

COMRADE

5p



Bulletin of the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné

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EDITORIAL

The £30,000 Joseph Rowntree Social Service Trust grant to the Mozambique Institute is important in two ways. First because of the practical help it gives to the Mozambican people and secondly because of the level of understanding that it represents.

But there is a danger that, rather than being spurred on to increased fund-raising activities we will settle back, comforted by the thought that our work is being done for us. This would be a serious mistake.

At a recent meeting of Western European support committees for the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies it was possible to make some assessment of the amount of material aid which has already reached Africa. Achievements so far, though still very inadequate, show clearly the positive results that can come from the activities of even relatively small groups: blood donated in France, often from Portuguese immigrant workers, is going to a FIMOC hospital; medicines have been sent from West Germany; landrovers from Holland; a FIMOC textbook has been printed in Sweden; the Finnish Secondary School Students Union has financed a printing house for the Mozambique Institute.

These contributions result from the continuous work of education and mobilisation at a mass level and are an essential part of it. They are not charitable gestures, but an acknowledgement of political commitment to the liberation struggle. So, while welcoming and encouraging the donation of substantial sums from organisations such as the Rowntree Social Service Trust, from the Swedish Social Democratic Party and from other governments, agencies and groupings such as, hopefully, the British Labour Party, the mass campaigning must continue and expand. The Social Service Trust itself stated the view that £30,000 is perhaps half the amount of an acceptable contribution from Britain to the reconstruction programmes in Mozambique, where the budget for economic development alone requires a minimum of £350,000. And Angola and Guinea have needs on a similar scale.

MPLA Medical Aid Campaign

As part of the Committee's continuing efforts to raise material aid for the liberation movements we are launching a specific £1,000 Medical Aid Fund for the MPLA Medical Assistance Services in Angola. We feel that the present emergency in Angola (see inside) makes such an effort even more urgent.

The liberated areas of Angola now extend over an area four times the size of Portugal, with a population of 200,000. The people are in a perpetual state of hypermalnutrition, and the most widespread diseases are malaria, various forms of

dermatitis, tropical parasitic diseases, TB, and diseases due to poor hygiene. Very recently there has been an outbreak of yellow fever. Added to all this are the casualties of conventional, chemical and biological warfare.

The medical services had to be started from scratch five years ago, but by 1970 total personnel included 4 doctors, 7



qualified nurses and 28 first aid and other medical assistants. A training scheme for first aid assistants was established in 1969 — there is a twelve-bed hospital with a small operating room in North-West Angola. In spite of these meagre numbers some 65,000 cases were examined, of which 32,000 received some treatment in the course of 1970. The medical programme for 1970/71 includes a mass vaccination campaign, the extension of training facilities, the building of a thirty-bed hospital and an increase in the number of field dispensaries.

The Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea has received detailed lists of requests for over 350 items.

The aid campaign is organised on the basis of special receipt books. The receipts are for a flat-rate figure of 50p., so we need 2,000 people to contribute in order to reach our target.

We ask all sympathetic groups and organisations to help in this campaign by guaranteeing to take at least one book of 20 receipts (i.e. £10 worth). There are enormous possibilities for reaching and educating people through this project. A background leaflet and campaign ideas sheet, with receipt books, are available from the Committee. 50p. donations, £10 to buy a book as a donation or for resale, offers to take quantities of books, warmly welcomed.

Remember, 50p. will buy: 150 anti-malarial tablets or 165 tetracyclin tablets or 3lbs of milk powder

50 x 50p - 2½ books - will buy a complete emergency first-aid kit.

CAETANO

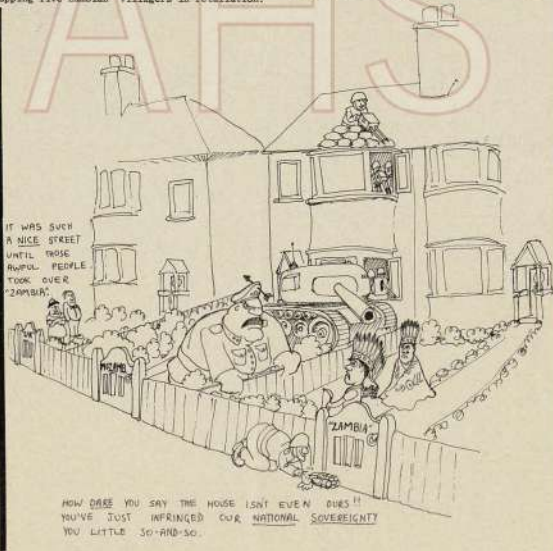
A little known faction, that split off from FRELIMO several years ago, and of whose little has been heard since, was recently the focus of considerable attention by precipitating an international row between Portugal and Zambia. Sometime in January COREMO (Mozambique Revolutionary Council) kidnapped five Portuguese, described by the Portuguese authorities as "agricultural experts" in Mozambique's Tete Province. The circumstances of the kidnapping remain unknown apart from the fact that COREMO's ludicrous claim of a pitched battle was fought in which 50 Portuguese were killed and five captured is hardly credible. This claim does, however, seem to have confused the situation enough for nobody to be quite sure whether the kidnapped men were agriculturalists or soldiers.

It appears that COREMO then proceeded to apply for permission to bring their captives into Zambia. This permission was refused and, according to COREMO, the prisoners were released in Mozambique shortly after February 15. As could only be expected, the Portuguese produced a very different account. At the beginning of March they claimed that the five captives had been taken into Zambia, detained there for a short while, and then returned to the guerrillas. COREMO, the Portuguese stated, was still holding the men, and holding them in Zambia. A Chinese construction camp was given a brief and mysterious mention in this context.

Over the next month Portuguese complaints against Zambia were gradually escalated. On March 5, a Portuguese communique said "The Government of Zambia has shown not the slightest desire to cooperate on humanitarian grounds in finding kidnapped foreign nationals being held in their territory and bringing about their release". On the 8th the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique threatened to cut off badly-needed supplies of maize which are normally transported from Beira to Zambia, and on the same day Mr. Lewis Chagufu, Zambia's Minister of Home Affairs, accused Portugal of kidnapping five Zambian villagers in retaliation.

Undeterred by the report of Mr. Rene Weber of the International Red Cross, which stated that he had found no evidence that the missing Portuguese had ever been in the hands of the Zambian government, Portugal intensified her campaign against Zambia and on March 18th reports were being leaked in Beira that the five captives had been murdered in Lusaka. Following this the "Times" noted a "reluctance" on the part of Beira docks to handle traffic to and from Zambia. An hysterical article in the newspaper "Noticias da Beira" read "Civilised patience has limits. We are incapable of the same crimes committed by Zambia, but that doesn't mean that we are incapable of punishing them", and accused President Kaunda of being a "murderer".

This cleverly manipulated smear campaign bore fruit on March 18th when, as threatened, ativedores in Beira began a boycott on all goods heading for Zambia. Officials in Lisbon said that although such action was 'understandable' it did not have government sanction. (Although most forms of industrial action in Portugal and the colonies that do not have government sanction result in savage repression and imprisonment for the participants). The statement by a Portuguese Foreign Ministry spokesman a few days later that "There is no blockade of Zambian goods in Beira. Perhaps traffic congestion has caused delay, but there is no blockade by Portugal" was completely false, it certainly wasn't traffic congestion that caused the British ship "Angelic Wind" with a 12,000 ton shipment of maize for Zambia, to be diverted from Beira to Dar es Salaam after the authorities had refused to allow the cargo to be unloaded. The maize supplies that are being delayed by the Portuguese blockade are vital to Zambia, due to the shortage following poor crops for the past two years. On March 22nd President Kaunda held a press conference in Lusaka in which he accused Portugal not only of operating a blockade, but of threatening an invasion of Zambia, and called on the international community to put pressure on Portugal to lift the blockade. On the subject of the kidnapped



KAUNDA

Portuguese, he said 'As Zambia's Head of State, I want to state once and for all that the five Portuguese soldiers were not granted entry into Zambia' - to reinforce his point he had two Portuguese soldiers sentenced to 15 months imprisonment for entering Zambia illegally, led into the conference hall as proof that Zambia did not have any Portuguese taken into custody. The two prisoners would be well looked after and would be returned to the Portuguese authorities after serving their sentences. Predictably Portugal denied everything Kaunda had said - his fear of a Portuguese invasion were 'not worth comment' (Guinea being conveniently forgotten), and there was, of course, no blockade.

Portugal's attack on Zambia has been rather more subtle than her attack on the Republic of Guinea in November, but it has the same motive - which has nothing to do with kidnapped agricultural experts - but is to damage a government whose support for liberation movements is uncompromising, Kaunda's Zambia has long been a thorn in the flesh of the Vorster-Smith-Castano alliance, and it is tempting to see the blockade of Zambia as the first result of the meetings of the security chiefs of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa which took place in Salisbury during February.

In its attack on Zambia, *Noticias da Beira* talked of 'repeated provocation, aggression and crimes against Mozambique committed by that country'. Had Genghis Khan accused the peoples his Mongol hordes were decimating of 'aggression' he would have sounded more credible. For Zambia has drawn up a catalogue of the border invasions and the violations of her airspace perpetrated against her by the white supremacist regimes. There were 138 of these from April 1966 to September 1970, of which 76 were the responsibility of Portugal - i.e. Portuguese violations of Zambia's sovereignty has been taken place at a rate of considerably more than one a month. Some of the incidents reported are not particularly serious e.g. '8/4/1966 - Ten Portuguese soldiers entered Zambia illegally and raided Chisota village. Stole monkeynuts and left'.

Others however give evidence of savage and persistent disregard of Zambia's borders and of the lives of Zambia's citizens - 3/1/1968 - Portuguese soldiers fired over two Zambian villages. Seven Zambians were captured in the two villages and detained by the Portuguese.

-5/8/1968 - Portuguese soldiers entered Zambia and shot dead Kasanga Banda who was sleeping in his garden near the border.

11/9/1968 - Kankunga and Kakanga villages were bombed by Portuguese soldiers. Two killed and four wounded. Over 16 craters made by 20 mm cannon shells were found at Kakanga and 10 at Kankunga.

- 2/10/1968 - Three Portuguese planes bombed Kathumba village, near Kameta Mission, seven miles inside Zambia. One Zambian killed and four wounded.

6/11/1968 - Twenty Portuguese soldiers entered Zambia and clashed with our Army unit. First they detained some Zambians, raped three women. Zambian army shot and killed Commander and two or four others. One Zambian soldier was wounded in the one-hour clash. 20/11/1968 - Portuguese soldiers entered Zambia at Kilwee. Forty four houses destroyed. All property belonging to villagers of Kilwee was destroyed also.

-21/6/1969 - Forty/fifty Portuguese soldiers entered Zambia. Rugged by our troops, two Portuguese killed, two Zambian soldiers wounded.

- 30/6/1969 - A Portuguese plane bombed Loti village. Twelve bombs dropped killed two women, injured a man, two houses and property destroyed.

- 24/10/1969 - Zambian national, Singani Zulu, who was fishing on the Zambian bank of the river, abducted by two Portuguese soldiers who crossed into Zambia.

- 17/3/1970 - Two Portuguese helicopters violated Zambian territory in the Kankunga Mashai area. They burned two huts on the border, apparently by dropping shells.

- 18/4/1970 - A Portuguese patrol, on the excuse of pursuing freedom fighters, entered Samuluta Village, Chief Kanongesha's area, Zambia. One Zambian male juvenile was shot dead, his father and mother slightly injured.

- 15/5/1970 - Portuguese party of soldiers entered Lidko Village and took away seven people whom they suspected to be freedom fighters. Later three of the villagers who were Zambian were freed and returned to their village.

And yet the official note published in Lisbon newspapers on March 25 as a counter to Kaunda's press conference can conclude by saying 'the Zambian Government has nothing to fear from Portugal'. On the contrary, it will always find in the Portuguese Government a desire to establish peaceful relations and profitable collaboration so long as Portugal can count on the same correct attitude and spirit on the part of the Zambian authorities.

ASSASSINS

The Portuguese will use any method available to maintain their precarious position in Africa - the invasion of Guinea, the blockade of Zambia, the use of napalm and chemical warfare are but a few examples. Another is assassination. The same technique of murder - the parcel bomb - that claimed Eduardo Mondlane as a victim in February 1969, was used again on 29 March. The parcel was posted in Japan and contained a bomb. It also contained an explosive device, so that when it was opened by Matias Chitenda at FELIMO's Lusaka office, he was critically injured. A second parcel was removed by the Zambian army experts and found to contain a bomb even more powerful than the one that had exploded.

Matias Chitenda died in hospital a few hours later.

UNCTAD

The anomaly of a nation against whom motions are perpetually passed at the General Assembly of the United Nations sitting in UN bodies was challenged early in March when Portugal was prevented from taking its seat on a specialized committee (the Inter-Governmental Technical Exchange Group) of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva. Controversy over Portuguese membership first broke on March 4, twenty four hours after the Lisbon delegation was re-elected to Group B, whose membership includes the western industrialized nations, Nigeria and Ivory Coast objected to the election, and on March 6, under African pressure, UNCTAD's Trade and Development Committee agreed to a secret ballot on the Portuguese nomination. On March 9, the poll was postponed until May 24.

TEA PARTY IN SALISBURY

During February a hotel in Salisbury played host to a number of rather distinguished visitors. These included the heads of Rhodesia's special branch, the Head of the Portuguese D.G.S., Major Silva Pais, the man in overall charge of security in Portugals' African Territories, who brought along with him the local security chiefs of Angola and Mozambique, and South Africa's General Van der Burgh, chief of the Bureau of State Security, better known as BOSS. This man is a close friend of Balham Vorster. They were interned in the same detention camp (Koffiefontein) during the war for their collaboration with the Nazis.

The purpose of this gathering of Southern Africa's most hated man was of course 'secret'. Major Pais even told reporters that he was in Salisbury as a tourist and to renew acquaintance with some 'very old friends', but it is not very difficult to deduce what Major Pais and his old friends talked about: FELIMO has sworn to destroy the Caboto Sassa project and, after the failure of Operation Gordian Knot, the Portuguese have probably come to the realization that they cannot stop this on their own, so it is highly probable that this top-level security conference was called to discuss ways of defending the vast amount of South African capital that is now tied up in Caboto Sassa.

PORTUGAL

PRIESTS ON TRIAL

Caetano's government, in what *The Observer* described as its 'latest wave of counter-revolutionary manoeuvres', has just finished trying for 'subversive activities' two Roman Catholic priests - the first time this has happened in over 40 years. Father Mario Pais de Oliveira, recruited to serve with the army in Guinea, didn't like what he found there and on returning home in October 1969 began to preach against the colonialist wars, declaring himself on the side of 'those poor and oppressed who are the victims of capitalist society'. Such talk was not calculated to endear Father de Oliveira to the Portuguese establishment. He soon found himself the target of pro-war demonstrations (as demonstrations are not allowed in Portugal, the government must obviously have connived at these, even if not directly sponsoring them). In June a crowd describing themselves as '50 veterans of the African wars' surrounded his parish church to 'denounce traitors', to deny false statements by Father Mario in the pulpit, to expurgate the offences he made to the Most Holy Virgin, to the sacred sanctuary of Fatima, to the venerable (sic) Head of State, to our mothers and ourselves, the African war veterans'. A month later, Father de Oliveira was arrested and jailed in the prison of Caxias.



... AND A LOYAL ANGEL TOLD US YOU'VE SEEN TRYING TO COMMUNICATE WITH THAT SUBVERSIVE, GOD, AGAIN. WE'VE GOT A STATEMENT TO PROVE IT!

His trial began on December 17th and was marked by his resolute refusal to withdraw any of his views. He was bound by certain theological tenets and 'it was his duty to uphold them when they came into conflict with inequitable laws.' A key piece of prosecution evidence was a letter Father Oliveira had written to a soldier in Guinea who had asked for religious advice on the question of the war. Fr. Oliveira had replied, 'Do not think you are defending your motherland by fighting an unjust war. If I were in your place I would not fight. Do what your conscience dictates.' Fr. Oliveira defended the letter and found an important and influential ally in Bishop Ferreira Gomes of Oporto, one of the few progressive men in the higher echelons of the Portuguese Clergy, and a man who had spent the last ten years of Salazar's rule in exile. Between them the two men presented an impressive case and it became evident that the Oporto courtroom was going to produce a verdict other than that desired by the regime. A compromise was found - Father Oliveira was found not guilty of subversion, but was only released on bail, pending an appeal by the prosecution. The government has not yet given up trying to get a conviction.

As the trial of Fr. Oliveira ended, that of Fr. Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, accused along with nine others (seven from Angola, one from the Cape Verde Islands, and one from Portugal) of aiding the MRLA, started. As he is the brother of MRLA leader Maria Pinto de Andrade, he has spent by far the greater part of the last ten years in jail or under strict police surveillance. He knows a large number of Portuguese prisons intimately - including Fort Verdeo, Luanda's Sao Paulo prison, the infamous Aljube prison opposite Lisbon cathedral, and now the fortress stronghold of Caxias. At Aljube (rescued to have been partially designed by the Gestapo), Fr. de Andrade describes how 'I had to crouch for 82 days in a sordid cell six feet by three into which air and light only came through a small grating, sitting on straw, my knees touching the opposite wall.

'But I will pass in silence over the details of the terrible conditions of my successive imprisonments. I am not, and never have been, a member of any political party, legal or clandestine. By temperament, education and religious formation, I am against violent methods. But I have a direct knowledge of the process of education, work, salaries and racial discrimination which has launched my people into a desperate and clandestine fight. I consider that the aspiration of a people to independence is just and reasonable.'

The court reached its decision on March 30th - a decision that went far to rectify the vaguely liberal impression of the Oliveira trial. Of those accused with Fr. de Andrade, one student, Maria Jose Pinto Coelho, was acquitted, while the other eight were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 18 months to four and a half years. De Andrade himself was sentenced to three years' jail and 15 years loss of political rights (after his experience of the past decade, the latter can hardly have any meaning). More sinister, however, is that the sentence has been passed under 'security measures' - which means that after serving his fixed sentence, he could be detained indefinitely for recurrent periods of six months to three years at the discretion of the Directorate General of Security (D.G.S.) - the revamped PIDE - a not unlikely possibility.

BOMBINGS

The most embarrassing and noticeable enemies of Marcello Caetano are the urban guerrillas who call themselves Armed Revolutionary Action (ARA). On March 8th, they carried out their biggest coup to date by penetrating the heavily guarded Portuguese Air Force Base at Yveron, 100 miles from Lisbon, and blowing up 14 helicopters and three training aircraft. A statement was issued by ARA saying that the raid was a protest against 'the shameful colonial war, contrary to the interests of the Portuguese people, waged by the Portuguese fascists and colonialists against the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique who are fighting for their independence'. ARA went on to say that their success was due to 'growing anti-colonialist sentiment among Portuguese soldiers'. The operation's success could be gauged by the fact that it was 'carried out without any loss in our ranks and without casualties among the large number of servicemen at the base'. The Portuguese response has been to open an inquiry, to turn away reporters who attempted to enter the Yveron base, and to establish a communique saying that they have arrested six men in connection with the attack, two of whom hold German passports.

STUDENT UNREST

Flashback to October 1969 Mr. Edward Brown, director of Anglo-American and De Bees, director or chairman of 28 other companies and chairman of the ZAMCO consortium is speaking about the Portuguese. 'They are tough, disciplined people. There may be something to be said for living under a dictator after all. The Portuguese have no student riots. There are no long-haired layabouts'. An interesting insight into the political philosophy of the ZAMCO consortium, but unfortunately for Mr. Brown, it no longer holds true. Portuguese students, long-haired or not, are certainly becoming rather good at rioting. The Portuguese regime has never had very good relations with the students but over the past few months there seems to have been a new law.

Agitation that has been brewing for sometime in both Lisbon and Coimbra for urgently needed educational reform came to a head on January the 14th when police riot squads broke-up student gatherings at the technical college and the law faculty in Lisbon. The following day meetings protesting at this repression were similarly dispersed with the result that Lisbon students decided to strike on the 18th. And Coimbra students joined them in a two-day solidarity strike. Such action is of course illegal. Before announced by Education Minister Jose Veiga Simao guaranteeing universities complete administrative autonomy and giving

WELL, I CAN
TELL YOU ONE
THING - THERE'S
NONE OF THIS
DIPLOMA
ROTTING
BUSINESS
IN PORTUGAL.



students a say in their running did not restore peace to the campus - the Lisbon students knew what those promises were worth. Defence Minister Jose de Sa Viana Rebelo's reference to universities as 'seats of subversion' provoked more trouble. One hundred and fifty students demanded to see Education Minister Einao, were refused and promptly attacked the US Embassy. A week of such disturbance drew a savage response from the government. An official communique said that student associations 'are dedicating themselves more and more to activities of a political nature, notably in producing and distributing publications containing destructive, revolutionary propaganda in gradually ceasing to defend the interests of their members and in refusing to cooperate in the constructive dialogue that the Education Minister is constantly trying to establish. It is therefore urgent that effective measures be taken to put an end to this situation and to defend the individual liberty (sic) of staff and of students... The gravity of certain offences does not allow that those responsible should continue to attend university (and once out of university it's conscription for the African wars for most young men)... students should coexist from all political activity. This has nothing to do with their life at university'. And if universities prove incapable of dealing with student disorders then 'order shall be restored by the competent authorities'. So much for university autonomy. This was reinforced by a three-day police occupation of student assembly rooms to prevent the students holding a projected mass meeting.

But order has not been restored. The trial of Father de Andrade sparked off a protest meeting at Coimbra. The meeting was unauthorized and broken up by the police who arrested eight students. The other 9,000 students at Coimbra promptly declared a two-day strike, and 300 riot police were sent onto the campus. They did not act until the end of the strike when the students held a demonstration against the colonial war - then the armed riot squads descended on the demonstrators in a short sharp battle, which ended with at least five more students under arrest and the campus occupied by police. The universities of Lisbon and Coimbra pose a serious problem to the Caetano administration - and it applies the same remedy to this and to all its other problems - repression.

NATO

The attitude of the British government to the supply of arms to Portugal remains the same as ever. Hence the following from the Hansard report of 11 March.

Booth: What steps have been taken to respond to the call of the UN Decolonisation Committee to desist from giving military assistance to Portugal and to prevent sale or supply of weapons to Portugal, and stop sale or shipment to Portugal of material for the manufacture of weapons?

Lord Sainslie: None sir. It has been the policy of successive governments to supply Portugal with military equipment in accordance with her reasonable NATO requirements, but not to approve applications for the sale of military equipment for use in her overseas territories.

Our policy is clear, that the military equipment which is supplied to Portugal is to meet her NATO commitments and we do not supply equipment for use in her overseas territories.

The capacity of the Tory government to believe that a gun marked marked 'For NATO Commitment Only' is therefore incapable of killing Africans seems unbounded. It is also possible, however, that 'NATO commitments' can be taken to include Portugal's African wars - this is certainly the Portuguese interpretation, with arguments that the NATO some should be extended southwards to include Portuguese Africa. In January the Portuguese Defence Minister, General Viana Rebelo, reiterated that Portuguese ports in Africa are at NATO's disposal: if and when the alliance needs them. 'In view of the Western plans to counter the Soviet threat, Portugal will define its attitude by her international agreements', he said - an ambiguous statement that can be read as a promise, plea or threat depending on your viewpoint.

KITH AND KIN?

It is encouraging to be able to report that at least one head of State has had the courage to come out in total support of the World Council of Church's grants to the liberation movements. Queen Juliana of the Netherlands has made a substantial private donation (amount not yet disclosed) to the 'ICC's' Fund to Combat Racism. Predictably, this has produced great rage in South Africa. The Afrikaans paper *Die Burger* broke into a rather pathetic lament in one of its leading articles 'For South Africa it is painful that the Queen of the Netherlands should do something which, even if she did not realize it herself, can be regarded as a hostile act against this country. For when all is said and done, there are still bonds between Holland and South Africa which cannot arbitrarily be broken.... A slap from a relative hurts more than that from a stranger'. Less obscurantist and befuddled with sentiment, the *Cape Times* said: 'It is a pity that some people in this country should so misunderstand what is at stake as to suggest that the Queen could not have known what she was doing.... It is much more likely that Queen Juliana knows exactly what she is doing.... It is reasonable to assume that her advisers are neither stupid nor ignorant, South Africa must not underestimate the outrage to conscience and civilized susceptibilities which this country's ways of ordering its affairs arouse abroad.'

CLOTHING

The Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea has sent off a first shipment of clothing to PRELIMO. We are now in the process of collecting a second ton, which will go to MPLA. All donations gratefully received.

SCAMBLE FOR

It has been said many times that alone Portugal would never be able to maintain three empires in Africa. Only the loyalty of western capitalism maintains Portugal in control of the African territories. This is most clearly seen in the case of NATO where arms supplied to defend Western 'democracy and freedom' turn up in Africa were fought to protect a racist tyranny.

But it is not simply in the military sphere that Portugal's allies prove useful to her. Increasingly western capital is showing itself interested in the rich profits it can extract from Angola and Mozambique, and the economic penetration of these territories is proceeding at an alarming rate giving the 'free' world a considerable stake in the maintenance of Portuguese colonialism. The ZAMCO consortium building the Cahora Bassa dam has already achieved notoriety - but the aspects of the exploitation of Angola and Mozambique remain largely unknown.

Not surprisingly, South Africa has close economic links with the Portuguese territories. With £117 million invested in Cahora Bassa (4 of the total £170 million) South Africa very evidently sees her future closely linked with that of Mozambique. Already Portuguese and South African engineers are studying the construction of the huge power station of Mostize which will supply electricity to South Africa. Connected with this project are schemes to build a huge steel factory in Beira which will utilize iron ore from Tete - where rich deposits have recently been discovered - coal from Mostize and the energy of Cahora Bassa. This enterprise represents, according to Johannesburg's *Financial Gazette*, an investment of 50 million rand. It is hoped that steel production will start in 1975 - the date scheduled for the completion of Cahora Bassa.

Harry Oppenheimer's massive Anglo-American Corporation is predictably well to the forefront of the prospecting rush in Mozambique. An Anglo-American subsidiary, the Mozambique Mining Company (COMOMIN), has won a concession in the Mucunda mountains of Tete with rights to exploit all minerals, save iron and coal if these happen to be registered with a couple of other concessionary companies. And Anglo-American now hopes for a concession to prospect for diamonds in the Zumbo region of Tete. Deposits of nickel around Vila de Manica have also aroused South African interest, and the Mineral Society of Manica, which owns the area, recently revealed that 'one of the most important South African mineral companies' (as yet unnamed) will spend £3 to £5 million in prospecting, in order to investigate vigorously the extent and the value of the Manica deposits. Due to the enormous amount of energy required for the extraction and treatment of nickel, actual mining is unlikely to start until the power of Cahora Bassa can be used. And another South African company, Edmund Investments, is to invest some 1.4 million rands in a copper mine in Mozambique in the Intanca mountains between Vila de Manica and Ustail. At present the mine produces 120 tons of concentrated copper ore a month - the purpose of the new investment is to raise this figure considerably. Another Mozambican commodity of interest to Pretoria is natural gas, of which there are large deposits at Pande (160 kms. south of Beira). The most likely way for this to be exported is through the building of a pipe-line from Mozambique to the South African industrial complex of the Witwatersrand.

American involvement in the Portuguese colonies is concentrated in the Angolan oil industry. GulfOil (whose financing of the Portuguese war effort was discussed in the last issue of *Contraband*) have every reason to be satisfied with their drills in Cabinda which are now producing some 3 million barrels of crude oil a month (416,000 tons), 8 million tons are expected to be produced this year. Furthermore, Gulf say that the known deposits will permit a higher rate of exploitation than the present one, and that there may be more deposits waiting to be discovered. In the Zaire basin, where Gulf has started several 'non-productive' oil wells, there are strong reasons to believe that sooner or later profitable reserves will be found. And further south are indications of still more large oil deposits. The Portuguese magazine *Actualidade Economica* has this to say about the oil boom: 'Under the pressure created by the request of oil-producing countries of the Middle East... the big Western oil companies, using their 'magic wand', will manage to make oil appear plentifully in regions which were not very important until now. And we have good reasons to believe that Angola is among those regions...

What we want to point out now is the encouraging increase of the contribution of sub-soil resources are already giving to the economic development of the province. The value of this export increased, by square kilometres, from \$555 in 1969 to more than \$4,500 last year. According to what has been said lately by the technicians working in this sector these numbers can be quickly multiplied by ten, if financial, technical and human resources are used adequately. We are in the presence of a real battle, which requires enormous resources, determination and persistence - as well as the long hard battle we are fighting against terrorism.'

American oil companies are also active in Mozambique - but as yet Hunt International Oil Company has sunk \$5 million into drilling with no success yet. Prospecting will continue at the Zambezi delta until the end of 1971. Of more importance for the future is the U.S. involvement in another hydro-electric project in Mozambique. This is the projected Massingir dam on the Olifants river, a bare 28 kms. from the South African border. The main purpose of the dam is the irrigation of the Limpopo river valley which suffers from serious drought - but it will also produce hydro-electric power which, like that of Cahora Bassa, will go mainly to South Africa. The lake that will be formed behind the dam will extend over the Rhodesian and South African borders - a symbol of white supremacist solidarity. The dam presents all the same political problems as its big brother on the Zambezi - and at least one Western firm has walked straight into them. This is the American Mathews Inc. - which has contracted to do a complete study of the project. Who will actually build the dam is as yet unknown but the President of



Companhia de Destrocas e Alaguer de Macquina (CODAM) declared to the press in January 'in collaboration with a strong German group, represented in Portugal by a firm specialized in the construction of hydraulic works, CODAM will present itself for the execution of what will be the biggest project in Mozambique after Cahora Bassa.'

France, too, is developing her interests in Mozambique - and these seem to spring directly out of the French involvement in Cahora Bassa. A new \$1,150,000 deal has been clinched between the Portuguese government and the 'Bureau de Recherches Geologiques et Minieres' for mining prospectations in Northern Mozambique between parallels 13 and 16 to the south of the equator. And the 'Cie General d'Entreprises Electriques (CGEE) and the Portuguese Textile Financial group have recently announced the conclusion of an agreement for the construction of a large textile plant at Lourenco Marques. The project will be complete by mid-1972 and will cost approx. 54 million. One

AFRICA INK. 2

Teixeira Pinto, Chairman of the 'Sociedade Financiera Portuguesa' hailed this as the largest involvement so far of a French industrial group in the Portuguese territories, and proudly declared that it was a direct result of the planned Cabora Basses industrial complex. Relations between France and Portugal are currently very good. When Rui Patricio, Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited France in January, he was told by his French counterpart M. Schuman that Portugal could rely on the friendship, comprehension and support of France in its request for association with the EEC. And Pompidou himself declared that France has 'great esteem' for Portugal and will resolutely continue its policy of close cooperation between both countries.

The Japanese too have become interested in Mozambique's mineral wealth mining, industrial and trading group, Sumitomo, has carried out an extensive survey in Northern Mozambique, which has proved the presence of some 100 million tons of iron ore with a high titanium content. The actual mining will not get underway, however, until the energy provided by Cabora Basses can be utilized. At present the scheme lays the cost of building the necessary railway and harbour infrastructures on the Portuguese, while Sumitomo pays for the whole cost of the mine.

and Britain...

And what of Britain, Portugal's oldest ally, as the Monday Club never ceases telling us? It appears that the present Government is set on being exceedingly generous to Portugal. According to a Lourenco Marques radio broadcast: "State and private organisations in Mozambique and other Portuguese territories will in future be able to import a wide range of British goods including locomotives, equipment for telecommunications, and for the heavy mechanical and metallurgical industries, the heavy chemical and petroleum industry, and for earth-moving and refineries, textile and printing machinery, engraving machines and freighters, under a £5,000,000 sterling credit granted to Portuguese officials by the Department of Credit and export guarantee of the United Kingdom. The credit is for a five year period." (10.30 O.N.T. 3/11/70) This is of course quite in keeping with the Tories' general attitude towards Southern Africa.

Another disturbing development is that three British directors - Lord Stokes of British Leyland, Sir Henry Phillips, managing director of Standard Bank Finance and Development Corporation, and Mr Leslie Fletcher, a director of Schroder Wagg - are to sit on the board of a body calling itself SIFIDA, and delicately described as 'a private international investment company for Africa.' Among the institutions that have subscribed the initial capital for this venture are 14 Bristol companies. Some old friends feature in the list which includes, apart from those represented on the Board, Barclays DDO, Booker-McConnell, British American Tobacco, the Crown Agents, Dunlop, Imperial Tobacco, Midland Bank, Mitchell Cotts, Morgan Grenfell, Pilkingtons and United Transport Overseas. What SIFIDA's policy on investment will be, no-one knows - but the list of companies does not add up to very much altruism or good will towards the people of Southern Africa.

What is known, is that British business has now become highly interested in Angola. Mr. Christopher E. Smartt and Mr. Douglas S. Taylor from Balfour Williamson and Co. Ltd. - a financial enterprise involved in the international movement of merchandise - were recently in Luanda, expressing interest in increasing Balfour Williamson's activity in Angola. A mission from the London Chamber of Commerce will visit Angola from May 29 to June 5 'in order to study "in loco" the increasing potential of the Angolan market and to promote commercial exchanges with that Province'. The mission, headed by Mr. W. I. O'Hara, director of a well-known civil engineering and construction company, represents several sectors of the British industry. (Journal de Comercio 22/3/71) A return visit is planned in July when a delegation of bankers and agriculturalists from Angola will come to this country under the auspices of the British National Export Council. And in January, the Provincial Secretary for the Economy of Angola visited this country at the specific request of the British government.

Similarly in Mozambique, At the end of October an eight man mission from the British National Export Council made a five-

day tour of Northern Mozambique. The mission, whose aim was specifically to study the economic situation in Mozambique and seek ways of stepping up British trade with that country, seems to have enjoyed itself handsomely, talking with the chief Portuguese officials, businessmen and industrialists in the territory, and attending luncheon parties thrown in its honour. Finally, the mission's leader, Walter Hudson, said that this visit would open up 'vast prospects' for economic relations between Britain and Mozambique and praised the assistance the mission had received for the study of such projects as the Cabora Basses dam. The implications are obvious. Perhaps the most disturbing feature of all is that there has been complete silence about this in the British press. Evidently the British government and British big business feels they have something to hide from the British public.

Two Tory MPs have recently visited Mozambique. One, Iain Sprou, was the guest of General Kaulza de Arriaga (whom he describes as 'a tough and successful commander but also a humane and impressively intellectual one') during the Christmas recess and on his return wrote a couple of articles for the Sunday Telegraph, eulogizing the Portuguese and asserting that FRELIMO had been completely defeated in Operation Gordian Knot. The other, Mr. Duncan Sandys, MP for Streatham, was reported from Mozambique as assuring the Portuguese authorities that within three months Britain will recognise Rhodesia, and that Portugal can expect a 'helpful' attitude from Britain on Cabora Basses. (This report was later denied by Mr. Sandys).

And all these coinings and goings already seem to have borne fruit - for our feeble excuse for a foreign secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, has arranged to call in on our oldest ally in Lisbon very shortly.

FAMOUS SCENES FROM BRITAIN'S 'OLDEST ALLY' MEETS BRITAIN'S 'OLDEST MORDAN'



All this is in keeping with a document an Ad Hoc Tory Working Group produced before the general election and cynically leaked to the press - with embarrassing results for Edward Heath. The Conservative Party took great care to stress that this document 'Overseas Issues Facing the Next Conservative Government: Defence Outside NATO' was entirely unofficial - yet Tory foreign policy seems to have followed it to the letter.

continued overleaf

Toronto, headed 'Rhodesian dam will benefit all' and beginning '.....In fact he (Seaton) pretends that the hydro-project of Caboca Bassa in Rhodesia will benefit only whites.....'

(3) Toronto Daily Star, March 30, 1971

Reply from Seaton to Martins: ".....Finally, the consul's letter is factually incorrect in one detail: Caboca Bassa will be the largest dam in Africa and will supply power to Rhodesia, but it is not located in that country. It is being constructed in the Zambezi valley in Mozambique, a territory ruled for the time being by Portugal."

...MEANWHILE, AT LOMBARD ST. ...

As part of their campaign to publicise and protest against British companies involved in the Caboca Bassa project the Shareholders Mobilisation Committee organised an attack on Barclays Bank at their annual shareholders meeting. About 40 supporters of the committee had bought shares in the company and went along to the meeting, where they fired a battery of questions at the Bank's Chairman, Mr John Thompson, and Barclays DCO Chairman Sir Frederick Seebom.

When pressed to clarify the recent statement that Barclays would not after all be supplying a loan to the company involved in building Caboca Bassa Mr Thompson confirmed that there was no loan outstanding, but added that the bank could not guarantee that none of their customers are involved and was still prepared to extend credit for this purpose if requested. On Barclays' possible involvement in the Cusene Dam in Angola Mr Thompson unfortunately had 'no details'. The Shareholders strongly suspect that the recent takeover of Barclays DCO Mozambique by the Banco Comercial de Angola, in exchange for which Barclays took a holding in the latter, will enable Barclays to channel finance inconspicuously to this other major project.

A good deal of attention was paid to the bank's very considerable operations in South Africa. The Chairman's report confirmed two significant developments there. One is the imminent full takeover of Barclays DCO by the parent company the other is that Barclays DCO is shortly to be incorporated with a local company in South Africa, a move in keeping with the South African government's policy of bringing foreign firms under stronger control. Mr Thompson denied that this last change would lead to a significant increase in South African influence, while at the same time admitting that "in the future" there would be more local participation. This kind of doublethink was conspicuous throughout. Sir Frederick Seebom paid lip service to the advancement of Africans and to the diplomatic campaign against apartheid while admitting that his banks in South Africa conformed to the rules of apartheid by providing separate entrances for black and white. Two shahs even to answer a question on staffing, he was helped by a shareholder who told the meeting that of the 963 branches in South Africa none had a black manager.

The meeting, which is normally a mere formality lasting a maximum 90 minutes, went on for over four hours and for the first time since 1933 polls were demanded on all the resolutions put before it. The new shareholders were interested to note the almost total lack of democracy in the procedure, for example the impossibility of amending a resolution presented by the Board. The inability of the Chairman and Directors to cope with the criticism, questions and procedural points that came from the floor was an indication of the normal complete freedom with which they pursue their activities throughout the world.

'Behind the Lines'

Guerreiro No.3 contained a report by Margaret Dickinson of her recent visit to Mozambique with FRELIMO. The film she made there, BEHIND THE LINES, showing daily life in the liberated areas, will have its premiere at the Paris Bullain cinema, on Sunday 23 May at 9.30 pm. It will be shown with THE FIRST COMMUNE, a film about the 1871 Paris Commune. Tickets at 70p. each can be obtained from the Committee.

MILITARY ACTIVITY

The latest communique from FRELIMO fighters in Tete Province, site of Caboca Bassa, states that during a period of 15 months at the beginning of the year fighters attacked four posts (Nombura, Chide, Catondo and Cachululu), killed 43 Portuguese soldiers, destroyed 6 vehicles and 1 bridge.

FRELIMO has now advanced south of the Zambezi river for the first time. This has been confirmed both by Portuguese reports of their activities and by a BBC television team which was taken by the Portuguese to the scene of one action.

Mobilisation is constantly taking place all over Mozambique,



particularly in areas which the fighting has not yet reached so effective has this been that the Portuguese suddenly reacted with a new wave of repression. In June and August last year in the southern provinces of Lourenco Marques and Gaza alone, about 1400 Mozambicans were arrested by PIDE (now called the DGS) and charged with belonging to FRELIMO. At the central prison of Machava 18 Mozambicans were killed after torture, accused of being the ringleaders of FRELIMO agitation among the 3,000 political prisoners there. Some of those murdered included such FRELIMO leaders as Joel Monteiro Gudana, sentenced to 3 years in 1964 but never released, Sidiotto Polia and others.

Cont. from Page 7

A galaxy of stars seem to have got together to produce the thing, including counter-insurgency expert Brigadier R.F.K. Thompson, Major General Denis Buckle of the CB, CSE, a director of the UK-South Africa Trade Association, John Biggs-Davison, beloved of Lisbon and Pretoria, Ian Colvin of the Daily Telegraph, Charles Douglas-Home, Defence correspondent of the Times and many others. Here are extracts from what the document had to say on Portuguese Africa:

"There should also be a friendly re-examination with Portugal of ways and means of utilizing the Anglo-Portuguese alliance to establish mutually valid and workable defence arrangements in the Southern Atlantic...."

"Perhaps the most immediate threat to the security of the Cape route lies several hundred miles to the north of South African waters in Portuguese Guinea.... Consider Portuguese Guinea in isolation and the threat appears relatively minimal, but linked with the Cape Verde Islands with their operational naval base (San Vicente) and all-weather air base (Sao) - the only facilities of this kind in the area controlled by a NATO power and both these Portuguese provinces, which straddle the Cape route, assume a position of vital strategic importance...."

"The cost of defending Guinea (Portuguese forces number upwards of 30,000 men) for little return, contrary to the cases of Angola and Mozambique, is prohibitive and NATO pressure is increasing. The nationalists, supplied with the latest Russian and Chinese weapons, are generally better armed than the Portuguese, whose equipment is often out of date. There is a shortage of helicopters and, essential in this war, modern amphibious craft for protecting Guinea's river-borne trade and communications. The Portuguese feel strongly that the British arms boycott is severely disrupting their war effort. It is also in contradiction to the wider interests of NATO."

"If the Portuguese withdraw or are driven from Guinea available sea port, Bissau, the capital of Portuguese Guinea, and a modern airport, Bisselica, near Bissau, would become

available to the Russians....."

"Angola, the largest of Portugal's African provinces also has the greatest economic potential. The discovery of oil off Cabinda and the discovery of fresh fields near Luanda could, in the long run, contribute towards solving the problems of Southern Africa's oil needs in the event of an oil embargo... It is on the Portuguese that the brunt of the struggle for Southern Africa must fall, necessitating the expenditure of nearly half the national budget on defence.... The important strategic position held by Portugal in Angola.... will be strengthened by the improved relations between Portugal and Brazil and perhaps manifested in the form of a defence pact in which South Africa might also share. Brazil and Angola face each other across the South Atlantic and the Portuguese have long considered the South Atlantic to be a 'Luso-African-Brazilian sea...."

"Should not British policy, unofficially if necessary, concentrate on lessening the dangers of confrontation (which can only affect British interests adversely) by recognizing the realities of the situation and by encouraging independent African links with Portugal and Portuguese Africa? British diplomats in independent African countries could work towards this end, if so instructed. It would also seem to be time to stop British participation in votes in the Security Council of the United Nations condemning Portugal for self-defence against external aggression.... In view in particular of the importance of the Cape Verde islands to the Cape route, it would seem fully appropriate to reverse the present unfriendly policy and come to some arrangement with our Portuguese ally for naval support, more especially in the region of San Vicente."

Now that the hopes of this Ad Hoc group have been fulfilled, and the 'unfriendly policy' reversed, we can look forward to some collaboration on the part of the Tory government with 'our Portuguese ally' in the noble task of keeping the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea under colonialist domination. Not that we could expect anything else from this government. Support for the racist regimes of Southern Africa is only part of an overall policy of reaction, which is unlikely to change while this government is in power.

MOZAMBIQUE CABORA BASSA

Portuguese hysteria over Cabora Bassa is steadily rising - in an interview in February, General Kaulza de Arriaga, commander of the Portuguese army in Mozambique, claimed that the dam would be built and kept fully operational and that this would be done 'whatever the cost may be and whoever may get hurt'. A little later he directly contradicted this by making the usual apology for Cabora Bassa - 'it now stands as a symbol of progress, racial harmony and civilization.' There were a number of other contradictions in the General's speech - for instance he claimed major successes against FRELIMO and that the annihilation of the guerrilla forces was only a matter of time - but then went on to admit that FRELIMO had extended its area of operations still further and was now active south-west of Cabora Bassa.

Meanwhile Cabora Bassa is proving something of a headache across the Atlantic. In Canada the campaign against the participation of ALCAN has got off to a rousing start. ALCAN ('makes a profit of \$80 million in a bad year, operates in 37 countries and pays its president a quarter of a million dollars an salary and bonus') has a contract to sell 6,000 metric tons of aluminum rod, worth \$3.6 million to Portugal for the manufacture of high tension cable lines to transport electricity from the dam. The campaign has been organized by the Canadian support group 'Project Mozambique' who managed to organize about 75 shareholders to ask questions at the AGM on April 1st. The meeting ended in uproar with the Chairman having the public address system cut off and declaring requests for the cancellation of the contract as out of order.

In reply to charges that the project was sanctions busting, the Chairman, Mr. Nathanael V. Davis, said ".... the resulting

aluminum cable will not be used in Rhodesia, and the transmission line will not have power connections to Rhodesia." ALCAN's lawyer stated that there was no question of Cabora Bassa power being sold to Rhodesia, but then qualified this with "... I think" and "as far as I know", adding that what people may decide to do later was beyond ALCAN control.

A Mozambican living in Canada proposed that the contract should be cancelled and refuted the company's argument, in its prepared statement, that the project would help the black population of Mozambique. And the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the national YMCA said that the organisation would divest itself of all its shares if the company's involvement continued. Other speakers attacking the company included a lawyer, a McGill university professor and Mr. Jack Seaton, a researcher for the New Democratic party and also a member of 'Project Mozambique' who said that they would be requesting the Anglican Church of Canada to get rid of its shares, along with religious, educational and financial organisations. As the Financial Times of Canada commented: "That cannot help the ROCK, which now trades at \$25.... (5/4/71) The three-hour meeting, variously described as 'hand clapping shouting match' and 'an uproar of catcalls, whistles, and protests' achieved wide publicity and there can now be few people in Canada who have not heard of Mozambique or Cabora Bassa.

FOOTNOTE:

(1) Toronto Daily Star, January 26, 1971

Long letter from Jack Seaton is published, condemning Cabora Bassa and Portuguese colonial rule in Africa

(2) Toronto Daily Star, March 28, 1971

Letter from Luis Augusto Martins, Consul of Portugal,

GUINÉ

AFTERMATH OF INVASION

The ink was hardly dry on the UN report before the invasion of Guinea was a dead end battle for most of the world. But not for the peoples of the two Guineas. A recent PAIGC communique, containing information only just obtained from within Guinea itself, provides more details of the whole operation:

- General Antonio de Spínola, commander-in-chief of the Portuguese troops in Guinea, planned the invasion in collaboration principally with Luciano Bastos da Costa e Silva, commander of the navy

- the actual operation itself was led by a lieutenant captain Guilherme Almor Alpoim Calvo, aged 34, holder of the 'Cruzeiro de Guerra', 'Touro et Espor' (the highest Portuguese decoration) and with a great reputation for repression and brutality

- the forces used in the invasion comprised:-

- detachments E1 (commanded by naval lieutenant Paul Eugénio da Cunha Silva) and E2 (commanded by naval lieutenant Alberto Rebordão de Brito) of the naval fusiliers;
- a company of African commandos
- about 70 dissidents from the Republic of Guinea

These forces totalled 350 men. In addition there were Fiat G-91 planes, Alouette helicopters, and transport planes with parachutists, ready to intervene in the main towns if the attack against Conakry was successful.

- Two navy boats type LRF, 'Alfagras' class, each capable of transporting 150 - 180 men, and armed with 20 mm cannons; and four navy boats type LF, 'Argos' class, armed with 2 40 mm cannons, were used to transport the troops.

- Plans for the invasion were submitted for the approval of the Portuguese government during General Spínola's visit to Lisbon (from August 7 to October 10, 1970) during which time he had several meetings with Marcelo Caetano, with the Foreign Minister, and with the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. Two weeks before the invasion, commodore Luciano Bastos da Costa e Silva, head of the navy in Guinea, and lieutenant-captain Guilherme Calvo who commanded the operation, spent some time in Lisbon and had a special audience with Caetano.

Further details are available from the testimony of Lt. João Janeiro Lopes who testified to the UN Security Council Special Mission to Guinea. An African in the Portuguese Forces, Lt. Lopes was one of 70 prisoners taken during the invasion.

He described how he had suddenly been told to prepare his men for a 10 - 15 day journey. They were first taken to an island where they set some Guinea-Conakry exiles, and were there told that they were going to Conakry. This caused some unrest among the troops and one major who protested too loudly was charged with insubordination and sent back to Bissau. The Portuguese commander assured the men that they were only going to take the Conakry people back, and would leave immediately this was done. They were told that everything had been arranged at the other end and that 'this is the only solution to the Guinea war'. Lopes continued: 'The force that called themselves the Republic of Guinea were made up of 150 men approximately, and the detachment of special marines was made up of 80 men. These forces were subdivided into small groups. Each group was assigned to a boat. There were six boats'. It took them another twenty-four hours to reach Conakry, where they arrived at night. 'When we arrived and we began seeing the lights of Conakry, a strange thing happened: many of the people didn't know where we were going; others didn't believe that we were coming here; and they began to judge that we were going towards Cape Verde and that the lights we were seeing were the lights of Cape Verde'. Soon afterwards a captain, Morais, who had covered his skin with blacking, ordered them ashore in the six smaller boats carried on their craft. The unness felt earlier by many of the troops

had grown considerably but when they pointed out that they were only supposed to drop the others off they were told: 'we cannot do otherwise, these are the orders we have'.

When they had disembarked '..... we were told that our mission was to attack the airport and to destroy the MIGs. They told us that commander Galvão had to destroy the Headquarters of PAIGC, that another group was going to attack the post office; another group was going to destroy the broadcasting station; and others were going to places that I don't know'.

Not far from the airport Lopes managed to lose Captain Morais, and then informed the rest of the group that he had no desire to attack the airport built by his African brothers. The whole group of 34 agreed and they stayed hidden until the morning when they gave themselves up to the Guinean authorities.

LIES! ALL LIES!

'You can catch a liar much faster than a cripple' (Portuguese proverb)

Under this intriguing title a recent PAIGC report made a revealing analysis of Portuguese reports and communiques on the situation in Guinea Bissau.

In 1969 and 1970 the Portuguese produced summaries of their activities over the whole year. There is a striking difference between these two documents. The 1969 account contained detailed information on PAIGC forces in both men and materials, but in 1970 the report suddenly 'changed', in keeping with the new tactics of Caetano, according to PAIGC. Here they stressed the multitude of 'economic and social works' undertaken by the Portuguese authorities in the course of the year - the construction of 37 health posts, 46 primary schools, 5,000 houses, new roads (although they don't say where) and 'new airports and aerodromes on several areas of the province'. PAIGC point out that these efforts 'to accentuate the tremendous efforts on behalf of the Muslim community - the construction of many mosques, the millions spent on pilgrimages to Mecca, (presumably so as not to offend the deeply Catholic Portuguese who might wonder why, after five centuries of civilising christian crusades, their masters were undertaking a campaign in support of Islam in the colonies).

All these developments are a direct result of the liberation struggle and a sharp reflection of the advances being made. The construction of runways is a desperate attempt to solve their urgent and growing logistics problems - to ensure rapid evacuation when necessary, to get supplies into besieged areas, and also to facilitate air attacks against the population. The laying of farm roads again facilitates disrupted communications and is also an attempt to prevent mining operations and ambushes. (One fact on which the Portuguese are silent, however, is the amount of material and men lost in the process.)

PAIGC terms the development projects a policy of 'suasion and blood', otherwise known as the carrot and the stick, a desperate attempt to convince the people of Guinea that they do not need independence to improve their lives, and that they can expect a good life under the Portuguese flag. After years of colonial domination that produced no schools, hospitals, or houses, suddenly the Portuguese are making strenuous efforts in the social field - in order to prove that life with them is better than life in the liberated areas under PAIGC.

Indeed, the advance of the liberated areas and the consolidation of national construction within them, has presented the Portuguese with a tremendous dilemma. If they do not do anything in the social field, after PAIGC has awakened the people to an awareness of basic social rights, they will confirm the strength of the movement both by demonstrating their own inability and their lack of interest in the improvement of the peoples' lives; if they do attempt something this will likewise reflect the movement's progress by demonstrating that the social programme of PAIGC can be realized, and that the reason they have not done anything until now is because their sole aim has always been the exploitation of the Guinean people.

Military Facts and Figures

In an analysis of the facts and figures of Portuguese military communiques, PAIGC also exposes the fallacy and ludicrousness

of Portuguese claims. In 1965 they announced a total of 1,038 enemy captured, wounded or killed, and in 1970, 1562, a total of 2,600 losses which can be rounded up to 3,000 to cover their phrase 'among other losses'. In a television interview in February 1970, the military governor of Guinea Bissau affirmed that the guerrilla forces amounted to only about 3,000 men. Thus, over a period of two years, a force of 5,000 men has lost 3,000 of its fighters -- and yet the struggle has in no way abated, on the contrary it has intensified.

Going back even further over the years, we find that between 1963 and 1970 Portuguese claims total about 80,000 enemy losses -- a true tribute to a liberation movement. To suffer such huge losses and yet still achieve such tremendous and constant military successes is really quite a feat. Looked at another way, in the same interview the military governor stated that no more than 80,000 people out of a population of 550,000 had left the 'national territory' or found refuge in the bush. As UN figures indicate 80,000 refugees in Senegal alone, this would mean that according to official Portuguese reports they had killed, captured or wounded every Guinean hiding in the bush!

The same goes for the huge lists of captured materials they present. In the first place, they do not mention that a great deal of the military equipment and supplies they capture is extremely old, in some long since abandoned by the fighters (whereas that taken from Portuguese soldiers - dead or in flight - is always new and useful). Moreover, they claim a total of 50 tons in 1969 and 49 tons in 1970 -- a total of 98 tons. Even allowing for the weight of military supplies, such an amount is a great tribute to a communications system where the only means of transport is the human being. And as the struggle is continuing unabated there must therefore be many times more this amount constantly circulating in the liberated areas.

Finally, the Portuguese summary for 1970, for the first time makes reference to 'elements of the population' formerly 'under the control of the enemy' returning to the authorities. Thus, bearing in mind the information given previously, this means that at a time when total PAIGC losses were supposed to total 20,000 (or which 3,000 in the last two years) they were at last admitted for the first time having control of some of the population. An admission the Portuguese had never made before! It must be control over quite some area if 3,000 people give themselves up in only one year.

Visitors to the Liberated Areas

Apart from being condensed out of hand by their communiques, Portugal's extravagant claims and counterclaims are consistently being refuted by the steady streams of foreign visitors that visit all parts of the liberated areas at the invitation of PAIGC. In the past few months these have included Oleg Ignatiev, a Russian journalist; two American students Andrew Marx and Michael Hunter spent a month in the north; a Swedish delegation led by Mrs Rut Birgitta Dahl, an MP, and including Lars Edvard Axel Rubebeck, university lecturer, Georg Andreassen, engineer, and Gunnar Hofving, student, which was on a tour of the liberated areas at the time of the invasion of Guinea-Conakry, accompanied by Osmundo Silveira, the PAIGC representative in Conakry; a delegation from the international Union of Students, comprising Messrs. M. Pyhala (Finland), Krystof (Poland), and Jose Rodriguez (Venezuela) with Adelinio Correia of the Union of Students of Black Africa under Portuguese domination; and finally a SWAPO delegation led by Nomast Calujsa.

MILITARY ACTIVITY

According to a military communique received from PAIGC, the Portuguese in January substantially increased their air attacks on the liberated zones - with conventional bombs, napalm, and with the more accurate low-flying helicopters with machine guns. They covered the regions of Cubaceo, Cubacore, Salans in the south, Candodi, Mansa/Farin, Bironqui, and around Bricasa, Gacture and Sirban, killing a total of 28 people were killed and 92 wounded. Harvests were wiped out - the entire rice harvest in the zone of Unal - and about 100 head of cattle killed.

The militants answered the enemy in kind: with many ambushes on the roads of Domingos/Bassalao, Surutuim/Cassandjaba, Sedonal/Candodi, Mansa/Farin, Bironqui, and around Bricasa, Gacture and Sirban, killing a total of 62 soldiers and destroying 7 military vehicles. There were 56 attacks against encampments and urban centres.

LITERATURE LIST

The Struggle for Mozambique by Eduardo Mondlane	Penguin 40p
Revolution in Guinea by Amílcar Cabral	Stage One 45p
The Liberation of Guinea by Basil Davidson	Penguin 30p
Portugal and NATO by Dutch Angola Committee	15p
Programme of the PAIGC	25p
Statutes and Programme of PREAMLIND	5p
World Council of Churches - Profile of PAIGC	5p
World Council of Churches - Profile of PREAMLIND	5p
Leaflet 'War on Three Fronts'	£1.50 per 1,000
Cabora Bassa/Barclays leaflet	£1.50 per 1,000
Fact sheets on British involvement in Cabora Bassa	25p
Cabora Bassa and UN Sanctions on Southern Rhodesia	25p

Posters

'Cabora Bassa Dam - Smash Cabora Bassa'	5p
MPLA 4th February 1961 - 1971	10p

Films

Venceremos - 16 mm 20 minute film from Mozambique	£2.50 plus (plus postage)
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A Group of Terrorists Attacked - 16 mm 40 minute film made by World in Action team in Guinea £2.50 (plus postage)

Behind the Lines - 16 mm 40 minute film from Mozambique available shortly from Contemporary Films, 55, Greek St, London, W.1

Speakers

Speakers are available from the Committee to talk to public meetings and groups.

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

To: Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola & Guinea
331 Caledonian Road, London N7 (phone 01-607 2170)

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CHEMICAL WARFARE

The widespread use of chemical weapons by the Portuguese in Angola, as already described in Guerrillas 2 and 3, continues unabated. In Vietnam there is now an area of land the size of Wales where nothing is likely to grow for about a decade, where foetal abnormalities are almost commonplace. It is only a matter of time before the same kind of devastation covers vast tracts of the Portuguese colonies.

Despite overwhelming evidence (including various utterances from the American embassy in Luanda) the Portuguese still vehemently deny they are using defoliants and herbicides. However, an Italian Parliamentary delegation to central Africa has officially reported that the spraying carried out by the Portuguese air force has destroyed two thirds of the crops in the liberated zones of Angola. This has already produced immediate, and encouraging results within Italy. The agricultural firm, Fratelli Iperatori of Naples has decided to donate large quantities of seeds, not only to MPLA but also to PAIGC and FRELIMO. The seeds have been given to the Mozambican Information Bureau for Western Europe (situated in Rome) which is sending them to the liberation movements via the OAU Liberation Committee in Dar-es-Salaam.

More details were contained in a recent letter to the Committee from Dr Eduardo dos Santos of MPLA's medical department - Servico de Assistencia Medica (SAM). His account confirms yet again the complicity of all Western governments in these horrors: not only the Americans who supply the chemicals, but also those countries that provide the 'civil' aircraft which make the operations possible.

The Portuguese colonialists began to use chemical products in Angola on May 1970. These products have been dropped by planes of the Piper L-38 and Auster D5/16G make, under the protection of two accompanying North American Harvard T6B bombers and one Alouette 3 helicopter. The chemical products were spread by means of dispersal saks bombs, carried in the tails of the respective planes and dropped over cultivated fields in the zones under the control of MPLA - in the Second, Third and Fourth Political-Military regions of the respective districts of Cabinda, Mexico and Luanda.

Our evidence is based on the reports of the militants of our organisation who were present during bombardments in the regions mentioned. The evidence lies in the effects upon plantations of cassava, maize, 'mango', on the general vegetation and the animal and human life. The chemical products used by the Portuguese colonialists are of the same type which, according to the press, the USA is dropping over Vietnam. They are 2,4-D (2,4 acid dichlorophenoxyacetic acid); 2,4,5-T (2,4,5 trichlorophenoxyacetic acid); acid amino-4 trichloro-3,5,6 picolonic (the picolon in the commercial name of Jordan). These products the Portuguese obtained from the USA. But we have been informed that the Portuguese have now begun to manufacture them in their country.

We go on to describe the effects of the chemicals on such plants as cassava, the staple diet in many areas. 'The plants died about three hours after being hit by the chemicals. The leaves lost their colour, turning yellow, and then fell off. The roots hardened, taking on a consistency of wood and then powdered away.' As for animal life: 'The animals abandoned the affected areas, fish died in the small streams contaminated by the bombardments.' And human life: 'Some elements of the population who consumed contaminated foliage or roots showed the following symptoms: respiratory perturbations type



dyspnoea, skin and various haemorrhages, abdominal colics, vomiting and diarrhoea. We have registered seven cases of malaria and one sickle-cell disease which we suspect was provoked by the effects of chemical products.'

These seven deaths are only the beginning, more have probably gone unrecorded and many more will undoubtedly occur through famine unless MPLA can get relief supplies to the stricken areas. As MPLA/SAM said in its recent appeal: 'As for picloron, not only does it destroy vegetation, but it completely halts growth in that soil for a period of about two years. The result of these new crimes is that thousands of Angolans in the liberated zones are now in an alarming state of hunger, and whatever measures have been taken to counter this situation, they cannot have immediate effect. Without instant urgent assistance thousands of human beings - men, women and children - will remain in a position of terrible distress, while the colonial criminals increase their continuous bombings.'

MPLA has appealed for 'massive quantities' of maize or wheat flour, tinned foods, cooking oil, sugar, salt and other food-stuffs, as well as medicines and means of transport. We in Britain must play our part in ensuring that the devastation of Vietnam does not recur in Angola.

All earmarked donations received by the Committee will be passed straight on to SAM and the MPLA. Contributions can be sent direct to P.O. Box 30703, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

P.S.

One recent rather curious development was a report in the German newspaper Süddeutsche Zeitung that the Portuguese in Luanda, capital of Angola, have announced the presence of chemicals dropped by 'as yet unidentified aircraft' about 50 miles from the Zaambian border. No-one, at the furthest stretch of the imagination, could find anything plausible in this claim. The mystery therefore is why the Portuguese felt they had to produce such a story. The only possible solution that comes to mind at the moment is that this is the result of some gentle pressure from the American Government, which has already made its unease felt via its embassy in Luanda. At a time when they wish to be seen as taking a more humane posture in Vietnam, they are obviously not ready to incur the odium of the world again through a similar wagscape in Africa, where they are making an all out effort to 'build bridges' with the independent countries.

PLEASE SEND DONATIONS TO MPLA - Medical Assistance Services,
P.O. Box 20793,
Dar es Salaam,
Tanzania.

Or contact in this country: I. Martins,
14, Chalfont Road,
Oxford,
(tel. Oxford 57002)

Or The Committee for Freedom in
Mozambique, Angola & Guinea,
531, Caledonian Road,
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