entity is a geopolitical whole in which alliance patterns are being developed particularly between South Africa, the mighty industrial keystone to the continent, and Portugal, actively fighting to cling on to its African colonies. This relationship has strengthened in the past three years as the ability of the liberation movements, especially FRELIMO, MPLA, and PAIGC to forcefully challenge the white power systems has been demonstrated. Although off stage one must see that both South Africa and Portugal are tremendously dependent upon the Western allies and the strategies of the imperialists to contain change in southern Africa, in the eye of the storm is the Caetano-Vorster axis. The elements of this partnership include two major strategic aspects, those of military cooperation and economic linkages.

Both countries see very clearly the absolute necessity of a close-knit alliance. The South African Minister of the Interior put it this way:

As South Africans we are also aware of the fact that 'their' war is a heavy drain on Portugal's budget...and we accept the fact that these onslaughts by the liberation movements which are initially aimed at the Portuguese territories are, in the final instance, aimed at the South African republic itself....

(Star, 11/28/70)

Diplomatic and military visits, some public, some private, between Portuguese and South African dignitaries, have multiplied in the last several years beginning with Prime Minister Vorster's state visit to Portugal in June of 1970. Subjects covered in these discussions and others have included economic cooperation, mutual security on land and especially in the Indian Ocean, and concrete strategies to combat the guerilla movements in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia. Another topic of discussion has been the SATO (Southern Atlantic Treaty Organization) idea, a possible alliance which would include Latin American nations, particularly Brazil, and also the white states of Australia and New Zealand. In the summer of 1971 Portugal's Foreign Minister Patricio visited South Africa and underlined Portugal's commitment to defend its African colonies and cooperate with South Africa. Stressing their similar anti-communist postures he said:

The strategic positions of Portugal and South Africa are important factors for the defence of Western civilization. Sharing, as we do, common ideals of peace and progress, we suffer the same threats and are exposed to the same perils. We have responsibilities which we do not neglect and each of us builds his own future with confidence. (South African Digest, July 2, 1971)

MILITARY TIES

Particular visits have occurred on the military level; for example, in November, 1971 the South African Minister of Defense, Commander-in-Chief of Naval Staff, and Armaments Chief visited Lisbon to meet with Defense Minister Rebelo; at the same time, the Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese forces in Mozambique, de Arriaga visited South Africa; while the next month the South African Army Chief of Staff met with the South African Commander-in-Chief in Mozambique and in April the Governor General of Mozambique dos Santos met with the Minister of Defense of South Africa. This flurry of visits and exchanges is more than an example of good will and understanding between the two regimes. Rather, it is evidence of concrete military planning which has occurred between the regimes for the sale or grant of South African equipment to the Portuguese, the use of South African troops in Mozambique and Angola, and wider security arrangements (joint maneuvers, nuclear planning, and port facilities.)



Pretoria News
The Governor General of Mozambique, Mr Manuel Pimentel Pereira dos Santos, and Mrs Pereira dos Santos with the Minister of Information, Dr C. P. Mulder (centre), at Waterkloof air station near Pretoria after the Governor General's arrival for an official visit to South Africa

South African Troops

In terms of its external defense posture, South Africa admits only to having "police" regiments aiding the Smith regime since 1967 and of course "police" in Namibia. FRELIMO, however, has reported since 1968 the presence of South African troops in Tete to protect Cabora Bassa. In 1972 the success of FRELIMO there was evidenced by the fact that three battalions of South Africa (1500 men) were spread all over the province using helicopters to bomb villages. A South African police officer, Michael Morris, in his book Terrorism: The First Full Account in Detail of Terrorism and Insurgency in Southern Africa, wrote, "... we have very positively to impress upon the Portuguese authorities that we should have a South African military force at Tete, and we should do so openly, for all the world, and especially the Liberation Committee, to see." He added that "...it should not be assumed that the calling...for such things is in any way a statement that such things definitely do not occur or are not existent. Oh no! It should be seen more as a call to act openly...." MPLA has stated that since late 1969 four companies of commandos from South Africa with helicopters, artillery, automatic weapons and bazookas have been active in Moxico Province in Angola. A writer for the conservative San Diego Union has said that the Portuguese were aided by South Africans in "search-and-kill" operations. This front line counter-insurgency training for the white South African troops is invaluable.

It was reported on the other hand that Portugal provided a unit of its troops to assist the South Africans in suppressing the Namibians in Ovamboland, while South Africa sent two helicopters across the border to help Portugal. No doubt the proximate borders of Angola and Namibia have meant day by day cooperation between the two countries in crushing Ovambo resistance.

Equipment

South Africa, which is self sufficient in basic military hardware (mortars, rifles, grenades, aerial bombs, napalm, etc.) is now building an even vaster arsenal of rocketry and missile components for wider security, plus modernizing and improving its naval force. The only admitted form of aid to Portugal is from so-called private South African "comfort funds" which give money and goods to the Portuguese fighting forces. But the presence of South African planes and helicopters has been cited as important for Portugal's ability to spray deadly herbicides in Angola. A German reporter in mid 1971 stated that South African aircraft (Dakotas) and technicians were used by the Defense Command of Luso in Angola, the planes equipped to spray herbicides. The "Southern Cross Fund" for Luso-South African friendship gave a Douglas DC-3 (Dakota) which the Mozambican Armed Forces fitted out with stretchers as a hospital plane, but it was reported that at least four similar planes came in December 1971, and were readjusted to spray herbicides, theoretically for agricultural purposes. Now we find herbicides being used for the first time in Mozambique in April of 1972! Portuguese deserters have reported that South African planes are used to transport wounded Portuguese out of combat zones, and the White Fathers reported that South African aircraft, piloted by White Rhodesians, was being used in Tete to bomb areas.

The continental strategy of South Africa-Portugal is evidenced in the reports of South African aid to the building and construction of air bases in Cape Verde and the frequent visits by the South African navy to the colonies (a helicopter with South African troops crashed in Angola in November, 1971.) A recent agreement was arranged for South Africa to purchase the hulls for six Corvette ships from Portugal, and the possibility of using Portuguese naval expertise to build seayards is rumored. Other specific equipment built in South

Africa, such as an amphibious vehicle called the "Amphicat" is being tested by the Mozambique Armed Forces while Kaiser Jeep of South Africa (a subsidiary of Kaiser International, an American multi-national corporation) has sold jeeps to the same forces for the last several years. South African firms run helicopter services between South Africa and Mozambique, working together on oil exploration projects, but no doubt military levels as well.

On another level the Portuguese and South Africans signed a nuclear cooperation agreement in 1970 and officials connected with the atomic energy field frequent each other periodically.

In spite of all these reports, the South Africans and Portuguese play at not having a defense alliance. It has been reported that the intelligence officers of the countries meet at least once a month; also that Portugal has offered South Africa the opportunity to build bases in Angola. It has been said, on the other hand, that South Africa has offered military aid to Mozambique on an official but secret level.

The claims that an alliance does not exist include such spurious arguments as Portuguese fear of South African control ("they treat us like honorary whites," commented one Portuguese) and South African distrust of Portuguese strategy in Africa. Yet statements like that of South African Foreign Minister Muller during a 1969 visit to Portugal, "We may justly claim that we patrol a gap in the free world's defenses..." or Vorster's pundit that good friends don't need pacts simply underscore the growing synthesis of interests between Portugal and South Africa.

ECONOMIC LINKS

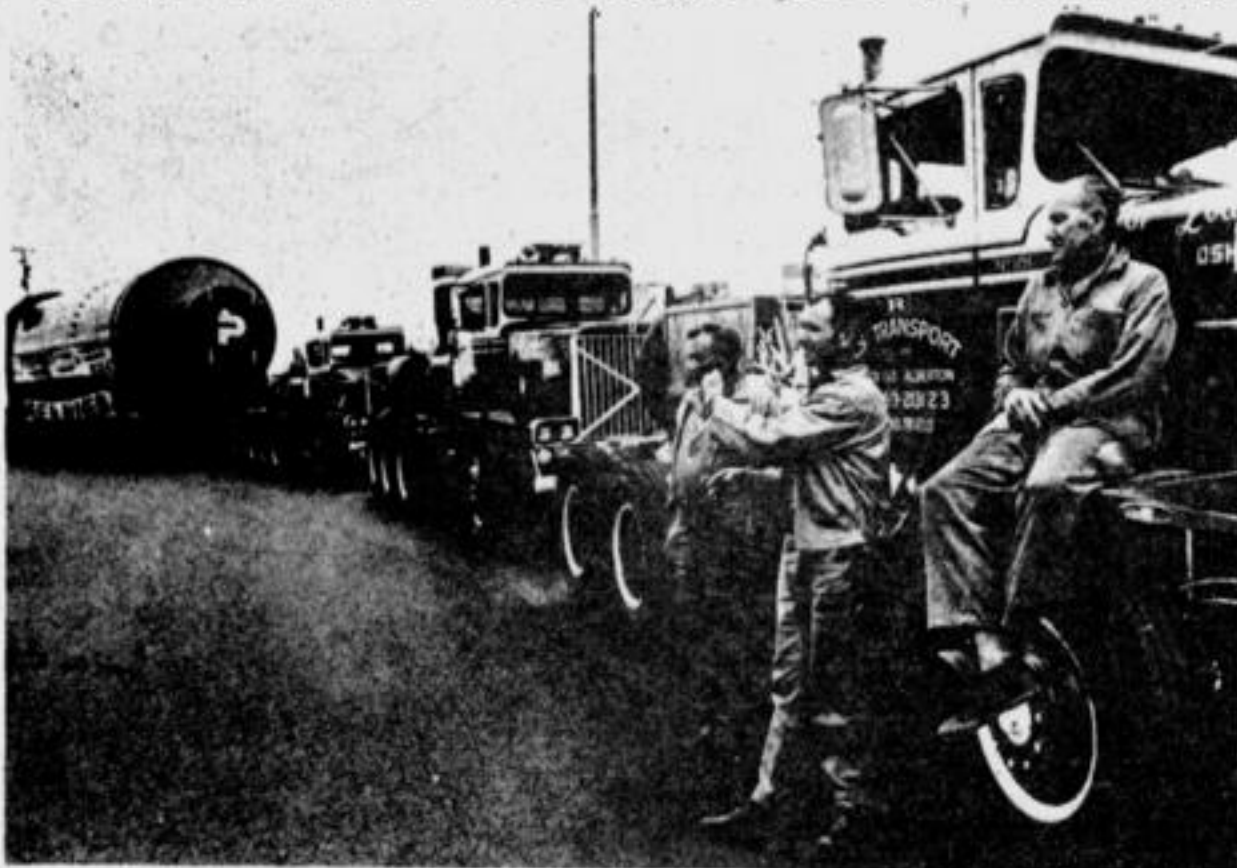
As a result of its African wars, Portugal has been forced to strengthen its economic in addition to its military relationship with South Africa. Prior to the 1960's Portugal had completely isolated the colonies from economic relations with other countries, maximizing the benefits it received from its colonial relationship with the African territories. However, since the escalation of the liberation struggles Portugal has had to strengthen its economic ties with South Africa both in order to solidify its alliance with South Africa and in order to take in foreign exchange necessary to cover the increasing military expenditure of the wars. In 1962 Portugal began a reform of the laws which stringently restricted foreign investment, and by 1965 these laws had been redesigned to act as an incentive to foreign investors. Portugal's desire to establish stronger economic links with South Africa coincides with South Africa's "outward looking" policy of economic expansion throughout southern Africa. One of the aims of this policy is to stabilize South Africa's neighboring states by building them up economically, thereby creating a firm defensive southern African block. In addition, South Africa is seeking to establish a free trade zone in southern Africa in order to compensate for its unfavorable balance of trade with the rest of the world (in January, 1972 it was reported that South Africa's exports were \$154.7 million behind imports). It appears that a southern African common market with South Africa as the dominant member is in the offing.

Fairly strong economic ties had traditionally existed between the Portuguese colonial regime in Mozambique and South Africa. South Africa uses about 300,000 Mozambicans per year in its mines in exchange for a sum of money paid to the colonial government for every worker. South Africa and Portugal also have an agreement concerning the use of Mozambique's port, Lourenco Marques, with South Africa paying the colonial government for the use of the port.

Investments

South African investments in the colonies have increased; the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa has, for example, acquired sizeable oil interests along the Mozambican coast and has participated in several consortiums financing the development of Angola's mining industry. Recently the Johannesburg Star wrote of South Africa's current interest in "bountifully endowed" Angola, stating that Angola is important to South Africa because of its mining development and because of the growing number of Portuguese immigrant settlers leading to a fast expanding market. The Angolan government welcomes South African investment because it needs capital and know-how for its industry. In March, it was reported that South Africa's Union Corporation and the government-run Industrial Development Corporation will be heavily involved in an iron ore export scheme in Angola. South African investments are also increasing in Mozambique; for example, at present the Chemical Services Group of South Africa is expanding its operations there, and is moving into a factory in Lourenco Marques which is three times the size of its present one. In August, 1971 South Africa's Industrial Development Corporation extended \$40,000,000 worth of credit to Mozambique to buy equipment from South Africa.

Portuguese activity in South Africa is also increasing. The predominantly Portuguese owned oil group, Sonarep, for example, is making a determined bid to capture a much larger slice of the growing South African market for petrol and other oil products. In addition, it was reported that Lisnave, the giant Portuguese marine repair company, is understood to be considering plans for comprehensive ship repair facilities at South Africa's west coast port of Saldanha Bay.



South African industrial equipment on its way to Mozambique.

Pretoria News

Trade

Since 1964 South Africa and Portugal have made numerous agreements to promote trade between South Africa and the colonies, particularly Mozambique. South Africa is Mozambique's second most important trading partner (Portugal is first). South Africa exports to Mozambique fresh fish, dairy products, iron and steel, machinery, railway equipment, vehicles, chemical and pharmaceutical goods, coal, fuel oil, lubricants, and potatoes. Mozambique sells to South Africa petrol, diesel oil, sawn and planed wood, copra oil, sisal, cashew nuts, bananas and tea. Angola is also important for South African trade since, as the Johannesburg Star recently reported, it is the fastest growing market for South African goods. Although the balance of trade between South Africa

and the Portuguese colonies has in the past been unfavorable to Portugal, increased trade with South Africa is being encouraged by the Portuguese government. A recent article in Portugal's business newspaper called for a "forceful injection of enthusiasm" to step up trade with South Africa.

Development Projects

The Cabora Bassa Dam project is a powerful symbol of the new economic cooperation between South Africa and Portugal, with South Africa having about a two-thirds stake in the financing of the project. The growing international campaign against the Cabora Bassa project has resulted in Portugal's virtual silence on two similar plans, one in Angola and northern Namibia, the other in Mozambique on the South African border. The former, in Angola and Namibia, is the Cunene River Project which calls for the construction of a large number of dams and hydroelectric plants and for the settlement of at least half a million immigrants in the region. The latter, in Mozambique, is the Massinger Dam Project which will irrigate approximately 240,000 acres of land and will serve as a railway bridge on the Lourenco Marques-Rhodesia railway line. All three of these schemes are part of what the Mozambican Governor General referred to as the plan for an "inter-African power transport grid", a grandiose plan to strengthen white power in the entire region of Southern Africa.

Growing out of the need to suppress the expanding liberation movements, the Vorster-Caetano alliance is now being successfully hindered by African action. In Mozambique, a South African mining company, Cominmin, has already withdrawn its workers from certain zones of Tete province because it considered the Portuguese authorities incapable of ensuring the physical security of the workers against the guerrillas. The Johannesburg Star of May 20, 1972 recently carried an article suggesting that the apparent "goodneighborliness" between Portugal and South Africa really conceals considerable anxiety about FRELIMO's activities near the Cabora Bassa Dam project. The article said:

...These activities, it is reliably learned here, have caused some disquiet in South Africa. At least one contractor working on the project is known to have made his protest felt about what he believes is a lack of protection from insurgent mine laying operations. No less important has been the state of morale of men and their families at the dam site...It is pointed out that some workers and their families (by no means all South Africans) have chosen to opt out and return home. The same sources make it clear that insurgent operations have come as close as 20 Km. to the Cabora Bassa site, in spite of official insistence that their range has never been less than 60 Km.

The future military and political effectiveness of FRELIMO and the other movements will draw Portugal and South Africa even closer in an attempt to tide the inevitable. The ability of these regimes to hold out will also depend on the backing each receives from the U.S. and Europe. In spite of the opening quote they both need more than themselves, for alone and isolated they would be sooner vulnerable to the power of the African majority.

NEWS FLASH***NEWS FLASH***NEWS FLASH***NEWS FLASH***NEWS FLASH***

60,000 BLACKS MARCH

On May 27, in commemoration of African Liberation Day (May 25, founding day of the Organization of African Unity) 60,000 Blacks rallied and marched in major cities throughout the Western Hemisphere, 30,000 in Washington, 10,000 in San Francisco, 2,000 in Toronto and the remainder in the West Indies. The focus of the marches were support for the liberation struggles in Southern Africa and opposition to U.S. government and corporate policies supporting racism and colonialism.

HERBICIDES USED IN MOZAMBIQUE

Armando Guebuza, Chief Political Commissar of FRELIMO, spoke before the OAU Liberation Committee meeting in Kampala in May and announced that for the last six weeks the Portuguese had been using herbicides in Cabo Delgado Province. Thus, as in Angola in 1970, the Portuguese are reduced to tactics aimed at destroying the livelihood of the people--a method which failed in Angola and will do so in Mozambique. (Daily News, Tanzania, 5/13/72)

U.S. SENATE PASSES AMENDMENT ANTI-PORTUGAL

On June 19 the Senate passed an amendment, sponsored by Senator Clifford Case (R-NJ) that funds could not be expended to implement agreements which had been made between the President and Portugal and Bahrain (so-called "Executive Agreements") unless they were submitted to the Senate for ratification as treaties. The passage of this amendment to the military aid authorization bill puts into jeopardy \$35 million in surplus military equipment, food and educational aid promised to Portugal in exchange for the Azores base. It does not effect the \$400 million Export-Import Bank loans to Portugal which were part of the same agreement. (New York Times, June 20, 1972)

NORFOLK AZALEA FESTIVAL - ANTI NATO-PORTUGAL ACTIONS

The annual Azalea Festival in Norfolk, Virginia, headquarters of NATO's Supreme Allied Command, was successfully awakened to the realities of NATO and Portugal's role in Africa when local community and church people protested the selection of Maria Teresa Sanches as Queen of the Festival (the grandniece of Prime Minister Caetano of Portugal.) (The Festival honors a NATO country each year; this year it was Portugal.) A week of marches and leafletings led by the Norfolk Black community culminated in several hundred protestors stopping the Festival's parade and forcing the Portuguese Queen to abandon her float.

HARVARD OCCUPIED FOR ONE WEEK ON GULF OIL ISSUE

Black students connected with the Pan African Liberation Committee and the Harvard/Radcliffe Afro Society occupied Harvard University's administration building for one week in late April in protest against the school's continued holdings in Gulf Oil Corporation. At Columbia University, President McGill announced that Gulf Stock had been sold in January. Although discounting political reasons, the Columbia sale evidences the results of the burgeoning Gulf campaign.

HELICOPTER AND PLANE FELLED BY FRELIMO

In March and April the forces of FRELIMO shot down a Portuguese helicopter and reconnaissance plane in Niassa Province. Because of activity in Tete province, Rhodesian authorities have increased patrols on the Mozambique/Rhodesian border. The annual report of the Rhodesian Secretary of Law and Order verified the growth of military activity in Tete as it emphasized the importance of watching the border because it is a threat to Rhodesian security. (Financial Times, June 1, 1972; Daily News, Tanzania, May 30, 1972)