

guerrilheiro



Bulletin of the Committee
for Freedom in Mozambique
Angola and Guiné



EDITORIAL

It was often hard to see the difference between the foreign policies of the late Labour Government and those of its predecessor - it fulfilled all its commitments as a loyal NATO member, and its attitude towards Southern Africa could at best be described as indifferent apathy. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that the alternative with which we are now presented is considerably worse. The forces of reaction now have full reign and Conservative Government policies both at home and abroad will be totally geared to preserving and furthering the capitalist interests which brought it to power.

As regards the particular question of Southern Africa, Tory policies will probably affect the activities of progressive individuals and organisations in two ways. Firstly, in the international sphere they will give open support to the apartheid regime in South Africa and to the Portuguese in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné. The resumption of arms supplies to South Africa is but one aspect of possible future policies in this area. The plans of the Tory Party's unofficial working committee towards Portugal and her colonies are even more ominous, in that they open up the possibility of ultimate direct British participation in the wars against the peoples of these countries.

This Committee's recent report on foreign policy inevitably stressed the 'Red threat' to the Cape route; it proposed a re-examination of the alliance with Portugal "to establish mutually valid and workable defence arrangements in the South Atlantic" either by the expansion of NATO or by a new regional pact incorporating Britain, South Africa, Argentina and Brazil. It considered the security of the Portuguese in Guiné essential to the West and expressed dismay that the British arms boycott was disrupting the Portuguese war effort and was thus "in contradiction" with our interests in NATO. The strategic location of the ports of Lourenço Marques and Luanda was also stressed.

Secondly, on the home front, the advent of the Tory Government under its rallying cry of 'law and order' augurs ill for the future of support movements here. The intensification of the Gaboro Bassa campaign in the autumn can be expected to bring forth strong reactions from several quarters, and this is all the more reason why the campaign must be really widespread and effective. The successes achieved elsewhere, in publicity, withdrawal of participation and the embarrassment of Governments, provide us with encouraging examples.

A new factor is also the concerted stand on Southern Africa being taken by the African governments themselves - previously confined to a small number of countries - and this should give a further impetus to solidarity and determined efforts here. They must be given our full backing.

For this development is quite a step forward, and one that has given the British Government considerable food for thought. The unexpected furore both at home and abroad over the South African arms issue has demonstrated that 'gunboat diplomacy' no longer works. More subtle tactics are necessary, some of which are proposed in the paper mentioned earlier. Following the South African 'verligte' line it stresses the necessity to encourage a détente between Portugal and the black African countries. It suggests blackmail tactics, such as using the Benguela railway in Angola as "an important lever for the establishment of more normal and neighbourly relations between Angola, the Congo and Zambia". The intensive encouragement of investment in the Portuguese colonies is yet another means of serving the interests of international finance while at the same time helping to combat the peoples' liberation movements.

It is therefore vitally urgent that all supporters of the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies keep a sharp watch on the activities of the present British Government and consistently oppose their strategies in Southern Africa. The particular focal point during the next few months will be the Cabora Bassa project and the forthcoming campaigns must be vigorously supported, but this must not mean the neglect of other issues in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea. As a result of the change of government in Britain the battle is going to be that much fiercer than it might otherwise have been; the strength of the enemy should not be underestimated. But we would do well to recall that on 25 September, just six years ago, a small force of 250 men began the armed struggle in Mozambique against far greater odds.

PORTUGUESE COLONIES IN THE WORLD

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT ROME

The International Conference in support of the peoples of the Portuguese Colonies held in Rome from 27-29 June, was an outstanding success. It undoubtedly marked a new stage forward in the process of involving Western supporters in the campaign against Portugal in Europe, giving them a more militant commitment to the struggle for liberation in the colonies. The Conference heard reports from the leaders of the liberation movements before dividing into three commissions.

The Political Commission discussed the political aspects of the struggle against Portuguese colonialism. The report of the Commission recommended among other things a policy of isolation of Portugal in three fields: military, political and economic. To achieve this objective, it recommended that the support committees and organisations undertake, among other activities, information campaigns in different countries as well as on the international level.

The Commission for Juridical Matters studied the status of peoples who are politically organised and are struggling for liberation from colonial domination, and considered them as qualifying as subjects of international law. It considered that liberation fighters should be accorded the benefit of the Geneva Conventions relating to the treatment of prisoners of war.

The Commission on Material Support recommended that all countries and regional and international organisations such as the specialised agencies should increase their moral assistance and material aid to the liberation movements. It recommended that the support committees in the different countries, mainly in Western Europe, should multiply their activities and mobilise public opinion in favour of the struggle in the territories under colonial domination.

Eighteen representatives from Britain participated at the Conference, including Frank Judd MP and Frank Allaun MP; Jack Straw, President of the National Union of Students; Jack Dunn of the Kent Mineworkers; and representatives from the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Africa Bureau, the Communist Party, the Movement for Colonial Freedom, and the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné.

We reproduce in full the text of the General Declaration of the Rome Conference, which gives a clear and decisive basis to future campaigning:

General Declaration

1. One of the essential characteristics of the history of our times is the vigorous development of national liberation struggles which have been transformed for many countries into independence and the regaining of dignity for hundreds of millions of men and women in Africa and elsewhere. Portuguese colonialism, which refuses decolonization and conducts genocidal wars against the people of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, is manifestly a crime against humanity. To dominate and exploit the peoples and riches of Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde, Mozambique and Sao Tomé, it has resorted above all to repressive actions. It has instituted forced labour, the compulsory export of workers, a system of obligatory cultivation of certain crops solely for its own profit and that of the companies.
2. Every time these peoples attempted to express, even by peaceful means, their rejection of the brutal exploitation which was enslaving them, the Portuguese colonialists in cold blood resorted to massacres.
3. That is why, in fully assuming their national historic responsibilities, FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC led their peoples along the only road which could bring them freedom and independence: armed national liberation struggle. In developing the popular fight towards victory, in identifying themselves with the interests of their peoples, FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC are confirmed as the true representatives of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde. Their activities can be seen in the destruction of the structures of domination, new and traditional, and in the establishment of a new and popular social order.
4. In order to oppose this situation, the colonialists of Lisbon are facilitating penetration of powerful economic interests of imperialist Powers to ensure that these interests should consider their fate as linked to that of Portuguese domination. They become defenders of the cause of Portugal's colonialism, expressing themselves through the policies of their governments, and thus create conditions for an increasing internationalization of the confrontation.
5. The direct and massive aid from the North Atlantic Treaty Association (NATO) - not to speak of the military and economic support Lisbon receives from the Governments of the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and France - is a decisive factor in Portugal's ability to continue her colonial wars. The Governments of member States

of NATO must dissociate themselves from this crime, isolating Portugal at both political and military levels and firmly condemning this colonial war. It must also be underlined that Portugal's grand design is strengthened by the racist and colonial alliance between Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

6. In spite of the assistance and collaboration which she enjoys, Portugal cannot control the situation, so that her allies have been led to consider direct military intervention, already manifested in the use of South African troops and material in Angola and Mozambique. The struggles of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies become in this context a vital contribution to the cause of freedom in Africa, and to the cause that applies to all humanity - national independence and human dignity.

7. At the same time, the activities of democratic and progressive forces toward these objectives, and in particular the development of the anti-colonialist movement in Portugal and the other liberation struggles in Africa, and throughout the world, are an important and necessary factor for the cause of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. On this we must state that the successes already won by the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde, and Mozambique, while being the result of the efforts and sacrifices of these peoples in their fierce struggle, are also owed to the active solidarity of the independent countries of Africa, of the socialist countries, of the non-aligned countries, and of democratic and progressive forces throughout the world.

8. For the first time delegates from sixty-four countries, representing 177 national and international organizations, have met in Europe to study and decide upon ways of developing political, moral and material solidarity with the struggling peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

9. This solidarity must be translated into urgent and immediate actions, the nature of which will be decided by the evolution of the situation in each country and taking into consideration their specific conditions. They must first be concerned with forcing Portugal to grant immediate and total independence to these peoples, who already have sovereignty over large areas of territory administered in Angola by the MPLA, in Guinea by the PAIGC and in Mozambique by FRELIMO.

10. To achieve this, we must increase the isolation of the Portuguese colonialists by exposing the massive support they receive from the NATO alliance in general, and in particular from the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and France. This must also be undertaken with regard to all the national and international economic and financial institutions that provide Portugal with the necessary means for continuing her aggression.

11. We must also, especially through mass popular action, prevent the countries linked with colonialist Portugal from committing themselves to a new phase of armed intervention to replace the failure of their political and military strategies.

12. Finally, our activities now concretely support the efforts towards liberation and national reconstruction made by FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC, which the Conference considers as holding effective power in their countries, on the basis of the law of their peoples. This new legal situation must be recognized internationally.

13. In this tenth anniversary year of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and on the threshold of the tenth anniversary of the launching of the armed national liberation struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, the Rome Conference reaffirms its solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde, Mozambique and Sao Tomé and Principe, and calls on all countries, Governments, national and international organisations, and to all men of good will, to accomplish these inspiring tasks.

"THE PEOPLE OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES WILL WIN!

PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM WILL DISAPPEAR!"

APRILS

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THE POPE, THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND PORTUGAL

While they were in Rome for the International Conference of Solidarity, the three leaders of MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO were received by the Pope. The visit, which was in effect a recognition of the strength of the liberation movements, and of their leaders as the genuine representatives of the peoples of their countries, produced a strong reaction from Portugal. The Portuguese Ambassador to the Vatican was recalled, and an official Note demanded 'an adequate explanation' from the Holy See.

The Pope's action has started a phase of questioning and confusion for many Portuguese: it will be remembered that Portugal is a Catholic country and that one of the roots of Portuguese propaganda is their 'civilising mission' in Africa and the fact that they are fighting a Christian war against savages. A group of Catholics has already circulated an underground document comparing the Portuguese and international press reports of the audience, and showing the deliberate distortions of the Portuguese and Portuguese African newspapers.

The Vatican tried hard to explain that the audience had no political significance, that it had been conducted in the most discreet possible way, that it was 'not an audience in the proper sense of the term' and at the same time that the leaders had been received simply as Catholics and Christians. This jumble of explanations has not carried much weight for, as reported in the Tablet: 'The request for an audience from the three anti-colonialist leaders . . . reached the Vatican a month before the date it took place; the letter in which the request was conveyed explained that the three were leaders of the independence movements of, respectively, Angola, Mozambique, and Guiné; and with the request was included a fully-documented account of these movements.' Also, the report that the Pope told the leaders that " the Church gives her support to the struggle for justice, freedom and national independence", has not since been denied. (25.7.70)

Finally, however, a reconciliation took place and Marcello Cretano announced that relations between Lisbon and the Holy See were back to "cordial", and that they accepted the explanation given in reply to their Note. But it was clearly taken seriously by the Portuguese régime.

'When Dr. Cretano went on a nation-wide television link-up to make his announcement of "pente" with the Vatican he looked tense in a way never seen before. But it was a tension that was clearly tinged with a feeling of relief that his greatest foreign affairs hurdle since taking office had passed, and Portugal can now get back to her "soft" approach to world problems.'

Financial Times 9.7.70

UN WORLD YOUTH ASSEMBLY

At the World Youth Assembly held in New York from 9-18 July, representatives from MPLA, PAIGC and PRELIMO were for the first time at the UN as official representatives for their respective countries. The PRELIMO delegate was nominated to the 18-man Steering Committee.

The Assembly divided into commissions for discussion, The final Message which went from the Assembly to be presented at the next session of the UN General Assembly, covered many topics, among them the question of national liberation. It said: 'The participants of the World Youth Assembly . . . Noting that the continuance of colonial domination over peoples constitutes a serious blow against human rights and a permanent threat to peace . . . denounce with indignation the colonial war pursued by Portugal against the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique - led by MPLA, PAIGC and PRELIMO respectively - affirm support

with their fight and express full solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and with all people who fight against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and for liberty and independence; condemn the racist régimes in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, and all fascist régimes, Greece, Spain and Portugal among others.'

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SECOND WORLD FOOD CONGRESS

The Second World Food Congress (The Hague, Holland, 16-30 June) got off to a good start. The participants were greeted, as they arrived at the Netherlands Congress Centre on the 16th, with a re-enactment of the Mueda Massacre, which took place in Mozambique on 16th June 1960. Many of the youth participants of the Congress took part in this re-enactment and a leaflet was distributed giving background information about the massacre and calling for the expulsion of the Portuguese officials from the Congress.

Time and again, the issue of the Portuguese colonies arose in the debates of the Congress. One of the most persistent demands was for FAO to offer help to the liberated areas. The youth participants showed their seriousness in this demand by going on a day's hunger strike and donating the money thus saved to the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies. A special delegate was sent to make the presentation at the Rome Conference.

ANGOLA

MILITARY ACTIVITIES

MPLA is continuing to build up its strength in the east, improve the strike power of its detachments, and reinforce the push westwards towards the Atlantic. In an interview in May, MPLA's President, Dr. Agostinho Neto, said that despite the 70,000 Portuguese troops in Angola, the guerillas now controlled one third of the country, which included the establishment of local administrative centres and schools. The areas controlled are in Cabinda, Moxico, Cuando-Cubango, Bié and Luanda, the most advanced front being in Bié in the centre of the country.

Information on activities takes some time to filter through outside but communiqué 7/70 for March/April in the 3rd political region - Moxico and Cuando-Cubango - announced 4 attacks against posts, 27 vehicles destroyed, 16 ambushes, 3 bridges destroyed, and over 300 enemy killed.

Portuguese reaction to these offensives is swift and brutal. In May, after falling on a mine and suffering heavy casualties, in retaliation they seized two old men working in the fields some considerable distance away. When they refused to reveal information on the movements of the guerillas they were viciously beaten up with their own hoes, their arms and legs mutilated, and left dying. The Portuguese later came across another peasant, also old, and set his hair and beard on fire to make him talk. Such is the Portuguese 'civilising mission'. The following month they once more bombed neighbouring Zambia.

CHEMICAL WARFARE

A new Portuguese tactic to counteract their impotence on the ground is one borrowed from their American friends in Vietnam - the use of chemical defoliants and herbicides. It is important that this new phase should be publicised as widely as possible, and that there is protest of international proportions.

The attacks began on 1 May this year, and this vivid description comes from an MPLA doctor who witnessed one such operation on 21 May: 'It was 10 o'clock. Five enemy planes flew low over the banks of the Luena River. Two of the bombers circled the area trying to detect signs of human life. The three other planes began to spray the fields with chemical poisons. From time to time the bombers dropped incendiary bombs on the gardens and camouflaged houses in the forest.

The chemical agents acted very quickly on the cassava leaves and branches and on sweet potatoes, causing them to become completely dry in less than two days. The toxic poisons were also attested to by the badly burned

trees in the forest, which looked as if they had suffered a violent fire.

These chemicals, deposited on the leaves (and perhaps also on the soil), penetrated quickly the roots and tubers, causing a progressive deterioration from the exterior to the heart of the plants. Soon the cassava roots and sweet potatoes became soft and mushy; they turned black, as if they had been soaked in bad water for several days. The result was the total destruction of all crops affected. Tubers eaten in this poisoned condition caused several abdominal colics and diarrhoeas.'

From an MPLA communiqué, 10.7.70

BASIL DAVIDSON IN ANGOLA

In July this year Basil Davidson, a well-known journalist and member of our Committee spent six weeks with MPLA in the liberated areas of Angola. He gave an account of his trip in a lengthy article for the Sunday Times of 16 August.

He described how the MPLA army, well disciplined and with high morale, is organised into mobile detachments of about 25 men each, including detachments with special duties such as road mining. They have established strong control of the countryside outside a few hundred yards' range of the Portuguese posts, so that it was rarely necessary for him to march at night. The detachments have four main tasks; to ambush and harry Portuguese patrols and posts; to mine roads; to safeguard villagers who have fled to the forests for protection; and finally, most important, steadily to penetrate from Eastern Angola into the relatively rich and populous districts of Bié, Huambo and Malange, and then to the Atlantic.

Supply columns take anything up to 6-8 weeks travelling through the country, sometimes groups of up to 50 men or more each carrying about 50lbs. of arms and ammunition. But the problem of communication and transport is only one aspect of the difficult conditions under which the fighters are operating. Organisation amongst a population most of whom are illiterate and living in very poor conditions is far from easy.

Supplies of all kinds are desperately short - food (he ate one meal a day of pounded millet sweetened with forest honey), medicine, clothing etc. The plateau area being relatively high the climate is correspondingly cool, yet blankets and warm clothing are a luxury. Yet despite all these difficulties Basil Davidson had no doubts about the success of the movement.

When he requested to be taken to a specific Portuguese post in the heart of the combat area they took him to within 400 yards; the post was at Muiú, a rectangle of barbed wire with eleven guard towers and searchlights, housing about 100 Portuguese soldiers and 150 African levies. This dispelled any propaganda about fighters operating from across the frontier. In daylight he was taken across main roads, used only by heavily guarded convoys; heard small arms fire from clashes and helicopter commando operations, and mine explosions.

'There is no doubt, I think, that the Portuguese have lost the strategic initiative in the east, retaining only the brief tactical initiatives of the kind they exercised when I was there. When judged only by the key area of Muiú, and its surrounding forests, guerilla penetration to the west is real and effective.'

NEW PORTUGUESE COMMANDER

General Costa Gomes was recently appointed the new Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese armed forces in Angola. At the same time the Governor Ribocho Vaz was recalled to Lisbon for consultations on reinforcements, his visit coinciding with that of the South African Prime Minister Vorster.

GUINE

3 AUGUST - PAIGC DAY

On 3 August the people of Guiné celebrate their national day. They commemorate an event which was a turning point in the development of opposition to colonial rule: the final realisation of the people of Guiné that their only hope of freedom from Portugal would be through armed struggle:

Eleven years ago, on 3 August 1959, the Bissau dock workers at Fidjiguitti went on strike for higher wages. The Portuguese police and troops immediately smashed the strike, opening fire on the workers and killing more than fifty. This experience taught the PAIGC, which had already been in existence for three years, the futility of attempting to organise openly against their determined oppressors, and that the non-violent methods used in other countries would in their case be suicidal. They therefore began to organise underground, on a nation-wide basis, channelling the existing hatred and resentment of colonial rule into effective action. The party expanded rapidly and in 1963 the military struggle began.

Since then the war has been fiercely fought, but the PAIGC has steadily gained strength. They now control two-thirds of the country, and half the 800,000 population has been freed from Portuguese domination. They still of course have to face bombing and air attacks for, having lost control on the ground the Portuguese rely heavily on their air force, equipped with bombs and napalm from their NATO allies. But the work of rebuilding the country goes on, and the people are undeterred by the difficulties. Primary schools and health centres have been established to serve people who, under the Portuguese, had no hope of education or medical treatment. Food production is increasing. All this development is taking place within a political and administrative structure which ensures full and democratic participation by the people.

As the PAIGC continually extends the military struggle the Portuguese are increasingly on the defensive. Portuguese control of Guiné is now so slight that, though Guiné was formerly an exporter of rice, they cannot obtain sufficient quantity to feed the army and are forced to import it.

4 PORTUGUESE DEPUTIES KILLED

In a telegram sent to the OAU summit meeting at Addis Ababa in August the PAIGC announced that four members of the Portuguese Parliament had

been killed. One was Pinto Bull, an African; the others were Dr. Pinto Leite, a 'liberal' in the Portuguese context, the Mayor of Elvas, and Dr. Leonardo Coimbra, a Deputy for Oporto. It had already been announced that the group was missing in a helicopter over 'rebel-infested territory'. (The Times) while on a fact-finding mission in Guiné.

'The accident was allegedly caused by a tornado and an eye witness in another helicopter gave details in a newspaper interview of how the craft fell in flames. But it did occur about the time when guerillas were launching a particularly vicious attack on three fronts near the frontiers of Senegal to the north and the Republic of Guinea to the south.'

The Scotsman 21.8.70

MILITARY ACTIVITY

Following the powerful ambush which, on 4 July, annihilated an enemy column of six lorries on the Sadjocunda-Pirada road, on 13 July our armed forces carried out two simultaneous attacks on these fortified camps, the latter being one of the most important on the East Front. During this attack, conducted by artillery and infantry, our fighters, who occupied Pirada for an hour, destroyed two barracks and a dozen dug-outs, killing eight enemy soldiers, wounding many, and taking one prisoner, Portuguese soldier Manuel Fernandes Pestana. Weapons and an important quantity of different kinds of material were captured.

On the same day, 13 July, the town of Gabu (Nova Lanego in Portuguese terminology), capital of the region of the same name, was the object of an attack from a unit of our regular army. Our fighters, who had infiltrated into the centre of the town and thus taken the enemy by surprise, destroyed several military installations and two tractors, killing about ten Portuguese soldiers and wounding several more. Our infantry attack on the town of Gabu - one of the most important strongholds of the colonialist troops - marks a new stage in the development of our struggle on the East Front and throughout our country.'

PAIGC Communiqué 21.7.70

Genture, an enemy fortified camp on the south frontier, has been captured by our fighters. Submitted to continuous attacks from our heavy artillery, followed by infantry actions, the colonialist troops were forced to abandon this strategically important point.

The enemy camps of Bigone, Barro, Ingore, S. Domingos, Sedengal, Cuntina, Cambadju, and Guidage were attacked simultaneously by our people's army, which destroyed several barracks and depots and resulted in important losses for the enemy.

At Bigone, which has the most important concentration of troops on this frontier, our heavy artillery, in destroying several installations, caused more than thirty deaths and several dozen wounded. Groups of civilians who were being held there behind barbed wire, were able to escape from the camp.

Extracts from PAIGC Actualités, May 1970

MEETING OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU

The Political Bureau of the PAIGC met from 12-15 April. The Bureau was enlarged with the addition of new cadres, and during the meeting the politico-military structures of the party were revised and adapted to meet the realities of the new phase of the struggle.

AHS

MOZAMBIQUE

MILITARY ACTIVITY

The first half of 1970 has seen greatly increased military activity in all three provinces. Difficult communications will always hinder the sending of full, detailed reports outside, but communiqués so far received are most encouraging: at least 200 operations have taken place during this period. In Tete province alone, 400 enemy soldiers have been killed and at least 51 vehicles destroyed. In this province, too, assaults against posts have been particularly intensive (for example, against Phera, Chitiri, Makuyo, Candulo, Mpata, Kanhande and Chirenbug), while in the other provinces there have been greatly increased sabotage operations against roads, railways and bridges as well as many ambushes. Portugal's massive June offensive has been contained and a counter-offensive is now under way.

Particular success has been achieved in shooting down aircraft:

- 1 March - reconnaissance aircraft in the region of Camdenhengo (Tete)
- 2 June - reconnaissance plane over Bene (Tete)
- Early June - helicopter in Cabo Delgado
- 9 June - jet fighters, part of a squadron of 6 bombing a village in the region of Inhaca (Cabo Delgado)
- 8 May - helicopter in the region of Catua (Ninassa)

The Portuguese offensive

There has been extensive publicity in the Western press about the large Portuguese offensive in Cabo Delgado and Ninassa. However, prior to this there had been numerous warning signs that such an operation was imminent - the appointment of guerrilla expert Kaulin de Arriaga as Military Commander, a tremendous influx of new troops and heavy equipment - and PRELIMO was thus well prepared. According to the Portuguese High Command 35,000 troops were mobilized, including corps of 'caçadores especiais' (special hunters) rather similar to marines, and considerable air support - jet fighters, bombers, reconnaissance planes and helicopters. The Portuguese claimed to have captured 'arsenals' of bazookas, tons of weapons and to have killed 'hundreds of fighters, but their own admitted losses cast a different light on the picture. They announced the deaths of 211 soldiers during May, June and July, a striking figure when it is considered that less than 100 casualties have been admitted during any one previous year in Mozambique (deaths due to mining operations are never included as these are attributed to 'accidents').

The fact that the Portuguese should consider it necessary to launch this onslaught in Mozambique at this time is confirmation that they are very concerned about their deteriorating position. Since 1964 their claims that they are only fighting 'small bands of foreign terrorists' have become more and more discredited as FRELIMO forces have gradually consolidated their position and pushed forward their front lines. At the same time the international campaign against Portuguese colonialism has been gathering momentum, culminating in the current Cabora Bassa campaign. It can hardly be coincidental that the offensive was undertaken at about the same time as the Rome conference. It was obviously intended to have the dual function of ending the war 'once and for all', as widely claimed by Portuguese military leaders, and also demonstrating to the outside world that the situation was well in hand and Mozambique was a secure and stable country for foreign investment.

Three major points have emerged from the offensive: the high level of organisation and morale within FRELIMO, to be able to withstand it; the public admission by the Portuguese that FRELIMO is sufficiently well established within Mozambique itself to warrant an operation of this size; that even on Portugal's figures, the ratio of casualties to each side is very favourable to FRELIMO and their guerrilla tactics.

FOREIGN JOURNALISTS IN MOZAMBIQUE

In March, 3 Dutch cameramen and an East German journalist travelled widely with FRELIMO fighters in Cabo Delgado province, reaching south of Mueda. In a statement issued after their return the Dutch said:

'... the Portuguese did not bother to track us down although they must have known we were there - at one time less than 2 miles from their base - that all these 18 days we were in Mozambique we crossed at will the country they claim to control, that every day that passed made us feel stronger that the sheer incapability to do something makes a mockery of Portuguese colonialism.

'... as citizens of a NATO-member country - Holland - we feel responsible for the material and moral support our country gives to colonial Portugal. We are backing an army which tomorrow may kill the men we met and marched with. For us, support to Portugal is no longer an academic affair: it is a matter of either supporting the fascist forces or support for the liberation of a suppressed people.'

In July Mr Bouabaker Adjali, an Algerian journalist reporting for Africain, the French magazine, returned from one month spent in the liberated areas of Mozambique. He said that he had been very much impressed by the

political consciousness among the people, and the seriousness and determination with which they were reconstructing their economy in the liberated areas. "They were even conducting their own agricultural experiments", he added.

Nationalist 14.7.70

PRELIMO ANNIVERSARY

"Six years ago, on 25 September 1964, the people of Mozambique, under the leadership of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) took up arms to fight for national liberation from the Portuguese colonialism. 25 September has since been declared National Day in Mozambique, and Day of International Solidarity with the People of Mozambique.

During the six years from the beginning of the war, our people have achieved outstanding victories not only in the area of armed struggle, where we have wiped out Portuguese colonialism from large regions of our country; but also in the field of National Reconstruction. On the liberated areas we have built up a completely new political, economic and social system, based upon and serving the interests of our people.

But the struggle is not without difficulty. The Portuguese, realising that their forces alone could not counter our advance and prevent the ultimate liberation of our country, appealed for support from their imperialist and racist allies. And their appeal was heard. Modern and sophisticated military equipment of all kinds (from warships to jet-fighters, tanks and rocket-launchers) was sent to Portugal, either under bilateral agreements or as part of the programme of NATO. These weapons are being used in the colonies. In addition, millions of dollars of foreign investment were injected into the economy of Portugal and her colonies, to enable her to withstand the adversities of war. And military alliances were established or reinforced. At the forefront of the countries supporting Portuguese colonialism are the USA, West Germany, Great Britain and France. South Africa and Rhodesia are directly involved in the Mozambican war.

This internationalisation of aggression can only be effectively countered if the anti-colonial struggle also becomes international. Awareness of this necessity is increasing, even in the Western countries, which until now have been almost completely indifferent to the plight of the African people. The recent International Conference of Solidarity with the people of the Portuguese Colonies is clear indication of this new awareness.

In this context, we invite all Governments, organisations and persons who oppose colonialism and cherish freedom, to celebrate with us the 25th of September.

And we ask them to express their solidarity with our struggle for freedom in a concrete way. The main objective should be to provide us with material aid and moral support; and to isolate Portugal by cutting off the material aid and moral support that she obtains from her pro-colonialist allies."

STATEMENT ISSUED BY PRELIMO September 1970

AHS

PORTUGAL

THE COLONIAL DEBATE

In the late 1920s when Dr. Salazar came to power, Portugal was widely regarded as one of the most backward and poorest nations in Western Europe. Forty repressive years later, at the time of his death, the cruel fact is that even more accurate international statistics show that Portugal, with a per capita income even lower than that of Spain or Greece, is now the most backward and poorest nation in Western Europe. . .

A small country engaged in three colonial wars, which demanded proportionally more human and financial resources than those being spent by the United States in South-East Asia . . . If in any respect Portugal seems modern, it is in the magnitude of its involvement in southern Africa. Only last week, Dr. Rui Patricio, the Foreign Minister, in an extensive interview, vehemently denied what he called "unfounded international allegations" that Portugal was intending to settle one million white people around the Cahora Bassa Dam, in Mozambique. But the allegations are not all attributable to international and anti-Portuguese campaigns. Two weeks before, General Venancio Deslandes, none other than the Chief of the General Staff, then visiting Mozambique and Angola, called for a new policy whereby the one million white people needed by both territories should preferably be Europeans with military training. Anti-subversion in the Portuguese territories could no longer be exclusively confined to the armed forces, and would have to become a "generalised action, in which all activities, and even all individuals, should be integrated."

. . . Between this scheme, which Portugal's pro-Salazar press, with unwitting irony, called the "great solution", and Dr. Patricio's desperate denials, there is a great divide. . .

The Guardian 30.7.70

MARIO SOARES EXPELLED

' Dr. Mario Soares, the stormy petrel of left-wing politics in Portugal, has been expelled by the security police. Leftwing sources said today that Dr. Soares was called to police headquarters yesterday and told to leave the country immediately. After some months abroad on a lecture tour he returned at the weekend to attend the funeral of his father, Dr. Joao Soares, a former Colonial Minister who held office before the Salazar régime. During his lecture tour Dr. Soares had openly attacked Portugal's African policy and had boasted that he would be arrested on arrival in Portugal.'

The Times 5.8.70

ANOTHER PRIEST ARRESTED

'A former chaplain in the Portuguese armed forces fighting anti-government guerillas in Portuguese Guinea has been arrested by security police. He is Fr. Mario Pais Oliveira, now parish priest at Macceiria da Lixa, in the Oporto diocese. Police said he would be charged with activities against the defence of Portuguese overseas possessions.'

Catholic Herald 14.8.70

GEDOC PERSECUTED

GEDOC, a progressive Catholic movement in Portugal, is being increasingly harassed by the DGS (Direcção Geral de Seguranca, the former PIDE). News from Portugal tells of the arrest of several members.

EMIGRATION CONTINUES TO RISE

A lengthy article in Le Monde on 2.9.70 described the escape routes for illegal emigrants from Portugal, and the experiences of these thousands of people when they arrived in France. They are of two kinds: those who leave Portugal to avoid the oppressive working conditions and to seek better wages, and the growing numbers of young men who are avoiding a four-year conscription term. According to statistics published by the National Immigration Office in France, by 1 July 1970 there were 559,176 Portuguese in France, but this figure is certainly too low as it only includes those who are legally registered. Even so, the loss of over half a million people from a population of approximately 9 million undoubtedly has an effect on Portugal's economy that is not entirely offset by their remittances home.

SALAZAR'S DEATH - NO CHANGE IN PORTUGAL

'... The future of the African colonies is still the main issue for Portugal. In his first year of power Dr. Caetano did allow an unprecedented amount of public discussion on this. But after the controlled elections last October he has again forbidden it. Raising the issue abroad was Dr. Soares's "crime".'

Dr. Caetano was appointed Prime Minister, after all, because he was prepared to continue Salazar's African policy. The three men of the old school in his cabinet, representing the armed forces, which have a huge stake in defending the colonies, are there to see that he does. There are signs now that Dr. Caetano may try to amend the Constitution back towards the old system of elections for President on a direct vote by universal suffrage. Naturally he would first ensure he would be the successful candidate. He might then allow some minor 'descentralisation', some criticism of his predecessor's record, if only to distance himself from it. But there are no signs that he is willing or ready to alter Portugal's African policies. Until that happens, nothing in Portugal can radically change.'

The Guardian 6.8.70

THE COMMON MARKET

The burden of the African situation on the economy of the mainland does not grow any less. Budgeted current expenditure for 1970 on defence (most of it on Africa) is 930 million escudos more than last year, and below the line expenditure though unchanged from 1969 still remains, at 6.4 bn escudos, by far the largest item of the extraordinary budget (58% of the total). Furthermore the international implications of the African imbroglio may be about to take on a new dimension in the context of the possible dissolution of EFTA during the coming decade. Censure in the United Nations may be shrugged off as both pharisaical and without effect, but the overseas provinces could constitute a very real barrier to Portuguese participation in, or even association with, the EEC. If for another reason the opposition of the Community's African associates - quite apart from that of some of the member countries themselves - would probably block any attempt to extend the legal fiction of the French "départements d'outre-mer" as being part of metropolitan France to cover the world-wide Portuguese "cacao" .

Economist Intelligence Unit

Quarterly Economic Review of Portugal and Overseas Provinces, No. 2.70

AHS

CABORA BASSA - INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN

The campaign to prevent the Cabora Bassa dam project getting under way has been stepped up sharply in recent months, in Mozambique, in independent Africa and in Europe.

In MOZAMBIQUE, as reported elsewhere, FRELIMO has been stepping up military activity throughout the northern half of the province, including the area around the dam site.

From independent AFRICA have come initiatives in the hope of persuading the European companies involved to withdraw from the dam consortium. President Kaunda of Zambia, speaking on behalf of the East and Central African states, appealed to the Governments of West Germany and France to withdraw their export guarantees from their respective firms. The Organisation of African Unity also condemned Western involvement.

In WEST GERMANY a major campaign is developing, with groups ranging from the radical student SDS to the Catholic Pax Christi making their protests. Demonstrations have already taken place. Chancellor Willy Brandt had to go on television to explain the government decision not to interfere in the project, and it seems certain that activity there is only beginning and will increase considerably in the autumn. Apart from demonstrations and formal campaigning groups of students and workers are active inside the plants and factories of the guilty firms - Siemens, AEG, Brown Boveri, Voith and Hochtief - publicising the issue and trying to persuade the employees not to work on material for Cabora Bassa.

The question of Cabora Bassa has raised the whole issue of aid and investment in Africa, and there is now open discussion of the implications of business commitments in white Southern Africa and the possible consequences north of the Zambezi. Though the Government has so far bowed to those who are looking for quick profits in the South, they have promised to re-examine their future strategy in Africa. There should be no illusions about their motivation but this changing position can be seen as further evidence of an awareness in hard-headed business circles of the realities of the Southern African struggle.

On 2 September a new controversy was sparked off by Herr Heinz Kuhn, Social Democrat Chief Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia. Returning from a visit to Africa, where he had delivered a letter from Willy Brandt to President Kaunda about Cabora Bassa, Herr Kuhn told a press conference: 'We could very easily be involved there in a new Biafra or Algeria!'. He said that co-operation on the project between Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia was taking on military proportions. (Guardian 3.9.70). His charges were immediately denied by Portugal's public relations firm in West Germany, the Information Service Dr. Manfred Zapp. (Times 4.9.70)

In FRANCE as in Germany the Government has rejected President Kaunda's appeal, on the same grounds that Cabora Bassa will ultimately be of benefit to the Mozambican people - a myth that was exposed long ago. The current wave of police repression there makes organised political activity difficult, but a debate on this and on the general issue of France's role in Southern Africa is beginning to find its way into the newspapers.

Maurice Sahumann, the French Foreign Minister, visited Portugal earlier this year, thus strengthening the links between the two countries, but on his return he denied that France was supporting Portugal in her colonial wars. His arguments sound well-worn to British ears: he drew a distinction between 'weapons capable of serving in "police actions" (struggle against the subversives) and other classical types of weapon.' It is towards the latter that the French Government must direct itself in its own interests. France traditionally refrains from supplying weapons which can be used in police operations' (Le Républicain Lorrain, 19.6.70). Little imagination is needed to guess the likely response to this statement from the civilian populations of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, who can bear witness to frequent attacks from French-made Alouette helicopters.

In ITALY the Government responded to pressure, mainly from independent Africa, and withdrew its export credit guarantee from the Italian firm participating in the ZAMCO consortium. The company concerned, Societa Anonima Elettificazione, may still go ahead with South African finance, but at the beginning of June Italy's largest trade union (CGIL) called on the government to forbid any Italian participation in the project.

The Dambusters campaign in BRITAIN continues, though its relative quietness over the summer months is perhaps a sign of how much the campaign still depends on student involvement. In September the Dambusters Mobilising Committee is working on plans for intensified and better co-ordinated action over the next few months. Barclays Bank must still be a major target, but there is evidence that an increasing number of British firms are becoming involved in Cabora Bassa through sub-contracts, often through South African subsidiaries. They hope in this way to remain inconspicuous, and it is essential that they are exposed and efforts are made to ensure that they do not take up the work. Anyone who can add to our information is requested to contact the Dambusters Committee.

Companies known to be involved: United Transport Overseas, which is operating a regular heavy transport service between Johannesburg and Cabora Bassa and holds three of the major transport contracts to carry equipment for the dam over the next four and a half years. It has also

tendered for a fourth contract to transport goods from Beira, on the Mozambique coast, to Cabora Bassa.

GEN has set up a subsidiary near Lourenco Marques to supply equipment for Cabora Bassa.

Alan is a Canadian company, with extensive British interests. It is supplying aluminium for the project.

Ingersoll Rand is a US company with British interests. It is supplying drilling equipment for the dam.

Babcock and Wilcox has recently set up a subsidiary, Babcock and Wilcox Mozambique, in Lourenco Marques. It makes engineering equipment.

The UNITED NATIONS Special Committee of 24 on Decolonisation adopted a resolution on 18 August which called on Portugal 'to apply without further delay to the peoples of the Territories under its domination the principle of self-determination and independence'. The resolution also specifically repudiated the policies of Governments which had failed to prevent nationals and companies under their jurisdiction from agreeing or preparing to participate in the Cabora Bassa dam and hydro-electric project in Mozambique and the Cunene River basin project in Angola, and appealed 'to all Governments which have not yet done so to withdraw from the activities relating to these projects to take all the necessary measures to prevent the participation therein of any companies or individuals under their jurisdiction'. The resolution was adopted by 14 votes to 2 - Britain and the United States. Italy and Norway abstained.

O.A.U. TAKES ACTION

The summit conference of the Organisation of African Unity has decided to send a delegation of four African Foreign Ministers, led by President Kaunda of Zambia, on a European tour with a dual mandate. It will visit Western capitals with the aim of persuading Governments not to supply arms to South Africa, and of making further representations on the question of Western involvement in Cabora Bassa. President Kaunda said: 'The West must decide whether they are with us or are against us'.

(Guardian 5.9.70)

Marcelino dos Santos, Acting Vice-President of PRELIMO and President of the CONCP, became the first African nationalist leader to address

an old friend. Speaking in behalf of the various liberation movements, he told the African leaders: 'You must listen to our point of view as we must listen to yours so that we can find a joint point of view and a common stand to help our peoples in their struggle for freedom'.

(Times, 19.70)

NEW CABRA DAM - FORTIFIES LANE BRIDGE

The Mozambique Legislative Council has given the go-ahead for a new dam at Maseingir on the Limpopo river, which divides Mozambique from south Africa. The dam should also serve as a railway bridge on the Lourenco Marques - Rhodesia railway line. It will be only 18 km. from the South African border and 150 km from Vila Rica de Mozaic and 240 km from Lourenco Marques.

Tenders have been called in for this massive project, which with a total cost of 40,000 contos, or \$ 10.7 million, will be a mini-Cabora Bassa, presumably exactly the same as' of well-known projects to European firms that are asked to participate.

The main purpose of the dam is to harness the Limpopo valley which suffers from a severe drought, but it will also produce hydro-electricity, which will be eagerly snapped up by the power hungry South Africans.

The lake that will be formed behind the dam will also collect southern African solidarity by extending over the Rhodesian and South African side of the border.

The dam will irrigate approximately 240,000 acres of land. It is hoped to start the construction work during the 1974 dry season and the dam should be ready so that the lake can start to fill by the 1975/76 rainy season. The whole project should be completed by October 1976. Two working groups - one in Mozambique and the other in Lisbon at the Ministry for Overseas Territories - have been appointed.

This extract from the September - issue of African Development does not require detailed analysis or interpretation. One other similarity with the Cabora Bassa project, however, is mentioned: that the Maseingir dam is also intended to provide an opportunity for large-scale white outland.

It appears that Mozambique is to continue her role of supplying South Africa with power - from the export of annual labour for work in the mines to the export of hydro-electricity. Portugal is now so desperate in the face of FRELIMO successes that she feels her only hope of retaining Mozambique as a colony is to export or resettle the African population, and to turn the countryside into a series of vast lakes!

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Britain

'It was announced here today that a major gas and oil exploration concession covering the Portuguese sister islands of Sao Tomé and Príncipe, off the African mainland in the Gulf of Guinea, has been awarded to the British company Ball & Collins (Oil and Gas).

... This is understood to be the first oil prospecting concession in Portuguese territory granted to a British company, although following the successful oil strike in the Angolan enclave of Cabinda by the Gulf Oil Company of Pittsburgh there are now said to be some 30 international concerns, including some British, scrambling to join concessionaries in both Angola and Mozambique.

According to officials here Ball and Collins have won the Sao Tomé contract in the face of strong international competition. An announcement by the company says the concession includes the onshore and offshore rights to a depth of 500 metres and the total area covered is 2,736 sq. metres.

Financial Times 2.7.70

... Mr. Foster also announced that following discussions with the Chambers West African section, a UK trade mission would visit Angola in May or June next year. He said that while it might seem a little incongruous for the Section dealing with Spain and Portugal to be organising this mission, it had to be borne in mind that all Portuguese Overseas Territories were administered from Lisbon, and it was impossible to separate the areas.

... also speaking at the AGM, Sr. Teixeira Lopo, Vice-President of the Portuguese Corporation of Industry and a Director of CUP, said that Portugal's trade with Britain had expanded at a faster rate than with Portugal's other trade partners. There were definite fields where this trade could be developed, particularly in machinery, licensing and investment. This was also the case in the Overseas Territories, where there would be increased imports of iron and steel, engines, generators, excavators and earth-moving equipment, agricultural machinery, automobiles, lubricating oils and medicines.'

Financial Times 2.7.70

' "The new expansionist economic policies being introduced by the Portuguese Government should create opportunities for UK exporters both in Metropolitan Portugal and the Overseas Provinces", according to a report published by the London Chamber of Commerce. It follows a mission, led by Mr. F.S.B. Foster, of Balfour Williamson and Chairman of the Chamber's Iberian Section, which visited Portugal in April. UK exports to Portugal have been steadily increasing over the past six

years from £32.1 million in 1963 . . . to £77.4 m. in 1969. However, the UK market share has remained fairly static at 16% in 1963 and 16.5% in 1969, putting the UK in second place in Portugal's list of foreign suppliers.

. . . Britain is Portugal's chief customer, taking 26% of her total exports in 1969, the main categories being diamonds, textiles, fruit and general produce and pulp for papermaking.

. . . . a special meeting was held yesterday by the London Chamber's Iberian Section Committee, and with representatives of the Export Council for Europe, WEC, and the Exhibitions Department of the Board of Trade and the London Chamber, the Committee considered future UK trade promotions both in Portugal and in the Overseas Territories. These included likely growth sectors as agriculture, chemicals, mining, textiles, electronics and shipbuilding; and also the prospects in Angola and Mozambique directly linked with Metropolitan Portugal, such as oilrefineries, iron, natural gas.

Financial Times 16.7.70

Rhodesia

' A Bill introduced in the Rhodesian Parliament today suggests that there are plans to construct an oil-pipeline to convey petroleum products from Salisbury (on the railway line to Lourenco Marques) to Salisbury.

At present it is believed that Rhodesia gets most of her petrol from the Mozambican port of Lourenco Marques by rail. The immediate assumption is that the serious congestion on Rhodesian railways would be considerably eased if such a pipeline were to be built.'

Financial Times 5.9.70

South Africa

'Cabora Sparks Mineral Hunt

The establishment of the R250m. Cabora Bassa dam in Northern Mozambique has sparked off an intensive iron and steel survey around Beira and indications are that a vast iron ore mining and steel producing complex could be established in Mozambique. One of South Africa's leading mining houses, General Mining and Finance Corporation Ltd., is investigating the feasibility of mining vast iron ore deposits west of Beira and also the economics of establishing a steel mill either in the mining area or in Beira. . . . Although the iron ore study has far-reaching importance for Southern Africa as a whole, it is only one facet of current mining activity in Mozambique.

The establishment of Cobena Bassa, and its implications, has triggered off a spate of feverish prospecting activity. Numerous South African companies - notably Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company - are engaged in intensive prospecting in a 300-mile radius of Tete.

South African Financial Gazette
24.7.70

Following the granting last year for the first time of diamond prospecting rights to three firms other than Diabang, a fourth firm, with outside participation (in this case a 57% holding by Anchor Diamond Corporation of South Africa) has obtained a 20-year concession (with further 15-year option) over 12,000 sq miles in the river Cuvo and river Longa Nia region, Diabang, whose full-scale exploitation of the river Cuango was largely responsible for last year's record output of diamonds, reports the new discovery of a new kimberlite pipe north-west of Henrique de Carvalho, said to be the largest ever found in Angola.

EIU Quarterly No. 3 - 1970

West Germany

A West German firm, Urangesellschaft, is to be associated with the Junta de Energia Nuclear in a joint company for the prospecting of uranium in Mozambique and Angola. It is eventually anticipated that enrichment of the uranium may take place in Portugal, though a proportion will be exported to Germany. The decision seems at any rate to have been taken that Portugal will, when the time comes, obtain its nuclear fuel from European rather than North American sources. EIU Quarterly No 2 - 1970

France

The commercial attaché to the French Consulate-General in Lourenco Marques has completed a survey of Mozambique's trade and industrial potentialities, particularly in the Tete and Manica-Sofala districts, as a prelude to possible further large-scale investment in the territory. In June, the new French Consul-General in Lourenco Marques will undertake a country-wide tour to assess for himself the economic situation in Mozambique.

African Development July 1970

FEATURE - GUINEA-BISSAU

Where Portuguese Generals lose their medals
by Domingo del Pino

He carried a heavy load on his head. He has just crossed the Corubal River in a "pingua", his bare feet sink into the muddy ground. The crossing was doubly dangerous: Portuguese soldiers have to be avoided and the strong current on the river, around five kilometres wide at one part, has to be fought. Pascoal has made the trip a thousand times. He has grown used to this difficult and primitive method of transporting arms, supplies and medicines to the guerrillas in the north-west. His back, his hand and his canoe are the only means of transportation available.

The PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde) has no motor launches to conquer the current, nor sufficient vehicles, jeep or trucks for inland transportation. Moreover, there are no roads and even if there were, the noise of the motor would alert the reconnaissance airplanes waiting on a nearby military base. Two-thirds of Guinea-Bissau is under the control of the PAIGC, but the Portuguese still control several cities, communications centers and carry out air inspections.

Guinea-Bissau, says Amílcar Cabral, secretary general of the PAIGC, is in practice an independent state with areas still under Portuguese control. This extraordinary map, an agronomist from Cape Verde, has been fighting for his country's independence for more than 14 years. Until 1961, he says, our work was one of intense political preparation, propaganda, training and organization. Before, we had no knowledge of other people's experiences. Our struggle arose from ideas about justice that don't have in all climates and latitudes. Our people's situation moved us. Agriculture was based on slave labor. We did not begin by shouting against colonialism and imperialism, because it would have been difficult then to make the peasants of Guinea-Bissau understand our ideas. We spoke to them simply of reality, of bananas, coffee, the peanuts they produced for Portuguese warehouses. Today the children in the liberated zones know perfectly well what colonialism is.

Throughout the 41 thousand square kilometres of Guinea-Bissau, which includes the islands of Cape Verde, Santo Tomé and Príncipe, Portuguese generals have lost all their medals won in palace coups and military expeditions. The jungle, with its insects, mosquitoes, snakes, has defeated them. Like the French in Vietnam, the metropolis kept on replacing them one after the other. Upon their return they were given administrative posts in the armed forces or perhaps retired from service early and allowed to write their memoirs. These memoirs will

reek of their impotence as they try to justify the war, just as happened with their predecessors in Indochina, Navarre, Catroux, De Lattre and many others.

Today the only territory controlled unquestionably by the Portuguese in Guinea-Bissau is the air space. Their planes inspect, bomb villages or bits of jungle. They must do everything from the air. They can use only the Bissau airport to the west, and those of Bafata and Bago in the east. Between these sections are the jungle, the towns controlled by the PAIGC, a territory where Portugal has no power.

Many visitors have come to Guinea-Bissau recently, said Amílcar Cabral. None of them had to ask Portugal for visas, none had to see a colonial representative to enter the country, none ever saw a Portuguese soldier.

On August 2, 1959, a new stage of the struggle began. On that day, Portuguese colonial authorities massacred the workers in the port of Pijiguiti who had gone on strike. This unexpected event made PAIGC move from political struggle to direct struggle.

In February of 1961 armed struggle began in Angola. Two fronts were opened in Africa against Portugal. For a few years the PAIGC sabotaged communications, destroyed bridges, telephone and electric wires, burned Portuguese supply depots, all over the country. Later there was nothing left in Guinea-Bissau to sabotage. Portuguese authorities unleashed a repression, burning villages and killing many PAIGC militants.

We answered violence with violence, said the African leader. In January of 1963 we began direct armed struggle in the south. July 1963 was an important link in this struggle, that was when we opened a guerilla front in the north. In February of 1964 we carried out our first important political act: we held the first PAIGC party congress in a liberated area. This first Congress was extraordinarily important in the history of our struggle, says Cabral, because we were able to correct in time some errors of our guerilla leaders. Although the PAIGC has always directed the struggle, and guerilla groups always operated as our instruments, as the armed branch of the organization, at the time of the first Congress, many guerilla leaders were acting in autonomous fashion; others had committed serious errors. We called them all in. Some came, others didn't. Those who came were tried and sentenced for their errors. Those who didn't come were eventually captured and tried. The guerilla groups were organized into zonal groups, under the direct leadership of the PAIGC and at the same time we created a regular armed force on a nationwide scale. Also in 1964 we opened another front in the east and in 1965 a new front in the northwest. The entire country was then in the middle of armed struggle. In liberated areas we built sanitary facilities, educational facilities

and we even modernised methods of production. We opened supply depots for the people for the distribution of products and to supply the guerilla groups. At the end of 1965, PAIGC controlled half the country. Today it controls two-thirds of all the territory. The Portuguese, cornered in the capital or in some urban centres, see the revolutionary forces creeping in on them a little more each day. Underground work has grown in the cities and propaganda is even distributed to Portuguese soldiers who have been deserting lately.

Justice, says Cabral, has no race or color and in our country it is the same as in any other part of Africa. We cannot assume automatically that the blacks are for the PAIGC and the whites are against it. One of our radio programs is aimed at the Portuguese soldier and we explain to him that he is just as much exploited as we are. We tell him that he is suffering the same evils the rest of the people are suffering. We put on deserters to speak and we interview our prisoners. We invite the Portuguese soldier to leave the army.

The ethnic diversity of Guinea-Bissau was at the beginning a drawback to the struggle. Our 800,000 inhabitants are divided into several large groups, each one with its own traditions and language. The most numerous are the Balantas, Mandjaks and Fulas, followed by the Mandinkas, Pepels, Barnes, Fofas and Bissagos. Some like the Fulas and Mandinkas are Muslims, while 70 percent have their own religion. The mobilisation of all these tribes, with their own internal dynamics, very faithful to their traditional chiefs, necessitated a profound and intense political work.

The PAIGC has always considered the struggle, both domestically and internationally, to be a political one. If we adopt the road of armed struggle, said Amílcar Cabral, it is not because we are guerilla fighters but because the Portuguese forced us to it. At the beginning, the PAIGC negotiated with the Salazar Government for the granting of independence to Guinea-Bissau by peaceful means. But we achieved no results. Law no. 2048 of June 11, 1951 declares Portugal's colonies in Africa as "overseas territories" and established that these should be ruled by a Portuguese governor and should have financial and administrative autonomy. There is even a "Minister of Overseas Territories" in the Portuguese cabinet.

To connect native populations with the metropolis even more, on September 6, 1961 Portuguese citizenship was granted to the inhabitants of the colonies. This citizenship is a formality and will be used by Portugal in the United Nations as an argument against the independence of these African peoples. Together with the armed struggle that is being developed in the interior of the country, the PAIGC is carrying on intense political activity, out side and inside the country.

An example of this international activity is the recent Solidarity Conference with the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies, held in Rome from June 27th to the 29th, with the participation of 177

international organisations from 64 countries. For the first time, a great number of organisations of different political tendencies met and made agreements and adopted practically unanimous conclusions concerning the aid that should be given to the movement in the Portuguese colonies.

An important result of the Conference was that Pope Paul VI received African guerillas and led to Portugal's protesting to the Vatican. The Portuguese ambassador was first called to Lisbon, and later returned to Rome and finally Castano himself to tranquillise public opinion said that the Pope had received the guerillas only because they were Catholics. This is of great importance, said Cabral, because it strengthens the position of Portuguese Catholics who are opposed to the colonial war.

Pascoal has carried thousands of crates on his head. He belongs to one of the large tribes of the country, the Mandinkas. He was a farmer and since he joined the PAIGC he has been transporting supplies, because of his knowledge of the land. He walks through thick jungles and passes through open regions only at night. Soldiers no longer venture into the jungle, except on the occasions when foreign newsmen arrive and they must take them into the jungle for propaganda reasons. Then some patrol or other leaves to show that Portugal is still in control, but not all patrols return. Frequently they are killed or taken prisoner by the guerillas. This is the price they must pay for propaganda.

Pascoal knows all this. He feels protected everywhere he goes and death can come to him only from the sky. But he continues forward with his load that will supply provisions to those fighting in the north. He thinks of his compatriots: those who carry the hope of all his people.

Preview Latin Special Feature

THIRD WORLD FIGHTING FUND

Third World Fighting Fund is being set up as an Association to channel aid to groups in the Third World who are working to free themselves and their countries from the stultifying effects of foreign capital investment or colonial régimes.

It will also exist to help supporting groups in this country who are trying to influence public opinion here with respect to the conditions of repression and exploitation in some parts of the Third World.

It will start full-scale operations in October, initially in colleges and universities, and spreading later to other areas, with the following aims:

1. to provide a simple fund-raising method - the bankers order. Liberation movements and the groups in this country are invariably short of cash and quite rightly find it difficult to devote sufficient time and money to fund-raising when their energies are fully taken up with the political struggle.
2. to use the opportunity of contact, created by the fund-raising campaign, to inform people regularly of the Third World struggle, to inform them of the organisations and activities in which they can participate, and also to educate them about the close connection between conditions in the Third World, conditions in this country, and British commercial and political policies.

The main campaigning document will be a printed bankers order form with which students will be canvassed for support.

Accompanying the bankers order will be a duplicated list of organisations in need of assistance together with a brief description of their programme and the purposes for which they need funds. The list will include liberation movements, political pressure and information groups in this country, and also such charities as are working closely with liberation movements on medical, educational or development work. Donors will naturally be free to earmark to an organisation which does not appear on the list, providing it falls roughly within the terms of the Association.

A bulletin will be sent to all subscribers at least three times a year, and will contain information from areas in the Third World, at the same time as promoting the activities of organisations in this country.

Our interest in the problems of the Third World is not only sympathy for those engaged in a just and necessary struggle but also a recognition that in our own struggle against the minorities who

manipulate political and economic power today, we gain whenever the inhumanity of international capitalism is exposed or weakened.

All bankers orders will be made out to Third World Fighting Fund Association, who will be legally obliged to pass 90% of the contribution to the organisation specified by the donor. The remaining 10% will go into an operating account to meet the operating costs of Third World Fighting Fund, which will be mainly the costs of printing bankers order forms and the reproduction and mailing of the bulletin.

The 10% deducted will not be sufficient to meet all the operating costs and the Association hopes that the difference will be made up by some people specifying Third World Fighting Fund as the recipient of the whole of their contribution.

Some people may have difficulty in deciding exactly which organisation to support, and if they do not wish their funds to be used by Third World Fighting Fund in this country, they can specify Third World Fighting Fund(overseas). This money will be used to make grants to overseas organisations in particular need.

The Association hopes that there will always be a residue of funds both in the operating account and in the overseas account, so that it will be able to consider requests from any organisation needing funds in a hurry, whether it be for an emergency situation in Africa or to print posters and stickers for a snap campaign here.

Third World Fighting Fund is being set up as an Association, initially with four committee members including a Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, who will be subject to re-election at the first Annual General Meeting.

People who give a donation via Third World Fighting Fund will automatically become members of the Association - their donation is legally regarded as a membership subscription 90% of which they authorise the Fighting Fund to pass on to the organisation they have specified. They will be able to attend the Annual General Meeting where they will have voting rights.

Third World Fighting Fund - Hamlet Cottage, Britwell Salene,
Watlington, Oxon. Tel: Watlington 674 (code: 049761-674)

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NEEDS FOR THE MOVEMENTS

The following is a list of goods which are needed by PRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC. Quantities are not stated - any amount can be used. For some items, e.g. farming tools, it is cheaper to send money which can be used to buy the goods in Africa; in other cases it can be cheaper to buy the goods here and send them out. The list is not completely exhaustive as there are other specialised items of equipment needed but it covers the essential goods which are always urgently needed by all three movements.

The Committee can give further advice about this and can help arrange for goods collected to be shipped to the movements. Groups or individuals sending money or equipment to the Committee should specify if they wish it to be sent to one of the movements in particular, or, in the case of money, if they wish it to be earmarked for a particular programme.

1. Medical Aid

Medicines as per medical lists from movements (available from the Committee - it is important not to send items which have not been requested.)

Bandages, syringes, forceps, kidney trays, stethoscopes, instruments used in minor surgery and other equipment.

2. Food

Condensed or powdered milk

Tinned vegetables

Protein food concentrate.

3. Clothing

Cotton textiles, shirts, trousers, children's clothing (including woollens), sweaters, boots and shoes etc.

4. Blankets

5. Equipment for reconstruction

Farming tools, domestic utensils etc; treadle sewing machines.

6. Educational supplies for the liberated areas

Exercise books, pencils and rubbers; slates and slate pencils, dip pens, nibs, ink.

HELP - the Committee has needs too - volunteers and cash.
Third World Fighting Fund bankers orders can be made out to us!

FACILITIES AVAILABLE FROM THE
COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM IN MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA AND GUINEA
531 Caledonian Rd., London N7 tel: 01-607-2170

Books and pamphlets

- The Struggle for Mozambique by Eduardo Mondlane (Penguin 8/-)
- Revolution in Guinea by Amílcar Cabral (9/-)
- The Liberation of Guinea by Basil Davidson (Penguin 6/-)
- Portugal and NATO Published by the Dutch Angola Committee (3/-)
- The Cabora Bassa Project and the UN Sanctions Resolution on Southern Rhodesia (6d.)
- The programme of the P.I.G.C. (6d.)
- Statutes and Programme of FRELIMO (6s.)

Posters

- Cabora Bassa Jam - smash Cabora Bassa (1/-)

Films

- Vencemos - a 20 minute film shot in Mozambique by a Yugoslav team. 16mm. or 35mm. Hiring charge exclusive of carriage - £2-10-0
- Martin Boe - a 50 minute film shot in Guinea by a Cuban team. French sound track. Only available for a few more weeks. £2-10-0 exclusive of carriage.

Speakers

Speakers are available from the Committee to talk to public meetings or groups. Arrangements can be made with the Committee.

To: Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea
531 Caledonian Road, London N7.

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