

COERRILHEIRO



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

Issue No. 7

Nov-Dec 1971

THE FINAL SOLUTION

During Amílcar Cabral's recent visit to Britain, the Foreign Office refused to have any meetings with him. The reason for this was that 'it would be inappropriate since Mr. Cabral is committed to violence against a Government with whom we have friendly relations'. The extent of these friendly relations was emphasized only a few days later when Lord Lothian was the guest of honour at the Annual Dinner of the Anglo-Portuguese Society. Despite this governmental intransigence, large audiences throughout the country demonstrated enthusiastic support for the struggle in Guiné, at mass meetings addressed by Cabral.

There is now an urgent need for that support to show itself in positive action. On Nov 9, the day after Lord Lothian's dinner, the Committee received the following telegram from PAIGC: 'DESPERATE IN THE FACE OF THE GREAT VICTORIES GAINED BY OUR PARTY DURING THIS YEAR CRIMINAL PORTUGUESE COLONIALISTS HAVE STARTED A WAVE OF SAVAGE AERIAL BOMBARDMENTS AGAINST PEACEFUL POPULATIONS OF OUR LIBERATED AREAS UP TO THE END OF OCTOBER KILLING 7 WOMEN 8 CHILDREN 28 WOUNDED STOP NOT SUCCEEDING IN TERRORISING DEMORALISING OUR PEOPLE IN THEIR DETERMINATION TO FOLLOW THE RIGHTFUL STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY PEACE PROGRESS HONOUR BRING YOU KNOWLEDGE THAT THE PORTUGUESE COLONIALISTS ARE FEVERISHLY PREPARING TO USE A FLOOD OF POISONOUS CHEMICAL AGENTS IN ORDER TO DESTROY OUR CROPS BEFORE NEXT HARVEST WITH OBVIOUS AIM OF STOPPING OUR STRUGGLE BY FAMINE STOP FACED WITH GRIM PROSPECTS AS A RESULT OF THESE PREPARATIONS WE BEG YOU TO TAKE ALL POSSIBLE STEPS TO DENOUNCE AND CONDEMN IN ADVANCE THIS MONSTROUS CRIME AGAINST AFRICAN HUMANITY STOP WITH GREAT RESPECT AMILCAR CABRAL'.

The need for urgency was confirmed when, a week later the Portuguese Government declared a state of subversion: 'It would be the first invocation of a new clause in the Portuguese constitution, which was revised this year. The clause states "Where grave subversive acts take place on any part of Portuguese territory the Government may... adopt the measures necessary to repress subversion and to prevent it from spreading"'. (The Times). There can be little doubt what these measures will entail. This is the Portuguese colonialists' answer to the PAIGC's repeated offers to negotiate at any time for a peaceful settlement.

They are no longer able to conceal the fact that they are losing the war - but they cannot afford to concede defeat. The only solution for them in this situation is to make sure that when they pull out there is nothing left for PAIGC to inherit. In a swampy country, as small as Guiné, the effects of chemical warfare would be devastating. We would then need to mobilize all possible aid, food and medical supplies, and fast. A standing ovation at a meeting is a valuable form of support, but demands very little effort.



... TO THE PROBLEM OF DEFENDING
WESTERN CIVILISATION

Cabral has asked us to act to help prevent the wholesale destruction of a country.

The usual channels of international pressure available to governments are denied to PAIGC, - who are not internationally recognized as the true representatives of the people of Guiné. The UN despite a multitude of resolutions on Portuguese colonialism, cannot intervene in the 'internal affairs' of a member country - despite the current talks on a treaty to abolish biological and, perhaps later, chemical warfare (The British delegation to the talks, incidentally, is the name Lord Lothian). Without 'proof' there is no story, and thus the press will not touch it - but by the time we get the 'proof' it may well be too late.

MOZAMBIQUE

The Struggle for Tete

Despite an army of 20,000 troops in Southern Tete, the Portuguese have been unable to halt the escalation of FRELIMO activities in this province of Mozambique. From May to July of this year alone, FRELIMO claims to have killed 82 Portuguese soldiers and destroyed 15 vehicles and one tractor in Tete. A major success was recorded on June 1, when an enemy platoon was attacked in the abandoned village of Mahanda (abandoned because the population had fled into the bush after Portuguese atrocities). Seven Portuguese soldiers were killed in this engagement. On June 29 Portuguese forces were attacked while building a 'protected village' near Mukumbura, the scene of the deaths of three Rhodesian soldiers earlier in the year. Five of the colonial troops were killed in this attack, a lot of material destroyed, and work on the building was brought to a standstill. In Northern Tete, on June 3, in the region of Nhan-dambo, three kms from the post of Fingoe, FRELIMO organized a sabotage operation which resulted in the destruction of two lorries and the deaths of 10 enemy soldiers. The Portuguese post at Malwara, the airstrip of which had been used to launch bombing raids on nearby villages, was completely wiped out on



August 8, and another outpost, at Casha, partially destroyed a few days later. FRELIMO has even contrived to make the River Zambezi unsafe for the Portuguese - at least two colonialist patrol boats have been sunk on the river in recent weeks. This is despite Portuguese savagery along the Zambezi where they have threatened to kill any Africans crossing the river or found with boats in their possession. Added to all this is the constant mining of roads in Tete - especially the roads leading to Cabora Bassa - and the blowing up of bridges.

The official Portuguese army/Daily Telegraph line on all this is that there is really nothing to worry about. All that has happened is that FRELIMO, having been 'wiped out' several times in Niassa and Cabo Delgado, has dutifully trooped southwards where the ever-victorious Portuguese army will soon completely eliminate them. This picture of FRELIMO retreating into Tete, instead of advancing into the province does not even convince Portugal's Rhodesian and South African allies. In particular the Rhodesians have become worried over the safety of the road from Salisbury to Blantyre, capital of Malawi, which ploughs right through the middle of Tete. On Sept. 14, a leader of Rhodesia's Asian community, Mr. Mukrab Khan, was killed on this road when his car struck a mine. Four days previously on the same road, near the Malawi border, a lorry from Salisbury had had its rear wheels blown off. Clan Transport, the haulage company that owned the lorry, brushed the incident aside as of no importance - but the transport committee of the Association of Rhodesian Industries has announced that it will hold an emergency meeting to discuss what FRELIMO's operations in Tete imply for Rhodesian exporters.

In the wake of these events, the 'Rhodesian Herald' announced 'It becomes apparent that terrorist activities in Tete, neighbouring the Cabora Bassa region, represent a greater danger than official communiques have disclosed. The published records have been of Portuguese successes and less than a month ago it was stated that subversive efforts in the Tete district were on the decline. In the continuing absence of a Portuguese warning of the real situation, the Rhodesian authorities have publicly announced that the Tete road is unsafe.' The Portuguese, in fact, are now providing daily armed convoys from each frontier in an effort to keep the road open. They also have plans to tarmac even the most remote of Tete's roads - but according to the Johannesburg 'Star' FRELIMO are not deterred by tarmac roads. They use a device which melts the tar, then cut out a box in the road surface, lay their mine, replace the tar, reheat it, and mould it back into a smooth surface. The result of all this mine-laying activity is that since mine-detection crews accompany all convoys, sweeping clean the sand roads, Portuguese convoys now move at an average speed of 4 kms an hour - thus crippling Tete's transportation system.

Perhaps one of the official communiques disparagingly referred to by the 'Rhodesian Herald' was the one released by General Kaula de Arriaga the day before Mukrab Khan met his death. It claimed that the offensive against FRELIMO had been 'stepped up' and that in the past two months guerrilla casualties had tripled. The aim of the offensive in Northern Mozambique was to seal off the border with Tanzania (the same objective for every Portuguese action for the past three years), to mop up guerrilla forces who were in full retreat - naturally - and to provide protection for road-building. As for Tete, the communique blandly stated that Portuguese forces were blowing up enemy supply dumps and detecting 'small groups' which had infiltrated the population. But despite this optimistic veneer, the Portuguese were unable to conceal the fact that the Tete front now accounted for well over half the total operations in Mozambique.

The facile optimism of Portuguese war communiques does not fool the Portuguese high command itself. They realize that FRELIMO may well find operations in Southern Tete easier than they were at the beginning of the war in Cabo Delgado and Niassa, simply because the population happens to be denser. Furthermore, indications are that FRELIMO is now gaining the support of certain white traders in Tete - true to the movement's non-racial ideology - such a development terrifies the Portuguese. At the heart of their fear is the safety of the Cabora Bassa dam scheme. In July Arriaga, although making the usual claim that FRELIMO was defeated, was forced to admit that there had been no less than 15 known attempts to infiltrate the dam area - hence the stringent security in operation at Cabora Bassa. By land the town of Tete is now virtually isolated - the only route to the dam which FRELIMO cannot render highly dangerous is that by air. At the site itself work has started on the main detour tunnel on the left bank and progress is being made on the access tunnels to the power station and on the excavations for the power station itself. According to FRELIMO, however, the work is many months behind schedule. And matters are not helped when lorry loads of materials go over mines on the Tete-Cabora Bassa road.

The South Africans now have a very strong interest in seeing that the dam is built according to plan. Not only do they have \$12 million invested in it, but the whole of South Africa's future electricity supply network has been conceived on the assumption that Cabora Bassa will be fully operational in the first half of 1975. This implies that as FRELIMO harassment of the work increases, so will South African intervention in Mozambique. The extent of South African anxiety over Tete is revealed by the fact

that Comocoin, a South African concern jointly owned by Johannesburg Consolidated Investments and Anglo-American, and which holds vast mining concessions in Tete, has decided to withdraw its staff from the province because it cannot guarantee their safety.

The latest news from Tete comes from a Portuguese communique which reluctantly admits fresh FRELIMO

Not that child-snatching exploits seem to have done the Portuguese much good in Niassa. Between May and July FRELIMO killed 36 enemy soldiers in the province, destroyed 9 vehicles, attacked two posts, freed 11 prisoners, blew up two bridges and wrecked a train. In general all Portuguese attempts to contest FRELIMO's military and political control over Niassa have met with dismal failure.



ORIGINAL POSTER ILLUSTRATING PORTUGUESE VIEW OF POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND MOZAMBIQUE.



AMENDED POSTER ILLUSTRATING THE ACTUAL POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND MOZAMBIQUE.

successes - the blowing up of a railway bridge near Caldas Xavier, the partial destruction of a radio beacon seven miles from the Tete military airfield, mining operations that had caused the deaths of a Portuguese engineer working on a new road from Tete to Songo, and of two army captains near the camp of Mazoe. Incredibly the communique proceeded to put a cheerful face on all this - these were only 'small' operations, and signified that FRELIMO lacked the strength to launch attacks on big objectives [5]. Although FRELIMO was 'what it has succeeded in 'mixing with civilian populations' - whatever that means; and therefore the Portuguese were sealing off the 'infiltration routes' from Zambia and seeking and destroying groups of guerrillas inside Tete.

Beware Kidnappers

The latest measures of the Portuguese troops in Northern Mozambique, as revealed in a FRELIMO communique from Niassa, show a growing desperation in marked contrast to the official optimism of General Kauliza de Arriaga. Increased FRELIMO pressure in Tete has led to the transfer of Portuguese troops from the north, with the result that the Portuguese find themselves with insufficient manpower in Niassa. This deficiency they have been trying to make good by abducting African villagers and pressing them into the colonial army. In June the Portuguese raided their own aldeamentos or 'protected villages' (some protection) of Muzumbua, Ngongo, Chiungo, and Metangula, and conscripted all young people over the age of 13, sending them off to Vila Cabral to receive military training to fight against FRELIMO.

This is bad enough, but the Portuguese have also been capturing African children between the ages of 8 and 12 who are then forced to accompany Portuguese officers into combat. During any fighting the children are responsible for recovering weapons the officers abandon when they flee or are wounded or killed.

FRELIMO has declared that 'These barbaric and inhuman practices have increased the hatred of the people against the colonialists. The escape of entire families from the "protected villages" into FRELIMO zones is constant, for they come to ask protection for their children, and to be allowed to fight against the oppressors.'

Portuguese Atrocities

In the last issue of 'Gueguilheiro', we gave the outline of the Portuguese massacres that took place in Southern Tete in May. More details have now come to light. The White Fathers, who quit Mozambique in May declaring that they could no longer operate in a territory where 'the regime uses the Church for aims that have nothing to do with the Gospel', compiled a report on the massacres, telling the full story of these atrocities. What follows are extracts from this report.

'April 27, 1971: A mine exploded near River Mukumbura. One car was blown up. In the car were Rhodesian soldiers. Three were killed and two wounded.

'Portuguese reprisals: On May 4 the troops caught two African farmers. They were physically tortured until they confessed about their relations with FRELIMO. They said that they had sometimes seen FRELIMO guerrillas, and one confessed that his son had run away to join FRELIMO. The farmers were kept prisoners and forced to sleep in the bush.

The next day, again under torture, one of them revealed that another man from the village, named Aroni, had a nephew in FRELIMO. Aroni was arrested and interrogated. He denied ever having seen or contacted FRELIMO. Even while under brutal torture he continued to deny this, until he discovered that the other villagers had betrayed him, and then he confessed that his nephew had in fact joined FRELIMO. He was killed immediately with three shots in the head.

'The aim of this murder, the Portuguese explained, was to frighten the other villagers so that no-one else would deny having seen FRELIMO fighters.

'Aroni's body was buried three days later by the priests from the mission as all the people from the village (Changwa) had fled when they heard that the Portuguese troops were coming to finish them off.

'May 7, 1971: Portuguese troops killed 14 peasants in the villages of Kapanga and Catacha. Very few men remained alive in those two villages. When we arrived there we found the villages completely deserted; everybody had joined the widows and children of the 14 murdered men and fled into the bush. We saw a hole

(Continued overleaf)

Cont. from Page 3

near the River DaK where five of the murdered men from Kapinga had been buried - badly buried. Six metres away from the grave we saw a human head, ribs, fingers and leg bones. The people from the village of Mahanda told us that the men had not been shot, but had been tortured and slaughtered. They showed us several heavy sticks, stained with blood which had certainly been used to slaughter the victims. About 20 metres from the grave we found many empty Portuguese army ration tins. On the same day, May 7, the Portuguese soldiers killed seven Mozambicans in the village of Mahanda....

'May 8, 1971: Portuguese soldiers killed four people near the shop of a Mr. Gabriel in the village of Antonio. The bodies were not buried since the villagers were afraid that the Portuguese would kill them too, if they caught them burying the dead

'On Sunday, the 9th, when the priests went to Antonio village to collect the masses, as usual, they found the village deserted. However, after waiting for a long time, a man appeared and explained what had happened the day before. They went down to the shop and with the help of some people who, encouraged by the presence of the priests, came forward, they buried the four men. One had been killed by three bullet shots in the head, another by several shots in the chest, the third decapitated and the fourth had his stomach cut open. It must be noted that all the dead - 26 - were local peasants, some of them very old with grand children. The troops were not successful in catching any FRELIMO member....

'All the people from Changwa, Zambese, Antonio, Mahanda and Catacha have fled to the bush, as usual, in Rhodesia. The fields, ready for harvesting, are being eaten by animals; the people escaped with empty hands to save their lives. The villages of Caponda and Canhenbamba no longer exist. All the men who had returned to Canhenbamba were taken to Mague; the Portuguese troops arrived one night and carried them all off. Their wives and children escaped to the bush for the second time....'

The missionaries protested to the agent of the DGS at Mukumbura, but were simply told 'Terrorism must be fought with terrorism. If you priests have no stomach for these things, then it is better for you to leave Mukumbura. In a guerrilla war there are no trials; one death in time can save many lives. Listen, my friends, don't concern yourselves in politics - your role is to preach the Gospel. And I can assure you of one thing, it is now that you will really start hearing the complaints of the Africans, because our measures will be more harsh and drastic. The situation in this zone is extremely explosive and politicized by FRELIMO. The human rights admitted by Portugal at the UN, about which you are telling me, are books (sic) and here we do not care about books'. The DGS agent went on to say 'The negroes only speak when they are beaten'.

In a second interview the DGS agent revised his opinion - evidently at the result of pressure from his superiors. This time he tried to justify the deaths in Antonio by alleging that the men had been killed while trying to escape from an ambush organized by FRELIMO - from eye-witness accounts the priests knew that this story was a complete fabrication.

An army captain at Mukumbura justified the massacres by saying 'The villagers are guilty, because they are to terrorism what water is to fish'. The priests rightly concluded from this that genocide was a logical component of Portuguese military policy. Perhaps this sort of bluntness embarrassed the Portuguese High Command - in any case General Kaulza de Arriaga sent a brigadier, a member of the Justice Court of Mozambique, to 'explain' the situation to the priests. The brigadiers position was as follows: 'If you priests arrived at the site of the deaths the following day, that is Sunday 9th of May, I cannot believe what you are saying because your information came from the blacks and the blacks are liars by their very nature (sic).

'If you want to know what I think, it is even very

probable that FRELIMO, on the night of Saturday to Sunday, made that massacre in order to incriminate the Portuguese troops to the villagers.'

The priests pointed out that the brigadier had alleged that the local people had been giving FRELIMO food for seven years - it was therefore unlikely that FRELIMO would turn round and massacre their own brothers. To which the brigadier replied 'You priests must know for sure that for them there are no brothers! Do you know there are still among the blacks tribes who are cannibals?'

Realizing that it was pointless to continue arguing with such a convinced racist, the priests invited him to come and see the scene of the massacres himself. He declined the invitation and flew back to Nampula having lectured the priests about Christianity, telling them that Christ had never been a politician and that they would do well to stick to teaching the Gospel.

This is a detailed account of events of last May - but Portuguese atrocities in Tete are still continuing. This is well attested by the flow of over 3,000 refugees from Tete into Malawi in recent weeks. Mrs. Nankhoma Josamu from the village of Mphonde said that Portuguese soldiers had ordered all the inhabitants to get out of the village as fast as possible while they were running five to ten metres with a fire overhead and strafed them with machine-gun fire killing some and wounding others. Helicopters landed to take away the wounded while the remaining villagers hid in the bush before beginning a three day walk to Malawi, moving by night and sleeping by day.

All refugees interviewed agreed that they had fled from the Portuguese army, not from fighting between the Portuguese and FRELIMO. Many said that they had provided FRELIMO guerrillas with food and shelter in the past - but that on this particular occasion there were none in the vicinity. When asked about the atrocities a Portuguese spokesman in Blantyre admitted that some soldiers occasionally 'carried out deeds beyond their commitments' but said that it would be wrong to generalize.

It should be noted that similar atrocities have taken place in Angola. After losing 30 men in the Mucimbi area, early in June, the Portuguese retaliated by murdering 30 African villagers. That is a sort of atrocity should take place in both Angola and Mozambique (and at roughly the same time) indicates that the incidents are not isolated, not the whim of a particularly vicious local commander, but a matter of conscious Portuguese policy.

Banda in Mozambique

Hasthas Vorster's most obedient lapdog, President Hastings Banda of Malawi, followed up his much publicised visit to South Africa in August with a three-day trip to Mozambique. Among other things, he paid a visit to Cabora Bassa, made a joke at FRELIMO's expense on the fact that he hadn't been blown up on the way there, inaugurated the new rail link between Malawi and Nacala and visited the arch-reactionist, General Kaulza de Arriaga, Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese armed forces in Mozambique.

Banda claimed on his return that his visit had not been a political one - yet its immediate effect was to boost the sagging morale of the Portuguese army in the face with ever increasing pressure from FRELIMO. Just as earlier he had shown his complete disregard for the conditions of the black majority in South Africa, so now Banda ignored the people of Mozambique and concentrated exclusively on improving his relations with their colonial rulers. His speeches on the subject read as if they were the product of an official propaganda press office in Portugal as in Africa long before any other European country and thus understands the Africans better' or again 'When one sees the fortress of Mozambique, one thinks "this is a place where one feels the history of Portugal" and one is moved'. As for those who criticise white supremacy, this is what Banda has to say 'I have seen what I want to see. In this I am different from other rulers. The other leaders are not happening in Mozambique, South Africa and Rhodesia

through those I would call professional refugees or exiles who are to be found in Lusaka and Dar es Salaam, in Addis Ababa, and even in London and New York.'

Banda also made the remarkable statement that the political arrangement in Mozambique was none of his business - which he immediately contradicted by saying that what concerned him was good-neighbourliness between Malawi and Mozambique - and to attain that Banda willingly interferes in Mozambique on the side of the Portuguese. There is growing military co-operation between Banda's regime and Portugal - in particular Malawi has recently handed two patrol boats on Lake Malawi over to seconded Portuguese naval officers, in an attempt to ensure that the lake is used neither by FRELIMO or by Malawians opposed to Banda's government.

Banda has always co-operated with the white suprem-



The Gospel According to Caetano

In 'Guerrilleros' No 5 (June-July 1971) we published the account by a priest working in Angola of the events which led up to his expulsion. Now a report of 22 Portuguese Holy Ghost Fathers working in Angola, originally written in July last year, has been published in full in 'Copple', a circular from the French Holy Ghost Fathers scholasticate. In this report the missionaries protested to their bishops that the official position of the Catholic Church in Angola, linked inextricably as it is to the Portuguese state, was making it impossible for them to carry out their missionary work in the spirit of Christ.

The missionaries stressed that they had come to Angola 'to serve and not to be served' - and yet they found themselves forced into a situation where they were representatives and officials, living in vast mansions, looking after large churches and sometimes rich farmlands. They were more like feudal lords than missionaries, with a vast gulf between them and the Angolan people. When they did visit the people their ministrations were far from priestly - in their document they detailed the fantastic duties which the Portuguese state dumps onto the shoulders of missionaries. They had 'to insist on monetary contributions because money was necessary for schools, buildings etc.... If the people were guilty of any kind of misbehaviour we would take away their Christian identity cards; we would give them a penance, often fine, which they had to pay within a given period in

acist states. In the early 1960s he was the first African leader to pay a visit to Portugal. In Lisbon he signed several economic, political, cultural and military pacts with the late, unlamented Dr. Salazar. Happily accepting a neo-colonial status, Banda has turned Malawi into a guaranteed market for Rhodesian goods and continues to trade with Portugal. The Malawian representative in Lourenco Marques is not even from Malawi - he is a Portuguese, a close relative of Salazar, as it happens. And Portuguese businessmen and tourists pour into Malawi - among them agents of the DGS (formerly PIDE), the political police, on the look out for FRELIMO activities. In the past freedom fighters have been deported from Malawi to Mozambique where the Portuguese have quickly disposed of them.

Not surprisingly Banda is one of the few African leaders to enjoy a consistently good press in this country. It will doubtless be even better when he holds his summit meeting in Blantyre of 'pro-dialogue' African leaders. Secret arrangements are going ahead for this jamboree which will include both BJ Vorster and Ian Smith. No doubt a representative of the Portuguese will also be invited.

One interesting reaction to Banda's Mozambique visit came from Uganda. President Idi Amin sent a cable of congratulation to Banda on his whistle-stop tours of two white supremacist fortresses - and less than 24 hours later he had more or less committed himself to the dialogue bandwagon with a proposal to send a ten-man team to South Africa 'to study and find out the problems which face the black South African people'. And the Ugandan government has already ceased paying its financial contribution to the OAU fund for liberation movements.

order to have their children baptised, or to be married in the church, or to comply with Canon Law. But we could not dream of using the same criteria or the same procedures with European Christians. Their sensibilities revolted at this mockery of Christianity, they ask 'Is this what we mean when we speak about preaching the Gospel?'

This document was sent to the Angolan Bishops Conference in July 1970, and the priests asked their bishops to comment on the report clearly and unequivocally. But the upper echelons of the Angolan church are quite satisfied with their favoured position under Portuguese colonialism, and declined to do any such thing. And so Fr. Jose Veiga, the superior of the Holy Ghost Fathers in Nova Lisboa, rephrased the question and asked 'How can we truly evangelize the people in the present circumstances which prevent us from pointing out to them their true dignity and their rights?' No reply from the Angolan bishops.

Fr. Veiga then resigned his position, arguing that he could no longer lead the double life of missionary and agent of colonialism. He now lives in France, where he has written his reflections on the whole affair. He is only sorry that the Holy Ghost Fathers have not pulled out of Angola, as the White Fathers withdrew from Mozambique. 'To denounce the Church in Portugal is to perform a service to the Gospel and to the universal Church.'

MISS WORLD

Those of you who bothered to watch the Miss World contest on television will have heard this snatch of dialogue between Michael Assel and Miss Portugal (who came 3rd):

M.A. I've been to the Algarve. Do you come from anywhere near there?

M.P. No, I come from Lourenco Marques.

M.A. Isn't that near the Algarve?

M.P. No, it's in Mozambique.

M.A. Mozambique? What you're Miss Portugal!

M.P. Oh, didn't you know that Mozambique is a province of Portugal?

NATSOPA

The first tangible gesture of support for the liberation movements from the British labour movement has come from NATSOPA. A full scale printing press has been shipped to MPLA, who will be using it to print their textbooks and information for internal use, as well as for their external bulletins. This gift is of immeasurable value both in itself, and for what it represents. We hope that NATSOPA's example will be followed by many more trade unions, and that the TUC itself will actively consider implementation of its 1971 Southern Africa resolution.

CABRAL IN



From Amílcar Cabral's speech at the Central Hall, Westminster on Tuesday 26th October.

'You have been told that I am a great revolutionary man - I am not, I am simply an African man doing my duty in my country in the context of our time. You have been told that I am a hero - we have no heroes in our country, the only heroes there are the African people.

'From your moral and political support here tonight I have learnt of your warm attitude in regard to our fight. Through you we would like to salute all anti-colonialist people in this country first, without regard to their origins or tendencies. In politics you have to go step by step, and we think that to have solidarity it is necessary to have unity. Without unity it is not possible to give consistent moral, political or material solidarity. We would like to salute, in particular, the workers of this country - white workers, black workers, intellectual workers also - and tell them that we expect from them a united front in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa. I would like to salute also the students and young people who represent for us a great force of progress in every part of the world. I would like to salute all anti-colonialist women, and tell them that one of the principles of our fight is that our people will never be free until the women are also free. I hope that the non-African people here will understand if I address special greetings to all Africans present, and all descendants of Africans, calling on them to be aware of the struggle in their own country, and of their situation wherever they are. The unified action of the workers and all groups of anti-colonialist people together will perhaps teach them unity for the new struggles in this their own country.

'I wouldn't like you to think that we are warriors - we don't make war because we like it. We want peace, but peace means nothing without freedom. We are freedom-fighters - our aim is the independence of our country and the total freedom of our people.

'What is Portuguese colonialism? Some people talk of 'Portuguese imperialism' - but there is no Portuguese imperialism. Portugal has never attained the economic development you can call imperialism - because imperialism is the result of the development of capitalism. One day a comrade - an old sailor - was at a meeting where I explained this idea, that the Portuguese are not imperialists. He was astonished and said,

"But Cabral, everybody says that we're fighting imperialism. We're fighting the Portuguese, so we're fighting Portuguese imperialism". I explained that imperialism is seen in imperialist countries. In our country there is imperialist domination - a very different thing. The two are closely linked, but different. The truth is that Portugal has never been an imperialist country - Portugal is an agent of imperialism. Since the beginning of the 18th century Portugal herself has been a semi-colony. If you know history, you will know of whom. Portugal dominated our country, and preserved that domination, because she was protected by Britain during the partition of Africa and at the Conference of Berlin. Portugal did not at that time have enough force to keep the colonies. The reason that Portugal is not decolonizing now is because Portugal is not an imperialist country, and cannot neo-colonize. The economic infrastructure of Portugal is such that she cannot compete with other capitalist powers. During all these years of colonialism, Portugal has simply been the gendarme, the intermediary in the exploitation of our people.

'Portugal, as you know, is the most backward country in Europe. This is not the fault of the Portuguese people, but the fault of the ruling classes in Portugal. The Portuguese people have never known the meaning of human rights, of freedom of democracy. The ruling class of Portugal has an imperial mentality, and a culture full of ignorance and superstition. And at the heart of it lies a lack of respect for the African people. You remember that the Portuguese said that Africa doesn't exist - a very high level of racism!

'As you know, Portugal has pretended to assimilate the African people. This is a lie. In my country, during 500 years of the Portuguese presence and more than 10 years of Portuguese exploitation, they assimilated, according to their own estimation only 0.3% of the population. And before the war they were promising us that they would continue to assimilate. But to be assimilated one had to have had four years at primary school. To go to the official primary school you have to be assimilated. They created a vicious circle in order to prevent our people from developing.

'The Portuguese divided our people in Guine into two groups - the indigenous and the 'assimilados' or 'civilizados'. 99.7% were indigenous, and the rest were 'assimilados'. And what does 'indigenous mean? It means that people can be taken away for forced labour. They can be made to pay unjust taxes. They can live a life worse than animals. If you study Portuguese colonial law, you will see how cynical and evil people can be in creating new forms of exploitation. In the Cape Verde islands they established what they called 'contratados' - indentured labour - a new form of slavery, sending people to Angola or Sao Tomé.

'If you read books written by honest Portuguese doctors, you will see that in the Cape Verde islands the common characteristic of all people is undernourishment, and sometimes starvation. In the Cape Verde more people have died from starvation than the actual population of the country. And in Guiné the lack of protein and all kind of basic food creates great difficulties for the development of our people. In some regions we had an 80% infant mortality rate. And throughout the golden age of Portuguese colonialism we only had two hospitals in the whole country and only 18 doctors - 12 of those in Bissau.

'And as for schools - they had only 45 - and they were Catholic missionary schools, only teaching the catechism. There were 11 official schools for 'assimilado' children. We had no secondary schools at all in Guine until 1959, and there were only

BRITAIN

2,000 children in these schools throughout the whole country. And you can imagine the kind of teaching. They had made a conscious decision to stop any possible development among our people.

'If you know about political life in Portugal, you can imagine what the political life in our country is like. Portugal has been under a fascist regime for half a century. That means no political parties at all, no trade unions, nothing. In Guinea we couldn't create any kind of association: in 1953 when we went back to the country, we tried, with other compatriots, to create what we called an African Sport and Recreation Club - but we put one thing in the statutes - that un-assimilated people could also be members. It was banned.

'Our party was created in 1956 by 6 Africans from Guinea and the Cape Verdes. We created an underground party in Bissau, and extended it to other urban centres. We believed at that time that it was possible to fight by peaceful means. With the help of an underground trade union organization we launched some strikes against the Portuguese, and we held some demonstrations, but the Portuguese always answered with guns. And on 3rd August 1959, during a workers' strike in Bissau, they killed 50 African workers and wounded more than 100 in 20 minutes. That finally taught us a lesson: in the face of Portuguese colonialism and, we think, imperialism in general, there is no question of whether you use armed struggle or not. The struggle is always armed, because the colonialists and imperialists have already decided to use their arms against you. We decided at an underground meeting in September 1959, in Bissau, to stop our demonstrations, to retain our underground organization but move it to the countryside, mobilize the people, and prepare ourselves for armed struggle.

'First of all we had to prepare our people politically for the struggle. We mobilized the people, we prepared cadres and we declared direct action against the Portuguese in 1961 - but even then it wasn't armed struggle - only direct action against Portuguese stores, against bridges, cutting the telephone wires, and so on. The Portuguese answered this with a great repression. They killed many people. They drowned people in rivers, they burned people with petrol, they destroyed villages suspected of being the centre of our party. And at that time they imprisoned about 3,000 people throughout Guinea. The Portuguese colonialists do not believe in dialectics - they didn't know that repression also has its dialectic. Instead of preventing our fight they contributed to its development. And in 1964 we were able to hold our first congress in a liberated area inside our country.

'We have two types of armed forces - what we now call local armed forces, who are concerned with the defence of the liberated regions, and national armed forces, who are concerned with increasing attacks on the remaining positions of the Portuguese in our country. Both these armed forces are integrated into the population - about 90% or more of these armies are made up of peasants. And if in the beginning of the struggle the leaders were from the petty bourgeoisie - like me- and only a few workers, gradually new people came to lead the party, and today most of the leaders are workers and peasants. We now have a state in our country - people like Bastião Davidson and others who have come to our country did not have to ask the Portuguese authorities for a visa.

'We are doing our best to reinforce the sovereignty of the people in our country. This is why we decided at the last meeting of the Supreme Council of the Struggle to create the election of local popular assemblies - and a national popular assembly. We think that these initiatives can

open up new perspectives for our political work inside the country and in the international field. We want to strengthen our party more each day - to spread the principles of the party, and do our best to improve the links between the party and the population. Some people think that when we speak about the creation of the popular assembly, that we are diminishing the value or the role of the party. It's not that. We are increasing democracy in our country, but under the leadership of the party.'

'I can summarize for you - yes, we want independence in our country, but independence is not only acquiring a flag and an anthem to sing. Independence for us means the liberation of our motherland and the liberation of our people. But we have to ask: what does 'liberation of the people' mean? It is the liberation of the productive forces of our country, the liquidation of all kinds of imperialist or colonial domination in our country, and the taking of every measure to avoid any kind of new exploitation of our people. We don't confuse exploitation with the colour of one's skin. I don't need to remind you that the problem of liberation is also one of culture. In the beginning it's a culture and in the end it's also culture. The colonialists have a habit of telling us that when they arrived in Africa they put us into history. You know very well that it's the contrary - when they arrived they took us out of our own history. Liberation for us is to take back our destiny and our history.

'You might ask what we want from this visit to England. One thing is that the moral and political support of your presence here is very encouraging to us. But we are waiting for one thing: that the English act according to the principles that they proclaim. We would like the English to remember the responsibility that England has for our colonial situation.

'I want to finish by saying that I am very touched by your presence here, and to tell you that we hope that one day soon we will be able to receive our friends and comrades in the liberated areas and in the towns of our country.'

Pick your friends with care...

No wonder Lord Lothian, under-secretary at the Foreign Office refused to see Amílcar Cabral - for a few days after Cabral's visit, he was to make a toast to the Portuguese government at the annual dinner of the Anglo-Portuguese society at the Savoy hotel on November 8. During the dinner he stated that the British government does not approve of the use of violence to achieve political ends - 'the cult of confrontation must give way to the habit of dialogue' and 'we [BMC] will follow with vigour the efforts of Portugal to establish a dialogue with its African neighbours' (Rhodesia? South Africa?). Lothian seems singularly uninformed - all the liberation movements have announced their readiness to discuss the future of the Portuguese colonies through negotiations with the Portuguese government.

Among those present were the following superstars: the Brazilian Ambassador, Earl and Countess St. Aldwyn, Lord Rathcavan, Baroness Emmet of Amberly, Lord Mayor of Westminster, Viscountess Davidson, Anthony Kershaw (Junior Foreign Office Minister), Sir Colin Coote (one-time editor of the Daily Telegraph), Duncan Sandys MP (one-time Tory Colonial Secretary), Benjamin Ford MP (Chairman of the Anglo-Portuguese Parliamentary Group), and Albert Roberts, Labour MP (conveniently forgetting that his party now supports the liberation movements).

The Portuguese Ambassador crowned these leprous proceedings by giving thanks for Britain's understanding of Portugal's position in Africa, and for the friendly relations between the two countries.



GUINÉ

MILITARY SITUATION

Extracts from 'A Brief Report on the Situation of the Struggle (January-August 1971)' by Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General, PAIGC.

'After the attacks on Bissau and Bafata (in June), and faced with the widely favourable reactions on the part of the inhabitants of those towns, the military governor, Antonio Spínola, abandoned his mask of paternalism and reformism. He said: "In all the circumstances of life in the Province it should surprise no-one that sometimes nonsensical rumours are spread; this is a constant in any surroundings and we do not claim to be exempt... However the scale and the nature of recent rumours have unfortunately made their mark among the most easily alarmed element of the population. This has provoked an unjustified climate of apprehension in the capital of the province. It is essential to insist on an unequivocal position which shows the situation in its proper perspective, so that nobody can undermine those whose judgement might be impaired by fear."

'It is worth citing some passages from this declaration which marks, like the attacks on Bissau and Bafata, the start of a new stage in our conflict with the Portuguese government. He said: "In all the circumstances of life in the Province it should surprise no-one that sometimes nonsensical rumours are spread; this is a constant in any surroundings and we do not claim to be exempt... However the scale and the nature of recent rumours have unfortunately made their mark among the most easily alarmed element of the population. This has provoked an unjustified climate of apprehension in the capital of the province. It is essential to insist on an unequivocal position which shows the situation in its proper perspective, so that nobody can undermine those whose judgement might be impaired by fear."

'Having recalled that "adequate measures have been taken to ensure peace and security at all times", he threatens an even fiercer repression: "It is important also that there are no illusions about the firmness with which the government will act to guarantee the peace, order and security of its citizens. Any attempt therefore against individual or collective security will be considered as an act of treason against the people of Guiné. The offenders will be relentlessly punished, in the name of respect for the principles of liberty and equality (!) that we are defending and to which all good Guineans aspire. And any lapses in civil discipline that could disturb the normal rhythm of life in the capital and the province will be taken as aiding and abetting, and as an act of treason against the people. As such, they will be punished without the least mercy and with all the severity that the enemy deserves, as will all those who support the enemy's interests, who have nothing in common with Portuguese Guiné. It is right that nobody should doubt the fact that the normal rhythm of life in the town will be preserved at all costs, and in all circumstances. The necessary operations will be put in hand, and their effectiveness will only be doubted by those who do not yet know the firmness and determination of the Governor of the province."

'If it can be agreed that this declaration is confirmation of the fact that the inhabitants of the urban centres particularly Bissau, are giving their support to the struggle, then there can be no doubt at all that it is also a confession of the political failure of the so-called "better Guiné" policy, just as all attempts by the colonialists to consolidate their position have failed.....

'From the military point of view, the action of the Portuguese is still determined by the fact which the colonial authorities themselves have so often publicly admitted: that they cannot win the war that they are waging against the African people. This failure is the result not only of the growing strength of our armed forces, and of our victories, but also, and above all because of the continued growth of political consciousness among our people. Aware of this fact, the colonialists are trying every means within their power to perpetrate the most barbarous crimes against our people, killing our cattle, burning our crops, and, in short, intensifying their criminal and terrorist activities, which gives the lie to their

claims to promote the socio-economic and political life of the African people.

'Thus the actions of the enemy during the first months of this year are characterized by continual aerial bombardment, including the use of napalm and attacks by troops flown in by helicopters to destroy villages, burn crops and kill livestock. Having at their disposal the latest and best planes and helicopters, supplied by their allies, the colonialists have reinforced their bomb attacks and increased their terrorist activities. However, faced with the courageous resistance of both soldiers and local people, they rarely achieve their objectives. The areas most affected by these criminal acts are precisely those areas which are most densely populated, or where the Party is strongest: Cubiseco, the Slama border (in the south), Oio and Saara (in the north).

'Dozens of villages have been destroyed and large amounts of rice have been burned in the Ual, Tombali and Como areas, and about 200 head of cattle have been killed. Fortunately, the loss of human life falls short of the enemy's intentions, despite the fact that they deliberately attack hospitals and schools.

'The actions of our armed forces in the first half of this year - at the height of the dry season - have been more extensive and vigorous than ever before. This fact has been recognized by the Portuguese themselves, who in order to gloss over the impression given by their war communiques (though these are always distorted) suggest that the development and intensification of our struggle is due to the presence of foreign experts, particularly Cubans, within our armies. This lie, like so many others, only convinces those who wish to believe it.

'Our national armed forces have been regrouped in different army corps, and freed in part from the task of defending the liberated areas thanks to the formation and reinforcement of Local Armed Forces. Thus they have been able to increase and develop their activities on all fronts, at the same time making more efficient use of the materials at our disposal. Our reorganization, which took place early this year, our increased experience and use of certain kinds of material, have played an important part in the successes which our brave fighters, following the plans drawn up by our higher command, have obtained.

'The renewed vigour of the armed forces reached its highest level during the April offensive. Indeed, during that month, by increasing the intensity and number of our actions on all fronts, and by redoubling our efforts, we have completely disoriented the enemy, who have had to concede the defeat of their plans. We carried out 86 attacks on Portuguese positions (an average of three per day); we set 8 deadily ambushes, putting out of action more than 250 soldiers and officers of the colonial army, including 158 killed. Among our operations, the following deserve special recognition: the successful campaign of several army corps on the Kinara front from April to June where all enemy positions were attacked repeatedly, with heavy enemy loss of men and equipment; the operations on the Catio front, where the town of that name was twice assaulted by our soldiers, causing considerable damage to the enemy; the Cassem front, where the town of Gabú was under attack three times from our ambushes during the campaign. In one of these ambushes the commanding officer of the garrison of Pitche was killed, 10 lorries, an armoured car and several artillery were destroyed. Finally, there have been equally intensive and continuous actions against Portuguese positions along the frontier with Senegal.

'But the first half of 1971 will be particularly remembered in the history of our struggle as the period when, for the first time, we were able to attack all the urban centres still occupied by the enemy, including Bissau, the capital, and Bafata, the second

largest city. As we said in our communique, published after we received reports of these operations, the attacks on colonialist positions in Bissao and Bafata mark a new stage in the political and military development of our struggle. They are also a clear refutation, if one was needed, of the Portuguese colonialists' lying statements that we act from bases in neighbouring countries, which they use as a pretext for their criminal aggressions against these countries....

During the period in question (January-August 1971) we carried out 508 major actions, including:

- 169 attacks on garrisons in urban centres
- 102 ambushes and other operations on roads
- 15 major mining activities
- 14 actions against river transport
- 8 commando operations in town centres.

Our forces put out of action 735 enemy soldiers and agents, including 480 dead. The number of confirmed wounded (255) is far from representing the true figure. In fact, news from Bissao and Lisbon indicates

that the military hospitals have never had so many wounded as they have this year. As far as equipment is concerned, we have destroyed or damaged 90 military vehicles, sunk 28 boats and speedboats, and shot down 2 aeroplanes and 3 helicopters. Our forces, who have driven the enemy out of three entrenched camps and razed several encampments, such as the one at Umaru Cosse, on the eastern front, have taken possession of a large quantity of military equipment, including G-3 machine-guns, Mauser guns, American bazookas and telecommunication equipment.

It is true that we are not reporting here the final victory in our armed liberation struggle. All the same, there is no doubt that the report of this eight month period is the best in our 8 1/2 years struggle, and represents a decisive contribution to the victory which our fight for liberation is certain to achieve. This result, and all our earlier victories, explain the growing despair of the Portuguese colonialists, and the ever-increasing ferocity and savagery of their colonial war.

CAPE VERDE

Conscious of the progress the Party has made in the last few years, which has been reflected in the strengthening of our clandestine organisation and in the growing nationalist feelings of the population, the Portuguese are increasing their repression and vigilance in all the Cape Verde Islands. Fourteen Africans have been arrested recently and charged with belonging to PAIGC and attempting to hijack a coastal merchant ship to Dakar. However, in the face of public opinion, the Portuguese colonialists were forced during a trial at Sao Vicente, to acquit 4 other Africans who were part of a group that had been imprisoned some time ago.

As a result of the criminal Portuguese policy of abandoning the people of the Cape Verde Islands to natural disasters, the people are once again suffering famine after three years of drought. The Portuguese have tried to use this circumstance to destroy the basis for the development of our struggle in the islands, and have resorted to the mass transportation of workers to Sao Tome and Portugal, where they have already sent around 10,000 Capverdians.

The denunciation of the famine by our Party in Appeal 1 this year has forced the colonialists, who refuse to accept offers of humanitarian aid, to take some measures to "combat the crisis". But these measures have not lured the people away from us, aware as they are of the necessity to liberate themselves from colonial domination in order to get rid of poverty and

Cape Verde Islanders in

military training for PAIGC



famine, and who therefore manifest growing support for the activities of our Party. The reality of the growth of Party activity in the islands and the support that it is finding there is recognized even by the enemy himself. For example, in a so-called secret report of the Portuguese General Staff in Cape Verde, the enemy affirms: "During this period two subversive appeals were issued addressed to the Capverdian soldiers, officers and sergeants. On the last night of the year pamphlets were distributed throughout three islands; in May parcels containing PAIGC leaflets destined for the islands were intercepted in Lisbon". In reality on the last night of the year pamphlets were distributed simultaneously throughout all the populated islands."

JUST GOOD FRIENDS

In mid-November, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Rui Patricio, went to Brazil to sign a unique agreement which will allow common citizenship rights to people of both countries on a reciprocal basis. Brazilian citizens will now be allowed to share in what meagre political rights exist in Portugal - among other things, this will mean that they can hold office in the Portuguese government.

But this is also important at the international level - both Brazil and Portugal are maritime nations and Brazil is currently trying to establish itself as a maritime power. The treaty gives Portugal's seal of approval to Brazil's recent introduction of a 200 mile limit to its territorial waters and also stressed the need of the two governments to defend their sovereign rights over their respective maritime jurisdictional zones. More important, since, like all Portuguese official documents, the treaty considers Portuguese Africa to be an integral part of Portugal, it gives Brazil a clear entry into the colonies. As for the liberation movements, Patricio and the Brazilian Foreign Minister agreed on the need to deal strongly with 'terrorism' and that a concentrated effort should be made at an international level

to combat 'acts of terrorism' (Brazil, of course, has freedom fighters of her own). The most immediate result of this will probably be at the UN, where Portugal will obtain a much-needed ally in defence of her colonial wars.

Brazil, through the interchangeability of citizenship and the lowering, and in many cases abolition, of customs barriers in Portugal, will also win large benefits. In particular, if Portugal eventually enters the EEC, Brazil, with its 80 million people, will have a back door into Europe.

Brazil is Portugal's natural ally - and not simply because Brazil was once a colony of Portugal. The Brazilian regime must run President Stroessner's Paraguay fairly close for the title of the most vicious regime in Latin America. A puppet of American imperialism, President Medici's military government can equal Marcello Caetano on every point of repression, brutality and torture. In attempts to obtain information from political prisoners, Brazil's version of the Gestapo has even tortured to death babies no more than a few months old in front of their mothers. Brazil is indeed a worthy ally for Portuguese colonialism.

STRATEGY FOR THE TOWNS

Hilary Wainwright, a member of the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, recently returned from Zambia and Tanzania where she met leaders of MPLA and FRELIMO. Here she reports on her discussions with them.

MPLA

After spending a very intensive few days in talks with many members of MPLA's central committee who were meeting at a camp on the Zambian border for an important discussion on external affairs we had a much fuller idea of the complexities of the liberation struggle. By talking to commanders from the 1st, 2nd and 3rd regions we learnt about the different levels and stages of political and military activity. For example, in parts of the 3rd region, Moxico and Cuando-Cubango, they are beyond the stage of driving the Portuguese from the countryside and mining and ambushing roads to isolate the Portuguese in their garrison towns; they are now launching offensives to destroy these garrisons themselves. We heard a description of such an offensive on a garrison called Niindi from a woman comrade who had just returned to the transit camp. In both the 2nd and 3rd regions, the major problem is that of chemical warfare, which has been discussed in previous issues of "Guerillhero". The sparsely forested savannah type of terrain in Eastern Angola is particularly susceptible to chemical warfare (compared to, say, the densely forested parts of Northern Mozambique). This makes economic production in these areas, which, even without chemical warfare would be very infertile given the lack of development which is the Portuguese legacy, very difficult. The MPLA guerrillas, instead of being fed by the people, as is normally the case at this stage in guerrilla warfare, have to bring in food both for themselves and for the people of the areas affected by chemicals. Activity in the 1st region has been going ever since the 1961 uprising but because of the hostility of its nearest border country, Congo-Kinshasa (which is the main US base in sub-Saharan Africa), it has only sporadic contact with the rest of MPLA and obtains most of its ammunition as a result of raids, ambushes etc. against the Portuguese.

In the second region, the Cabinda enclave, we had the impression that there were various problems, the major ones being:

- 1) depopulation - a large number of refugees were now living in Congo-Brazzaville. There is a similar problem, though not on such a large scale, in the Eastern region. FRELIMO might have faced this problem at one time if it had not been for the political solidarity of TANU with Nyerere's

leadership, which does a lot of political work among Mozambicans in Tanzania, and encourages them to return to the liberated areas in the north. UNIP in Zambia, and the political leadership in Congo-Brazzaville of course give material support and allow their borders to be used, but support for the liberation movements is not such an integral part of their total political philosophy as it is in the case of TANU.

- 2) the problem of supply - The existence of an American puppet regime in Congo-Kinshasa, which refuses the guerrillas permission to cross it, so that effectively it has to be treated as a hostile country - a problem that FRELIMO faces to a lesser extent in the case of Malawi - means that the MPLA has to travel 6,000 miles in order to move from Cabinda to the Eastern region. We had a particularly interesting discussion with President Neto about the tactics of America in relation to GRAE which is almost entirely based among the Bakongo tribe who straddle the border between Angola and Congo-Kinshasa. This was in the context of a discussion of the degree of support that the West was likely to give to Portugal as the liberation movements became increasingly successful. It is clearly misleading to regard South African, Portuguese, British and American colonial and neo-colonial interests as one homogeneous block. One cannot assume that this block will remain cohesive in the face of the growing success of the liberation movements. American imperialism, hoping to displace the Portuguese as they succeeded in displacing the Belgians in the Congo, may try to encourage a neo-colonial solution in Angola is, after all, second to South Africa itself, the most potentially lucrative source of investment in the whole of sub-Saharan Africa. It is not surprising that the US will try to push such a solution, in the form of GRAE and Holden Roberto, from their main base, Congo-Kinshasa. The OAU's withdrawal of support for GRAE and transfer of support for MPLA was something of a setback to the US projection of Holden Roberto as the conveniently pro-American liberator of Angola. However, the likelihood of such a development depends very much on the repercussions within the South African ruling elite of the "dialogue" strategy, and South Africa's relationship with the US government (given that ultimately it is South Africa's position that determines Portuguese military and political strategy). MPLA is well aware of the necessity to fight neo-colonialism as well as colonialism, even though colonialism is at present the major enemy.

A very important part of MPLA's strategy is its

LIEUTENANT LOPEZ - THE ADVENTURES OF A NEO-COLONIALIST HACK.



urban activity, which has continued and developed in clandestine form ever since its foundation in 1956. Radio plays a major part in this, and they broadcast from Brazzaville and Zambia. They are now planning to broadcast from Algiers into Portugal, in conjunction with the ARA. Clearly, the work in the towns is going to become increasingly important as the guerrilla armies move nearer to the urban masses. The fact that urban guerrilla warfare has not yet broken out is not an index of a low level of political development or of a passivity among the urban masses. In the period of the 50s and early 60s there were sporadic uprisings which were immediately and fatally repressed. This led MPLA to take the decision to undertake armed struggle in the countryside. The infrequency of these uprisings since that time is largely a result of MPLA's coordination and control, for the time of the urban guerrilla warfare is, according to the strategy of MPLA not yet come, and the guerrilla armies are not yet near enough to the towns.

FRELIMO.

Something that was obvious in every discussion with FRELIMO was their enthusiasm for the developments in Tete. Here they have found the initial political mobilisation extremely easy. This is probably due to the existence of a strong political tradition, and one of stubborn resistance

(it was the last province to be suppressed). The recruits to FRELIMO in this province are more politically developed than many of those who joined in Niassa and Cabo Delgado, because of this history. This is an important advantage because FRELIMO are very conscious of their lack of technical, medical and politically skilled cadre. (We spent a day at their secondary school at Bagamoyo in Tanzania, which is one way they have of solving this problem.) The town of Tete has been isolated as far as civilian communication is concerned - a fact which causes unrest among the South African technical staff working on the Cabora Bassa dam, who are deprived of city nightlife and week-end trips into the country-side. Because of guerrilla operations the Portuguese have to fly cement onto the dam. It is partly in response to this general situation, as well as to the specific ambushing of the Rhodesian soldiers, that the Portuguese soldiers have indulged in the massacre of whole villages, as reported by the White Fathers when they left.

One very hopeful indication of the increased strength of FRELIMO is that the Tanzanian government have more than doubled their support in the past year. Another encouraging sign was seeing a copy of FRELIMO's first history book, printed at the Mozambique Institute printing press, given to FRELIMO by Finnish students. The book will be used immediately in the schools of the liberated areas.

Portugal: Repression and Resistance

Marcello Caetano has now recognized the seriousness of Portugal's economic condition. In a speech on September 28, while addressing a delegation that had come to congratulate him on the third anniversary of his appointment as Prime Minister, he warned that defending the African territories from 'subversion' should not distract the government from the developments needed at home. Victory in Africa would be precarious if it was obtained at the price of stagnation in Europe' he declared. At the moment, of course, this is the price that Portugal is paying for defeat in Africa.

Caetano fastened on inflation as the major problem facing the Portuguese economy and his formula for solving it was the 1000-honoured one of cutting the living standard of the working class. He appealed to all 'good Portuguese' to support the government against a 'tide' of wage claims and other demands which were 'incompatible with the realities and the possibilities of the country'.

He then turned to the subject of 'subversion' and admitted that this was growing in the colonies and blamed it on 'that incredible organization the United Nations' and other, unnamed 'powerful interests'. There was also 'terrorism' at home, and Caetano appealed to the country to rally round the government to overcome the great 'difficulties of the present'.

In fact the step that Caetano has taken to counter internal 'terrorism' has been a savage wave of repression. According to a communique released in Lisbon by a group called the National Commission for Aid to Political Prisoners, the number of political prisoners in Portuguese jails more than doubled during the first seven months of this year - from 79 to 160. The Commission, which consists of lawyers and other professional men and women and gives legal aid to detainees and helps their families financially, charged that 'the brutal wave of arrests by FIDE-DGS in the last few months repression in our country, not only in number, but in the type of people that they arrest. Indiscriminate jailing, torture and beating, the systematic refusal of legal aid as well as other illegalities to those detained ... have reached such intensity and ferocity that it would seem to indicate they

(the security police) are endorsed by the government.' In particular, it seems that trade unionist leaders are being arrested, which certainly fits in with Caetano's declared intention of clamping down on wage claims.

But this latest repression has not put an end to urban guerrilla activities within Portugal. In the past month there have been at least 3 bomb explosions in Lisbon, one of which badly damaged a new NATO naval command headquarters just before it was due to be opened. The ceremony of inauguration however went ahead as planned, flags being draped over the building to hide the wreckage. We are told that Joseph Luns, Secretary-General of NATO, made a special effort to be present at the ceremony as a 'sign of solidarity'.

MEDICAL AID

Because of the preparations and the aftermath of Cabral's visit, we have fallen behind in our attempts to close the money still owed to the Angolan Medical Aid Fund. If you have any books left, please return the stubs, the cash and any unsold tickets to the Committee as soon as possible.

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

To: Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola & Guinea
331 Caledonian Road, London N7 (phone 01-607 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 Querrilheiros on sale or return (quantity at 5p each)

I enclose 40p subscription to Querrilheiros * (80p outside UK)

I enclose 80p subscription to Mozambique Revolution (£1-50p outside UK)

I would like you to send me a Banker's Order

I also enclose a contribution to the work

Total

NAME

ADDRESS

NATO

Due to the Portuguese use in Angola and Mozambique of Fiat G-91 jets sold to her by West Germany under a NATO arrangement (see last issue), Portugal will now receive no further military support from West Germany. Portugal had already submitted in 1970 several applications for the takeover of discarded military equipment from the Bundeswehr which had without exception been turned down. On delivery of former Bundeswehr weapons and material to other states, the Germans include a final destination/use clause the fulfillment of which is insisted upon. The blatant Portuguese refusal to honour this clause, stipulating that the G-91 be used within the NATO framework for defence purposes in Portugal, led to Bonn excluding Portugal from any further supplies. The last German military equipment delivered to Portugal - three frigates - had to be carried out, it was claimed, because of existing contracts. Since then the Bundeswehr has ceased transactions with Portugal.

It is very heartening that an important NATO member (and one which was previously fully complicit in Portugal's African wars) has taken this step. But the action of the Brandt government is not typical of the NATO attitude to white supremacy. The editor-in-chief of the NATO publication 'Fifteen Nations', one General HJ Kruls, recently visited South Africa as a guest of the South Africa Foundation. His conclusions from this visit are that to grant the same rights to all races in South Africa at short notice would quickly bring South Africa under the influence of Communist powers; that 'the principle of separate development, which is the main foundation of the apartheid policy, could lead to an acceptable solution, especially for the Bantus'. The impression I gathered is that separate development in this aspect is being carried out with honesty and seriousness - that 'it is not South Africa which has to go on its knees to ask for ships and weapons and support, but the countries of NATO that must ask South Africa to do its utmost to maintain its position on the African continent and to assist the countries of Western Europe and North America not only to keep the lanes open but to prevent further penetration into African countries. This is a tremendous burden for

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 Basili Davidson	Penguin 30p
Portugal and NATO by Dutch Anzola Committee	15p
War on three Fronts: the Fight against Portuguese Colonialism	18p
Portugal's Wars in Africa	Ruth First 20p
Programme of the PRTDC	25p
Statutes and Programme of PRELIMO	31p
World Council of Churches - Profile of PAIOC	5p
World Council of Churches - Profile of PRELIMO	5p
Leaflet 'War on Three Fronts'	£1.50 per 1,000
Cabors Basso/Barelays leaflet	£1.50 per 1,000
Fact sheets on British involvement in Cabors Basso	25p
Cabors Basso and UN Sanctions on Southern Rhodesia	35p
British financial interests in Portugal, Angola, Mozambique & Guinea	25p

POSTERS

'Cabors Basso Day - Smash Cabors Basso'	10p
NPIA 4th February 1961 - 1971	10p
Mozambique will be free - Frelimo Venezuela	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, 35, Greek St., London W1	£8.50

SPEAKERS

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

South Africa, and, therefore, South Africa has to be supported', and that 'if the South African republic's position is endangered because of the name given it because of apartheid, then surely it is in the interests of the NATO allies that steps be taken to improve the situation and open the way for better co-operation between South Africa and the West'.

General Kruls will find ready support for these views from fellow-Dutchman, Joseph Luns, NATO's Secretary-General [famous for the remark 'Portugal sacrifices her blood for our freedom']. The Dutch cartoon opposite shows 'The Fire-Brigade of Lisbon'. The caption reads 'The new supreme fire commissioner Luns and his special brigade turn out'. Luns is shown with Greece, Portugal, the US (with Spain clinging on desperately) shouting 'Where are these left-wing extremists?', while the more moderate members of the NATO fire-brigade - Norway, Denmark and Canada - look on bemused.

DE BRANDWEER VAN LISSABON



De nieuwe opperhoofdbrandmeester Luns en zijn speciale brigades rukken uit...