

GUERRILHEIRO



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

Issue No.6

Sept-Oct 1971

This is a picture of the remains of a Portuguese Helicopter shot down by FRELIMO in the Moeda region of Cabo Delgado province. The helicopter, an Alouette 3, thoughtfully provided to Portugal by France, was hit by mortar shells as troops were disembarking and completely destroyed. All the soldiers it was carrying were killed.

This is simply one of the more spectacular of recent FRELIMO successes. As the seventh year of the war draws to an end - armed struggle began in Mozambique on Sept. 25, 1964 - the Portuguese are on the defensive on all fronts. In Cabo Delgado the Portuguese, far from being able to put into action grandiose schemes to 'wipe out' FRELIMO, have been prevented from taking any serious offensive action and lost in May and June 73 soldiers killed and 16 vehicles destroyed. They were forced to withdraw from 5 of their few remaining strategic posts in this largely liberated province.

Part of the reason for Portuguese impotence in the north of Mozambique lies in the new front which FRELIMO has opened in Southern Tete, which poses a very serious threat to the Cabora Bassa dam site. In response to this the Portuguese, recognizing that many of their troops in Cabo Delgado and Niassa were able to do nothing but sit uselessly inside stockades, have withdrawn many of them and transferred them to Tete. The army in southern Tete is now 20,000 strong - but these 20,000 troops are powerless to prevent FRELIMO ambushes, which are rapidly rendering the roads of Tete as dangerous



as those of Cabo Delgado and Niassa. Several vehicles have been blown up, and a car travelling from Tete to Cabora Bassa was attacked on April 9, and the material it was transporting captured. This included high precision instruments and 8 large files of documents; these in fact proved to be a copy of the plans for the entire construction of the dam. FRELIMO fighters have also destroyed a shop on the Cabora Bassa road which supplied the colonialist forces. Such incidents as these may explain why the Portuguese have become so security conscious at Cabora Bassa.

AVISO À POPULAÇÃO

É inimigo atravessa o Rio Zambeze para fugir da presença da Tropas e também para fazer pilagem com outras populações.

A Tropas tem que defender as populações dessas banditas. Mas a Tropas quando vê gente no rio não sabe se é gente da população, se é bandito.



A população não deve atravessar o rio.
A população não deve andar junto com banditas.

Tropas vai matar bandito que atravessar o Rio Zambeze.

Tropas vai deitar fogo a todos os barcos.
Não atravessas o rio. Foge dos banditos.

SE NÃO, MORRERÁS.

The Portuguese have put an interesting interpretation on recent events to explain how it is that FRELIMO, 'wiped out' so many times in the past, have been able to open a new front. FRELIMO have not advanced across the Zambezi, you see, they have fled across it to escape the invincible, all-conquering General Arringa and his merry men. At the same time as issuing this ludicrous propaganda the Portuguese have tried to seal off the Zambezi by launching a terror campaign killing all Africans found crossing the river or with boats in their possession. And they actually publicise this in leaflets such as this one. It reads:

Warning to the Population.

'The enemy (ie FRELIMO) crosses the Zambezi river in order to escape from the troops (!) and also to make trouble with other populations.

The troops have to defend the populations from bandits. But when the troops see people on the river they do not know if they are local people or if they are bandits.

The population must not cross the river. The population must not go around with the bandits. The troops are going to kill the bandits who cross the Zambezi.

The troops are going to set fire to all boats. Don't cross the river. Run away from the bandits. Otherwise you will die.'

For those who are illiterate and cannot read this grim warning - ie the vast majority of the population - the accompanying drawing makes the point with brutal clarity

THE ZAMBEZI

An Interview with Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO.



Samora Machel addressing a meeting in Tete

A militant from the start, Samora Machel went underground in 1950 and played a part, alongside Mondlane, in the formation of FRELIMO, of which he quickly became one of the main political and military leaders. Elected president of FRELIMO after the assassination of Mondlane, Machel is still almost unknown abroad, for he has always avoided publicity. He describes here the struggle for liberation waged by the people of Mozambique.

Q. We know now that, for the first time in recent months, the FRELIMO fighters have operated south of the Zambezi, very near the Rhodesian frontier. How do you see the military situation?

A. Excellent. The Portuguese have defined the Zambezi as a "natural barrier". Last year we

stepped up the mobilization and organization of the masses in Tete province; this effort enabled us to penetrate beyond the Zambezi, in a southern direction. Our presence in this region is particularly important because at this point Mozambique has common borders with Rhodesia and Malawi. It is an industrially developed area, which allows us to mobilize the people easily, and involve them in the armed struggle. We began military operations last August, but we waited before issuing communiques on our activities beyond the Zambezi because we were not sure of making advances in the struggle. We are now certain that we can keep our positions and make further advances on the ground. We have launched attacks on several Portuguese strongholds and we have captured substantial amounts of military equipment. We can above all count on the fact that FRELIMO controls large sectors of the people who give open support to the struggle. The people of this region stick to FRELIMO as the only force able to liberate them.

Q. Has the military offensive south of the Zambezi reduced your activities in the area where the Portuguese are trying to build the Cabora Bassa Dam? A. We stepped up new operations in April and May, but we have certainly not lost sight of our target of stopping the building of Cabora Bassa. But Cabora isn't our only preoccupation; we want to control Tete, and to control the whole country. Portugal deploys huge forces in defending Cabora Bassa at any price, with helicopters, artillery, bulldozers, armories, and the building of the road between the capital and Cabora. But we are not fish to be taken on the hook: when they want to lead us into activity at Cabora, we operate elsewhere, and vice-versa.

Q. There's a lot of talk about the attack on the Portuguese vessel "Angoco", which was carrying munitions in the Mozambique channel. It's said that this operation was a joint effort between the Portuguese anti-fascists and FRELIMO.

A. We've always been on good terms with the Portuguese left-in-action because we believe that

MOZAMBIQUE

Portuguese Atrocities

In reprisals for three Rhodesian soldiers killed when their truck ran over a FRELIMO mine in Southern Tete, the Portuguese have been indiscriminately massacring unarmed villagers south of the Zambezi. These killings began in May, but detailed reports only started to arrive in Dar-es-Salaam in August. Communications, never particularly good in this part of Mozambique, have been worsened by the Portuguese announcement that they will kill any Mozambican crossing the Zambezi in either direction.

Apparently the first Portuguese reprisal took place on May 4 in the village of Changwa, not far from Makumbura where the three Rhodesians set their deaths. Several villagers were arrested and one was murdered. On May 7 Portuguese troops entered the villages of Kapiga and Catacha where they slaughtered 14 peasants in cold blood. The same day they killed 7 unarmed villagers in Mahanda. On the 8th, four more peasants were killed in the village of Antonio. The entire populations of Changwa, Zambezi, Antonio, Mahanda, and Catacha fled into the bush to escape the Portuguese advance. Two villages, Copanda and Canhesbenhemba were completely destroyed by the troops. All the victims of these brutalities were simple villagers. As far as can be ascertained, none

were FRELIMO militants.

Local missionaries protested over the atrocities only to be told by the Portuguese that the reprisals would continue as long as FRELIMO remained active in the area. One missionary Fr. Cesare Bertullini, a White Father who left Mozambique with the rest of his order at the end of May, has this to say of Portuguese "anti-terrorism": "It spares neither women nor children in frequent savage massacres such as that of Mokumbura early in May. That's in the Tete diocese where the Cabora Bassa dam is under construction. The Portuguese troops chopped up the bodies of the murdered persons to pieces. The place was like a slaughterhouse".

FRELIMO's military commander in Tete has said that he killed 32 people killed in these massacres, but a FRELIMO spokesman in Dar-es-Salaam, recently returned from Tete, has gone further: "This is only a small part of the story. There have been many more killings, but these are enough to reveal the hardening of Portuguese policy. Terror is nothing new to the Portuguese, but these latest killings and the destruction of entire villages mark an intensification of tactics of brutality. The deaths of the 3 Rhodesians (who were apparently sent across the border to aid a Portuguese garrison under FRELIMO

IS CROSSED

the Portuguese people are our strongest ally. Our collaboration grows with the struggle.

Q. Is there really a danger of Mozambique becoming "Rhodesianized"?

A. It's too late. It's absolutely impossible. One couldn't even conceive of the thought that there are whites in Mozambique today who want "independence" like that in Rhodesia. In the heart of FRELIMO whites are fighting, who feel themselves to be Mozambicans and who are members of FRELIMO. Our work as regards giving a political consciousness to the people goes deep, and we give it absolute priority. Throughout, we don't identify the enemy by the colour of his skin. We regard as comrades all those who support our struggle, all those who work for the independence of Mozambique; that's why a lot of white Mozambicans fight among us. We don't answer the question of who the true Mozambicans are in terms of colour.

Q. What's the opinion of FRELIMO on the Portuguese situation, taking into account the rumours of a military coup d'etat?

A. Deep contradictions exist among the Portuguese rulers.... There's a risk, in Portugal, of a tight struggle for power between Caetano and the right. That the leaders are occupied in trying to resolve these conflicts is useful to us, but whether the power goes to Caetano or Nogueira makes no difference to our programme. The struggle between imperialists is like dogs scrapping over a bone....

Q. All Africa debates the "dialogue" with South Africa. How do you see this tendency?

A. A danger exists, and it is serious. A threat of disrupting the liberation movements. We neither want nor are able to conduct this dialogue, but we can already see the moment when somebody proposes a similar "dialogue" with Portugal. As for South Africa, there is the African National Congress. Why doesn't South Africa try talking to that movement? We can't see any possible dialogue with an enemy who only

knows the language of armed force.

Q. What is, in your opinion, the role of those who promote this dialogue, and what is the role of the western countries that support South Africa?

A. It's clearly a question of an initiative taken in agreement with the imperialists. With regard to the African nations, they speak of "economic necessity". That's an unacceptable excuse. Which are the countries that press for dialogue? Madagascar? But Madagascar, although its geographically not far from South Africa, is in reality much nearer to France. It is ideologically and economically in line with France. What, therefore, are the economic reasons? We find also the Ivory Coast. Houphouet Boigny is just as far from South Africa and near to France. The same is true for Bokassa and the Central African Republic.

Q. What's the position and the role of Malawi?

A. Malawi adopts a negative position from our point of view. Malawi is friendly with Portugal; it entertains a Portuguese ambassador. Portuguese soldiers use its ground, and they supply Malawian planes. Their helicopters land there, and Portuguese military vehicles move around freely.

Malawi is really a last base for Portugal.

Q. Do you think that your principal allies, Zambia and Tanzania, will continue to suffer from political pressures and military reprisals?

A. It is enough to look at a map to take count of the threats to Tanzania. It's necessary to keep a watch in Tanzania, and we can't do more than recognize the value and the cost of the solidarity of Zambia and Tanzania. At the time of the last Party Congress, in Zambia, they adopted very firm positions in favour of the liberation movements, in spite of external realignments and internal problems. Zambia hasn't changed its position at all, in spite of the constant threats to which it is subjected on the part of the imperialists.

attack) although it acutely embarrassed the Portuguese by revealing the involvement of the Smith regime in Mozambique, was only part of the explanation for the atrocious clearing of the spread of the war to Southern Tete, with the major threat that this poses to the Cabora Bassa area, is giving Portuguese military leaders nightmares. While FRELIMO was confined to north of the Zambezi they could feel that the situation was not completely out of hand: now, with FRELIMO guerrillas operating south of the river, that small crumb of comfort has disappeared and they are desperately worried. Hence the new wave of atrocities and the attempt to seal off the Zambezi.

Further evidence of Rhodesian interest in Mozambique is provided by a mysterious communique from Salisbury which claims that a group of FRELIMO guerrillas crossed the border and were engaged by Rhodesian security forces. Seven of the 'terrorists' were killed. But FRELIMO has dismissed this communique as 'utter nonsense' and denies crossing the frontier. 'Our war is conducted inside Mozambique for the liberation of Mozambique'.

Cabora Bassa

The post of military governor of Tete Province, involving the fusion of both civilian and military power in the hands of one man, has been occupied by Brigadier Rocha Simoes. This concentration of power in Simoes' hands gives him virtually carte blanche to use all available resources against FRELIMO. His first move since his appointment at the end of July was to embark on a 'resettlement' programme for some 83,000 Africans in Tete. These Africans will

be grouped into 'aldeamentos' - 'defensive' villages based on the American use of the 'strategic hamlet' in Vietnam. The object of this exercise is to herd the population into military-guarded units, thus depriving the guerrillas of their base of support. This policy did not succeed in Vietnam and there is no reason to suppose that it will succeed in Mozambique. When populations are uprooted from their native soil they tend to feel no great love for those who are doing the uprooting.

At Cabora Bassa itself the Portuguese continue to demonstrate their nervousness. In addition to declaring the whole area a prohibited zone, the Portuguese have thrown a protective circle, 14 kms in radius, round the township of Songu where the Europeans working on the dam are living; a curfew is in force from 7 pm onwards; and all traffic to the city of Tete is allowed to take place only under military escort. There is believed to be a connection between this and FRELIMO's habit of mining the Tete-Songu road. A further flurry of security at the dam was prompted by the arrest at the end of July of 3 Europeans in Nacalis in connection with the mysterious explosion on board the coaster 'Angeche' which was found burning and abandoned off the Mozambique coast in April. According to police sources in Beira, the arrested men have admitted membership of the urban guerrilla group Armed Revolutionary Action. The discovery that European saboteurs were at large in Mozambique seems to have terrified the Portuguese who immediately ordered intensive security checks on the 1,000 European workers and their families at Cabora Bassa. The background and credentials of all white contract workers were to be double-checked. Judging by the

continued overleaf

Cont. from Page 3

spectacular acts of sabotage ARA has committed, it would evidently not be beyond its capacities for it to infiltrate the dam site. The spectre of FREEL-IMO attacks upon the dam coupled with sabotage from within must give many a Portuguese official sleepless nights.

On the international front it now looks if the Cabora Bassa project may shortly have to face its biggest crisis to date. It seems that the 5 German firms in the ZAMCO consortium (Siemens, Brown Boveri, AEG, Hochsting and JM Voith) may well be having second thoughts about the scheme. The German Committee for Angola, Guineé-Bissau and Mozambique has been informally told by people within the German government and German industry that those 5 firms are all anxious to withdraw from Cabora Bassa. This follows the disruption of shareholders meetings of the German firms participating in the Zam-AGEC became so paranoid over this that it attempted to ask the police in to prevent questions about its activity in Mozambique from being asked. At the Brown Boveri shareholders meeting the chairman, Prof. Eberhardt Schmidt blustered his way round questions declaring: 'By its every nature and its utilisation our production cannot be exploited for political ends. We have signed contracts and we have the intention of respecting these scrupulously. Apparently this was not quite true, and Brown Boveri would like to get out of a project whose political implications are beginning to embarrass it.

A delegation from Siemens has taken the step of asking the West German government to withdraw their export credit guarantee. If this were done the German firms could withdraw from Cabora Bassa 'honourably' and without incurring any penalty. The main obstacle to this is a powerful pro-Portuguese lobby in the German Foreign Ministry which is determined to maintain the present close links between West Germany and Portugal. Should the Germans fail to withdraw Portugal would find herself in insoluble difficulties. For the only firms in the west which could replace Siemens are the Swedish ASEA, our own GEC-AEI and American General Electric - all of which

have already dissociated from Cabora Bassa or been frightened off!

In Canada the campaign against the firms Alcan and Reynolds Cable Co., who are supplying 6,000 tons of aluminium for the dam, continues. Jack Seaton of Project Mozambique has given evidence requesting the UN Committee on Decolonization to apply pressure against Canadian participation in the dam. And in June the Law Union of Ontario and other lawyers raised the question of the legality of Canadian involvement in a submission to the Commons standing committee on external affairs and national defence. For Canadian law states quite explicitly: 'No person shall knowingly do anything in Canada or any other place to promote or that is calculated to promote the export from Rhodesia of any goods produced or manufactured in Rhodesia to any other place'. Yet there can be no doubt that Cabora Bassa will be of the greatest benefit to the Rhodesian economy and to the export of Rhodesian goods. The Portuguese admit this and the Rhodesians positively gloat over it. A brochure entitled 'The Way to Cabora Bassa', written by JC Grayling, Chairman of the National Export Council of Rhodesia, describes the dam as 'probably one of the greatest opportunities ever to come the way of Rhodesian manufacturers'. And yet the Canadian Trade Minister, Jean-Luc Pepin, merely says that the sale of aluminium rods by Alcan and Reynolds has been 'carefully reviewed by experts in this department and in the legal division of the Department of External Affairs. Their conclusion is that the sale in question falls outside the scope of the relevant provisions of the Rhodesia regulations under which Canada complies with the United Nations mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia'. But if the legal aspects have been 'carefully reviewed' why are Canadian lawyers so worried about the whole thing? And why has the government refused to answer, or even to acknowledge the arguments put forward by the Law Union of Ontario?

Finally it was reported in the last issue of 'Oceania' that 15 Czech trucks were being supplied for transporting materials to the dam site. A spokesman for the Czechoslovak government has denied that there is or can be any Czech participation in Cabora Bassa.

GUINEÉ

The past few months have seen an important escalation of the war in Guineé. PAIGC has felt secure enough to launch a series of major attacks on Portuguese strongholds, in particular on the two main towns, Bissau and Bafata. On the night of June 9 PAIGC artillery and infantry units broke through the outer line of Portuguese defences and launched a rocket attack on Bissau. The Portuguese, taken completely by surprise, showed no reaction whatsoever for the duration of the attack, and suffered some 20 dead and serious losses of equipment, military material. After the raid the authorities declared what amounted to a state of siege - the civil population (especially the Africans) were ordered not to move from their homes for 24 hours. The attack was backed up by simultaneous raids on Portuguese garrisons around Bissau and the town of Mansoa, causing considerable destruction.

On June 16, PAIGC units penetrated Bafata and raided Portuguese barracks, the airport and administrative buildings. 4 barracks, the meteorological station and several other buildings of a military-administrative nature were destroyed. The following day the Portuguese attempted a counter-attack to the south-east of Bafata. They were routed and seven of their men were killed and others wounded. In none of these operations did PAIGC lose a single man.

In the light of these attacks, the conventional Portuguese description of PAIGC as a bunch of desperadoes operating entirely from 'sanctuaries' in Senegal and the Republic of Guinea is wearing

MILITARY ACTIVITY

rather thin. The Portuguese tacitly admitted this by sending the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, Gen. Verancio Deslandes, to Bissau - presumably for urgent talks with Guineé's governor, Antonio Spínola, about the military situation.

Belatedly the Portuguese press tries to put a brave face on all this by producing wild figures of the number of 'terrorists' killed by the army - but this cannot conceal the fact that a major offensive is taking place which the Portuguese are powerless





A PAIGC column

to halt.

At a meeting in London held to mark PAIGC day on August 3, Gil Fernandes, PAIGC representative in Cairo, spoke of the attacks on Bissau and their place in PAIGC strategy. He pointed out that Bissau was not easy to attack as it was on an island and that great care had to be taken in shelling the city for fear of doing more harm to urban Africans than to the colonialists. He remarked that PAIGC did not relish the idea of pitched battles, which the Portuguese with their superior firepower might well win - a frontal attack on Bissau, an attempt to seize the capital, might, under present conditions, prove disastrous. However, if it were seen that there was no alternative, then PAIGC would launch such an attack. 'We are trying to make the Portuguese understand that the war is lost', he said. 'And

maybe now, by keeping a slow, steady pressure on Bissau we will make them understand this - for our own benefit and for their benefit. We don't have any pleasure in killing Portuguese.'

Gil also laid a heavy stress on the importance of political education to the struggle, the need to win a social revolution as well as a nominal independence: 'You'd be making a very grave mistake to rely on weapons alone', he said. 'The most important thing is: how are you going to build a nation? We have to change the ways of thinking in order to prevent the Portuguese from coming back and neocolonializing us. The Portuguese know they will not be able to do this in Guinea, as the Belgians did it in the Congo, as the British have done it,.... We are not fighting the Portuguese perse, as Portuguese. We are fighting a world-wide movement called imperialism of which the Portuguese happen to be part. But our man who is shooting has to know why he is shooting, who he is shooting at, what is the reason behind it!'



PAIGC fighter

AGGRESSION AGAINST SENEGAL

In addition to making raids across the Senegalese border (see last issue of 'Guerrillheiro'), Portuguese troops based in Guinea have taken to placing land mines on Senegalese territory. In two incidents in June vehicles have been destroyed by mines: a Senegalese frontier chief, Abdou Diasec was killed, and 8 other Senegalese wounded, 3 of them seriously. Senegal's Prime Minister, Mr. Abdou Diouf, reacted angrily and declared that his country was ready to oppose Portuguese aggression by all means, military and diplomatic, in order to protect innocent lives.

When the matter was brought before the UN Security Council on July 15, a motion was passed condemning 'the acts of violence and destruction perpetuated since 1963 by the Portuguese armed forces of Guinea (Bissau) against the population and villages of Senegal', and requesting that a special mission be sent as a matter of urgency to enquire into the situation. The Portuguese replied to this by sending a letter to the President of the Security Council denying the Senegalese accusations and complaining, in well-worn fashion, that 'the Portuguese continue to suffer from aggressions that are due solely to the facilities granted to the Senegalese authorities to a subversive group, which organizes, prepares and promotes, in Senegalese territory, armed attacks directed against the population of the Portuguese province of Guinea.'

When the UN team arrived in Senegal, the Portuguese were in fact considerate enough to lay on a display of their wanton violation of the frontier by shelling the village of Boussanoum. The UN team surveyed the damage - 13 shell holes one and a half metres

YOU MAKE IT SOUND ALMOST CRIMINAL! ALL WE'RE TRYING TO DO IS HELP THEM DEVELOP A NORMAL, CIVILISED, EUROPEAN WAY OF LIFE.



wide, shell fragments and bullet marks on trees. According to a local frontier guard at least 40 shells had fallen on Senegalese soil. He went on to say that this was not the result of a clash between a PAIGC unit and Portuguese troops but a deliberate bombardment of Senegalese Territory.

The UN experts were also shown captured Portuguese arms, ammunition and explosives, and photographs of a captured Portuguese soldier and of Senegalese army vehicles blown up by mines. It must be said that the UN team made every effort to find out the Portuguese side of the story - but the Portuguese refused any measure of co-operation and did not allow the mission into Guinea-Bissau.

PORTUGAL

POPULATION CRISIS

The census at present being held in Portugal has become a major headache for the Caetano regime. For the provisional results are providing clear proof of what many had already suspected - that Portugal is suffering a massive, debilitating decline in population. These statistics, cold and impersonal, are a crushing indictment of the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships - they show that Portuguese workers, unable to vote at the ballot box, do so with their feet and leave their homeland by the thousand to seek better pay and conditions in Northern Europe, particularly France.

All over Portugal initial estimates of the census show a decrease in population over the past decade. The preliminary results from 9 of the 22 administrative districts show a decline of around 13% - only in a few areas round Lisbon has any increase been registered. Beja, an important town south-east of Lisbon has recorded a 25% drop, and in Portalegre in the north population has slumped by 21%. The percentage drop is at its worst in rural areas. For example, the district of Braganca in the north now has 23% fewer people than ten years ago; and inside Braganca the town of Miranda do Douro on the Spanish border has shown the staggering decrease of 73%. The general picture is one of ghost villages, inhabited only by old men, women and children. In the last census, ten years ago, the population of mainland Portugal plus Madeira and the Azores was given as 8,851,289. It was hoped that by now the population would have topped 10 million - after these catastrophic initial estimates few now think this likely. Instead all the evidence indicates that Portugal, alone of Western European nations, has a shrinking population.

There is no doubt at all as to the cause of this. Already some 2 million Portuguese workers live outside Portugal - and the mass emigration continues at the rate of 170,000 a year. Of these only 70,000 leave legally - the rest clandestinely. This vast exodus has strained Portugal's economic development to breaking point - particularly in the agricultural sector. The overlords of the Portuguese economy are well aware of the danger this represents and have begun to sound the alarm bells. 'Capital' the newspaper which acts as the voice of Lisbon big business, has called the emigration 'a progressive and pernicious anaemia' and blames the manpower shortage for the present wages and prices spiral in Portugal. Marcello Caetano himself has condemned the process as 'bloodletting'.

The Portuguese economy may be bleeding to death - but the regime seems unable to take any action. For a start, the Portuguese living abroad are the country's biggest foreign exchange earner. The remittances sent by emigrants back to their families are a source of invisible earnings that surpasses even tourism. So Caetano dare not clamp down on the emigration (the legal part of which is already strictly controlled) without risking grave damage to the balance of payments.

Furthermore the Portuguese are finding themselves on the horns of an insoluble dilemma. They want workers to stay in Portugal so that economic development can take place - yet at the same time the regime wants massive emigration to the colonies in order to maintain its supremacy in the tottering Portuguese empire! Remember the million white settlers wanted for the Cabora Bassa project? And the

attempts to persuade Portuguese soldiers fighting in the wars to stay on and settle in the territories? The less ideologically blinkered of Portuguese economists have pointed out the contradiction inherent in this, and the drain on the economy which is represented by the 150,000 strong army and the huge defence expenditure.

The expedient which Caetano's government seems to have arrived at is one which almost defies belief. Instead of restricting emigration to the colonies, this is to be aided even more than before. The Overseas Ministry in Lisbon is to be allocated substantial sums to speed up the rate of emigration to Africa. A law passed in July provides for assisted passages for settlers and their families, medical assistance and settlement subsidies. The object of this is stated as the transfer of population from 'overcrowded' areas (1) to underpopulated ones (2) (ie Angola and Mozambique). At the same time, to remedy the labour shortage in Portugal, the immigration of Africans will be encouraged from the colonies to Portugal. So what is envisaged is a constant two-way traffic - whites going from the metropolis to consolidate white supremacy in the colonies, while African labour moves into Portugal to shore up the collapsing economy. Already in recent months 15,000 Africans have arrived in Lisbon, and the city's Sao Bento quarter is beginning to be referred to as 'a black ghetto'. This migration is no indication of African love for Portugal - over 1/3 of these recent arrivals come from the Cape Verde Islands which are at present in the grip of a devastating famine. Faced with the choice of emigration or starvation it is not surprising that many islanders choose to move to Lisbon.

One would have thought that this was the ideal opportunity for the Portuguese to put all their pretty phrases about multi-racialism into practice. Instead the Africans are being used as a reserve of cheap labour - while a European building worker earns \$ US 3.35 a day, the African's pay packet is only \$ US 2.98. The inevitable result of this is that the Cape Verdeans don't stay in Lisbon for more than a few months - then they too join the exodus northwards to higher paid jobs in the rest of Europe.

ECONOMIC CRISIS

Under Caetano's government the Portuguese economy staggers from bad to worse. The trade figures for 1970 are now fully available and show that in this year the Portuguese trade balance reached its worst deficit ever - \$251 million. The 1969 deficit was \$182 million - the increase is an astounding 36%. The figures also reflect on Portugal's position as a colonial nation which at the same time partially functions as a colony for the western powers.

Portugal imports from other nations 5 times as much as she imports from her colonies; and she exports to other nations more than 2 1/2 times the amount that goes to the colonies. It is true that overall Portugal has a positive trade balance with the colonies - but this is 127 times smaller than the trade deficit with the rest of the world. Her vast trade deficit with West Germany alone (\$73 million) is 37 times greater than her positive trade balance with the colonies. Perhaps the figure most revealing of the disastrous state of the Portuguese economy is that foodstuffs are the third most important import (including large quantities of wheat) - and this in a nation where the greater part of the workforce is still employed in agriculture and fishing.

As for the colonies, Angola's trade showed a surplus of 1,297 million escudos for the first 10 months of 1970 - an improvement of 21% over 1969. This positive trade balance was achieved largely through the export of coffee, diamonds and oil (the last named through the kind offices of Gulf Oil Ltd.). This favourable balance is just as well from the Portuguese point of view, seeing as Mozambique recorded an all-time record trade deficit of 4,000 million escudos. The shortage of foreign exchange in Mozambique has become so acute that the administration has responded by imposing restrictions on the issue of import licences. Furthermore, last December, higher taxes were introduced on luxury goods in order to discourage their import.

REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

On July 6 the Portuguese political police, the DGS, declared that they had effected the arrest of several people connected with Armed Revolutionary Action (ARA), the urban guerrilla group responsible for several spectacular bombings in Portugal over the past few months. However these arrests (of which the DGS has not released any details) have not ended the campaign of sabotage. On July 17 a munitions dump in Santarem, 52 miles north of Lisbon, was blown up. A whole series of explosions rocked the city, blew out windows and damaged houses for miles around. Another major explosion destroyed electric cables and cut off the city's electricity supply.

The Portuguese regime is also facing the threat of trade union militancy. In traditional manner it has reacted by labelling such militancy as 'subversion' blaming it on 'communist infiltration' and attempting to crush it. On June 30, Daniel Cabrita, leader of the National Union of Bank Employees, was taken into custody and has been held since without charges being brought against him and without access to legal advice or medical aid. In response to this Lisbon bank clerks took to the streets in a number of protest marches which the police proceeded to turn into running battles. In the course of these two trade unions acts have been taken. The government then closed the union's offices, declaring that they were being used to promote social disturbances against legitimate acts of public authority and to carry out seditious activities. This act of repression merely provoked further rioting and the government moved to break the union by suspending several of its leaders from their duties in early August. The Ministry of Labour and Social Security claimed that they had decided on this action following reports from labour tribunals in Lisbon and Oporto on the union's activities. The government has now appointed its own committees to 'normalise' the administrative affairs of the union.

On August 5, a second leading trade unionist, Antonio dos Santos, secretary of the Journalists Union, was arrested. Again, there was no indication of the charges under which he was being held, and his union immediately sent a strongly-worded protest to Caetano. In this it was pointed out that Dos Santos is a key figure in current labour contract negotiations with Portuguese and foreign news agencies and that his detention could affect these. Doubtless that is what it is supposed to do.

Furthermore the arrest of dos Santos conveniently coincided with the passing of the government's new press bill. This abolished censorship as it had been known in Portugal for the previous 40 years, and substituted a brand new, subtler concept of censorship whereby responsibility for safeguarding the 'national interest' moves from the censors to the newspapers themselves who must observe strict rules on what is fit to print. Transgression of these rules will lead to severe penalties, not only for the editors of offending papers, but also for individual journalists. The detention of dos Santos serves to underline this strongly.

RIGHT WING HYSTERIA

Caetano's mumblings about further autonomy for the colonies have been seen by a few optimistic liberals as the beginnings of disengagement in Africa. This delusion is, it seems, shared by the Salazarist old guard within Portugal itself. These fanatical right-wingers reject any change whatsoever in the status of the colonies - against all the evidence they have convinced themselves that Caetano is soft on the 'subversion' in Africa.

Led by such antediluvian figures as former Foreign Minister, Alberto Nogueira, former Minister for the Overseas Territories, Prof. Adriano Moreira, and former Minister of Justice, Dr. Antunes Varela they have seized every opportunity to discredit Caetano and his plans. Varela has complained that words like 'autonomy' have the bitter taste of renunciation or abdication in the face of the enemy. And Nogueira has attacked the Portuguese application to join the Common Market, seeing the EEC as part and parcel of a diabolical plot to get Portugal out of Africa. A poster has appeared in Lisbon on which Portugal's overseas territories are superimposed on a map of Europe and Portugal is proclaimed 'in her true dimensions' - stretching from the Atlantic to the Vistula River in Poland and beyond. The slogans which are scrawled all over Lisbon's walls - 'The Army is the Mirror of the Nation', 'We do not desire war, but we do not fear it', etc. - almost certainly emanate from the same source.

Some of the more fanatical utterances against Caetano are quite astounding. One Fernando Pacheco de Amorim has denounced the Prime Minister's intentions towards the colonies as 'traitorous'. And copies are circulating of an incredible document from Australia which purports to give support from the Soviet ambassador in Canberra for Caetano's 'reforms' and includes a passage where Moscow heartily approves plans for a Portuguese commonwealth!

In fact Caetano is not the suspicious pinko that Nogueira and co. would have us believe. He is just as reactionary as his opponents, but a trifle more intelligent. He has in no way indicated any intention of running down the African wars (in fact the biggest operation of the wars, the fiasco in Mozambique entitled 'Operation Gordian Knot', took place under Caetano, not Salazar). He has been every bit as uncompromising as his predecessor in his speeches on Portugal's continuing role in Africa, repeatedly assuring his critics that his 'reforms' do not in the least imply any weakening of the link between metropolis and colonies. He made his attitude quite clear in his speech when the constitutional reform was announced: 'The sovereignty of the state which is unique and indivisible will not cease to affirm itself throughout the whole national territory through the supremacy of the constitution and of laws emanating from the central organs... and through the appointed governors who are delegates to the central government and whose rights of superintendence and inspection are kept unchanged'. All that Caetano's measures of autonomy really do is introduce an element of efficiency into the colonial system through a slight move of decentralisation. Had this step not been taken the system would have gradually ground to a halt from the necessity of referring every policy decision to Lisbon.

From all that Caetano has said and done it is clear that he is determined to hang on to the colonies. This seems so evident that one suspects that Nogueira and co., shovelled aside by Caetano, are not really attacking him on ideological grounds at all, but merely engaging in a sordid power struggle.

their government's policies by pretending that Africa is under threat of a Chinese invasion. As soon as we were able to talk to the Congolese our fears vanished. What surprised us a great deal was the absence of any sense of hierarchy among the soldiers. One couldn't imagine a Portuguese soldier talking in a friendly way to an officer, as one sees here.

The pilot went back to his Portuguese family. As for us, we put ourselves at the disposal of the authorities. We didn't want to cause diplomatic problems. If the MPLA accepts us, we will join their ranks. If not, we will go to some European capital to make

contact with the ARA. We believe that when opposed to the colonial war is sufficiently strong inside Portugal, the government will have to surrender. Already many peasants, workers and fishermen are in disagreement with Caetano's policy. The strongest resistance can be seen among students. We can hardly speak out because there is severe repression and strikes are forbidden. Urban guerrilla warfare is undoubtedly going to start. We are young, and have lots to learn. Our intention is to take part in the struggle.

Translated from an article in 'AfricaAsia'.

BARCLAYS

The takeover of Barclays DCO by Barclays Bank Ltd. seems likely to go ahead without any serious difficulty. This will effectively destroy Barclays' favorite excuse for its activities in Southern Africa - which runs something like 'We're innocent - it's DCO's affair'. Realizing that the removal of the flimsy distinction between DCO and the parent bank also removes their frail shield against charges of racism and exploitation, Barclays have made one major concession - from being allowed to die away (as Barclays undoubtedly wishes), must continue - the fact that Barclays is now paying non-discriminatory wages to its non-white clerical workers in South Africa (a fairly inexpensive gesture as there are only 300 of them) should not obscure the facts that Barclays is still one of the most important of apartheid's financial institutions, that there are no non-white managers in its South African branches, that its activities are inextricably mixed with those of South African industry (in particular with Anglo-American which is the bank's largest single customer) and that on the admission of its Chairman, Mr. John Thompson, it is still involved in Cabora Bassa.

Barclays' activities in South-West Africa are also worth noting - the bank has refused to allow Clemens Kapuwo, the new Chief of the Hereros, to operate the account of the Herero community (the funds of which come from private tribal sources). This is at the behest of the South African government which is attempting to upset the tribe's choice of Mr. Kapuwo to succeed the late Chief Hosea Kutako. Barclays full cooperation with government harassment of the Herero chief has now led Kapuwo - always an outspoken opponent of apartheid - to attempt to sue the bank.

sugar imperialists

Sena Sugar Estates, one of the most important British concerns in Mozambique, consists of some 188,000 acres of freehold land, two sugar factories on the Zambezi and a sugar refinery in Lisbon. It depends on the cheap African labour readily available in Mozambique to make its profits (over £709,000 in 1970 after tax) - and has therefore good reason for its staunch support of the Portuguese army. In his annual report to shareholders at the end of June, the company chairman, Colonel JD Hornung, amidst predictions for vastly improved production of cane in the future due to the use of overhead spray irrigation, boasted that the sugar plantations had remained entirely free from 'terrorist' activity. He was full of praise for General Kaulza de Arriaga's army and paid tribute to 'the success they are having in containing the terrorists to comparatively small and remote areas of Mozambique'. What he really means is that FRELIMO hasn't yet got round to attacking the Sena Sugar Estates. All in good time, Col. Hornung, all in good time...

UNITED TRANSPORT

The annual meeting of the United Transport Company, held on August 26, was attended by members of the Dambusters Mobilising Committee and the Anti-Apartheid Movement in order to highlight the role played by United Transport in the Construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam - the company holds three of the major contracts for carrying equipment for Cabora Bassa from Johannesburg. In June, setting off the St. Peter's Golf and Country Club, Chipstow, where the meeting was held, seemed to help directors and shareholders alike in quietly pushing from their minds the squalid nature of their activities in Southern Africa. During the course of the meeting which was extended from the normal fifteen minutes to nearly two hours, the Chairman weaved an unconvincing path through a barrage of questions about his company's role in Southern Africa.

Initially the Chairman embarked on a new stratagem by stating that he would answer all the questions at the end of the section of the Director's report and he volunteered no information whatsoever on the company's activities in southern Africa (but were also virtually ignored in the Annual Report). Persistent questioning did finally produce some reaction from the Chairman who then read out a prepared statement. This proved to be a giant irrelevance, containing only details of selected wage rates for African bus drivers. The Chairman admitted involvement in Cabora Bassa, but shrugged this off as minimal. He did not seem worried that the lives of United Transport employees were in danger and claimed that FRELIMO had not blown up any United Transport lorries - yet.

During the course of the meeting, the majority of the shareholders were wholeheartedly engaged in making racist chants, slow hand-clapping and trying to stop questions being asked. A proposal that this year's profits be donated to FRELIMO was ruled out of order.

The meeting gained extensive local press publicity appeared in the business section of the Guardian and on Harlech TV. The local Monmouthshire and Cardiff groups are continuing their opposition to United Transport's activities in Southern Africa and further national action will be taken.

New Literature

For some time now there has been a need for a clear, concise account of Portuguese colonialism and the struggle to destroy it. The lack of such an account has now been remedied and there exist two short, cheap booklets on the subject. The first, published by the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, is entitled 'War on Three Fronts: the fight against Portuguese colonialism' and costs 18p. The second, 'Portugal's Wars in Africa', by Ruth First, is available as a Defence and Aid Fund pamphlet costing 20p. Both these are available from the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, 531 Caledonian Road, London N.7.

ANGOLA

MILITARY ACTIVITY

MPLA have now published military statistics for the first quarter of this year. According to these, 335 enemy troops were killed in major operations and 243 wounded, while some 3,300 rounds of ammunition and 5,350 kgs of bombs were captured. In addition, in the Lunda, Malange, Cuando Cubango and Cunene districts in the Third, Fourth and Fifth politico-military regions there were more than 39 operations in which the enemy suffered an unknown number of losses. During the same period MPLA lost only 14 men.

On the adverse side MPLA admits the serious effects of Portuguese attacks from the air, especially with defoliants. The Portuguese had also bombed the Kalunda barracks and blamed Zambia for this operation which claimed 50 lives.

In more recent months MPLA claimed further successes. On June 9, a Portuguese column retreated hastily following a surprise MPLA attack in the Kainda area. Their casualties were later picked up by helicopter. On the same day a Portuguese attempt to establish a ground link between the Massivi and Kainda barracks was foiled when the two units entrusted with the mission of setting off explosive devices laid along the road were completely destroyed. In the Massivi area where the Portuguese lost 30 dead, they were stung to a fit of Old Testament revenge and slaughtered 30 Africans in reprisals.

On June 15, the Portuguese evacuated the Luwamba barracks in the Luaoz principality. For three years now the barracks had been under constant encirclement and attack and the Portuguese had finally bowed to the inevitable. Similarly a month later, on July 15 the Portuguese flag ceased to fly over the Kripande barracks - 'a forecast of what will happen in the very near future in every part of Angola under Portuguese rule', comments MPLA.

PORTUGUESE DESERTERS

Two Portuguese an officer and a civilian, fled from Angola, borrowed an air-taxi and forced the pilot, also of Portuguese origin, to land in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Here are their statements:

"My name is Rui Candido Rodrigues de Sousa. I am 20 years old. I worked for the meteorological service in the province of Luanda. I have been watched by the secret police for a year now. I would have been arrested sooner or later. I was involved in circulating forbidden literature. I was also in contact with some members of MPLA and with the ARA of which one of my relatives was a member. The secret police have agents everywhere, and a lot of them are black. But one can easily spot them. I decided to run away in order to work directly with a liberation movement. It was a personal decision; I didn't have a precise intention."

"I am Jose Eduardo Rodrigues Reis. I'm 24 years old. We are cousins. I was a lieutenant in the Portuguese army. I was doing economics at the University of Porto when I was called up in 1968. After 6 months of military school, I was sent to Angola with the rank of acting lieutenant. In 1970, when I had already been 6 months in the infantry, regiment 22 from Sada Bairra in the South of Angola, I had some trouble with the civil police. I was given five days in prison as punishment, and I was transferred to the North, into the centre of military operations. That was July 1970, and I joined the 12th battalion of Cadacores.

"Being given the job of secretary and treasurer. I didn't take part in armed combat. The Portuguese army was always apathetic. A lot of us fought in the war without knowing why. Unable to find work in Portugal, men joined up just to have food and shelter. But, for some time, many young officers



On August 5, the Portuguese launched a helicopter attack on the right bank of the Kassai river near Lumege barracks. MPLA fighters engaged them in four successive clashes and beat them off, killing 5 of them and wounding 6 others. The immediate result of this was another of those acts of vengeance so characteristic of the Portuguese army. Three Angolans living in the enemy's own strategic hamlet were butchered on the grounds that they had tipped MPLA off about the abortive airborne attack.

Finally in the Cabinda enclave in the far north of Angola, MPLA wiped out a Portuguese patrol of 30 men on August 7. A large stock of arms and ammunition of Israeli origin was captured.

and soldiers were becoming aware that this war did not concern them. But they were afraid of repression, and kept quiet. Several officers have already deserted, particularly to Guinea. The ranks above lieutenant readily accept their role because they do not take part in military action and they receive substantial pay.

In May 1971, I decided to desert, and began to think about methods. On June 6 I left my unit to go to Luanda. As I was an officer, I had a certain freedom of movement. I had 8 days in front of me before I would be posted as a deserter. In Luanda I met up again with Rui. With the help of sympathisers, we decided to rent a twin-engined aeroplane with a pilot from an aerial-taxi company. On June 9, on the pretext of visiting a relative, we took off for Buco Tau in Cabinda. We asked the pilot to fly along the coast to see the oil rigs. Then, at knife-point, we made him fly northwards. He was frightened, and co-operated, at the same time asking us not to make trouble for him, saying that he had a wife and children to think of, etc.

We reached the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We planned to head for Brazzaville, but because we were afraid of running out of fuel, we decided to land at Pointe Noire. After recognising the red flag, we landed at ten minutes after noon.

I must explain that we were hesitant about going to the Congo, but we had hardly any choice. I must say that Portuguese propaganda is very intensive. We were completely misled about the state of countries moving towards socialism. We were told, for instance that the Congolese are black barbarians, hardly civilized. Posters showed the people of Congo-Brazzaville starving under enormous claws. Luckily we had managed to obtain secretly some serious books and magazines. But these are rare. The propaganda did in the end affect us unconsciously. In the same way some international reviews justify

LISBON ~ PRETORIA AXIS

1. This week's good cause

As Portugal's African wars continue, support for the liberation movements grows - but so, in some quarters does support for Portugal. Caetano's regime knows that it can always rely on aid from South Africa - and one of the latest forms in which this aid manifests itself is something called 'The Mozambique/Angola Soldiers Comforts Fund'. Very touching!

The propaganda for this organization is in many ways what one would expect. We are told that 'terrorists' who are 'stationed in several camps in Zambia and Tanzania' are working for 'the overthrow of the current white governments in the southern states and their replacement with Communist puppet governments'. But in this case the dreaded communists are not really interested in the Portuguese territories. 'Soviet and Chinese Communists - notwithstanding their political and ideological differences - are now pooling technical, military and economic resources to set the stage for one of the bloodiest wars in history - and one which they hope will open the road to Pretoria, Mozambique and Angola! No! The real target is South Africa. And one particularly paranoid passage states 'It has been noted that the target date for the fall of Pretoria has been

set at a matter of months away'. The maxim that an injury to one is an injury to all is one that the South Africans are applying to their own situation. 'What is not generally realized is that these men (ie the Portuguese) are really fighting our war for us in South Africa. Were Angola and Mozambique not there, then this same guerrilla war would be within 500 miles of Pretoria and other well known places such as Kimberly and the Kruger National Park'.

All this sets the stage for a real tearjerker of an appeal: 'the fund asks those of us in South Africa to contribute something towards the well-being of these young men who are fighting this war, and in some instances dying on our behalf. We do not ask much - a few cents from those who can afford little - a few rand from those who have more. And then there are those who in recent months have scored handsomely from the profits and well-being of their republic. From these people we ask - please give generously. The cause is a noble one.' Undoubtedly there are many South African business men who would not object to coughing up a minute fragment of their enormous profits to help ensure that more Portuguese soldiers will spill their blood in the 'noble' cause of maintaining white supremacy.

MEANWHILE, BACK IN LONDON

The 'Financial Times' does not, apparently, care in the least who is in the off - thus on July 15 there appeared in this august publication a ten page supplement on Angola and Mozambique. It was called a 'survey' - but the precise nature of this survey is revealed by the fact that half the front page is devoted to an advert which begins: 'Portuguese Africa is booming. Cabinda Basin - the greatest source of power on the African continent'. And if we were still in any doubt as to whose side the 'Financial Times' is on, a brief glance at page 2 reveals a glowing advert for the last decade of 'development' in Angola which begins with the words 'When on March 15, 1961, terrorism broke out on the northern border of Angola...'. Perhaps the Portuguese advertisers could not be expected to draw attention to the real terrorism - the Portuguese massacre of Angolan villagers at Icolo e Bengo and the terrible bloodbaths at Luanda and Baixa de Cassange where more than 8,000 Africans lost their lives - but there was no mention of any of this either in the various articles by Financial Times hacks that filled the spaces between the adverts. The nearest the 'Financial Times' gets to criticism of the Portuguese is a tentative suggestion that Caetano's much vaunted reforms may not in fact greatly improve the lot of Africans in the colonies - but even this is immediately followed by the usual nonsense about Portuguese multi-racialism.

As for the rest we are told that 'Mozambique economy faces an uphill struggle'. Angolan agriculture 'needs more capital'. 'Cabinda successes encourage further oil exploration', and we are shown pretty pictures of a railway terminus at Luanda, the Avenue of the Republic in Lourenco Marques, a coffee plantation in Angola etc. etc. When these various syccophantic pieces meet for the minor detail that there are wars going on in these territories which eat up 48% of Portugal's national budget, they involve themselves in blatant contradictions. Thus we are told that FRELIMO has never fully recovered from the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane - and yet that guerrilla activity in Tete has become so serious that there are enough for travel to take place only in convoy, and for the Portuguese to have put the region under full military administration. The most absurd contradiction comes from the pen of Bruce Loudon (who also doubles as 'Daily Telegraph' reporter on Portugal and the colonies). He informs us that PAIGC is



'reduced to little more effective than the occasional hit and run border raid' - then goes on to say, in the same paragraph, 'For the first time in years insurgents have attacked the capital of Bissau itself'. This contradiction does not originate with Loudon - it is inherent in the Portuguese propaganda which, because he is stationed in Lisbon, is all he relies on for information.

The real purpose of this survey is revealed in the vast amount of advertising: 'Prospecting today for more progress tomorrow', cries the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co. Ltd.: 'It's cheaper and quicker to slip through one of Mozambique's poris'. 'Next time you think of doing business in Angola or Mozambique, put our technical knowledge to the test - Banco de Credito Commercial e Industrial'. 'What makes Portuguese coffee so famous and different?'. And best of all, 'You know, of course, that TAP will fly you to Portugal. But we're equally ready to fly you to any of 7 destinations in Southern Africa. Fast and frequently And treating you in the only way the Portuguese know how - like a guest!'

So now, enchanted by this idyllic picture of a tropical paradise disturbed only by a few nasty communist yobboes taking pot shots across the frontier, every good British capitalist is meant to go out and invest his money in Angola and Mozambique - while the Portuguese advertisers hand over their blood money to the 'Financial Times'.

2. Patricio in S. Africa

At the end of June Portugal's Foreign Minister, Rui Patricio, paid a five-day visit to South Africa, and on the 24th gave a press conference which was a useful summary of Portuguese political philosophy. For example, he harped continually on the theme of the spreading of 'communist influence' throughout Africa. Increasing Soviet and Chinese infiltration, he said, might necessitate a greater degree of military co-operation between South Africa and Portugal. As for the Tansam railway, Patricio was careful to point out that Portugal was not 'automatically' opposed to it, but that the scheme was not economically but politically motivated and was a means whereby the dreaded Chinese were spreading their influence in Southern Africa.

The Portuguese minister backed his hosts' attitude towards South-West Africa to the hilt: 'The South-West African problem should be resolved by South Africa alone, and not by the UN, which acts on too emotional principles' (Believed to be a reference to the very large number of UN resolutions condemning Portuguese colonialism). It was Portugal's opinion that South Africa should assume responsibility for the development of South-West Africa, just as Portugal had assumed responsibility for Angola and Mozambique. This picture of misunderstood altruism brings tears to the eyes....

As to Rhodesia, Patricio expressed hope that Britain

and the Smith regime would soon settle their differences. Portugal was concerned over the situation because both Britain and Rhodesia were its friends and their quarrel had seriously affected Portugal, especially in economic terms: 'Mozambique's balance of payments has seriously suffered because of the sanctions', he noted. It has also suffered because the northern fifth of the territory has been out of Portuguese control for, some years, with the result that cotton output, for example, has declined drastically - Senhor Patricio did not see fit to mention this.

As to the wars themselves, Patricio shrugged these aside as if they were minor issues. The military situation in Angola and Mozambique was 'under control' - that this control involved an army which, relative to the size of Portugal's population, was larger than that employed by the Americans in Vietnam was another point Patricio kept quiet about. He admitted however that Portugal was concerned over the increasing number of sophisticated modern weapons used by 'the terrorists' - and then petulantly declared 'Nevertheless we will continue the struggle as long as our African neighbours have not adopted a more realistic attitude' - ie it would all be alright if only those who had rejected and fought against British and French colonialism would recognize what a good thing Portuguese colonialism was. Patricio then lapsed into Dunkirk spirit rhetoric - Portugal had fought alone for ten years against 'terrorism' and 'our enemies have not the slightest chance of winning'. Naturally.

AND NOW, A WORD FROM INDUSTRY

From the British National Export Council Report 69/70. No comment.

Following the successful general survey of Angola which was undertaken by the Committee in January, 1969, two further specialised surveys were carried out in Angola during the year. The first, which took place in March, reported on the present state of development in the Angolan fishing and associated industries and examined the potential market revealed for British exports in this field. This report was subsequently presented by the leader and some members of the team to the Portuguese Overseas Minister personally in Lisbon.

The second survey examined the opportunities for greater British participation in the development of the agricultural economy of Angola, with particular reference to dairy farming, meat production and improved livestock breeding and management. This survey was financed from the BNEC private fund and copies of the report will shortly be available. In Mozambique, where British exports are currently running at a rate of £11.5m a year, the Committee organised a general survey by an 8 man team led by the Chairman of the Angola/Mozambique Sub-Committee, Mr. WR Hudson, on the same lines as that carried out in Angola in 1969. Britain's share of the Mozambique market has been declining in the face of foreign competition although the value of UK exports has increased. It is hoped that the survey report, when published, will stimulate the relevant sectors of British industry into taking a closer look at this part of Africa.

The Chairman and the Executive Secretary visited South Africa, Mozambique and Angola in the early part of this year and met the British Ambassador, South African Ministers and the Governor General of Angola in addition to many leading personalities in all 3 countries. Numerous complaints were received regarding delays in the delivery of British goods and discussions were held during the year with the director and executive staff of the Committee for the Simplification of Trade Procedures to discuss means whereby the number of delays due to bad documentation in particular, can be reduced.

The Committee would like to express its appreciation of the great assistance afforded to it and to British exporters as a whole during the year, by the British Government, officers in South Africa, Angola and Mozambique and by the South Africa Britain Trade Association in Johannesburg.

NATO

It seems to have taken an extraordinarily long time but at last the West Germans are waking up to the fact of Portugal's use of NATO arms in her colonial wars. Rather carelessly the semi-official Lisbon newspaper, 'Diario de Noticias', let slip that the Portuguese air force in Mozambique was equipped with Fiat G-91 jets - 40 of which had been sold to Portugal by West Germany 'in 1966 under a NATO arrangement. The West German government has apparently protested, reminding the Portuguese that the sale agreement contained a clause stipulating that the jets should be used only in Portugal and for defence missions under NATO. The Portuguese reply - predictably - was that Mozambique, Angola and Guinea were all part of Portugal. This argument has not impressed the



West Germans who have demanded that the restrictive clause in the agreement be honoured.

At present the NATO members who have spoken out against Portugal's use of NATO facilities to further her colonial aims are the Scandinavian countries, and, to some extent, Italy. Even if West Germany is added to these, that still leaves a strong pro-Portuguese lobby spearheaded by Britain, the US and the present General Secretary of NATO, Joseph Luns.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

At the TUC conference at the beginning of September a motion on Southern Africa was unanimously passed which, among other things, condemned the Tory government's decision to sell arms to South Africa, its intention to renew talks with Rhodesia, and its continued support for Portuguese rule in Angola and Mozambique, committed the TUC to give full backing to workers who refused to work on arms for South Africa, demanded that unions should ensure that their money is not invested in firms implicated in Southern Africa and that British unions should cut off all links with whites only South African unions, and pressed moral and material support to the liberation movements of the sub-continent.

Following the similar motion passed at the Labour Party conference last year, and the setting up of a Labour Party fund to collect for the liberation movements, this means that the British labour movement is now committed - on paper at any rate - to supporting the armed struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa against the white tyrannies of Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon. It is vital that these militant motions - passed, unfortunately, without any debate - should not be allowed simply to gather dust in the minute book. All those who are so concerned about the situation in Southern Africa, must ensure that the words of the Labour Party and the TUC are translated into deeds and that money and materials start flowing towards the movements. The special Labour Party Fund makes an excellent starting point - as many union branches and constituency labour parties as possible should contri-

bute generously to this. These motions may be more significant than the tiny news coverage the dailies gave them would lead us to believe - they may mean that when a Labour government is returned to power it will find it impossible to revert to a position of friendship to Portugal - with all the consequences that that would entail in NATO.

Further support for the movements came at roughly the same time when the World Council of Churches announced its second Free Handout from its Fund for Combat Racism. All in all, \$ 200,000 was distributed - \$ 130,000 of which went to organisations fighting white minority rule in Africa, including FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC. Unfortunately the WCC, in an attempt to be impartial, succeeded only in being slightly ludicrous when in addition to MPLA, they also gave grants to Holden Roberto's nearly defunct GRAE (which the OAU finally ceased to recognise a few weeks ago) and the small splinter movement, UNITA. Nevertheless this is a small blemish, and considering the outbreak of near-fascist vituperation with which the British Right greeted the previous grants, one can only praise the WCC for having the courage of its convictions and continuing.

STOP PRESS

According to the West German ambassador to Ethiopia the German government has refused credit guarantees for the second stage of Cabora Bassa (see page 4). Although it supplied them for stage 1 for 'contractual' reasons.

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		10p
War on Three Fronts: the Fight against Portuguese Colonialism		18p
Portugal's Wars in Africa	Ruth First	20p
Programme of the PAIGC		25p
Statutes and Programme of FRELIMO		25p
World Council of Churches - Profile of PAIGC		2p
World Council of Churches - Profile of FRELIMO		2p
Leaflet 'War on Three Fronts'		£1.50 per 1,000
Cabora Bassa/Bacelays leaflet		£1.50 per 1,000
Fact sheets on British involvement in		
Cabora Bassa		35p
Cabora Bassa and UN Sanctories on Southern Rhodesia		35p
British financial interests in Portugal, Angola, Mozambique & Guinea		25p

Posters

*Cabora Bassa Day - Sash Cabora Bassa	10p
MPLA 4th February 1961 - 1971	10p
Mozambique will be free - Frelimo Vencera	10p

Films

Venceremos - 16 mm 20 minute film from Mozambique	£2.50 plus (plus postage)
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 50 minute film from Mozambique available from Contemporary Films, 55, Greek St., London W1	£8.50

Speakers

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

URGENT MEDICAL AID

The £1,000 Medical Aid Fund for Angola got off to a good start in June. Almost immediately most of the £10 receipt books were taken to be sold to friends, groups etc. Some of the stubs and cash have been returned to us, but if you have some books please return the stubs and cash for sold books to the Committee, indicating at the same time how many you have left as yet unsold.

We would like the fund completed and closed by November 1st.

The Director of the Angolan Medical Aid Services (SAM) told us a month ago that, while SAM is improving and expanding the training of medical personnel within the liberated areas of Angola, they are still desperately short of even the most simple surgical equipment.

There are just a few books left. If you can help to reach the target quickly, please write to the Committee for a book of 20 tickets (value 50p per ticket). Remember we want to reach £1,000 by November 1st.

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

To: Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola & Guinea
531 Caledonian Road, London N7 (phone 01-4607 2170)

- I would like £10 receipt books for the Medical Aid Fund
- I enclose a donation (in multiples of 50p) to the Medical Aid Fund
- I would like to order Guerrilleros on sale or return (quantity at 5p each)
- I enclose 40p subscription to Guerrilleros (50p outside UK)
- I enclose 80p subscription to Mozambique Revolution (£1-60p outside UK)
- I would like you to send me a Banker's Order
- I also enclose a contribution to the work
- Total

NAME

ADDRESS

.....

.....