

# guerrilheiro

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Mozambique, Angola and Guiné

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(FOR AMILCAR CABRAL)

A small part  
of the mountain shifted,  
today;  
it seemed to go  
a little to the west;  
merely shadowed  
by the usual cloud,  
I told myself.

We weren't  
really expecting it,  
though I know  
we should have been  
on the look-out,  
knowing how insistent  
things are  
in the punishment  
capital and murder inflict,  
and knowing that any paid hand  
can hold a gun,  
especially  
when your kind of offence  
is total liberation,  
now;  
and, of course,  
you were just about  
to make your final moves  
through the bush  
and across the water.

I can hear the su-su,  
brutal as ever:  
"He made too free  
with the ideas and the fight.  
He had to be stopped  
at dead of night.  
We did it  
when he was alone.  
No witnesses.  
Right?"



But the rest of the mountain,  
bulging, there, in the dark,  
saw the bullets slice into you;  
they pierced us, too;  
they've gone so far  
inside the slope  
that they've shaken  
the interlocked layers  
down to the furnace  
at the core;  
the shaking must continue;  
it has already reached  
the outstretched hand;  
more and more of the mountain  
will come forward;  
Bissau will change.

Andrew Salkey

# Cabral assassinated

20th January

On 20 January 1973 Amilcar Cabral was murdered outside his home in Conakry. The assassins also captured a number of PAIGC members, including Aristides Pereira, and set off to sea in three small boats: the embryo of a PAIGC naval unit. When they 12 hours later were caught by ships from The Republic of Guinea, the group was on its way to Bissau, headquarters of the Portuguese colonial administration in Guine.

The assassins were a small group of Guineans, who some time earlier had 'deserted' from the Portuguese side. They had there received naval training, and worked in that capacity with PAIGC. They managed to avoid the usual security checks, though Luis Cabral (a member of the PAIGC executive) has since said that they were under suspicion at the time of the murder.

According to confessions made by the group, the assassination was instigated by the Portuguese, who had promised 'full independence' for the mainland on two conditions: that Amilcar Cabral was eliminated and that the nationalist movement, PAIGC, was destroyed. If these conditions were met, the Portuguese army would withdraw completely to the Cape Verde Islands, handing over the mainland to an African government in which the group members would get important positions.

**A** DDRESSING the third Conference of the African Peoples, in Cairo, March 1961, Cabral said:

"Our enemies are determined to strike mortal blows against us and to turn our victories into defeats. To attain this goal, they use the most suitable instrument—AFRICAN TRAITORS. And here is a reality that is made more evident by our struggle: in spite of their armed forces, the imperialists cannot do without traitors; traditional chiefs and bandits in the times of slavery and of the wars of colonial conquest, gendarmes, various agents and mercenary soldiers during the golden age of colonialism, self-styled heads of state and ministers in the present time of neo-colonialism. The enemies of the African peoples are powerful and cunning and can always count on a few faithful lackeys in our country, since Quislings are not a European privilege."

It is clear that the murder was carefully planned, but before the colonial regime could find an African collaborator it had to go so far as to offer to remove itself.

An inquiry into the assassination, established by President Sekou Toure and chaired by Luis Cabral, is now investigating all aspects of the act. Later, the assassins will be tried by a court set up by PAIGC. Aristides Pereira, a militant and leader of PAIGC since the 1950s, has been elected Secretary-General of the movement pending a full meeting of the Supreme Council of the Struggle.

Excerpts from

# PAIGC communique

22nd January

The PAIGC, as the driving force of the great liberation struggle waged since 1960, has seen its influence and effectiveness constantly increasing.. The PAIGC, confronted by the ignoble crime committed against the person of its great leader, Comrade Amilcar Cabral, and conscious of the fact that international imperialism and Portuguese fascism were the real instruments of the assassination of the man responsible before all others for the struggle waged to secure a happy future, addresses its profound indignation to the traitors against the nation who served as their reckless and ignoble agents. The PAIGC solemnly reaffirms its strong determination to avenge the ignoble killing by exterminating the colonialists and their corrupt agents on the sacred soil of the motherland. Far from discouraging the struggle the killing only serves to strengthen their hatred of the colonial domination and thereby it provides inspiration for speeding up the movement for emancipation of the peoples...

The PAIGC pays glowing tribute to the man who was its founder, its organiser, its guide and whose exemplary conduct throughout the whole of the war will serve as a guiding light and point of reference to all revolutionary militants in Africa.

The PAIGC thanks the fraternal countries of Africa for their compassionate attitude; it thanks the progressive countries of the world, all the mass parties and organisations who have been kind enough to share in its mourning and who once more have confirmed their full and complete support for the liberation struggle the PAIGC is waging and its victorious outcome which will not be long in coming.

The PAIGC thanks, in particular, the people and Government of the Republic of Guinea for having arrested the criminals used by imperialism against Africa and for having given to the fighters of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde full responsibility for judging the case concerned with this monstrous crime. The PAIGC declares in the name of the fighting people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde that it will assume and fulfil its duty, in meting out to the criminals just punishment for their crime. PAIGC reaffirms its faith in the fraternal peoples and Governments of the African continent, particularly the neighbouring states, whose active solidarity is still needed...

Down with Portuguese fascism, down with international imperialism. Long live African unity and solidarity; long live the PAIGC. The struggle continues.

# 'We strengthen our battle...'

Nine days after his assassination over 600 people attended a memorial meeting in London to honour Amilcar Cabral. Messages of condolence from political organisations were read, and Cabral's voice, recorded during his 1971 visit, was heard. Speakers included Abdul Minty, Basil Davidson and the Tanzanian High Commissioner, G.M.Nhigula. In the final speech Oscar Monteiro, FRELIMO's representative in Algiers, said:

"It is a clever tactic for the colonialists to make people believe that the murders are the result of internal contradictions when they are in fact the results of machinations arranged, financed and encouraged by them."

... "In this crime we can see not only the hand of Portuguese colonialism but also the long arm of imperialism: it was not by chance that the last meeting of NATO in Bonn held a few months ago discussed in some detail the Cape route, in which the Portuguese colonies and South Africa play a strategic role which it was considered necessary to place under the NATO umbrella. It is not by chance that Marcello Caetano on every conceivable occasion raises the strategic importance of the Cape Verde Islands to the West."

"Our struggle brings us into direct conflict with an enemy with many faces and many methods. This is why our reply to these crimes is essentially a political one. It is a strengthening of our political vigilance."

.. "It is typical of the Portuguese colonialists, and of re-

actionaries on all fronts, to think they can halt the struggle for popular liberation by murdering individuals. They do this because they are unable to understand that men represent human feelings, the efforts and successes of an entire people, and form the symbol of an unbeatable determination by a people and a party to go on to final victory."

... "They are sadly mistaken if they think they can halt the victorious spirit of the people of Guine and Cape Verde by murdering Amilcar Cabral, just as they were mistaken in thinking they could stop the struggle in Mozambique by murdering Eduardo Mondlane."

... "But the parallel does not stop there. There, as in today's example, the Portuguese colonialists have tried to make people believe in their innocence - mixing virtuous denials with hateful cynicism. It has taken several years for clear, material proof of direct participation by the agents of Portuguese colonialism in the assassination of Mondlane to be collected."

"During the seventies, during our years faced with an enemy

trained in the tactics of psychological warfare, subversion and corruption, perfected by its American imperialist masters in Vietnam, any struggle for national liberation is inevitably a struggle against counter-revolution. Every crime therefore demands a strengthening and deepening of the struggle."

... "We say all this, not in any spirit of vengeance. We want this to be understood quite clearly: this abominable crime in no way incites us to a blind hatred of the Portuguese people. We think it is due to Amilcar Cabral's memory to remind everyone that his assassination and any other crimes that the Portuguese colonial regime may commit will not make any of our movements deviate from our fundamental principles; our struggle is directed against the system of colonial domination

and exploitation, but not against the white man as such and still less against the Portuguese people."

... "At this moment you will only hear our voices express our determination. But we assure you that far away you will hear each day more clearly the echo of our battle, of our arms, and of our will. You will hear of defeats which the enemy will be less and less able to hide. And you will know that the African liberation fighters really know how to honour the memory of Amilcar Cabral, the memory of Mondlane, the memory of Luthuli and the memory of many, many unknown men and women, worthy children of their people who have fallen in the struggle for national liberation."

"By strengthening our battle, we shall have made their sacrifice meaningful."

"VIVA AMILCAR CABRAL"

## for a great comrade

The response of many individuals and organisations around the country to the assassination of Cabral was to organise immediate activities of protest against the Portuguese government and in support of PAIGC. Apart from the 300-strong London Vigil at the

### Memorial Fund set up

At the memorial meeting in London the establishment of the Amilcar Cabral Memorial Fund was announced. It now stands at over £400, half of which was collected at the meeting. The fund will provide financial assistance to education and health projects of all three liberation movements.

Portuguese embassy on the day after the announcement, there was a vigil and petition in Newcastle, while in Manchester the Portuguese consulate was occupied for several hours.

Memorial meetings have so far been organised in Oxford, Hull, Manchester, Reading, Newcastle and Brighton, and messages of condolence sent to PAIGC from many other places as well. Hundreds of people signed the condolence book, which was kept by the Tanzania High Commission.

In Dublin, which Cabral visited in 1971, the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement organised a memorial meeting.

# The people of Guiné decide

In this article, written soon after his return from six weeks with the PAIGC, Basil Davidson reports on the background to the elections of 1972 and to the vitally important meeting in the near future of the People's National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau. Of the six weeks 27 days (11 Nov. - 8 Dec.) were spent in the liberated areas, when he went as far as the Como sector in the south, last visited by any foreigner - including any Portuguese - in 1964.

1. The national elections of April-June 1972 were conducted throughout the liberated areas by universal, direct and secret vote of all persons, whether male or female, over the age of fifteen. They followed an intensive campaign of political explanation by a large number of PAIGC political workers.

2. The method was this. The PAIGC had already divided the whole of rural Guinea into sectors. Village committees in each sector had already elected sector committees. These sector committees each drew up its own register of voters, being obliged (as I saw for myself) to enter the name, accepted age, sex and village of each voter. Elections at village level then took place for each sector's list of candidates presented by agreement between the local sector committee and the local PAIGC leadership. Each elector was handed a white card printed "yes" and a grey card printed "no", and placed the card of his or her choice in a sealed box.

3. Some 58,000 voters were thus registered, and about 53,000 of these voted. Overall returns show that 92.17% of registered voters voted in the North, and, of these, 94.35% voted in favour of the Party's lists; that 90.63% of registered voters voted in the South, with 96.99% in favour; and that 84.15% voted in the East, with 92.50% in favour. The largest "no" vote that I came across was in one of the sectors of the Catio Region: there, 89.1% voted in favour.

4. These votes sent 282 representatives to newly-created regional councils, of which there are fifteen in all. (Another 54 national representatives were also named by clandestine organisation in the capital of Bissau, in Bolama, and in the Bijagos Islands.) Each regional council then proceeded to choose about one-third of its own number who will also sit in the National Assembly, due to meet about twice a year. I was present at two such

regional selection meetings. The Southern regions have chosen 27 national representatives; the Northern regions 24; and the Eastern regions 10; while another 11 will sit in the Assembly for Bissau, Bolama and the Bijagos archipelago.

5. To these 72 elected representatives, there are added 5 elected to represent the UNTG (trade unions) and 3 to represent the students, most of whom are in Europe. And to this total of 80, the PAIGC will add by nomination of the Supreme Council of the Struggle a total of 40 fulltime Party workers. Thus the PAIGC remains in full and firm control, but the National Assembly becomes the supreme organ of the new State and consists of two-thirds who are supporters of the PAIGC but are not fulltime Party workers. To quote Cabral and other leaders, this represents the beginning of a separation of powers between State and Party, as well as a major means of broadening the active participation of ordinary people in the responsibilities for their own national life.

6. The Assembly will meet soon inside Guinea-Bissau. It will consider and adopt a constitution of which a draft is now being written. It will appoint a State Council as its supreme executive. It will proclaim the sovereign independence of Guinea-Bissau, even though a small part of its national territory, and its capital city, are still in enemy hands. It will empower the State Council to seek worldwide recognition. (By November, as I learned, several dozen countries had already promised immediate recognition. It must clearly be an immediate duty of all support committees to work for recognition by their respective governments.)

7. I met about thirty national representatives. All save one (who was a village tailor) were farmers, whether men or women. The whole process represents a remarkable achievement in the promotion

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Amilcar Cabral in  
Guine during the  
elections in 1972



of grass-roots democracy.

8. The National Assembly is for Guinea-Bissau, whose people have created it, and not for the Cape Verde Islands, whose people cannot be thus consulted at this time. The PAIGC will hold a similar election in the Cape Verde Islands when conditions make that possible, and the resultant People's Assembly of the Cape Verdes will then be federated with that of Guinea-Bissau. In this connexion Cabral's maxim may be kept in mind: "Even twins are not born exactly at the same time." The cause of liberating the Cape Verde Islands is in no way renounced; on the contrary, every PAIGC leader with whom I spoke on the subject went out of his or her way to emphasise that the Party will never abandon its struggle for the liberation of the Cape Verdes.

## Confidence in the future

Briefly, on other points. Comparing them with my visit of 1967, I found all the institutions and activities of the PAIGC in full development. There is more and better primary education; there is a beginning to secondary education inside the country. Hospitals and clinics are still short of qualified personnel, but the position there is notably better than it was. New structures have appeared: not the least of these is a network of people's courts and the codification of laws. These work at village level, with

senior courts at sector level, and a supreme court for the most serious cases.

Aid for civilian purposes, notably from Sweden, has enabled the People's Shops to offer a wider and better range of consumer goods. Production of foodstuffs is improving. Last year the villagers of the liberated areas were able to cover all needs of their own communities, as well as those of the civilian and military organisations of their liberation movement.

The military power of the PAIGC has improved in three respects. First, the arming of peoples' militias for local defence purposes has been completed, with a resultant gain for the regular army's mobility and freedom of action. Secondly, the regular army has been re-organised with the promotion of a large number of junior commanders trained since 1967. Thirdly, armament and equipment have improved with the arrival and absorption of new weapons and other material.

In spite of intensified Portuguese bombing and strafing, the picture is thus a bright one, and everywhere I went I found an atmosphere of strong confidence in the future.

Cabral and others asked me to convey their good wishes to our Committee and all its supporters, and the hope that everyone will redouble their efforts in a cause which is that of all of us, whether we live in Africa or not.

# **The fire is spreading to Zimbabwe**

## **And FRELIMO starts attacking towns...**



World attention has been focussed on Southern Africa following the development of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe. The Smith regime has been forced into admitting that the Zimbabwe guerrillas are firmly established in the interior of the country and operating with the full support of their people. This development is extremely welcome at a time when the British Government quietly tries to arrange a settlement with the illegal regime in Zimbabwe. The strikes in South Africa warn the minority there that their power is limited, too.

The advances made by FRELIMO present immediate and very serious threats to all the three white governments:

- Tete town and airport directly attacked, 17 aircraft destroyed on the ground and several important town buildings badly damaged;
- Three boats sunk on Zambezi River, two helicopters and two planes shot down in Tete;
- In Manica e Sofala attacks on the road between Vila Gouveia and Vila Pery, bringing the vital supply route from Beira to Salisbury under growing threat;
- The Beira-Tete railway line blown up simultaneously in different places over a 75 mile stretch of track;
- Many vehicles destroyed on the supply roads to Cabora Bassa.

These are only some of the actions reported for November and December last year, forcing the Portuguese into increasingly defensive positions. In the Telegraph Colour Magazine of 2 February Bruce Loudon described the Portuguese defence precautions that have been taken at and around Cabora Bassa, where 'the roads leading to it are a death trap, thick with FRELIMO fighters whose aim is to destroy the project'.

This constant intensive harassment of the Portuguese on all fronts is combined with reconstruction efforts in the liberated areas. In October, FRELIMO received a delegation from the African Liberation Committee of the OAU, led by its Executive Secretary Major Hassan Mbita. After their 10-day visit to Cabo Delgado province Major Mbita spoke of the 'quiet revolution that takes place beneath the bullet', of the social services being organised by FRELIMO, and of the need for a strongly increased support by independent Africa.



# AMILCAR CABRAL



'No crime, no force, no manoeuvre in word or deed by the criminal Portuguese colonial aggressors will be able to stop the march of history, the irreversible march of the African people of Guine and the Cape Verde Islands towards independence.

Forward, comrades and compatriots in the heroic struggle for national liberation!'

Amilcar Cabral,  
New Year Message January 1973

'Comrades, keep up your offensive actions. The whole of progressive humanity is on our side.'

PAIGC  
22 January 1973



## **'No crime, no force, no manoeuvre...'**

On 20th January 1973 Amilcar Cabral was murdered outside his home in Conakry. The assassination was carried out by Guinean infiltrators, who also kidnapped other PAIGC leaders. They tried to escape to Bissau by boat but were caught by the Guinean (Conakry) navy.

The arrested men admitted the whole plan was master-minded by the Portuguese, who had indicated they would grant 'independence' to mainland Guine if Cabral were eliminated and the national movement PAIGC destroyed.

Cabral's assassination came at a time when elections for a national assembly had just been completed and an independent state was about to be declared and recognised by a large number of states throughout the world. A major military offensive was also planned by PAIGC.

By assassinating Cabral, the Portuguese hoped to stave off the inevitable defeat.

## **'I am a simple African man...'**

Amilcar Cabral was one of Africa's great political leaders, with an outstanding ability to relate theory and practice in the revolutionary struggle. Born in Guine in 1926, he studied agricultural engineering in Lisbon. His work as an agronomist in the colonial administration of Guine led him to all parts of the country and in this way he gained a thorough knowledge and understanding of the political situation under Portuguese colonialism.

In 1956 he formed, with five others, the nationalist movement of PAIGC (African Independence Party of Guine and Cape Verde). After three years of fruitless pressure for political concessions, the movement decided that the only way was armed action.

In January 1963, after thorough political and military preparations, the armed struggle was started, and today PAIGC holds almost the whole country. Only the towns and some isolated forts remain in Portuguese hands.

Besides the military advances, PAIGC has built up extensive education and health services in the liberated areas. Co-operative organisation of agriculture and trade has greatly improved the living standard of the people. New social and political structures have laid the foundations of a people's state.

## Murder is part of a pattern



Portugal's history in Africa is a long and bloody one. From the slave trade, from gold, from mineral and cash crop exploitation profits have flowed to Europe, while every popular effort at self-determination was brutally crushed.

The formation of the liberation movements MPLA (Angola), FRELIMO (Mozambique) and PAIGC (Guinea) brought the struggle to a new phase. During the 1960s these movements made great advances, established themselves firmly in the rural areas, and clearly exposed the emptiness of Portuguese claims on her 'overseas provinces'.

MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC are now recognised by the United Nations as the true representatives of their people.

The rapid progress of the struggle was not expected by the white minority regimes in Southern Africa and their allies. Projects such as the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique and the Cunene scheme in Angola are seriously hampered, and the white power structure is under direct threat.

In this situation, Portuguese efforts have become ever more desperate:

- \* February 1969, Eduardo Mondlane, President of FRELIMO, assassinated in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania
- \* November 1970, invasion of the capital of the Republic of Guinea, Conakry; attempt on the life of President Sekou Toure as well as the leaders of PAIGC
- \* During 1972, collaboration with exile Tanzanian, Oscar Kambona, in sabotage actions aimed at the Tanzanian government

The strategy of Portugal and her allies is now clear. Failure to defeat the liberation movements within the colonies has led to strikes in neighbouring countries, aimed at the governments of these countries as much as at the movements themselves. But even this strategy is bound to fail. FRELIMO is stronger than ever, directing itself now to the very heart of Mozambique. In Guinea, the spirit of Amilcar Cabral lives in his movement and will carry the people through to total independence.

# How responsible is Britain?

Slowly but surely, Portugal is losing her colonial wars, and would long ago have been forced to leave Africa had it not been for the assistance she has been given by other countries in the West - particularly Britain.

NATO agreements provide the bulk of arms and equipment used against the people of Guine, Angola and Mozambique. British supplies include planes, jeeps and frigates.

The 'defence' of Guine against its own people is regarded as being of "vital strategic significance", for the protection of Western military and economic interests. NATO help for Portugal is not incidental but deliberate.

The same interests combine to shore up white minority rule - in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies.

Behind this lie six centuries of 'friendship' in the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance - an alliance which, for most of its existence, has consisted of British imperialism working hand in glove with the feudal Portuguese ruling class. Portugal today is an under-developed country - with all the implications this holds for her colonies - largely because of British economic dominance.

British capital 'opened up' the colonies in the 1900s. It is now eagerly participating in the post-1960 profiteering in white-ruled Africa. Forced and cheap labour is a major attraction for investors. Today British investment in Portugal and her colonies amount to some £300 million.

Anglo-Portuguese relations are now extremely friendly. There has been an exchange of visits by the Foreign Ministers of each country (and Africa was always high on the agenda). In contrast, the Foreign Office refused to see Amilcar Cabral during his visit to Britain. This year the 600th anniversary celebrations include a visit to Portugal by Prince Phillip and a state visit to Britain by Prime Minister Caetano - the first since before the rise of Portuguese fascism in 1926.

The Portuguese ambassador has publicly thanked Britain for her 'understanding of Portugal's position in Africa'. Does this 'understanding' also extend to the murder of Amilcar Cabral?

## Mobilise against

- \* The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance
- \* NATO arms supplies to Portugal
- \* British investment in colonialism

## Support

- PAIGC, MPLA, FRELIMO
- politically  
and  
materially.

# End the Alliance

End collaboration in Portugal's wars  
Support the Liberation Movements  
Solidarity with the Portuguese people

A major campaign this year will be directed against the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance and the planned 600th anniversary celebrations.

The objectives of the campaign are to expose the Alliance for what it is today - military, economic and diplomatic collaboration in the maintenance of fascism in Europe and colonialism in Africa - and to bring it to an end. At the same time a new alliance must be built between the people of Britain and the people of Portugal, Angola, Guine and Mozambique.

A focal point will be the government-inspired 'celebrations', which are being used in an effort to polish Portugal's tarnished image. Foreign office plans and propaganda must be matched by an educational campaign on British involvement, and by broad-ranging opposition to the celebrations taking place at all.

Government plans already involve the whole Establishment: the British Council, the Arts Council, the BBC, the London Chamber of Commerce, the Anglo-Portuguese Society, MPs, journalists and so on. There will be promotions of Portuguese goods and Portuguese holiday resorts. A special football match. Commemorative pottery. In fact everything that could be devised by either government to put across the idea of a friendly, sunny peaceloving Portugal.

All this will be crowned in July by the first state visit of a Portuguese Prime Minister for fifty years; and in the exchange of visits the Duke of Edinburgh is to visit Portugal.

## STOP THE CELEBRATIONS

Every political organisation, trade union, town council, student body or grouping of any kind should be asked to pledge its support to our campaign, and to refuse to participate in any way in the celebrations should they take place. Already demonstrations are being held asking Prince Philip to cancel his visit: these must be kept up wherever he goes. Action against obvious manifestations of British involvement - firms investing in Portugal and the colonies, NATO arms supplies, trading links and so on must be intensified at local and national level. The celebrations, in all their forms, must be actively opposed.

## BUILDING A NEW ALLIANCE

During February a series of regional workshops are being held to bring together the organisations and individuals who will be actively engaged in the campaign. They will serve both to give an in depth briefing on all aspects of the liberation struggle, British links etc. and as an opportunity to work out the type of activities in each locality, and methods of building up local support.

# Britain's first

**1373** 16 June. First Anglo-Portuguese alliance signed between Edward III of England and Fernando I of Portugal, largely due to John of Gaunt's dynastic ambitions in the Iberian Peninsula.

**1385** 14 August. Battle of Aljubarrota: Portuguese and a contingent of English Archers defeat the invading Castilians and firmly establish Portugal as an independent nation-state.

**1386** Following the 'Treaty of Perpetual Alliance' by which 'each shall be bound to give aid and bring assistance to the other against all men who may live and die, who break the peace of the other or injure its status', John of Gaunt's invasion of Castile with Portuguese backing fails. He sails home, leaving Portugal at war with Castile.

**1400-1550** Anglo-Portuguese Alliance effectively lapses due to England's preoccupation with the second phase of the Hundred Years War and then with the Wars of the Roses. Portuguese seamen round the Cape of Good Hope, and by the mid 16th century they establish the first European empire. Needing manpower for their Brazilian sugar plantations, the Portuguese give Africa the first fruits of their 'civilising mission' - the slave trade.

**1580-1640** On the extinction of its ruling dynasty, Portugal is taken over by Phillip II of Spain, and for 60 years the Spanish and Portuguese crowns are united. This involves Portugal in Spain's wars with England and the Dutch. Elisabethan raiders capture much of the Brazil-Lisbon shipping. In 1619 an English fleet destroys Portuguese hegemony in the Persian Gulf and relations do not improve until an Anglo-Portuguese truce is signed at Goa in 1635.

**1642** At war with both Holland and Spain and needing allies, Portugal signs a treaty with Charles I of England.

**1654** After coming close to war with the victorious Parliamentarians for sheltering Prince Rupert's royalist pirates, Portugal signs a highly disadvantageous treaty with Cromwell.

**1660** Restoration of the Stuarts necessitates a fresh Anglo-Portuguese treaty in which Charles II is pledged to defend Portugal 'as if it were England

itself'. (This guarantee has no time limit, and according to the Caetano regime it is as valid in the 1970s as it was in the 1660s.) These 17th century treaties destroyed Portugal's trading monopoly with her colonies and subordinated the extremely weak Portuguese economy to expanding English mercantile capital, in return for English political support needed to maintain independence from Spain.

**1703** The Methuen Treaty gives import concessions for Portuguese wines into England in exchange for the free entry of English woollens into Portugal. In other words, Portugal's incipient cloth industry is sacrificed in order to expand the profitable wine trade. The Portuguese economy is thus condemned to develop in a colonial pattern - exporting raw materials to England and importing English manufactures. Portugal also suffers immense destruction during the War of the Spanish Succession and is betrayed by her English allies during the peace negotiations when they renege on the promised frontier alterations.

**1700-1800** Portugal goes into steady decline, her dependence on England becoming so great that in the middle of the century two thirds of her physical necessities are supplied by England. Pombal, State Minister 1750-77, attempts to break this dependence, but when he falls from power his policies are gradually jettisoned. The ruling class lives comfortably off the pickings of the empire, and to defend this empire they need English support. In return, England gets both the Portuguese metropolitan and colonial markets, and Portugal remains a wine producer.

**1807** Napoleon invades Portugal. Portuguese royal family and administration carried to Brazil by a British fleet. In return, Brazilian ports are opened for trade with Portugal's allies - ie Britain. Portugal therefore effectively loses her Brazilian market and the profitable re-export of Brazilian produce.

**1825** Brazil secures its independence largely due to the British government's blackmail of the Portuguese government. British economic privileges in Portugal are automatically extended to Brazil. For the rest of the century Portugal tries to compensate for the loss of Brazil by car-

# neo-colony

ving out an empire in Africa. But as late as 1850 Portuguese rule in Africa hardly extends beyond the coast and up a few major rivers. And in Africa Portugal is competing with much more powerful imperialist powers, Britain in particular.

**1867** Portuguese administrator, Sa da Bandeira, produces a map claiming large areas of present-day Rhodesia as Portuguese. Portuguese strategy is now based on linking Angola with Mozambique.

**1885** Congress of Berlin. Portugal loses out heavily when the Belgians and French share the Congo between them. North of the river Portugal is left with only the tiny enclave of Cabinda. Britain makes no attempt to support Portugal's claims in the Congo, it being widely felt that the Portuguese are degenerate and incapable of shouldering the 'white man's burden'.

**1888-90** Portugal attempts to press her claims in Central Africa. The Foreign Minister, Barros Gomes, presents the 'rose-coloured map' showing the entire interior of Africa from the 12th to the 18th parallels as Portuguese - a claim rejected by the British who need much of the area for their own project of a Cape-to-Cairo route. Portuguese expeditions penetrate into Nyasaland which is promptly declared a British protectorate. In 1890 Lord Salisbury's gunboats off Mozambique force the Portuguese to back down and the Barros government falls - and with it dreams of a transcontinental empire.

**1890-1914** British capital floods into Angola and Mozambique. The desperate financial position of Portugal leads to several Anglo-German schemes to carve up Portuguese Africa between them, but World War I intervenes.

**1910-26** Portugal's republican period, with 44 governments in 16 years culminating in the assumption of all power by Antonio Salazar and the creation of a fascist state. He cultivates the British alliance and aids Franco in the Spanish Civil War.

**1939-45** Salazar supplies Nazi Germany with vital strategic materials and in 1943 provides the allies with bases in

the Azores, and flies the flag at half-mast on Hitler's death.

**1949** Portugal admitted to NATO.

**1961** Armed struggle begins in Angola. Portuguese repression in the north results in the deaths of 50,000 Angolans. Britain under the Macmillan government sells the Portuguese two frigates 'to meet Portugal's NATO obligations'. India liberates Goa, Damau and Diu on the Indian coast and Salazar complains when Britain refuses to come to their rescue.

**1964-70** Labour government in office, wars of liberation in all three Portuguese colonies. The arms boycott imposed on Portugal is rendered meaningless through Portugal's use of the NATO alliance to get whatever arms she needs. In 1965 200 Austin jeeps are supplied to the Portuguese army, and in 1966 another frigate to the navy. No attempt is made to break the vital British economic links with Portuguese colonialism, or to question the privileges accruing to Portugal from her EFTA membership.

**1970-72** Under the Tory government Anglo-Portuguese relations improve rapidly. Alec Douglas-Home visits Lisbon in June 1971, and the Portuguese Foreign Minister visits London the following March - the first such visit since 1960. Tory MPs such as Patrick Wall and Ian Sproat are taken on regular publicity jaunts to the colonies. British investment in the colonies increases, and the London Chamber of Commerce and the British National Export Council visit Angola and Mozambique to produce glowing reports of investment possibilities. In October 1971, when Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC visits Britain the Foreign Office refuses to see him because 'it would be inappropriate since Mr. Cabral is committed to violence against a government with whom we have friendly relations'.

**1973** While British reaction drinks toasts to scraps of paper 600 years old, and to its current alliance with Portuguese fascism, the task of the British progressive movements is clear - to smash the Anglo-Portuguese alliance and build a new alliance with the people of Portugal, Mozambique, Angola and Guine.

# MPLA & FNLA form council

On 13 December, after more than six months of negotiations, an agreement between MPLA and FNLA was finally signed in Kinshasa. It was witnessed by the Foreign Ministers of Tanzania, Zambia, Zaire and Brazzaville.

Under the agreement, a Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola has been formed to co-ordinate the struggle in all its aspects. Holden Roberto becomes President of the Angolan Political Council while Agostinho Neto is President of the Unified Military Command. In the Council itself, Roberto and Neto are President and Vice-President respectively.

MPLA and FNLA both retain their identity as separate movements within the Supreme Council, and there is no question of a merger at this stage.

A side effect of the agreement is that GRAE, the so-called Revolutionary Government in Exile, is finally to disappear, some years after recognition for it was withdrawn by the OAU.

As supporters of the MPLA and of the Angolan national liberation struggle, the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine welcomes this new development for the possibilities it can give for a united effort against Portuguese colonialism in Angola. The President of MPLA, Dr. Agostinho Neto, explained the background to the negotiations very clearly in an interview made in July last year by the Swedish journal Kommentar.

## President Neto explains

The contacts must be seen in the light of our actions from the day our movement was formed. In 1956, in our first manifesto, we spoke about the unity between all patriotic forces in Angola. In the 11 years since the start of the armed struggle, we have made a number of attempts to achieve unity with FNLA. These approaches were directed first to UPA, led by Holden Roberto, then to FNLA with the same leader.

We made several attempts to get contacts during 1961-63 when UPA were active inside the country. It is UPA which has always been against unity with MPLA. They have found various reasons for their negative attitude; MPLA is an organisation of intellectuals, MPLA is a communist organisation etc.

What is new about it is not that MPLA has taken an initiative, since this has been done several times before. We have documents, showing the different proposals we have put forward. The new aspect of the situation is that Holden Roberto has accepted to hold talks with us. This he has always refused before.



The map shows MPLA's six military-political regions and also the different districts of Angola. Recently the district of Huila has been divided into two districts: Huila and Cunene. MPLA controls areas in all regions except No 6.



The militants within FNLA have very clearly expressed their approval of the attempts to unite all patriotic forces. They have for instance sent a message of approval of our attempts. When we had a meeting with Holden in Brazzaville, the militants in Kinshasa and other parts of Zaire arranged big celebrations to express their joy.

If, as the results of our efforts towards unity, the Zaire government permits the transit of military material, an immediate advantage for us will be that the armed struggle in the first region would take a big step forward. It would also lead to a change in the character of the struggle, as then we could also form an urban guerrilla army and make attacks of a very different kind from before. Changes could be foreseen even in the political sphere, as the pressure on the Portuguese government would increase.

But behind our interest in creating unity is not only the problem of permission to transport material through Zaire to the first region. This is certainly an important reason, but there is a strategically more important purpose: to try to unify our people.

Our common border with Zaire is very long - 1200 miles - and there are a large number of Angolans in Zaire: figures around 600,000 have been mentioned this year. It is very important that we mobilise all these people and get them to fight for our freedom in a united front. In the future we must also avoid factionalism. Conflicts between factions are always very serious, especially if the ethnic differences can be exploited and made into tribal contradictions. We are working today for complete unity within our lines and in the future we shall see this complete unity within our whole people.

These are the reasons why we are approaching FNLA. Although I am not sure, I believe that if we achieve a positive result, it will mean advantages both for our movement and for our people.

# NEWS IN BRIEF

new address  
from 26 feb:

CFMAG  
12 Little Newport st.  
London WC2H 7JJ  
Phone 01-734 5120

## Victims of the new Inquisition

Responsibility for the deaths of two Mozambican priests while in prison last year must be laid at the door of the colonial regime, whether or not they actually committed suicide in their cells. Rev. Zedequias Manganhela, President of the Presbyterian Church of Mozambique, and Jose Sidumo, a member of the Church Council, had been in jail since the mass arrest of church leaders, June 1972. Two Catholic priests have just received prison sentences in Mozambique on charges of 'anti-Portuguese activities'. Their 'crimes' include exposing Portuguese army atrocities against the people. Not even liberals tolerated

Even the liberals in Portugal are being given less and less room for manoeuvre by the Caetano regime, which has abandoned even the illusion of 'liberalism' it tried to create in the first post-Salazar period. The leaders of a New Years Eve vigil for peace, held in a church, were arrested and held for ten days before being fined. One of them, Professor Pereira de Moura, is known as a leading member of the opposition. He and other university lecturers have since been dismissed from their jobs.

At the beginning of February two deputies resigned from the Lisbon Parliament, and it is thought that further resignations will come from the small group of 'liberals' that have up to now been providing some of the facade. Dr Francisco de Carneiro said that it was futile to remain because they could never get a hearing for their views. The group was invited to stand in the 'elections' of 1969, as a token Opposition for foreign consumption; it seems that the next 'election', in Autumn 1973, will be shorn of even these trappings. In the meantime, the Portuguese regime has continued to be harassed by sabotage actions and leaflet bombs.

I only came to show the flag...

Demonstrations at the British consulate in Luanda, Angola, followed an amazing diplomatic faux pas by the British Aircraft Corporation. As Concorde stopped on its way to South Africa, its sales team made the usual goodwill gesture of flying the flag of their host country. But the Portuguese officials were not pleased. They are reported to have 'reeled back horrorstricken'. What they saw was the flag of MPLA flying alongside the Union Jack!

## WCC divests

The World Council of Churches has begun to implement its policy decision of last year of divestment of holdings in companies operating in South Africa. It has sold about \$1½ million worth of shares and published a list of 650 firms directly involved in 'strengthening white oppression'. 425 of the firms are British.

## Sussex raises £1,000

During November a number of universities undertook fundraising activities for the Southern African liberation movements, as part of a continuing campaign by the NUS. The largest single amount raised so far is from the University of Sussex, where a door-to-door bankers order campaign on behalf of FRELIMO has resulted in bankers orders totalling £1,000 a year.

# BOOKS & PAMPHLETS

## HOW EUROPE UNDERDEVELOPED AFRICA

by Walter Rodney. Tanzania Publishing House, Dar-es-Salaam, and Bogle-L'Overture Publications, London, 1972, 65p.

Walter Rodney's 'How Europe underdeveloped Africa' is by any standards an outstanding historical study of the political economy of Africa. What is so remarkable about the book is its coherence and simplicity, particularly when dealing with such a complex subject, covering such a large continent and extending over such a long and turbulent historical period.

'How Europe underdeveloped Africa' is not a black man's lamentations over the inequities inflicted on his people and continent by alien powers. It is a profound scientific historical analysis of the political economy of Africa during the precolonial and colonial eras. The opulence of Europe, the wealth of its cities and institutions is shown to be dialectically related to the poverty, the malnutrition and the illiteracy so rampant in Africa.

Dr Rodney, with his characteristic clarity and humour, smashes into smithereens many popular and strong bourgeois 'facts' and theories and shows that (1) colonialism did not come for the good of Africa but for its goods. To those scholars of the 'Mazruibrand' who argue that colonialism had two 'hands' and that the good one outweighed the bad one Rodney says and proves that colonialism had only one hand and that hand was of a bandit. (2) The comparative-cost theory is a smokescreen hiding a relationship of exploitation that relegates Africa to being the back garden of Europe. Agricultural and technological development are Siamese twins and in Africa both remain underdeveloped and malformed.

(3) The popular concept of 'developing countries' creates a false impression of reality, for in relation to industrial nations African nations are getting more underdeveloped and their exploitation by the capitalist industrial nations more intensified. (4) Political instability, so-called tribalism, corruption, lack of trained personnel etc are effects rather than principal causes of underdevelopment 'except in the sense that causes and effects come together and reinforce each other.'

If there is anything the book is lacking it is of a very different kind: an index and full citations of the many sharp and very apt quotations.

## BRITISH FINANCIAL INTERESTS IN ANGOLA, GUINE, MOZAMBIQUE AND PORTUGAL

by CFMAG, London 1973, 12p.

A new revised edition of 'British financial interests' is now available. In the new edition, the inventory of parent companies and subsidiaries, banks and insurance companies is updated and more complete. The introduction, moreover, is now an independent piece of research into the history of British exploitation of Portugal. Starting with the way Britain systematically demanded high economic returns for every kind of military assistance to

cont. from p. 19

her 'oldest ally' in the 17th and 18th centuries, the study presents a history of underdevelopment of the same pattern we see today in the actions of modern imperialism.

This is a simply written and extremely useful handbook for all groups and people in need of detailed information about the operations of British capital.

WHITE POWER. THE CUNENE RIVER SCHEME.  
by CFMAG, London 1973, 12p.

Wise from the experience of successful campaigns against Cabora Bassa, the imperialists are now very quiet about another project of the same kind - 27 dams and power stations along the Cunene river in Angola. Here again, as is pointed out in the Committee's new pamphlet 'White Power', white large-scale immigration is planned to consolidate the South African and Portuguese hold over the area.

The Cunene river forms the border between Angola and Namibia. The project is therefore of particular strategic significance. The pamphlet details this scheme to increase the exploitation of Africa, and describes the opposition from various sources, especially the peoples liberation movements, MPLA and SWAPO. Not the least useful are the final suggestions on how this information can be used in our struggle against imperialism in Africa, right now first of all the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance.

## End the Alliance

cont. from p. 13

Tours by representatives of the liberation movements are planned, with large meetings in the main urban centres. Films, photo exhibitions, meetings and fundraising campaigns should be organised wherever possible.

The actual date of the anniversary is 16 June, and around this time the scale of government activity will be increasing and need countering directly. In the week following 16 June a major meeting will be held in London, at which Southern African liberation leaders will speak. On the following weekend - 23/24 June - a conference will be held on The Revolution Against Portuguese Colonialism, bringing together people from all over the country to study and assess the developments of the liberation struggle and to prepare a longterm strategy for solidarity work.

### SUBSCRIPTION FORM

To: Committee for Freedom in Mozambique,  
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Messages of support for the campaign should be sent to:  
End the Alliance Campaign,  
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London WC2

note new address from 26th february