



guerrilheiro

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FRELIMO OPENS FOURTH FRONT



During August three members of the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné, Tony Gifford, Polly Gaster and Pam Logie, spent 16 days in FRELIMO's liberated areas in Mozambique's Tete province. When we returned we brought with us the news that FRELIMO has started military operations in a fourth province, that of Manica e Sofala, directly south of Tete. As yet full details of this are not known, but according to a South African radio report there have been FRELIMO operations round the town of Vila Gouveia, deep inside the province.

One need only look at a map to assess the immense importance of this new advance. FRELIMO is now operating in the heart of Mozambique. Manica e Sofala, bordered on the west by Rhodesia, on the east by the sea, contains Beira the colony's second largest city. Its southern frontier is 700 miles from Tanzania and only 120 miles from South Africa. FRELIMO has served notice, not merely on Portugal, but on all the racist powers of Southern Africa that the tide of freedom cannot and will

not be held back.

This advance has been made possible by FRELIMO's astonishingly rapid consolidation of the front in Tete which was only opened in March 1968. During our visit to Tete we were able to assess at first hand FRELIMO's achievements over those four years; to see the extent of FRELIMO control over the province, and to understand why it is not just possible but logical that this new front should now be opened.

Moving south from the Zambian frontier we penetrated about 60 miles into Mozambique - about two-thirds of the way to the River Zambezi. We stayed for a week in the district of Fingoe and were able to study in detail the nature of FRELIMO's administration. This district of about 7,000 people is unquestionably liberated from Portuguese control. The people have not seen a Portuguese face for three years. The enemy is pinned down in Fingoe town and subjected to immediate attack if he ventures into the bush. He can move freely only by air. (We heard the sound of one enemy raid: a short exchange of fire, then silence. Two hours later, another short exchange, and that was all - the enemy had had enough and retired to Fingoe.)

Tete was comparatively more developed under colonial rule than the provinces

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of Niassa and Cabo Delgado. The people's contact with colonial authorities was more direct, their hatred more bitter. They had seen their goods and livestock seized by Portuguese hands and their men taken off for forced labour. They were all the more ready to respond to FRELIMO's call. Long before any military activity began, FRELIMO militants had been circulating among their villages, telling them of the movement's achievements and objectives, giving them confidence that successful resistance could be a reality. When the first shots were fired the people were ready and willing to move from their old villages and start a new life in the bush.

After this crucial period of mobilisation (which also preceded the opening of the Manica e Sofala front) it was not difficult for the people to organise themselves as participants in the struggle. For organised they undoubtedly are. Each village undertakes the responsibility of producing food to supply the soldiers; each village provides manpower to carry loads over the vast distances between their district and other fronts. The village militias can be seen wherever you go; having received a basic training and been equipped with often rudimentary arms, their job is to guard the villagers when they cultivate, keep on the alert for enemy movement, teach the people how best to keep themselves and their crops concealed.

This level of organization cannot exist without an administrative structure; and the structure which has been evolved preserves the balance between the need for leadership and guidance on the one hand, and for popular participation on the other. In each village (or circle, as they are known) there is a secretary, who calls regular meetings of the whole population to discuss problems and convey information. Each circle sends representatives to the committee of the locality (a collection of neighbouring circles) each locality sends representatives to the district committee, and so on through to the provincial council and ultimately the FRELIMO Central Committee. But at each level there will also be found the cadres responsible for all the main spheres of activity. Thus the district committee of Fingoe many of whose members we met, comprised the political commissar and his deputy; the cadres responsible for health, education, production, transport, militias and the women's detachment; a juridical committee of six

to resolve disputes; and six representatives from each of the district's four localities. Hearing the various members of this committee describing their work, you understand that FRELIMO is not an army of guerrillas - it is a whole people, soldiers and civilians, literate and illiterate, working for the total independence of their country.

The social services established in Tete are so far in an early stage of development. Materials are desperately short, as are trained personnel. The school which we visited had 100 pupils one text book and 70 pencils - and even the pencils had to be shared with the adult education class. The hospital which we saw had to work with a pitifully scanty collection of medicines. What is important however is that a network of schools, hospitals, first aid posts and even an orphanage now functions in Tete, serving people who never saw such services before in their lives. Much more is planned - and as in all FRELIMO activity a momentum has been started which cannot be stopped.



Part of the FRELIMO women's detachment.

Everyone - villagers, soldiers, children, the women's detachment - are well aware of the supreme importance of production, and of more effective production. We travelled with two comrades who had just been appointed to raise the standard of production in the province; but already through local resource many advances had been made. In a village of 300 people which we studied, there were 7 shambas (small plantations) being farmed co-operatively; cattle were reared on a collective basis; artisans - basket makers and ironworkers - were making articles to be sold in Zambia in exchange for salt, soap and other es-

entials needed for the village community; and the circle secretary had the responsibility to record the various contributions and ensure a fair distribution. The movement's central organization helps whenever it can, by supplying seeds, implements and advice; but the aim is that each community should be self-sufficient and self-reliant.

Frequently we would ask: have you not had problems, for instance in overcoming traditional attitudes, dealing with individual weaknesses and so on. The comrades would answer yes, we have had such problems, but we explain and go on explaining that such attitudes help the enemy and not the people, that we will not be free unless we end all forms of exploitation whether by whites or blacks or by men against women. We do not force the pace of the revolution, and gradually the people come to reject their old ideas and understand that FRELIMO's line is correct and serves the interests of the people. It is through this process of patient political education and mobilization that the people of Mozambique are today a strong and committed force for revolutionary change.

CAETANO'S FAKE AMNESTY

On 5 July the Portuguese government announced that the enactment of the new organic law for the overseas provinces (by which Angola and Mozambique are now called states) would signify 'another step in the building of a multi racial society in which all Portuguese might live together peacefully with full equality etc etc.' All those who had 'joined forces with the terrorists' were invited to return to 'normal community life'. 'Portugal' the statement said, 'is open to all her sons, even to those who might have one day deviated from the right path and doubted that the freedom and the progress symbolized by the green and red colours of the flag meant what they said and who, admitting their error, may wish to return to the fold of the Lusid Community. As a result persons who in the overseas provinces are currently subject to administrative security measures for having worked in terrorists' ranks, or given support to acts of terrorism, will be set free and return to their own social circles, providing that there are no pending criminal proceedings against them and that they are not liable to be indicted for grave offences'.

One comes away from a visit to Mozambique more certain than ever that FRELIMO will win. If they were only fighting the Portuguese they would win very rapidly. But as they advance ever further south, as they force the enemy to defend more and more widespread positions, so increasingly the racists of Rhodesia and South Africa feel threatened. The response of the Portuguese is to herd as many people as they can find into strategic hamlets, and to internationalize the war in whatever way they can. Rhodesian ground and air forces are now operating regularly in the area south of the Zambezi, bombing, raiding, burning and shooting. South African forces are stationed at Cabora Bassa and can be expected to become more active. Imperialist governments and capitalist monopolies are being wooed to contribute more aid and investment. None of these manoeuvres will block the advance of the Mozambican revolution. But as their struggle progresses, it becomes increasingly our struggle also. It is more necessary than ever for us to mobilize ourselves in support of FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC, to attack and to liquidate the unholy alliance between our government and their common enemy.

So for the next two or three weeks a stream of alleged 'terrorists' who had been rotting for months or years in colonial prisons were released. This amnesty would, the Portuguese government declared, involve the eventual release of 1500 'former guerrillas'.

However, 1500 is a rather small fraction of all those incarcerated for political offences in Portuguese jails - and just as these 1500 were being let out, a further 1800 were being sent in. A gigantic security operation was launched at the end of June in and around Louenço Marques and, according to the Johannesburg Star, massive infiltration of FRELIMO agents into government offices was discovered. The departments of transport, health and public works, among others, were purged of dissidents. Private concerns did not escape the net either. 100 drivers, office workers, and male nurses at a sugar plantation at Xinavane, 70 miles north of Louenço Marques were held, allegedly for planning to blow up the mill. Also arrested; for reasons quite unknown, were 20 leaders of the Presbyterian Church of Mozambique.

ANGOLA

Rebocho Vaz confronts the people

Further news has reached us of the revolt in the far south of Angola (see *Guerrilheiro* No. 9) which produced in February an extraordinary confrontation between Rebocho Vaz, Governor General of Angola, and the people of the district. A letter sent by local militants to MPLA headquarters explains that hundreds of people armed with machetes and hatchets, moved from one administrative post to the next, angrily demanding to know what happened to the money they paid in taxes - especially the general 'sovereignty tax' of 380 escudos per head. When local officials and tradesmen proved quite unable to handle the situation, they sent for the Governor-General.

Vaz agreed to meet the people of the district at the post of Namacunde. He asked the crowd that confronted him there what they were doing and what they wanted.

'We want to know what happens to the money you steal from us', they replied

Vaz: 'What money, and what do you mean, steal?'

Angolans: 'We are robbed in the following way. You find no work for the men who pay your 380 escudo tax; there's only work for the white settlers. So in order to pay all the taxes you squeeze from us we have to go and work elsewhere - in South Africa. When we return from South Africa we're searched at the border post of Ochicango. Any pleasing little trifles we've brought back are taken from us. At the frontier there's always a bus to transport us, whether we like it or not, to Pereira d'Eca - and no-one can leave without paying a fare for the bus. And it doesn't matter how far from Pereira d'Eca you actually live; then we have to go to the administrative post and pay the tax... At the end of it there's nothing left for us. We're away from our families for months at a time in another country - but if you want to kill a cow, a goat or a pig to celebrate your return you have to pay a fee. Otherwise you go to a butcher where the meat is phenomenally expensive.

'Our sons are contracted to work in the fish business at Porto Alexandre,

Benguela or even Lobito. Others, including our brothers from South-West Africa, are contracted to the tobacco business at Quilengues. When their contracts expire at the end of the year, and they have, at most, earned the meagre sum of 500 escudos, they are shut up in the shops. They have to leave all their money behind, so that when the South-West Africans go home, they haven't a penny.... And when they go home, they don't get given transport as they did when they signed on. And when they're contracted they're promised an extra 100 or 200 escudos, according to their physique, - this is a cheat, the money's deducted from them at the end of their contract. All of this, isn't this theft, Rebocho Vaz?'

Vaz, after a moment of speechlessness, replied: 'The money from the taxes and duties is used to build schools and hospitals. This is good for you!'



Angolans: 'We see nothing essential in this, because we can see that schools and hospitals are only built where there are whites. A place where there are less than ten white households you call a village - where there are more than ten it becomes a town and you send a doctor there. But if, in any of these places, an African goes to be treated he has to pay - and pay dearly. So, Rebocho Vaz, we're going to ask you this - where are the schools and hospitals for us Africans? With all our villages, with so many people, so many children - we have

nowhere to send them to school, for which we're supposed to be paying all our money.

'We see in our villages only cattle vaccination posts - through which we lose money to yet another thief, the vet... As for village schools, the colonialists have put up some makeshift structures in a few villages and sent down teachers whose own education doesn't extend above the primary level - they don't know enough for themselves, how are the children supposed to learn from them? And that's why we've been burning these travesties of schools and the cattle vaccination posts, which are only there to exploit us'.

Tiring of his brief attempt at argument, Vaz demanded: 'What do you want now?'

Angolans: 'We want - and so do our brothers from South-West Africa - the tax reduced to no more than 75 escudos - that's two rand - no more meaningless deductions and enough money to build a decent house. And we're not being moved from where we are - this land belongs to us'.

Vaz now started to bluster and threatened reprisals. But the people defied him: 'Begin with the new-born babes if you like, and kill us all, right up to the most revered old man. Leave not a souls alive in the whole Cuanhama district. But we too will destroy all we can!! (The Cuanhama are the Ovambo people of Southern Angola)

Vaz said no more, but returned to Pereira d'Eca. But the crowd he'd been addressing decided that they too would go to the town and force an answer out of him. After a three-day walk they arrived at Pereira where Vaz put them all onto an airfield, surrounded by Portuguese troops. Assessing the situation in the region now as explosive, Vaz had to concede the demands on taxes. All the deductions and duties complained of were abolished - except the 'sovereignty tax' which, as requested, was lowered to 75 escudos.

This has been a great victory for the people of the Cuanhama district, whose rising took the Portuguese completely by surprise. But if Vaz thinks that his concessions will pacify the region then he is likely to be in for a shock.

Military Activity

Meanwhile the Portuguese continue to suffer serious losses on the eastern front. In the province of Bie, MPLA's Fourth Politico-military Region, the Portuguese have been quite unable to contain the increasing number of MPLA guerrillas despite the use of chemical warfare and insidious psychological campaigns to divide the people. From January to March a number of attacks launched by the Portuguese against MPLA detachments were repulsed with heavy losses to the colonialists, who had to make repeated helicopter journeys to evacuate their dead and wounded. The Portuguese were helped on at least two occasions by Katangese mercenaries working for the British, American and Belgian owned Angolan Diamond Company, DIAMANG.

At the beginning of April, on the road between Cazage and Chimbila, an MPLA column attacked the Kapamba barracks where members of the Portuguese G.E.s ('Special Groups') were stationed. The G.E.s were taken by surprise and lost many men. During the same period MPLA mines on the Lumege-Kassai road destroyed two Unimog trucks, whose occupants were all killed.



Elsewhere in the east MPLA registered a major success when an ambush on 30 April near Lake Massunza resulted in the deaths of 33 colonialist troops and the wounding of 14 others. And on 30 June a major assault was launched on the barracks at Linyonde. The barracks themselves were completely destroyed by mortar fire, two Portuguese vehicles were captured and 30 soldiers killed.

MOZAMBIQUE

Military Activity

FRELIMO's victories in Tete province are causing grave concern inside South Africa. According to an article in the Johannesburg Star of 1 July 'The present attack by FRELIMO guerrillas in the Tete district of Mozambique... poses a threat to the whole of Southern Africa'. The article, written by the Editor of the paper's Africa News Service, Wilf Nussey, went on 'The state of the war in Tete is serious and carries grave military and political dangers for all Southern Africa in the longer term'. Nussey has to admit that the people of Tete 'give little of the information about guerrilla movement which the Portuguese urgently need to counter it', and is pessimistic about the competence of the Portuguese army. With the long and exposed borders that both South Africa and Rhodesia have with Mozambique in mind, he writes 'if FRELIMO can now find the resources to aggressively intensify their guerrilla attack, then the prospects are ominous - not only for the Portuguese'.

Nussey isn't the only one who's worried. On 12 July the Defence Ministers of Portugal and South Africa, Sa Viana Rebelo and Pieter Botha, met in

the Mozambique capital of Lourenco Marques. An official dispatch merely said that the two ministers had 'an exchange of views'. It is not too difficult to guess their main topic of discussion.

The fears of men such as Nussey, Rebelo and Botha are justified. Between March and May FRELIMO activities accounted for the deaths of over 280 Portuguese soldiers in Tete. The Portuguese attempted an offensive against a FRELIMO base in the Mocimboa region on 15 March - this failed and cost them one of their helicopters, shot down by FRELIMO anti-aircraft batteries. On May 24, a Rhodesian reconnaissance plane was shot down while trying to locate guerrilla bases near Mague. Despite Portuguese attempts to tighten security along the Zambezi, the river is still not at all safe for them - on 12 April a FRELIMO surprise attack sank 3 patrol boats.

The Salisbury-Malawi highway which runs through Tete was attacked 18 times by FRELIMO during the three-month period; and the rail link from Tete to the coast has suffered further sabotage operations. At the end of



A train derailed by FRELIMO.

June seven trucks were destroyed near the Malawi border, and another FRELIMO mine accounted for the locomotive and three trucks of a north-bound train on 15 July.

Portuguese Atrocities

More evidence has appeared on Portuguese terrorist activities in Mozambique. A missionary, Fr. Luis Alfonso da Costa of the Verona Fathers, recently smuggled out a documented report of the massacres and atrocities that have been regular Portuguese policy in Tete Province since May 1971.

His report only deals with some 10% of Tete and lists the names of 92 people murdered by the Portuguese up to 20 March this year. On that date the DGS (political police) tortured and killed a 68 year old man in the village of Chimandabue, and the military killed a married couple, later burning their bodies. The report also confirms Rhodesian intervention in Tete - last September the Rhodesian army went to the aid of the Portuguese in Mucumbura where 18 people were massacred. Nine of these were children, and another four women. 'None of the victims I've listed were members of FRELIMO (the Liberation Front)', says Fr. Luis, 'and as far as I know only two were engaged in guerrilla activities'.

The report also explodes the myth that the 'protected villages' (or 'aldeamentos') that the Portuguese are building in Tete are there to 'save' the peasantry from the guerrillas. There are already 120 of these in Tete and another 85 are to be completed this year. Fr. Luis reveals that these are no more than concentration camps and that the eventual Portuguese aim is to imprison all Africans in Tete inside them. They also provide the army with hostages - after a FRELIMO attack on a post, the Portuguese seize 10 or 20 people from the camps, torturing or murdering them in reprisal.

Fr. Luis was chosen by an assembly of 36 priests and nuns in his province to tour other missions in Mozambique informing them of the situation in Tete. Unfortunately Fr. Luis attracted the attention of the DGS who started to harass him. He was interrogated three times and documents were seized from him, including such subversive works as dialect translations of the papal encyclical 'Pacem in Terris' and

Pope Paul's address to the eucharistic congress in Uganda. When it became clear to Fr. Luis that if he stayed in Mozambique he would be arrested, he left the country. In Rome he told reporters that other missionaries had thought that he would be a good spokesman for them, 'because, being Portuguese, "they" can't accuse me of being a foreigner. This means of course that I cannot return to Portugal'.

Fr. Luis rejects the concept of 'a diplomatic church' - a church which refuses to condemn atrocities for fear of offending Lisbon. The Catholic hierarchy in Mozambique, however, is quite happy to be an accomplice to the government and the army. When the White Fathers withdrew their missions from Mozambique last year they condemned the deafening silence of the archbishop of Lourenco Marques. And missionaries have asked their local bishops to issue a statement condemning the tortures and killings. Such a statement has never appeared.

Further reports of atrocities were heard by the UN Committee on Human Rights in a session held in Dar es Salaam in early August. One witness, Miss Mariano Makelo, told the committee how her village was attacked by the Portuguese who rounded up the inhabitants, brutally mutilating many of them. She, and the others who survived, were forced to work without pay and were mercilessly beaten. 'Many died as a result of the severe beatings', she said. She was later taken to a concentration camp and after much torture eventually released.

Another witness, Mr. Ernest A. Gelemule, told the committee how 16 people were shot dead at Kolonyombole village. He testified that his mother had her fingers and toes cut off by the colonial troops. She was told to eat her own flesh and when she refused was tortured to death. Gelemule too was taken to a concentration camp and forced to work on road construction, until he finally managed to escape to Tanzania.

When Joaquim Chissano, representing FRELIMO, addressed the committee, he remarked that 'The inherently oppressive and unjust nature of the Portuguese colonial system bears within itself the seeds of the savage bestiality and sadism which the Portuguese army unleashes against our people today'. He said that FRELIMO maintained respect for the Portuguese people, even if they were enemy soldiers.

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BRITISH CHEMICALS

Defoliants and herbicides, used by the Portuguese against MPLA since 1970, have now been turned against FRELIMO's liberated areas in the northern province of Cabo Delgado. The Portuguese employed South African mercenaries to fly their spray planes and when some of these proved unable to keep their mouths shut, the story came out in the South African Sunday Tribune and in our own Sunday Times.

The Sunday Times story reveals that one of the chemicals used by the Portuguese is a substance called Convolvotox 'manufactured by a South African firm. The firm in question turns out, on research, to be Agricura Laboratoria (Pty) Ltd. of Pretoria which is one of several wholly owned subsidiaries of another South African firm Sentrachem Ltd. Now the initiative for forming Sentrachem came from the South African government and involved an amalgamation of the interests of several chemicals companies. The most important of these are the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, the Federale Volksbeleggings Beperk. - and the British Petroleum Company (20% holding).

In other words, a British company is participating, through its South African middleman, in an attempt to starve FRELIMO into submission. So much for all those arguments that British investment in Southern Africa can only help the African peoples. So much for the theory that such investment is non-political. What the case of Convolvotox proves is that involve-



ment with apartheid and colonialism at a purely economic level inevitably leads to giving political and military support to these systems also.

The story does not end here - for 48.4% of BP shares are owned by the British government, which thus automatically becomes an accomplice to this crime. Alec Douglas-Home has often said that he 'disagrees' with the way the Portuguese and South Africans run their racial affairs - but not a whimper of protest has come from his direction over this latest atrocity.

Much of the information we have on these raids comes from six South African mercenaries who cut short their contract with the Portuguese Air Force when they decided that their mission was much too dangerous. They told the South African Sunday Tribune that a representative of the aerial spraying firm, Flink Lugsput en Boerdery (Edms.) Bpk. of Bethal, approached them asking for volunteers to spray 'terrorist vegetable plots'.

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diers: 'By its very nature our people's fight is a fight to ensure respect for human rights and not only the rights of Mozambicans. We have often had occasion to practise the policy of clemency and humanitarian principles. We scrupulously respect the lives of the Portuguese civilian population... In Mozambique it is the FRELIMO fighters who are defending human rights and the Portuguese soldiers who are terrorists.'

Consciousness of the atrocities perpetrated by the army is growing in Portugal itself. A 20 page stencilled report entitled 'War Crimes in the Portuguese Colonies' is being circulated clandestinely in Portugal. This

document explains the international conventions governing the conduct of war and shows how the Portuguese army in its use of chemical weapons, its summary killing of enemy soldiers who might have surrendered, its attacks on undefended villages and farms, its massacres and its tortures, continually violates them.

The document quotes examples of massacres from all three African territories - one particularly gruesome one comes from the area of Alto Chipago in Angola: 'This vast area was at the time under the control of Captain Malheiros who is at present working for the DGS headquarters in Luanda... Malheiros organised massacres in which the whole company had to take part. His criminal instincts led him to the

POISON MOZAMBIQUE

They agreed, but began having second thoughts when they reached the Portuguese post of Nangololo in Cabo Delgado. The innumerable bullet holes in the buildings, the spent cart ridges littering the ground, and the piled wreckage of vehicles that had been destroyed by mines and mortars did not make good advertisements for the Portuguese army. As they tried to sleep on their first night at Nangololo they heard two mines explode in the distance.

The routine for the spray missions was for the Portuguese aircraft to bomb and strafe an area, driving away FRELIMO guerrillas so that the safety of the low-flying spray planes would be guaranteed; then the mercenaries could swoop in only yards above the ground and unload their chemicals on the 'terrorist vegetables'. The pilots were under the impression that the stuff they were dropping would destroy crops, but not harm people. In fact Convolvotox contains 2,4D - one of the substances used by the Americans in Vietnam. This chemical (and others used by the Portuguese such as Dow Chemicals' Tordon) can cause skin and mucous haemorrhages, abdominal colics, vomiting, diarrhoea, respiratory problems and foetal abnormalities among those unfortunate enough to eat contaminated plants.

On the mercenaries' third sortie, on 17 April, however, the preliminary

bombing by the Portuguese did not achieve its object, and the spray planes came under continuous and heavy FRELIMO fire. One of the aircraft was hit in two places - the bullets narrowly missed the pilot, and damaged the chemical tanks. After this, 'it didn't take much to convince us we'd be better going home', said one of the mercenaries, Peter Hamner. 'We decided it was suicide to continue flying and being shot at at that range'. Each of the pilots received 1000 rands (approx £550) for his efforts. 'I was scared at times but I'd be prepared to go back', said Hamner. 'But only for a lot more money'.

Under the conditions described by the South Africans it is no surprise that the Portuguese use of chemicals has so far caused FRELIMO no major problems - spray planes have only been able to damage a fraction of the land cultivated in the liberated areas. Local food shortages are made good from areas the planes have missed

Another important, but less clandestine, herbicidal operation is planned by the Portuguese for the Cabora Bassa dam site. 250 hectares of vegetation around the site will be cleared 'to improve security'. Similarly, vegetation for 50 metres on either side of the Tete-Songo road is to be destroyed in an attempt to cut down the number of FRELIMO ambushes along the road.

invention of the most repulsive methods of torture and assassination; and we will here only refer to his favorite practice: he would order the African population to be placed in an "Indian file" and each African was forced to kill in turn (by strangulation with a rope) whoever happened to be ahead of him. In this way there were cases in which sons killed fathers, mothers and children. The last African to survive would then in his turn be hunted by the whole company with knives until he was killed. The "hero" who finally got him was awarded a prize.' Reports of massacres such as this, with instances of the use of napalm and defoliants against civilian populations, add up to a picture of massive and brutal

repression.

The document also shows how the Portuguese High Command deliberately dehumanizes its troops. At the Lamego training centre, for example, even in their beds the men find pamphlets exhorting them to be 'good' fighter commandos. Loudspeakers blare out propaganda for hours on end, soaking the trainees in the myths of the Portuguese army. And at Tancos, the main paratroop centre, the men are subject to intensive physical training from dawn till 10am; then, tired and in no state to resist mental pressures, they have to attend indoctrination sessions. Thus the youth of Portugal is depersonalized, and turned into machines of repression.

Triumph for Portugal in EEC negotiations

Following in Britain's footsteps, Portugal has signed an agreement with the EEC. This concedes the substance of Portuguese demands made in the course of eight months bargaining. What has basically happened is that



the EEC Commission has extended to Portugal the benefits of a vast free market for her exports, while allowing Portugal to slow down drastically the pace of tariff dismantling in certain areas to protect her industries. Thus Portugal can reap the benefits of free trade, and at the same time be protected from any threat which free trade might pose to her domestic industries.

The tariff dismantlement in Portugal will take place over a period of eight years (other EFTA nations have only got five) - but the EEC has recognized Portugal's right to protect her developing industries until 1985. Despite strong opposition from Italy, Portugal has won major concessions for its wine and tomato concentrate industries. Although there are one or two points still to be haggled over, it is clear that Portugal has won an important victory.

As regards Africa, the Commission's proposals allow Portugal to maintain her empire and the escudo zone, while at the same time enjoying the benefit of the European market. An inevitable consequence of this is that increased European investment will flow towards the Portuguese colonies, thus intensifying the exploitation of the African people and prolonging the struggle for liberation.

This agreement with Portugal - opposed by both the OAU and the British Labour Party - highlights the true nature of the EEC, dominated by the international monopolies, and quite ready to work out deals with fascist powers when it suits them. There are even

fears that the EEC may shortly resume the negotiations with Greece which were frozen at the time of the 1967 coup. The EEC stands revealed as merely another weapon created by and for the vested interests of Western Europe.



Behind the agreement there also lurks the shadow of NATO - as the EEC becomes enlarged, so its member states become more equated with the European members of NATO. One huge Western European monolith of reaction is being created of which NATO is the military and the EEC the economic wing. The arms and the facilities already supplied to Portugal through NATO will be augmented by the economic advantages derived from the EEC.

Rubbish from the right

An education project on Southern Africa, prepared by a group of teachers interested in the region, and covering many aspects of the history, geography, economics and politics of the white supremacist states is now being piloted in about 30 British schools. Predictably this has aroused the wrath of the most backward elements of the Conservative Party. MPs Harold Sorel and Patrick Wall, both members of the extreme right-wing Monday Club, and leading apologists for Portugal and South Africa, have attacked the kit as 'subversive, Communist propaganda' and an 'evil attempt' to misinform children. According to Sorel, 'It is scandalous that the children of this country should be subject to political motivation by such propaganda'. By some obscure piece of Tory metaphysics the views on Southern Africa expressed in the education project are 'political propaganda' whereas those which the children they are so concerned about can pick up any day of the week from the Daily Express or Daily Telegraph are not.

Sorel, Chairman of the Monday Club's Africa Committee and a managing director of a South African shipping company, went on to say that 'these kits could add to racial misunderstanding in Britain' (There can of course be no such 'misunderstanding' as far as the Monday Club is concerned - it is openly pledged to repatriate as many of Britain's black population as it can).

The materials used in the education kit (including slides, wallcharts, tapes and overhead projection maps) give accounts of resistance to apartheid and colonialism, and of the liberation movements. They also include speeches and articles by Johannes Balthazar Vorster, Marcello Caetano, and even Patrick Wall himself. We are confident that British schoolchildren will easily see through their drivel.

We hope that an increasing number of teachers, headmasters and local education authorities will take an interest in this project and that in its final form the Southern Africa Education Kit will find its way into many schools and colleges all over the country. More information on the kit is available from: Southern Africa Education Project, 89 Charlotte St., London W1.

Wife of jailed trade unionist murdered

For over a year now Daniel Cabrita the leader of the Portuguese Union of Bank Employees has been in jail. He is charged with being a member of the banned Portuguese Communist Party. His wife, however, knowing that the charge was fabricated, attempted to see the Prime Minister, Caetano, to persuade him that her husband, though a man of progressive views, was not in fact a member of the party.

But Caetano refused to see her. Infuriated at this Senhora Cabrita said something very indiscreet - namely that Caetano deserved to be shot. She was then followed home by members of the DGS (political police). A few hours later she was found dead - she had fallen from a third storey window.

The official police story is that Senhora Cabrita committed suicide. However, when her family asked for her body, so that an autopsy could be performed, the DGS refused to surrender it up. Presumably then the wounds on the body were not commensurate with self-inflicted death.

Senhora Cabrita thus joins those South African political prisoners, such as Ahmed Timol, who when being interrogated 'committed suicide' - helpless victims of fascist states.

25 September - FRELIMO Day

25th September this year marks the 8th anniversary of the launching of armed struggle in Mozambique. To celebrate the occasion the Committee is holding a meeting on Sunday, 24 September, which will be addressed by Tony

Gifford, Polly Gaster and Pam Logie, who have just returned from FRELIMO's liberated areas in Tete province.

Place: Camden Studios, Camden St, NW1
Time: 7.30 pm.

Portugal: Presidents and Bombs

On 25 July, 79 year old Admiral Americo Thomaz was 'elected' to his third term as Portuguese president. This farcical ceremony was carried out in the usual style - one candidate was presented by the single governing party, which did not even bother to make any propaganda out of the event. The 'election' is not direct - direct elections were abolished in 1959 when even on a limited franchise the opposition candidate, General Humberto Delgado, nearly overthrew the regime - but through a restricted electoral college. This consists of 620 grand electors - 122 deputies from the National Assembly, Portugal's puppet parliament, 217 members of the Corporate Chamber - an institution that derives from Mussolini's Italy - chosen by the Ministry of Corporations, 211 municipal councillors nominated by the Ministry of the Interior, or 'elected' by the government party, and 70 representatives of the 'legislative councils' of the colonies. Less than 2% of these grand electors are black - although 13, as the regime insists, Portugal includes Mozambique, Angola and Guine, then blacks form about 60% of the total population.

The electoral system works in a very simple fashion: the President names the Government, the Government names the grand electors, the grand electors name the President, and so on. In theory the President enjoys a considerable measure of power - he can dismiss the Prime Minister, dissolve the National Assembly and command the armed forces: but the aged Thomaz is no more than a figurehead - the real power lies in the hands of the Prime Minister, Marcello Caetano, just as it lay in those of his predecessor, Salazar.

Caetano used the occasion of Thomaz' re-election to change his cabinet. Two supposed 'liberals' were dropped - Senhor Rogerio Martins, secretary of state for industry, and Dr. Xavier Pintado, secretary of state for commerce - as the Portuguese government took a lurch still further to the right. Martins and Pintado were both leading 'Eurocrats' whose 'liberalism' was used to give a tinge of respectability to Portugal's negotiations with the EEC. Now that these negotiations have ended in success for Portugal, the two unfortunate ministers have served their purpose and can safely be jettisoned.

Portugal's urban guerrillas also reacted to the re-election of Thomaz. Already, a fortnight before the election they had shown that they continued to be a force to be reckoned with, when on 11 July in Cabo Ruivo the Revolutionary Brigades of the Algiers-based National Liberation Front destroyed 15 heavy lorries, destined for use in the colonial wars. But the Guerrillas of what is now commonly known as 'the fourth front' reserved their most spectacular operation for the 28th, the day of Thomaz' inauguration. On that day

**NÓS DESERTAMOS
COM ARMAS!**



**CONTRA A GUERRA COLONIAL
PELAS LUTAS DO POVO!**

This sign has appeared on walls in Lisbon. It reads: 'We are deserting with our arms. Against the colonial war, for people's war!'

there were simultaneous explosions throughout Portugal, destroying more than twenty pylons in the three major towns - Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra - and in two villages, so that much of the country was blacked out. Thomaz was therefore prevented from making his inaugural TV address, and a stoppage was caused in Lisbon's water supply as the electric pumps ceased functioning. A coup such as this reveals an astounding measure of organization and co-ordination among the clandestine Portuguese opposition.

In one of their pamphlets, the Revolutionary Brigades say: 'With these ac-

tions against the colonial war, the Revolutionary Brigades state their deep determination to do all within their power to transform the imperialist and fascist colonial war into a revolutionary war of workers against oppressors. It is in the action of fighting against a common enemy that the solidarity between the Portuguese people and the peoples of the colonies comes alive.'

The 'Fourth front' is now being fought by no less than five groups - ARA (Armed Revolutionary Action, said to be linked with the Portuguese Communist Party), the Revolutionary Brigades, LUAR (United League for Revolutionary Action), CLAC (Committee for Anti-Colonialist Action) and ARCO (Communist Revolutionary Action - Peking oriented).

WCC withdraws investments

'The World Council of Churches has accepted the ideology of revolution and the overthrow of the existing order.' Thus Dr. J.D. Vorster, brother of the South African Prime Minister, and moderator of the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church. The good doctor has also accused the WCC of being 'a front organization for communism', and 'the most powerful leftist organization in the world.' The reason for such outbursts is, of course, the WCC's outspoken support for liberation movements in Southern Africa.

A spokesman for the council explained this support as follows: 'Our basic concern is for peace, justice and human rights, and if this means being accused of being left-wing, that is up to the accuser. The WCC has always held the position of standing by those oppressed by the evil of racial injustice and discrimination. It came to see more and more that talk is not enough and action is required for the

victims in every part of the world'.

At the annual meeting of its Central Committee in August, the World Council made another move against the white supremacist states in Southern Africa when it passed a resolution calling on all member churches to withdraw their investments from firms operating in the Portuguese colonies, South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia. Mr. Bola Ige of Nigeria, Chairman of the WCC Programme to Combat Racism, speaking in favour of the resolution said that the consistency of WCC support for liberation movements was open to question as long as the WCC received profits from institutions and companies propping up racism.

The committee was also asked to double the ceiling of the special Fund to Combat Racism to a minimum of \$1m (c. £416,000) and to ask member churches to support a campaign against breaches of the UN sanctions policies on Rhodesia.

Wisdom from Fleet Street

The Financial Times has produced yet another 'survey' on Angola and Mozambique - the third in less than a year. Needless to say, the eight-page supplement (published on 8 August) is packed with Portuguese advertising for such institutions as the Banco Totta-Standard of Angola, the Trans-Zambesia Railway Company, and the Sena Sugar Estates Ltd. - all of which are wholly or partly British owned.

Most of the articles in the supplement consist of the usual sycophantic nonsense, with all the old lies about Portuguese multi-racialism and all the meaningless promises of 'autonomy'. But every now and then reality breaks through. J.D.F. Jones, the paper's foreign editor, for example reveals that 'primary education figures are quite good, but the number of Africans

with higher qualifications falls away steeply. In sum the impression becomes overwhelming that the whites are quietly making sure that they maintain their role as an upper class admitting to their ranks only the most gifted (and therefore the most dangerous) Africans'.

On Cabora Bassa, Jones, with unconscious irony, writes this: Songo, the town built for the dam workers, is he says 'only slightly less comfortable and ordered than similar project townships, with the club and the swimming-pool and polyglot bingo, four banks, churches and schools, land rovers in clouds of dust, servants to water the garden, and £500 a month for the pilots of the air-taxis, £9 a week for the African labour force'.

TOWARDS A THEORY

Dr. Rebelo de Sousa, former Governor-General of Mozambique and now a cabinet minister very close to Caetano, has just published the second volume of his book, 'Co-ordinates of Social Policy'. Here he stresses the need for the Portuguese to develop an ideology. The sort of ideology he wants would consist of 'the projection of a system of solutions, within the context of our beliefs, which a human community can adopt to confront its destiny and dominate its situation'. What Sousa and those who talk as he does mean is that the policies of the past have failed, have led Portugal up a blind alley - particularly where the colonial wars are concerned.

A new note has appeared in speeches about the wars, emphasizing, somewhat belatedly, the social and psychological side of the struggle. The stress is no longer, as it was a couple of years ago, on the inevitability of military victory, but rather on the necessity of total civilian involvement in the defence of 'the national territory'.

This is what General Luz Cunha had to say on the subject, on his inaugura-

tion as C. in C. of the armed forces in Angola on 23 August: 'This war cannot be won by military means alone. If we are to obtain success, it is indispensable for military action to be joined with the utmost determination of all sectors of the population. It would be correct at this time to remind everyone that the fight we are engaged upon for the defence of the national territory and its populations is also of the greatest importance for the western world since our presence precludes hostile powers from dominating vast regions of high strategic interest where the concepts of our civilization would not be accepted. One must emphasize that our struggle is total in the sense that it should be fought at all levels - not only the military, but all others must take part. In this war there can be no desertions. Each one of us must participate within his capabilities in the various fields in which the war develops - military, social, economic, political and psychological. At this stage it is unacceptable that the weight of the war should only be carried by a few, while the others are mere spectators showing varying degrees of interest. This war is not only

concentration camp

Despite the Portuguese claims that they do not discriminate on racial grounds, there appear to be two types of preventive detention laws, one applied in Portugal itself, the other in the African territories. In Portugal anyone can be detained for 180 days without charge, renewable at the discretion of the DGS (political police). But in the African territories, according to a decree law published in August, the 'administrative measures of detention' - ie imprisonment without charge - which apply to Africans are for renewable successive periods of three years.

The unfortunates who suffer such 'administrative measures' end up in a number of concentration camps scattered through the colonies. The latest bulletin of the National Committee for Aid to Political Prisoners - a Portuguese organization which has so far eluded proscription - describes one such camp, at St. Nicolau in Angola. This camp alone houses 5,000 people - which helps set in perspec-

tive the so-called amnesty offered to 1500 former guerrillas in the three colonies.

The St. Nicolau camp is 140 kms north of Mocamedes and is so situated as to be escape-proof. It is surrounded on the one side by the sea, and on the other by mountains which separate it from the inhospitable Mocamedes desert. Under such geographical conditions an escape attempt would mean almost certain death for the fugitive.

The camp is divided into three sections. Section 1 is the central nucleus where the Directorate of the camp is situated together with the guards headquarters, and the prisoners' quarters - consisting of brick houses and native huts. Section 2 is the agricultural section of the camp where the prisoners work producing bananas and other fruits. Section 3 however is nowhere near the other two parts of the camp. It is 15 kms north of section 2 and is where all recent arrivals to the camp undergo a period

OF 'TOTAL WAR'

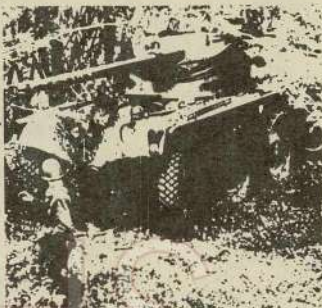
a problem for the army, but a problem for us all'.

All this is tantamount to an admission of military failure. Furthermore there is simply not enough manpower in the army - hence the appeal to the civilian population (more particularly, to the white settlers), and the development of theories of 'total war'.

These ideas are being put into practice in Mozambique where a general command of security has been created by decree of the Ministry of Overseas. The purpose of this is to provide 'operational co-ordination' between the military, various branches of the police and assorted vigilante settler organizations, such as the Provincial Organization of Volunteers for the Civilian Defence of Mozambique, and various local civilian militias.

And on 1 August in a course on national defence at the Institute of Higher Military Studies near Lisbon, General Sa Viana Rebelo, Minister of Defence, spoke of the creation of a new 'Institute of Higher Studies in National Defence'. This, he said, 'aims at creating a common doctrine

between military and civilians with a view to co-ordinating the defence policy of the country'.



A Portuguese Panhard armoured car in Angola.

in angola

of 'education' or 'training'. This 'training' consists of forced labour, particularly the moving of heaps of sand from one place to another without any purpose and under the vigilance of armed guards.

Because the prisoners are allowed to take their families into the camp, there are many children at St. Nicolau. But the prisoners have not enough money to keep their families - as in the agricultural section they can only earn a monthly wage of approx £2.80. The shortages of food and of medical assistance are appalling. No doctor is available, only a male nurse. There is a lack of clothing, no bread, nor milk for the prisoners. And since the supply of water comes from outside the camp, the water ration is minimal. The camp is therefore the scene of very great distress.

The 'breakfast' of the prisoners consists of a cup of 'ginguba' - a drink made from groundnuts: other

meals are made from 'fuba' - a local maize powder, occasionally with beans or fish. No other vegetables, no meat. The only prisoners who can buy any additional food are those lucky few whose families can send them money. Perhaps not surprisingly the Portuguese have not revealed the mortality rate in the St. Nicolau camp.



Published by the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine, 531, Caledonian Road, London N7 (phone 01-607 2170).

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N.B. Recommended reading: if you feel you need more
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position of the major issues involved will be found
in the pamphlet War on Three Fronts (18p).

Newly available are four pamphlets published by the
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form of interviews with Marcelino Dos Santos, vice-
president of FRELIMO, Seta Likambuila, commander of
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Prices on list opposite. Be warned - these are in
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