

# guerrilheiro



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## PAIGC FOILS MURDER ATTEMPT

On hearing that the UN Decolonization Committee was sending a team into the liberated areas of Portuguese Africa, the Lisbon daily *Diário de Notícias* stated: 'let us imagine that the three diplomats suddenly find themselves in the middle of an exchange of fire between their terrorist escort and one of the Portuguese patrols which are constantly on the move around all the border areas. What a responsibility for the Government of Ecuador if the eminent Sevilla-Borja were to be struck down in an anonymous corner of the African jungle...' (24 March) PAIGC has now published a detailed account of Portugal's efforts to eliminate the UN mission.

In all, some 30,000 men were deployed in the action. As soon as it became clear that the UN team intended to visit Guiné, 10,000 troops were sent from the capital, Bissau, to reinforce the 15,000 already there. Night and day the border regions were bombed with napalm and fragmentation bombs; helicopters landed troops in the liberated areas to carry out surprise terrorist raids; frigates and corvettes patrolled the coast while high speed boats operated along the rivers; 130 mm cannon were continually used against the liberated areas and the routes that might be used by the UN mission. The most populated villages were attacked and any forest zone suspected of harbouring the UN team bombed indiscriminately.

This operation was the most intensive undertaken since the war began. For 22 days (18 March - 19 April) the colonial forces mobilised all their resources against the border areas of southern Guiné. There was an average of 15 air-raids a day and 18 landings of helicopter troops - using more helicopters than ever before. These raids were aimed at



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terrorising the population, destroying PAIGC schools and crops, laying mines in the liberated areas and seizing key positions on routes which the UN mission might use. Although in some instances, the Portuguese remained on the ground for some days without being discovered by PAIGC forces, in general the sorties failed and the raiders were forced back to their helicopters with serious losses. Similarly, when Portuguese troops disembarked from patrol boats.

But despite this vast concentration of troops and air power the Portuguese were unsuccessful. PAIGC reconnaissance enabled the UN mission to elude its hunters. PAIGC harassment of the invaders on the ground meant that they were forced to rely on their undisputed control of the air to destroy the UN diplomats. But while a Fiat G-91 may be very good at blowing up substantial, fixed structures - schools, hospitals, etc. - it is not much use for locating half a dozen people in an area of several thousand square miles. Even the limited objective of demoralising the population was not achieved - the people in the liberated areas of Guinea know that they are winning their war; the brutal actions of the Portuguese merely strengthen their determination to throw the colonialists out.

The UN mission was thus given a first-class lesson in why the people of Guinea have taken up armed struggle. They witnessed the indiscriminate bombing and photographed the results, they saw the charred remains of crops burnt by helicopter troops. But most important of all they saw the total involvement of the Guinean people in the liberation struggle. At a meeting in the Cubucare sector, one peasant assured them that: 'Despite all the sacrifices that we have to bear we would like to declare that we feel happy and proud at the presence of your mission. No power in the world is able to break our determination to liberate our country from the heinous Portuguese colonialist domination'.

The failure of the Portuguese army to kill or capture the UN mission was a serious humiliation for Caetano's government. The Portuguese Minister for Overseas arrived in Bissau in April in order to receive, as the 'Diario de Noticias' indiscreetly suggested, 'with all their due honours, the illustrious UN delegates who have come illegally to Portugal'. (Guinea is, according to Lisbon mythology, a province of Portugal) He was unable to do so, and so the Portuguese people were treated to the spectacle of one of their ministers travelling 3,000 miles to inaugurate three sections of a tarred road, and a broadcasting station which had been in operation since January. One month later this radio station, at Nhacra, was blown up by PAIGC.



Caetano himself reacted to the success of the UN mission in a speech made on 11 April. Speaking of the Portuguese President's visit to Brasilia, he said: 'If the UN had existed in 1822 what would have become of Brazil? How ridiculous to count the number of Indians, negroes and whites to discriminate by race and colour and to reclaim back America for the Indians! To scheme against a minority government and demand one vote for every people, one vote for each man! If the UN had existed in 1822 and it had become involved in the problem, it would have taken into consideration the first phantom movement and demanded that the Portuguese should leave. A commission of delegates from ignorant nations would make its report, would probably visit the Amazon to find out if the natives agreed or not, and the vote of the savages would prevail over the will of civilised men.' (sic)

Caetano continued: 'There exists in the UN a false conception according to which each continent belongs to the races which are considered as indigenous. This is why the UN tries to enforce the principle that in Africa states should be governed by negroes... The case of Rhodesia could be a good example. Despite all the constitutional guarantees given to the black population, the United Nations refuses to accept the independence of Rhodesia, because the government, as of now, does not serve mainly the coloured people. The whites according to this conception, do not have any right to orient and lead the people of Southern Africa.'

# ANGOLA

## Military Activity

Events in the far south of Angola where armed struggle began in January, have forced the Portuguese into precipitate activity. Not only have ten thousand troops been rushed to the area, but Portuguese experts in 'psycho-social' warfare have also been imported to help install a broadcasting station in the town of Pereira d'Éca. Already the situation in the south has forced the Portuguese to make important concessions - certain taxes in the Cunene district have been abolished altogether, and the obligatory 'sovereignty tax' has been reduced from 380 to 75 escudos.

Further north, after a lull of some months, the Portuguese have again resorted to chemical warfare. Since 29 March herbicides and defoliants have been dropped and bombing raids intensified in MPLA's Fourth region (BIV) particularly in the Casaji area, near the Benguela railway. In a recent communique MPLA denounced the resumption of chemical warfare: 'The Portuguese army, unable to reconquer the liberated zones, has intensified the massacre of our people by poisoning big rivers that cross the area

The Portuguese can drop bombs and chemicals from the air with impunity, but on the ground, throughout March, they continued to suffer heavy casualties on the eastern front. On 3 March two military vehicles proceeding from Gago Coutinho entered an MPLA minefield and were completely destroyed. All their occupants were killed. In three clashes on the banks of the Chikului river on 9-10 March the Portuguese suffered heavy losses. Also on the 10th, three Unimogs were destroyed and their occupants killed by an MPLA ambush near the Mussama river. MPLA mines blew up another troop-laden lorry near the Mussama. On the same day a further Unimog was destroyed on the Vinda-Gago Coutinho road. At the beginning of April mines on the Kaianda-Massivi road destroyed two Portuguese vehicles.

But the most important MPLA success came on 20 March, when an MPLA squadron using mortars and bazookas, completely destroyed the Linyonde barracks. The Portuguese suffered 30 dead and 18 wounded. This barracks was strategically positioned and had been presenting difficulties to MPLA units heading for Lunda and Malanje, MPLA's Fifth politico-military region. In reprisal, Portuguese troops seized the chiefs of Linyonde and Ehimbilli and imprisoned them in Kuete post. (The fact that the chiefs had helped to build the barracks in the

first place did not mitigate in their favour). In addition, the following day Portuguese troops murdered five peasants in the area.

According to deserters from the colonial army, Portugal has now enlisted the help of American Green Berets in Angola. Despite denials from the American ambassador in Zambia, MPLA estimates that there might be as many as 40 Green Berets advising the Portuguese troops. The South Africans are also increasing their military commitment in Angola - a company of South African troops is stationed in the eastern front at Luso, and the Portuguese make extensive use of South African pilots and war materials. Ex-Katangese mercenaries - about 2,500 of them - also fight for the Portuguese. They earn about \$600 a month - not paid, however, by the Portuguese exchequer, but by the South African De Beers corporation, anxious to protect its holding in Angola's diamond industry.



## Explosions in Luanda

Parallel to the guerilla struggle in the rural areas, MPLA is intensifying its urban operations, carried out by its Urban Centres Action Groups. In February, a Portuguese military vehicle in Luanda, the capital, exploded, killing two Portuguese officials, two militias, and two soldiers. The explosion followed a number of demonstrations in the city.

Made up of workers and students, the action groups have also scattered leaflets bearing MPLA slogans calling for the mobilisation of all Angolans in the struggle and the 'generalisation of the armed struggle over the whole of the national territory'.

The enemy's response to these activities is to constantly equip itself with better arms. Today every Portuguese settler is armed and an MPLA communique describes how six Angolan children were killed during a carnival, when a hand-grenade was thrown from the building of the 'Provincial Organisation of Volunteers and of the Civil Defence of Angola' a terrorist organisation of armed settlers.

# MOZAMBIQUE

## MILITARY ACTIVITY



Map of Mozambique

Over the past few months much of Mozambique's Tete province has slipped from Portuguese control. As in northern Mozambique, the Portuguese army in Tete is finding itself increasingly restricted to the towns, to its fortified posts and is only able to move along the main roads. The continuing FRELIMO offensive in Tete is taking a high toll in Portuguese lives. In the 3 months December to February Portugal lost at least 197 men. In addition six trains were wrecked in the province, 22 vehicles were destroyed, two bridges were blown up and nine posts and two concentration camps attacked and partially or totally destroyed. Twenty-six major ambushes were launched and an aircraft shot down in the region of Mague.

A Malawian, returning from Rhodesia through Tete, has given an eyewitness account of a battle on April 10 between FRELIMO and the Portuguese army. The convoy with which he was travelling came under FRELIMO artillery fire some 20 miles north of the town of Tete. For the

3 hours and 45 minutes that the firing continued, the Malawian and his wife sheltered under their car. Finally Portuguese helicopters arrived to carry off the 25 dead and over 150 wounded. As the convoy continued towards the Malawian border, he said that he saw many wrecked Portuguese trucks and buses lying on the roadside.

Kaulza de Arriaga, Portuguese C. in C. in Mozambique, has tried to put a cheerful face on all this. According to him the Portuguese army in Tete 'has achieved a greater degree of security in important areas and on important roads, have taken the population from the control or influence of FRELIMO, and have promoted the "regression of subversion"'. Arriaga then boasts that he has convinced FRELIMO 'of the impossibility of winning a military victory'. FRELIMO disagrees: 'This offensive aims at dislodging the enemy from our zones, at cutting the means of communication (through the intensification of ambushes and sabotage operations against cars, trains, boats and bridges) and at destroying the few posts which the enemy still holds. The offensive is being carried out with complete success'. (FRELIMO communique 1 May 1971).

Also disagreeing with Arriaga's estimate of the state of the war is Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front government. The Rhodesians have viewed FRELIMO activities in Tete - in particular the sabotage of the Salisbury-Malawi highway - with undigested alarm. Nothing could be more unwelcome for the Rhodesians than a revolutionary power on their frontier - and unlike the border with Zambia, that with Mozambique is not protected by a vast river. Accordingly, Rhodesian troops previously stationed on the Zambezi have been moved to the frontier with Tete. Admitting this for the first time on 16 May, J.A. Fleming, Secretary for Law and Order, said: 'The presence of Portuguese terrorists on our border, even though their attacks are not directed against Rhodesia, must be regarded as a potential threat to the security of this country. Accordingly it has been necessary for us to maintain a watch on this border which in effect means a further extension of border areas which need constant supervision.'

Rhodesian troops have bitterly criticised their Portuguese allies for their apparent unwillingness to fight FRELIMO. The standard Portuguese tactic of operating from fixed positions, emerging for sporadic raids, then withdrawing again and claiming great victories has been condemned as worthless. The Rhodesians have lent General Arriaga certain military assistance. A year ago, for example,

four Rhodesian soldiers entered Tete to help relieve a Portuguese garrison under FRELIMO attack. Their truck hit a mine, and three of them were killed. Since then there have been several engagements between Rhodesian troops who have crossed into Mozambique - Rhodesian Special Air Service commands in particular - and FRELIMO units.

Meanwhile full-scale economic collabora-

## 25 JUNE FRELIMO TENTH ANNIVERSARY

The 25 June, 1972, marked the tenth anniversary of the foundation of FRELIMO. The last decade has seen the groups of exiled nationalists who joined together in Dar es Salaam in 1962 swell to a mighty organization that has freed  $\frac{1}{3}$  of Mozambique from Portuguese rule and now administers a million people in its liberated areas.

FRELIMO's greatest task has not been the purely military one of evicting the Portuguese, but the social one of rebuilding a shattered nation. Prior to the armed struggle, rural Mozambique was devoid of doctors, devoid of teachers. The population was illiterate, diseases such as beriberi, scabies, ringworm, malaria, bilharzia, smallpox and yaws ran their course unopposed. But in the eight years of war an educational and medical infrastructure has been built throughout northern Mozambique. In Cabo Delgado alone FRELIMO now has 1 Provincial Central Hospital, 17 District Medical Posts, 60 First Aid Posts and a medical and para-medical staff of 325-340 persons.

A health education campaign is waged throughout the liberated areas to teach the people the essential precepts of preventing common tropical diseases. All FRELIMO bodies - the schools, the village committees, the army - take part in this. Mass vaccination is now organized, especially for the people freed from Portuguese 'aldeamentos' (strategic hamlets) where health conditions are particularly bad. The largest such campaign has been against smallpox, but inoculations against tetanus, measles, polio, TB, typhus and cholera have also been carried out. However, lack of equipment - especially refrigerating equipment - means that such campaigns cannot be as thorough as FRELIMO would wish.

The high infant mortality rate in northern Mozambique is being tackled by eliminating two of its major causes - umbilical tetanus and post-natal malaria. But FRELIMO recognizes that other causes, such as malnutrition, can only be overcome by improving the diet of new-born babies and advancing the work of child care centres - not easy under continual threat of enemy bombardment.

FRELIMO's social welfare programmes are aimed not only at overcoming the problems inherited from colonialism, but also at overcoming reactionary traditions and superstitions. Thus such traditional,

orations between Portugal and Rhodesia continues. They are considering the feasibility of developing a major hydro-electric power scheme on the Matala river some 55 miles north-west of Lourenco Marques. The cheap power thus produced and that from Cabora Bassa will be an invaluable asset for the Smith regime and will draw Lisbon and Salisbury even closer together.

unhygienic African medicine has been abolished. Similarly in the field of education ancient prejudices have to be broken down. Many Mozambicans still prefer to send their daughters to initiation rites rather than to school. After the initiation the girls are expected to stay at home awaiting marriage, thus effectively ending any hope of education. Too often daughters are considered in terms of the dowries they might fetch - schooling is held to lower the market price and is therefore avoided. Both FRELIMO's Political Commissariat and Women's Detachment are involved in the vital task of changing the people's consciousness in this respect, explaining the need for and the advantages of an adequate education.

Colonialist education is contemptuous of the masses: FRELIMO's education stresses the unity of the student and the people, and rejects notions of formal, academic education as the only legitimate learning. Instead of being isolated from the people the student is encouraged to liaise with them. Productive activities play a vital role in the FRELIMO schools - carpentry, mechanics, tailoring etc. are taught as well as basic literacy - and so the schools play an active, productive role in the community.

What has happened in northern Mozambique, then, is not only that the colonialists have been militarily defeated, but that the colonialist mentality they imposed upon the people is also being defeated. Where there was exploitation - forced labour on Portuguese cotton plantations - there are now FRELIMO co-operatives. Where previously colonial taxes robbed Africans of much of what little they possessed, and cheating Portuguese traders took more, now FRELIMO shops ensure a fair exchange of goods, ensure that the villagers are supplied with all they need. Where there was disease, there are now hospitals; where there was ignorance, there are now schools. Despite the harsh conditions of war, FRELIMO has laid the foundations of a new life, a new society for the people of Mozambique.



# INSIDE PORTUGAL'S



(translated from Jeune Afrique )

'The commander of the military region had sent me out to reconnoitre with a hundred or so men. Our mission was to verify the truth of some information that terrorists - Angolan guerillas, that is - had infiltrated into the area which was nominally under the control of our forces.' The young Portuguese who is speaking was, until a few months ago, captain of a contingent of colonial troops in the 'overseas province of Angola'. 'According to our orders, we were to go some 20 kilometres into the bush of Bie and return the following day. It was certainly a dangerous mission; we guessed that MPLA guerillas were in the area. For some time now the population had had no normal contact with us; that meant that the guerillas were winning over the district. Personally I had no desire to risk my life and those of my men for the sake of a reconnaissance.

'What was I to do? - what almost all reserve officers do. Say "Yes, sir", strike out from the fortified camp that was our base, go several kilometres into the forest, stop in a safe place, station the sentries, return to camp the next day and note in the report that the reconnaissance revealed nothing - no terrorists, no population, nothing at all.' And smiling, he adds: 'Of course in the forest you hunt and play cards...'

This officer's remarks are not exceptional, rather they are typical. During my stay in Portugal, I questioned many people who had served in the army: officers, NCOs and ordinary soldiers. All spoke freely when promised anonymity. What arises from the conversations is that the Portuguese colonial army has no belief whatever in its 'civilising mission' as the Lisbon strategists pretend, and that consequently it has no desire to fight.

It's two mottos are:

1. 'Bring home all your skin, including that of your heels.' In Portuguese that means not only fight as little as possible but also exert yourself as little as possible
2. 'No heroics'.

'In Guine, Angola and Mozambique,' another young officer told me, 'it is really very rare to find anyone who seeks an engagement with the guerillas. If you can run away without too many risks - well, so much the better.'

Naturally, these considerations only hold good for the ground forces. 'The air-force, that's different,' explained my informant. 'The strategists of the colonial wars, as in Vietnam, try to make airpower do what the infantry cannot. Besides, the pilots do not risk very much in fact, MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC possess few anti-aircraft batteries, which are altogether insufficient to seriously counter the terrorist tactics of the colonial forces.

A man close to the Minister of War, who ~~spoke~~ (in front of me at least) played a 'liberal' rôle (though he still asked me to withhold his name) told me: 'We are well aware that Amílcar Cabral could take Bissau this very day. But he could not hold the town because we have the air-force and he hasn't enough anti-aircraft equipment.' 'But eventually he could be provided with this,' I pointed out. 'That's true,' he admitted, 'and we know that PAIGC's weaponry is daily becoming more dangerous. But as long as Cabral cannot hold Bissau, Portugal will not leave Guine.'

Everywhere the 'denial of heroisms', the indifference to and ignorance of problems suffices to explain how what is at least a military failure, if not already a defeat, is known to everyone in Portugal, but talked of as little as possible.

To understand the deep reasons for this state of affairs, we should recall that Portugal has lived under a dictatorship for over 40 years - a dictatorship which, unlike Mussolini's Italy or Franco's Spain, has never been marked by any attempt at popular mobilisation. Salazar's regime yesterday, Caetano's today, have always been cold and technocratic. Salazar, always entrenched in his office, had no contact with 'his' people, and Caetano's presence among the Portuguese is limited to the inauguration of a few bridges and roads and to two or three televised speeches a year.

Eleven years ago the Minister of Defence claimed that he had crushed the Angolan revolt, led by 'international communism', in three months. The same was said at the beginning of the war in Guine in 1963 and

# WEARY ARMY

by Bruno Crimi

of the situation in Mozambique in 1964-65. Throughout this period hundreds of thousands of young men have been sent to the 'overseas provinces' to 'spread the values of western civilisation and of Catholicism'.

Portuguese newspapers have only published the official communiques from the commands in Guine, Angola and Mozambique where the war is not mentioned but - strangely enough - claims of 'victories' of the armed forces are regularly made. Also given are lists of 'those who died for their country'. They never say precisely where these men fell. Nor do they ever mention aircraft shot down, or boats sunk by bazookas on the rivers of Angola, Mozambique, or Guine. In this situation what can a poor peasant from Alentejo know about Portugal's African wars? Indeed what is he, illiterate or semi-illiterate, to know about Africa?

Again it is an officer who speaks: 'When our men disembark in Angola, it's as if they've landed on the moon. The peasants in particular have scarcely ever seen a black man, and they are astounded at seeing so many. And if, for example, they are then sent to the district of Mixico or Cuanza Norte, or Landa, they have no idea where these places are.' They are bewildered: 40 years of dictatorship, a sadly monotonous, totally depoliticised existence has hardly prepared them to view with any scepticism the words of their superior officers (for whom the war, considering their salaries, is a good thing) on the 'grand mission of Portugal' in her 'overseas provinces'.

'To understand the situation in the colonies you should spend several days in a combat zone,' a young worker from Setubal told me. He had just finished military service in Guine. 'It was enough to drive you mad. I remember very well that in the zone of Bafata we lived underground all day. To go for a piss you had to reach a trench some 15 metre away. You knew that there were snipers in the trees round the camp, so that every time you relieved yourself you risked your life. And there was fear, dense fear. People were silent, no-one spoke. Often there wasn't enough to eat; but there was always plenty to drink, beer and wine. You get drunk to overcome your terror.'

This situation leads to a deep racism in the military. The logic is primitive: it's because of the blacks that we're in this situation; it's the blacks who kill and wound us; therefore we must hate the blacks. The boredom and the lack of a political consciousness create an apathy among those at the front, who are - with a few exceptions - unable to see that it is the hawks in Lisbon and the government who are responsible for the mess in which they find themselves...

The state of morale in the colonial army is not unknown to the white settlers of Angola and Mozambique (in Guine there are no settlers, only several thousand administrative functionaries, concentrated in Bissau). This explains the unease that is growing among the 'Portuguese resident in the colonies'. Several times, especially recently, settlers have insulted officers and soldiers in the army, accusing them of a lack of determination in defending Portuguese interests (i.e. their own interests) in the overseas provinces.

The commanders in the three territories, the 'famous' Spinoza in Guine, Rebocho Voz in Angola and Kaulza de Arriaga in Mozambique are quite well aware of military realities: they prefer to trust important tasks to the airforce, or to elite troops such as the commandos or the paratroopers, often chosen from the sons of settlers.



Detail of a leaflet dropped by the Portuguese in Mozambique and intended to intimidate the population in the liberated areas

When it comes to the crunch, a peasant from metropolitan Portugal doesn't care about 'losing the overseas provinces'. So the systematic worsening of the military situation in Africa has provoked the settlers into forming a veritable reserve army, well-trained and 'conscious of the mission that awaits it', according to a professor who returned from Mozambique two years ago. Naturally, the political police, the DGS is increasing its power in the colonies in a geometric progression. Its control is no longer exercised only over politicised black milieux (which as such are always suspected of 'subversion') in the cities, but also over the army itself. It is symptomatic of the malaise that DGS agents are becoming increasingly numerous in the army. And this is the reason why the most politicised cadres who enter the army are completely unable to act. And while the prisons in Luanda,

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in the Cape Verde, in Beira and Lourenco Marques fill up with Africans suspected of nationalist sympathies, the Portuguese soldier counts the days that remain

before his return home.

And so one understands why, when they speak of Portugal, liberation movement leaders only accuse the tyrants in Lisbon and never the Portuguese people, exploited, deprived of their freedom, and reduced to apathy.

# Portugal: Repression and Resistance

The sabotage operations of Portugal's urban guerillas continue. At the beginning of May, a train in the Vouga valley was derailed, and power cables in southern Portugal attacked. In an attempt to stamp out such activities the regime instituted a savage clampdown in May and June.

According to an official note of 30 May, sabotage is carried out by at least two important groups. One is ARA (Armed Revolutionary Action) said to be the military wing of the Portuguese Communist Party, which has opened up a fourth 'fourth front' in support of the liberation movements in the colonies. The other group is a successor to LUAR (United League for Revolutionary Action)

led by Palma Inacio who is named in the note as responsible for several actions in the past. The note claims that ex-members of LUAR are associated with the 'Revolutionary Brigades' of the Algiers-based Front for National Liberation.

While claiming to have found important evidence relating to these groups, the DGS (political police) has been unable to uncover or arrest most of the people concerned with ARA. This highly organised group, acting on a hit and run principle, and enjoying the support of prospective army deserters, has proved by far the most effective revolutionary group in the 45 years of dictatorship. Present governmental strategy involves making 'preventive' raids where people are arrested at random. On 25 June Caetano, in crusading mood, stated that the struggle against subversion was being carried out throughout the Portuguese empire, from Northern Mozambique to the streets of Lisbon itself.



THIS IS AN UNEDUCATED  
THIRD WORLD MAN.



THIS IS A TRADITIONALLY  
EDUCATED THIRD WORLD  
MAN.



THIS IS A THIRD WORLD MAN  
EDUCATED FOR FREEDOM

*Revised without  
permission but much  
thanks from CCARDUS,  
World Council of Churches  
Geneva.*



In theory there is no forced labour in the Portuguese colonies - but the Portuguese regime has always had great difficulty persuading world opinion of its version of the facts. In 1970, however, the International Labour Organization, at Lisbon's invitation, sent the Frenchman, Pierre Juvigny, to investigate labour conditions in Angola and Mozambique. The report Juvigny produced (unlike the previous ILO report of 1962) was extremely favourable to the Portuguese - so much so that it now forms a valuable part of Lisbon's propaganda arsenal. It is therefore worth stressing the following: Juvigny spent a very short time in Angola and Mozambique - ten days, to be precise. In Angola he visited two cities (Luanda and Lobito), a small village (Portugalia) and the surroundings of Nova Lisboa - a small fraction of a huge country. Despite the fact that most reports of forced labour specifically refer to Angola's coffee plantations, not one of these was visited (Juvigny was told that the coffee area was 'unsafe'). And the Portuguese knew well in advance the details of Juvigny's itinerary, and were therefore well able to hide any abuses from view.

Juvigny was accompanied in Angola by Dr. Afonso Mendes, director of the country's Labour Institute. As Juvigny could not understand Portuguese well, and the African languages not at all, Mendes acted as interpreter for him; and on leaving Angola Juvigny fulsomely thanked Mendes for his assistance. No-one could know better than Mendes the real conditions obtaining in Angola: the bureau over which he presides is responsible for the entire Angolan labour system.

In 1969 the Portuguese government decided to make use of Mendes' knowledge and asked him to write a confidential report on Angolan conditions, as a contribution to the 'psychological' side of the colonial war. A copy of this report, entitled 'Relevant aspects of Counter-Subversion', has now been received from a missionary by the Dutch Angola Committee who have translated it into English. And the facts and views expressed by Mendes in this report could not be further removed from the information given to Juvigny. What follows is the body of the report:

## 'Relevant Aspects of Counter-subversion'

1. In 1960 the population of Angola was estimated to be roughly composed of 95.2% of African origin, 3.5% European and 1.1% Coloured. From 1950 to 1960 the group of African origin increased by 567,675 persons; that of European origin increased by 93,703 persons, and the Coloured population decreased by 23,744 persons. As a result of the problem of insecurity caused by terrorism, between 1960 and 1970 the population of European origin did not increase at a higher rate. In his book Problems of Economic Development in Angola Walter Marques calculates on page 38 that this province will have more than 5½ million inhabitants, of which more than 5 million will be of the negro race, which is approximately 91% of the entire population. Thus the large majority of people are of this race and this will become even more accentuated to the extent that medical assistance is improved and the present social advance comes to fruition. Nevertheless, almost all the wealth all the positions of leadership, all the agricultural, livestock, industrial and commercial enterprises, and the real decision making power will remain in the hands of the European segment of the population, which in 1970 will continue to be merely a small minority as has always been the case... This situation results in a striking economic inequality between the 'white group' and the 'black group'. This leads to social inequality and to the maintenance of cultural inequality.

These differences have combined in pro-

voking a large polarisation between the two groups of the population. Through the abolition of the 'indigenato' an enormous effort was made to reduce this polarisation and this effort still continues by means of education, free labour, the increased appeal to qualified workers of African origin, a better protection of the land property rights, the social elevation of the Africans and the abolition of discriminatory measures and practices. But the road is long, difficult and time-consuming, and the goal in view, to level the conditions of whites and blacks, remains hypothetical.

It is irrefutable that a wide and deep gap between the two population groups now exists. It is difficult to reduce this gap, due to the problems the Africans have in competing, due to their customs and their low level of education.... This panorama of Angolan life, which is sketched very concisely and with the most somber tones, is intended to clarify the existence of the most grave social lags, which are the origin of cracks through which subversive forces penetrate with their mission of disruption to win the sympathy of the malcontents. And in the case of Angola, these malcontents may constitute more than 90% of the entire population....

2. The subversive forces attempt to turn the African masses against our political and administrative authority and against the presence of the white population in

the Province, For that reason they do everything they can to agitate these African masses, to dissociate them from the Europeans, to spread black racism among them, and to make them believe in the chance for an easy, prosperous and happy future - in short to mobilize the masses to serve their ideology and to pursue their aims. Consequently it seems logical that they make use of:

A. Errors and abuses committed in the very recent past by our political and administrative structure.

Slavery, the pacification wars, the abuses of power, physical violence by administrative authorities, forced labour with all the accompanying consequences which are unpleasant to relate, misuse of guardianship during the 'indigenato' regime, administrative measures, the confiscation of lands which belonged to the community by customary law and were not destined for individual ownership, the dislocation of the population, the compulsory cultivation, the numerous offences against the traditional laws and the African system of values, etc. etc. certainly form the themes for well-known stories, legends and tales in the long community gatherings which are so peculiar to the black population. Here the white man will always be presented as a bad and greedy creature, as the sole cause of all the misery of the past, and as destined to be the traditional enemy of the black man. And because the white man was like this in the past, it will be considered very probable that he will continue to be so in the present and the future. The population will therefore be susceptible to a large degree to subversive doctrines. This is why we cannot afford to neglect this fundamental aspect of subversion which opens the door to the advance of the enemy.

Suggestion: We must create a doctrine as quickly as possible which justifies the errors of the past and minimizes their consequences. We must strive to project and enlarge our work and emphasize its many positive aspects.



B. The immense discrepancy between the standard of living of the African and European populations

The reality is so obvious that it would merely be a waste of time to try to demonstrate this. The ENEMY will certainly take advantage of this by presenting it

as irrefutable proof of the continuation of the exploitation of the blacks by the whites.

Suggestion: We must spread the idea that this discrepancy results from the Africans' lack of education, their smaller desire to work, and their doubtful spirit of enterprise. Various examples must show that the black man, if he desires, has the same opportunities as the white man. The government is now trying to el-



evate the negro population economically through education and by technical and material assistance. But they must cooperate. Finally we must create a propaganda which guides the population and directs their attention toward the joint task of economic development.

C. Several cases of the abuse of power give the impression that people of African origin do not enjoy the same rights as others and that they are subjected to heavier obligations.

Certain cases of the abuse of power by officials, the paternalistic tradition of the 'indigenato', and the distrust of the negroes which is dominant amongst a large number of the Europeans underlie the application of special measures to persons of African origin which do not apply to members of the white group. As long as these measures are practiced and these attitudes are maintained, the ENEMY can always present itself to the indigenous population as a liberator and an ally.

Suggestion: We must try to force the authorities, especially those of the administration and the police, to treat the Africans as Portuguese citizens, to respect their human dignity and their rights and also to support them in their problems and their needs. These authorities must not act like bureaucrats who take refuge behind formalities and legal regulations that are likely to make it more difficult or even impossible to solve these problems, but must be people who try to win the sympathy of the black population and who try to help them.

D. The increase in agricultural activities

and cattle breeding has always caused the Africans to be driven from the lands which they always considered their own or the property of their community. They consider this to be a serious offence and a theft which not only deprives them of their present means of subsistence but also of all their hope for the future.

This type of abuse committed in the past in Cuanza Sul, Cuanza Norte, Uige, Benguela, and lately in Huila, is a terrible recollection for the Africans, which easily leads to sympathy for the ENEMY and can even lead the Africans to support its activities.

Suggestion: In the concession of land we must take the utmost care to respect traditional rights of the Africans and, if these rights must be infringed upon, there must be prior agreement and a fair material compensation, with a replacement of lands which enables those displaced to continue farming. The given compensations and guarantees must be fully publicized.



E. A large difference exists between the wages of the African worker and the worker of European origin.

The average monthly wage of the rural and similar workers, always of African origin, is 600 escudos whereas the urban workers, predominantly of European origin get six times as much. It must be taken into consideration that the first group represents about  $\frac{1}{2}$  of all the workers. In so far as this situation has not yet been fully exploited by the ENEMY propaganda this is bound to occur and will place another dangerous weapon in its hands.

Suggestion: The rate at which wages are harmonized, although already in progress, must be increased by the establishment of minimum wages for the agricultural sector by liberalizing the freedom of movement of the workers and by extending the activities of the labour inspection.

F. There is a wide range of obstacles to the mobility of the agricultural workers which is necessary for the desired improvement of the general labour conditions. Displacement of urban workers is facilitated. Aside from the consequences in the working sector, this fact can be used for evidence of one more discriminatory measure against the blacks.

In order to escape from the present un-

satisfactory position it is a 'condition sine qua non' that the rural workers have the possibility to choose their employer and their work, to discuss the working conditions, and to resign from that work if it does not meet their expectations or the promised conditions. As long as the employers continue to use professional recruiters and contract workers to satisfy their labour needs, marked progress cannot be expected in the improvement of working conditions and in particular, in the type of relationship between employers and employees.

At the present time there are still many obstacles not only imposed by the civil authorities, but by the military and the para-military as well: all this under the pretext of defense reasons. Once we understand the importance of removing the argument of the ENEMY that the black workers are exploited, and of convincing the black workers that conditions are now improving for their benefit, we must recognize the necessity to consider this point

Suggestion: To encourage a form of population control which does not conflict with the freedom of movement of the rural worker. The authorities must be convinced to respect that mobility.

G. Administrative authorities still frequently intervene with repression against workers at the request of the respective employers. We can see and verify recently a similar intervention of the police and para-military authorities. The cases of extreme physical violence are not a few.

In legal terms this intervention is designated as 'forced labour' and is considered to be morally wrong and punishable by a maximum of 2 years imprisonment. This extremely bad example by the officials has been followed by the employers who do not hesitate to inflict physical punishment for any negligence or irregularity of the workers. Such practices arouse the hatred of the blacks which facilitates the expansion of the subversive action of the ENEMY.

Suggestion: To impose upon the civil, military, police and paramilitary authorities that they must abstain from intervention in the conflicts between employers and rural workers, which should be left to the courts. Physical punishments, which are illegal, must be ended for good. Naturally, subversive attitudes of the workers must be fought, but only by specialized organizations and only when proved.

H. The non-payment of salaries and other grave offences committed by the employers are not punished effectively, which gives those workers affected the impression that the white man continues to do whatever he wants with impunity.

There are insufficient Labour Tribunals and they are often very slow to take decisions. It frequently occurs that workers

in remote districts have to wait a long time before their wages for one or more years are paid. This delay is incomprehensible to the workers who conclude that they are still not under any protection. And what is serious, they spread that opinion to create a climate of hopelessness which is advantageous to the activities of the ENEMY.

Suggestion: To enforce more efficiency and rapidity in the administration of justice either through the establishment of new courts or through the creation of adequate labour legislation.

I. The individuals of European origin deliberately and maliciously insult the Africans in their daily contact with attitudes based on an unmistakable hostility.

These attitudes make the differences with which the ENEMY intends to separate the whites from the blacks more pronounced, which is bad.

Suggestion: Develop a propaganda campaign directed to encouraging the mutual understanding between both groups.



J. The principle of non-discrimination on grounds of ethnic origin is a legal principle of ours which is not always observed in day-to-day life.

Anyone who is somewhat familiar with the life of our Province knows that this is so. No other argument is used as widely by the ENEMY as evidence of the lack of honesty and sincerity in the Portuguese actions in Angola. With these arguments the ENEMY tries to make the African population believe that with the presence of the European element their future is unlikely to ameliorate. And we know how the hopeless react.

Suggestion: To direct the campaign suggested in the previous paragraph to fight all deviations from the legal principle of non-discrimination.

K. The absence of economic ties in the urban centres makes the African population an easy target for subversion. This subversion is reinforced by the supporter of the ENEMY who spread the idea that there is everything to win and nothing to lose.

The housing problem in the urban centres will eventually become a heavy argument used by the ENEMY to the advantage of his campaign of subversion. The fact that the blacks do not participate in commercial and industrial activities constitutes one more aspect of their lack of economic ties and fixed material interests. This leads to the absence of a black middle class which is conservative by nature and not easily susceptible to revolutionary doctrines and movements.

Suggestion: Creation of a system of credit capable of stimulating the birth of a black bourgeoisie.....

L. There is a social legislation exclusively for Africans (CTR) which is considered to be the legal establishment of a discriminatory regime.

Suggestion: Unification of the social Legislation in force.

3. There are reasons for dissatisfaction, disruption, rivalry and uncertainty for the future within the ethnic minority which consists predominantly of Europeans in which the coloured and the socio-economically advanced blacks are beginning to become integrated. The ENEMY seems to be concentrating more effort in disrupting this group through known techniques of propaganda. In this connection it is necessary for the public administration to develop a program directed to this group which eliminates the unjust and often unreasonable inequalities. A spirit of hope in a better future must be instilled in this group which will lead them to unify in common defense. It must be made easy for them to purchase real estate which would tie them to the Province. It is therefore important to make a study of the composition of this group and of the reasons for dissatisfaction in order to eliminate them or, if this is not possible, to minimize them.

The numerous problems which lead to internal dispute must be studied in order to find a solution which is not in conflict with the construction of a society of peaceful, fruitful and multiracial coexistence in which the value of the individual regardless of ethnic origin, forms the only basis for success. This is the only goal we consider to be reconcilable with the final victory against subversion and with the permanent consolidation of Angola as a dear and important part of the Portuguese empire.

4. Contrary to our original intentions, we have considered aspects and suggestions of a general nature which are somewhat difficult to express in concrete terms. Counter-subversion can only be effective through extensive social, political and

administrative reforms. Considerable resources are required in this, as well as in counter-guerrilla warfare, because they both form a fundamental line of defence in the struggle that we are fighting for the integrity of the nation. Unfortunately there has not yet been an indication of the willingness to mobilize the manpower and the legal and executive power

which is indispensable in achieving these aims. And time is on the side of the ENEMY.

We consider local measures to be merely temporary substitutes which, although useful, are far from the global solution which is required.

The publication of this report has already had repercussions - not least within the ILO itself. The Angola Committee used the report to do some highly effective lobbying at the ILO's annual conference in Geneva at the end of June. This resulted in a resolution condemning Portuguese repression in the colonies which was passed by 211 votes to nil with 84 abstentions. The resolution also asked the ILO governing body to consider ways in which representatives from Angola, Mozambique and Guine could attend meetings. The Portuguese delegation immediately left the conference.

## OUA DISCUSSES SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION

The third summit meeting of the Organisation of African Unity took place in Rabat, Morocco, in June. It is never easy to estimate the significance of such an occasion, for the OAU, a loose body of 41 states - some progressive, some very conservative - cannot always be expected to function effectively. All delegates expressed support for those fighting white minority regimes and several resolutions were passed on the subject.

One resolution declared that all African states should ensure that all arms and other material assistance destined to the Liberation Movements of Mozambique, Angola and Guine-Bissau are afforded all facilities to enable them to reach their destination without hindrance'. Extensive use of border facilities is crucial for the transport of supplies and a number of problems have been created for the movements when these facilities have been denied them. Supplies for MPLA's front in Bie, for example, have to travel hundreds of miles further than if they could pass through Zaire.

The Tunisian delegate suggested that African associate members of the EEC should put pressure on the Common Market to debar Portugal from associate membership until she decolonises. However, this is somewhat unrealistic as most of the associates are Francophone countries many of whom have pushed the policy of 'dialogue' with Portugal and South Africa. Equally impractical was the proposal that

African states should approach Brazil's black community with a view to breaking Brazil's links with Portuguese colonialism. Relations between these two countries have steadily been strengthened since the advent of the Caetano government. About a year ago an agreement was reached whereby nationals of each country had automatic citizenship of the other, and Portugal's President Thomas has just completed a highly successful state visit to Brazil. Moreover, the latest development is the decision to form a multinational investment bank jointly controlled by Brazil and Portugal, to operate in Mozambique, Angola and South Africa.

Both before and during the conference, some countries advocated the formation of an all-African liberation army, such that *The Observer* spoke of 'the serious possibility of Portugal finding itself at war with African armies committed in support of the liberation movement in Guine-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola'. However, the liberation movements have always made it quite clear that, although they require as much technical assistance and support as possible from outside, the responsibility for the military struggles in Mozambique, Angola and Guine lies solely with the people of these three countries.

Despite the lack of realism of some of the suggestions made at the conference, at the very least they are indicative of a growing appreciation of their responsibilities by an increasing number of African governments. They are beginning to see that more active and concrete support than the mere passing of resolutions is required. The decision to increase practical and financial support to the liberation movements is certainly one of the most encouraging developments to come out of the conference.



# A DAY IN OCCUPIED

This piece is reprinted from an article by a special correspondent in the Morning Star of 27 June.

Lourenco Marques is a smallish city and there is not much to the centre: a few hotels and other large business buildings, some restaurants and small bars and that is about it. After a good, cheap meal of fresh lobsters and prawns (although it was cheap for me I noticed that the clientele was entirely white although there is no colour-bar here), I went to the bar for a drink.

They were all steamy and packed to capacity with white men, some obviously



Water-carrying in occupied Mozambique

Portuguese sailors, each with a black girl on his arm or lap. On entering I was also offered the same services a little too forcefully, so I beat a hasty retreat minus my drink, back to the hotel. Probably for quite a number of black families in the city this is one of the few ways of providing for the family.

Early next morning I decided to have a look around the city and then drive up north into the country a little. Down at the harbour the small, rather battered looking fishing smacks were drawn up and afloat with activity. A towering grey battleship formed a sinisterly quiet backdrop to this scene.

Young boys, who couldn't have been more than in their early teens, worked next to wizened old men, breaking ice and packing it into the hold. Their clothes had more holes than the nets which were being neatly folded and stowed. Everywhere white visitors are approached by youngsters trying to make a few escudos selling small carvings, masks or beads. Here

in Mozambique the economy is in a terrible state because of the war. There is little industry and few of the wealthy whites to provide employment as in South Africa.

Near the harbour on a patch of waste land a cluster of shacks with smoke rising from open fires revealed a group of industrious men and women. I wandered over and as I approached was greeted by an oldish man who spoke a little English because he had worked in South Africa.

'Here there is no work at all', he said 'I and my family cook food here every day for the harbour workers in order to keep us going'.

A number of men and women were busy stirring the ubiquitous maize porridge in large, blackened oil drums under the blazing midday sun. Under a rough table a baby in rags lay enwreathed in smoke, its eyes a mass of flies which it tried to fend off with half-hearted movements. In other oil drums complete cattle-heads were being boiled. Here for two escudos (about 2p) the harbour workers get their dinner - a heap of maize porridge and a few scraps of skin and gristle from the cow's head.

The old man earns about 300 escudos (about £3) a week in this way. This 'kitchen-cum-restaurant' implanted in the centre of this expanse of wasteland was like a scene from Dante's *Inferno*. It was impossible to comprehend that it belonged in this world at all.

Back in the main street, in the cool shadow of a large department store a few yards from one another, two stores were set up laden with beautifully decorated home-made cakes and trinkets. Well-clothed white ladies were offering their wares for sale in aid of charity. The one stall represented a Christian organisation planning a hospital for incurable diseases for the poor and the other was raising money for, as the lady put it, 'our heroic boys fighting up north'.

This is Mozambique reality: extreme poverty for the blacks and a curiously incongruous European cultural facade put up by the white Portuguese....

I left Lourenco Marques early in the afternoon. One is soon out of the city, past the white-washed barracks, through the narrow, dusty, unmade roads of the black ghettos bordered by rows of shacks and little stalls of produce. Crowds of children and women congregated round the few waterspouts, collecting the precious liquid in their old BP oil cans and carrying it on their heads back to their shacks.

North of Lourenco Marques the land is

# MOZAMBIQUE

flat and swampy, villages and huts are dotted few and far between on the flat terrain. It is incredible the number of blind, crippled or diseased people one sees under way; a young boy crosses the main road on hands and knees, his feet up in the air on stiff, distorted legs; an old woman runs after a bus, with her blind husband clutching her shoulder. Pictures like this repeat themselves regularly. Outside the small huts the children, their bellies swollen, stare wonderingly at a white visitor, their eyes inflamed and runny with matter.

I felt sick and empty, but it was impossible to eat even though I felt hungry. I stopped at a small roadside store-cum-cafe, like all businesses in Mozambique, run by white Portuguese. Its shelves were cluttered with dusty brown paper packets of flour and beans and a few tins with bleached out labels. I drank a beer which is the best refresher in that heat.

Outside a Mercedes armoured truck pulls up under a tree. The crew consists of 3 Portuguese and one black. When the officer in command learns that I am English he becomes friendly and communicative. The other three open their ration packs (supplied to the army by South Africa).

I ask him how it's going up north, as that is where they've come from.

'Terrible', he says, 'We're glad to get

out. Everywhere is mined or you're likely to be ambushed. We only went out in convoys never alone. Only last week the officer in charge of these men was killed and I had to take over.'

'Will you win?' I asked.

He smiles. 'Of course not. It's only a matter of time before they kick us out'.



Education in Free Mozambique

## Censorship? What, us!

The following is a quote from the front page of the Diário do Lisboa - a Lisbon evening paper.

'The Statute of the Press, published on 4 May, will operate from 1 June. It sets the rules of the new press law (Act No. 5 - 71 of Nov 5, 1971) and establishes as a rule the freedom of the press. "It is legal to all citizens to use the press in accordance with its social function and with respect for citizens' rights, social demand and moral principles". There is a proviso, however, concerning a new 'previous examination' system. "The publication of texts or images in the periodical press will be dependent on previous examination should a state of emergency or martial law be decreed". Given that we are now officially in a state of emergency, after Government decree of 20 December last, the periodical press will therefore not be subject to censorship but to previous examination. Therefore what until 31 May was a general rule, namely the previous administrative permission for the publication of texts and images, is an exception from 1 June'.

## Visit of PAIGC leader

Between 29 May and 9 June, Gil Fernandes, a member of PAIGC's Superior Council, made a highly successful tour of this country. He addressed meetings in London, Coventry, Hull, Oxford, Reading, Swansea, Brighton, Southampton and Nottingham. His tour has helped sustain the increased interest in and awareness of the struggle in Guinea created by the visit of Amílcar Cabral last Autumn. It is to be hoped that this growing sympathy will shortly be manifested in concrete acts of solidarity.

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

# AGGRESSION AGAINST SENEGAL

Senegal has suffered from sporadic incursions into her territory throughout the past year. The latest border incident took place on 26 May. Using as their pretext a dispute over a rice-field which straddled the border, Portuguese troops threatened Senegalese peasants working in the fields near the village of Santhiaba-Manrak. They withdrew when Senegalese troops arrived, only to return a few hours later. An estimated 200 Portuguese troops attacked the village and in the battle six Senegalese soldiers were killed and five wounded.

In retaliation, on the night of 30/31 May Senegalese troops crossed the border and raided a Portuguese base. No figures were published but a communique from the Senegalese armed forces remarked that the reprisal had achieved 'particularly positive results'. This was the first time that a Senegalese soldier had crossed the border into Guinea. The UN Security Council passed a resolution last November condemning Portuguese attacks on Senegal. The new incident coincided with the Secretary-General's reporting to the Council that Lisbon had made no response whatever to this resolution.

## New Literature

Three new books are now available from the Committee. One is a Cuban publication entitled Portuguese Colonies: Victory or Death (60p) consisting of a collection of liberation movement writings over the past eight years. The second, Revolution in Angola (60p) comes from the Merlin Press. Written by members of MPLA this short introduction to Africa's longest guerrilla war is dedicated to one of Angola's national heroes, Commander Hoji ia Henda, who died in battle in 1968. Finally, No Pintaça! (£1.25) is a beautifully produced booklet of photographs taken by the Japanese cameraman T. Ogawa during a visit to liberated Guinea last year.

Also available are three new, large posters - one on FRELIMO, two on PAIGC and all costing 25p.

## SUBSCRIPTION FORM

To: Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, 531 Caledonian Rd., London N7 (phone 01-607 2170)

I would like to order....Guerrilheiros on sale or returns (5p each) .....  
 I enclose 40p subscription to Guerrilheiro (80p outside UK).....  
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## LITERATURE LIST

Revolution in Guinea - Cabral	45p
Struggle for Mozambique - Mondlane	40p
The Liberation of Guinea - Davidson	30p
Portuguese Colonies: Victory or Death - Tricontinental	60p
Revolution in Angola - Merlin Press	60p
No Pintaça! the Liberation Struggle in Guinea - T. Ogawa	£1.25p
War on Three Fronts: the Fight against Portuguese Colonialism	18p
Gabro Bassa and the Struggle for Southern Africa	15p
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Building Freedom: Mozambique's FRELIMO	40p
WCC Profile of PAIGC	5p
WCC Profile of FRELIMO	5p
Our People are our Mountains - Cabral	18p
British Financial Interests in Portugal, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea	10p
Programme of PAIGC	2½p
Statutes and Programme of FRELIMO	2½p
Leaflet 'War on 3 Fronts'	£1.50 per 1000

### POSTERS

Victory to MPLA!	10p
Barclays Supports Apartheid	10p
Victory to People's War!	25p
FRELIMO Poster	25p
PAIGC Poster	25p

### FILMS

Vencêremos - 16mm 20 minute film from Mozambique. £2.50 + postage  
 A Group of Terrorists Attacked. 16mm 40 minute film made by World in Action team in Guinea. £2.50 + postage.  
 Behind the Lines - 16mm 50 minute film from Mozambique available from Contemporary Films, 55 Greek St., London W1 £8.50 [35 minute version £6.50]

PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITIONS showing various aspects of the liberation struggles can now be hired from the committee at a cost of £5 per week.

SPEAKERS are available from the Committee to talk to public meetings or groups.