

GUERRILHEIRO



5p

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MPLA OPENS NEW FRONT



troops were despatched to Namibia to aid their South African allies. South African military units were sent into Ovamboland in January - in clear violation of the mandate granted to South Africa by the League of Nations to administer Namibia - this specifically forbade the establishment of 'military bases'.

Not surprisingly MPLA watched the situation in Namibia with great interest, realizing that this could create favourable circumstances for the beginning of an armed struggle in southern Angola - especially as the people in this region were the last to surrender to the Portuguese conquerors and possess a high degree of national consciousness. When the MPLA militants in the Cunene district had satisfied themselves that the objective conditions for a successful armed struggle existed, this struggle began. On 12 Jan. the Ovambo population of the Honguena post rebelled, attacking the puppet African militiamen from other parts of Angola who staffed the post. The traditional chiefs, however, sided with the colonial authorities - and four days later on 16 Jan. two helicopters full of South African policemen arrived to protect the chiefs. On 18 Jan the people from the Honguena post joined forces with those from the Ochicongo post in Namibia and started to cut the barbed wire around sheep-pens and to burn down cattle vaccination stations. South African troops arrived on the scene very rapidly and in the ensuing shoot-out 120 men killed and four wounded. One of the Angolans was also killed in the conflict.

The Portuguese speedily increased their military **outbound effort**.

The struggle of the contract workers of Namibia (South West Africa) against their employees and the South African government has gained considerable attention in the Western press. What has not been publicized, however, are the very serious repercussions that the Namibian strike has had in Angola. These amount to nothing less than the opening of a new war front in the far south of the country in the new province of Cunene (formerly the southern half of Huila province), in MPLA's sixth politico-military region.

The Namibia/Angola border is artificial - on both sides of it live Ovambos who resent the existence of a border fence which cuts their people in two. So when some 13,000 Namibian strikers were repatriated to the Ovamboland tribal trust reserves in December, one of their first actions was to start destroying this fence - much to the perturbation of the South African and Portuguese authorities. Something like 100 miles of border fence was damaged and Ovambos were crossing freely between Namibia and Angola. Evidently the Portuguese were well aware of how the critical situation in Ovamboland could affect their position in southern Angola - and as early as 11 Dec. 300 Portuguese

Cont. from front page

presence in Cunene and the Lisbon press went so far as to describe the situation as 'worrying', reporting 'subversion, and even terrorism' in the area. By the beginning of February there were some 15,000 Portuguese troops in the district and mass arrests were being made. The situation was regarded as so serious that Colonel Rebocho Vas, the Governor General of Angola, flew to the province himself on 31 Jan., staying there for several days. He gave assurances that the Portuguese armed forces were competent to deal with any situation that might arise and that 'any act of violence will bring forth an immediate and firm response from the authorities.'

Daniel Chipenda, a member of MPLA's Executive Committee, when interviewed by the Tanzanian 'Standard' on 17 Feb on the developments in Cunene said: 'Now we in MPLA have to step up the organization of our people in the region. We have to make it more and more possible for them to intensify and develop the struggle. We are sure that this new development will create very big difficulties for the Portuguese.'

Not the least of these difficulties is the future of the Cunene River scheme, which had hitherto

been regarded as relatively safe from guerrilla attack. This project is Angola's answer to Cabora Bassa. Like Cabora Bassa it is a hydro-electric scheme that envisages large scale white immigration to the area, and the uprooting of the native African population from their homes; and like Cabora Bassa most of the electricity produced will be bought by the South Africans who will doubtless use it to power the mines and factories of Namibia. The main difference between the two schemes is that whereas Cabora Bassa is one giant dam, the Cunene project involves the construction of a whole series of small dams. It is therefore considerably more vulnerable to attack than Cabora Bassa and already fears have been expressed about the safety of the projected hydro-electric station at the border town of Ruacana.

A successful rising in southern Angola could only be regarded as a major blow to the whole edifice of white supremacy, - especially if the South African government and its troops prove unable to break the Namibian strike. For then the struggle would be posed in the form of a direct threat to 'South African' territory and no longer could Vorster's government hide behind Portuguese bayonets. For MPLA's part, the recent events in Cunene clearly show that the watchword 'Generalisation of the armed struggle over the entire national territory' is no barren formula, but a call to action.

HOLLAND BOYCOTTS ANGOLAN COFFEE

Over the past month the Dutch Angola Committee has scored a remarkable triumph. A campaign to boycott Angolan coffee has resulted in no less than 92% of Holland's imports of coffee from Angola being stopped. Previous to the campaign 30% of Angola's coffee export was being sold in Holland. For some time the Committee had been pointing out that of the profit (approx. \$4 million) made on this coffee a large proportion is used by Portugal to finance its colonial wars. However when, over a year ago, a Labour Party member of the Dutch parliament expressed criticism of the huge Dutch imports of Angolan coffee, he was told that the coffee firms unanimously claimed that they could not possibly produce a high quality coffee blend without the Angolan coffee.

That situation no longer obtains. In an astonishingly short time - the campaign proper only began



'Koffie voor Nederland
Bloed van Angola'

This is a Portuguese military photograph used during the Dutch campaign. It shows the head and body of a decapitated Angolan lying on a heap of coffee beans.

officially on 4 Feb (although some small importers had already listened to previous contacts and stopped buying from Angola) - approx. 250 of the 300 or so coffee roasters in Holland discovered that Angolan coffee was not after all indispensable and have agreed to stop importing it. It is reckoned that the 50 or 60 small roasters still holding out will shortly give in too. The major breakthrough in the campaign was achieved when the massive firm of Douwe Egberts - which has cornered 50% of the Dutch coffee market - announced by press communique and newspaper advertisements that it would no longer import Angolan coffee.

This was a campaign that was won through large scale public involvement. Over 250 groups were working on the campaign and Holland was deluged with leaflets, stickers, posters etc. The three major Dutch trade union federations placed themselves behind the campaign and a large number of universities, schools, women's leagues, even businesses refused to buy coffee that had originated in Angola. The Dutch press treated the boycott with sympathy and gave it full coverage. Small wonder that the coffee roasters abandoned Angolan coffee on 'commercial grounds' - those who didn't stood in serious danger of being ruined. Market research on consumers assisted the roasters' decision, but the result of this research was not the major. Presumably it showed that the overwhelming majority of the Dutch people supported the boycott.

The campaign has had an important politicizing and educative effect. There is not a hamlet in Holland that has not heard of Angola now, not a village where the campaign slogan 'Coffee for Holland, Blood from Angola' has not penetrated. And what this victory shows above all else is that contrary to popular belief, boycotts can actually work.

One of the leading members of the Angola Committee, Dr. Sietsa Bosgra, now plans to visit New York where he hopes to internationalize the campaign. Should other countries follow the lead set by Holland, and boycott Angolan coffee, this would strike an extremely serious blow indeed at Portugal's colonial economy.

GUINÉ

Portuguese Atrocities

Portuguese colonialism thrives on murder and brutality. The latest example of civilization à la Portugese comes from Guiné, On December 1, Gil Fernandes of PAIGC's Superior Council presented evidence of Portuguese atrocities to the UN Fourth Committee on Non-Autonomous Territories. This evidence was in the form of two scarred and mutilated Guinean peasants. One of these, Samba Tambate, was caught in a Portuguese air raid on his village in 1970 and hit by a napalm canister. Severe burning was inflicted over more than half his body, and only rapid treatment in PAIGC hospital saved his life. Now it is not easy to fake napalm burns - and yet the pro-Portuguese lobby in the British press and in the Tory party continues to insist that Portugal does not use napalm in her colonial wars. Samba Tambate is a living refutation of these lies.

The other peasant, Samba Nifona, related how he was tortured and mutilated by a Portuguese patrol searching for PAIGC bases: 'I was out in the rice field and some helicopters came. My friends got away, but I was surrounded and got caught. The Portugese wanted to know where the PAIGC bases and heavy guns were. Though I knew where they were I told them that I was just a peasant and did not know. Then they offered me a trip to Bissau (the capital, which is still controlled by the Portugese) and plenty of money if I told them what they wanted to know. But the life of my people was at stake and I would prefer to die than tell them anything.

'Then they began to beat me. The captain stabbed me in the wrist. The captain tried to cut my throat, and I fell down and fainted. Then the captain cut my ears off and left me for dead.

'After the Portugese left, I crawled to the bush and rested....After I could walk again I went to the PAIGC field hospital. About four weeks later the Portugese came back. Four of my friends were killed and three were tortured.'

The members of the UN committee could clearly see the marks left by the captain's knife in Nifona's arm and neck. They could also see that where there had once been ears there were now only scars.

Further evidence of the sadistic tendencies of the upper echelons of the Portugese army is provided by Second Lt. Jose Manuel who deserted from the colonial forces, sickened by the atrocities he had witnessed. In an interview in Amsterdam in July with John Semida of Liberation News Service, Manuel had this to say: 'All of my superior officers, without exception, had war trophies like ears, fingers and noses in alcohol bottles. One officer had a very particular taste. He had an extreme love for human ears, and so he had 30 bottles with ears inside, black ears, and every bottle had the specification of the place, the age of the person, the sex of the person, how the ear was cut and why etc'

Military Activity

Judging from the annual resume of the Portugese army's activities in Guiné issued in January, you could be forgiven for thinking that the said army consisted entirely of doctors, teachers and social workers. In line with the propagandist conception that Antonio Spínola, C in C in Guiné, is a great social reformer, the report makes claims of massive advances in the field of social welfare in 1971. We are told that the army built homes to accommodate 30,000 people, dug 84 wells and increased electricity supplies (the villages bombed and burnt out of existence by this same army are not mentioned).

Some 117 schools are supposed to have been kept going by the army and 48 new ones built and handed over to provincial education authorities. As for health, it is claimed that 116,000 patients were treated at 120 military dispensaries staffed by 30 doctors and 360 male nurses and auxiliaries. The patent falseness of this claim is evident when one bears in mind that Guiné's total population is not much more than 800,000, at least half of whom live in PAIGC's liberated areas. But a more extravagant claim is to follow - the report claims that free medical aid was supplied to 40,534 patients from neighbouring countries, mostly Senegalese. The notion of thousands of Senegalese trekking out into Guiné to have their ailments cured by the great white doctor is little short of delirious. What the Senegalese received from the Portugese in 1971 was not medical aid, but bombs and bullets in a series of vicious terrorist raids across the border (see previous issues of 'Gurrilheiro').

According to Spínola, December was a good month for the Portugese: between the 16th and the 31st it is claimed that 248 PAIGC fighters were killed, 215 of them in a single operation, the grandiloquently named 'Operation Solitary Sapphire'. This took place in the Mores district in the north of Guiné from 20-26 December. To keep alive the mythology of vast training camps for guerrillas in southern Senegal staffed entirely by Cubans, Spínola claimed that three Cubans had been killed in the battle, and that captured PAIGC members had said that there were another four Cubans in the area. This PAIGC



categorically denied in a communique it issued on 4 Jan. It also rejected Spínola's figures for PAIGC dead and pointed out that the operation had in fact flopped. The Portugese worried by an increase in PAIGC attacks on garrisons in the central northern area of the country, became convinced that PAIGC was preparing an attack on Bissau, and to forestall this launched an ill-conceived attack on the Mores sector where they knew an important PAIGC base existed. After intensive aerial bombardment, 800 colonial troops were sent in - but after a series of battles and ambushes, not only by PAIGC's regular forces but also by the armed population of the region, they were forced to call in helicopters to evacuate their casualties, then flee back to their garrisons. 102 Portugese soldiers were killed and dozens more wounded. The Portugese commander in charge of 'Solitary Sapphire', evidently a somewhat old-fashioned individual, committed suicide. PAIGC dryly comments 'The Portugese colonialists know well...that our people have no need to use foreign fighters or cadres to transform their operations into smarming defeats.

PAIGC operations for the whole of December accounted for the deaths of 213 colonial troops. During the same month 2 enemy aircraft were shot down and 23 enemy vehicles and 2 motorboats destroyed.

Although no attack on Bissau materialized, the capital was the scene of two bomb explosions on 6 Feb, one at a public building and one at a petrol station. According to the Portugese not much damage was done - but these are the first explosions within Bissau itself and must therefore be causing the colonialists some anxiety. It is not yet known whether the bomb blasts were the work of PAIGC's urban cadres or were connected with the sabotage campaign carried out in Portugal itself by the ARA (Armed Revolutionary Action).

MOZAMBIQUE

MILITARY ACTIVITY

In northern Mozambique FRELIMO continues to attack the remaining isolated Portuguese garrisons. In Cabo Delgado province alone in October and November 220 Portuguese soldiers were killed by FRELIMO forces. Raids were launched against the post of Nangololo, resulting in the partial destruction of the post, and major attacks took place in the zone between Mitde and Muidumbe and in the zone of Nachipingu. And in Niassa province on 23 December FRELIMO destroyed the important Macalage post, considered impenetrable by the Portuguese. This post contained a Portuguese military hospital, an administrative centre and a garrison of 600 troops many of whom were killed in the assault. A road construction company operated from Macalage and its material was completely destroyed by fire. Desultory Portuguese actions in Niassa - an attack on the liberated zone of Metangula and a helicopter assault in the district of Mzembe - were easily beaten off.

Further south the Portuguese show no signs of being able to counter FRELIMO's sabotage activities in Tete province. On 2 January a train was derailed between Moatize and the Zambezi - part of FRELIMO's campaign of harassment against the rail link up which is carried so much of the material for the Cabora Bassa dam. On 31 Dec. a 15 ton truck travelling from Rhodesia to Malawi was ambushed by guerrillas and set on fire. And on 27 Jan a land mine on the Beira-Tete railway, about 100 miles north of Beira, blew up a petrol tanker. Attacks on this particular railway are now taking place slightly more than once a fortnight. These happenings are not mentioned in the Portuguese press or army communiques - information on them comes from Rhodesian newspapers. Not surprisingly, the Rhodesians are angry that the Portuguese should try to deceive them as to the true state of 'security' in Tete - especially when Rhodesian vehicles become the victims of FRELIMO mines.

At the beginning of February FRELIMO struck on the road between the town of Tete and the Cabora Bassa site. A land mine destroyed a lorry loaded with explosives, killing nine men and wounding five others. This explosion, so close to the dam site, evidently set many a Portuguese nerve on edge, as a large number of troops were immediately despatched to comb the bush for the saboteurs. They returned empty-handed. Such incidents are making it difficult for Lisbon to maintain the myth that the Cabora Bassa site is impregnable. And significantly the Portuguese communiques on the explosion admitted - for the first time - that FRELIMO enjoyed the support of the local population.

According to the Portuguese, the first stage of Cabora Bassa has now been finished, and work is starting on the second stage - the building of the actual dam wall itself. This news was contained in a confident government announcement at the end of January. The evidence of FRELIMO's ability to operate within easy striking distance of the dam, however, has somewhat eroded that confidence - so much so that General Venancio Deslandes, Portuguese Chief of Staff, flew from Lisbon to Mozambique, accompanied by senior officers, on 17 Feb. The object of this visit was not announced, but it seems not unreasonable to assume that when the General talked to Kaulza de Arriaga, commander of Mozambique's armed forces, the question of Cabora Bassa's security occupied most of their time. Also discussed will have been the extension of Arriaga's tour of duty - which expired in February.

These talks were also attended by Admiral H Biermann, Commander in Chief of the South African

armed forces. With Portugal so obviously unable to hold FRELIMO in check, further South African intervention in Mozambique has become increasingly likely.



CABORA BASSA

In addition to FRELIMO's constant harassment, Cabora Bassa now faces a second threat in the form of the Mozambican climate. The rainy season is now just past its peak, and from March through 31st May the Zambezi will be in full flood. Now the two deviation-galleries which the Portuguese have built can divert the flow of one million gallons of water a second; however, at this time of year the Zambezi regularly reaches a flow rate of more than three million gals/sec. What this means is that the two coffer dams, which were completed before the first rains, have got to bear the full weight of the remaining two million gals/sec. They will be covered by water until May, and only then will the Portuguese know whether the coffer dams have resisted the Zambezi's floodwaters.

If they haven't the whole thing will have to be started again from scratch - which would be an ideal opportunity for those firms embarrassed by their involvement in Cabora Bassa to pull out of the project. The German members of the ZAMCO consortium especially are known to be ruing the day they ever heard of Mozambique. Rocking costs and the decreasing security of their personnel at Cabora Bassa have made them eager to find an excuse to pull out. So far they have been unable to withdraw because of contractual reasons.

The climatic conditions will also aid FRELIMO considerably. With many of Tete's roads reduced to quagmires and low cloud ceilings rendering Portuguese air activity extremely difficult, the situation is excellent for guerrilla raids on Portuguese garrisons and on the supply routes to Cabora Bassa.

PRIESTS ATTACKED

Being an honest priest in Mozambique is not an easy task. When two priests Fr. Sampaio and Fr. Fernando, refused to allow the Portuguese flag to be carried into their church in Beira they became the objects of angry press denunciations, street demonstrations, and finally legal proceedings. The flag was being used in part of a local scouts

ceremony, and according to some reports was being carried by members of the Moçacade Portuguesa, a youth movement founded by Salazar himself. The priests stated that they would not let the flag into the church because they would have to answer to the African people after the final liberation of Mozambique.

This outraged their parishioners who proceeded to besiege the priests' home. Former paratroopers, who had fought against FRELIMO, tried, without success, to drag the priests out into the streets. The Beira press took their side against the hapless priests whom 'Noticias de Beira' accused of 'a crime against racial harmony'. A few days later this 'insult' to the national flag had provoked the Portuguese legal apparatus into action.

The dilemma that faces priests in Mozambique was brought into an open light May by the decision of the White Fathers to withdraw from the territory. Fr. Theodore Van Asten, superior general of the White Fathers, spoke in Sydney at Australia's first National Mission Conference in February in defence of this decision: 'I would rather have a persecuted church than a church which has compromised with false principles. But in Mozambique we were not allowed to speak out. If you did you were silenced in a nice polite way - for example a missionary on leave would find his permit not renewed.... We had to show people and world opinion that we were not there as Portuguese officials but as preachers of the gospel....'

PORTUGAL AND THE UN

From 28 Jan to 4 Feb, the UN Security Council met in Addis Ababa for a week of discussion on African issues - the first in 20 years. That a Security Council meeting has been held outside New York. This meeting was attended by representatives not only from a score or so independent African states, but also from the liberation movements. MPLA was represented by Pascal Luvalo, FRELIMO by its Vice-President, Marcelino dos Santos, and PAIGC by its Secretary-General, Amílcar Cabral - all of whom vehemently rejected Portugal's claim to speak for the people of her colonies.

Predictable resolutions were passed by the meeting - apartheid was condemned, and all UN member states asked to adhere strictly to the arms embargo (note: Britain voted for this!), the South African occupation of Namibia was condemned, and no resolution could be passed on Rhodesia, as the British delegation simply vetoed an African draft resolution demanding the shelving of the Anglo-Rhodesian settlement terms. On the Portuguese territories, the Council called for self-determination and independence (Britain, Angola, and Guinea, urged the immediate halt of armed repression and the withdrawal of all armed forces so engaged, and asked all member states to withhold from Portugal any military supplies that could be used for further repression in Africa. The vote for this resolution was nine in favour, none against, and six abstentions (Britain, France, the US, Italy, Belgium and Argentina - which means that the resolution can already be written off as a dead letter. However it is not the actual text of the resolutions passed that really matters, but the fact that a Security Council meeting was held in Africa at all. As 'The Times' pointed out, a meeting in Addis was considerably nearer 'African reality' than one in New York. And this reality



OH CHRIST!! ANOTHER
 ATTACK BY COMMUNIST
 GUERRILLAS! HEY, BOY!!
 SAMBO! BRING ME
 A SCOTCH AND MY
 HEART PILLS.
 AND FETCH MY
 RIOT POLICE,
 HELICOPTERS,
 GAS CANISTERS,
 INTERNMENT
 CAMPS, THE C.I.A.,
 CROOKED JUDGES,
 SYCOPHANTIC
 DIPLOMATS, N.A.T.O.,
 SLAVE LABOUR
 CONTRACTS, UNCLE
 TOMS, ... AND A
 GOOD P.R. MAN. GOD!
 THE PACE OF TWENTIETH
 CENTURY LIVING IS TOO MUCH FOR ME.

'Mainly our action was a provocation to the Church leaders - the bishops of the country - to give open Christian witness. The Church is very well cared for by the government in Mozambique and gets a lot of financial assistance. This is why the bishops did not speak up.'

intruded upon the meeting in the form of Zimbabweans who demonstrated from the gallery, and three thousand students who tried to demonstrate in the streets of Addis Ababa on southern African issues: they were prevented from doing so by armed police ringing the campus of the Haile Selassie university.

Rui Patrício, Portuguese Foreign Minister, responded petulantly to the Addis Ababa meeting, describing it as 'another step in the process of degradation and debasement of the United Nations'. Haile Selassie, he said, had evidently forgotten Portugal's support for Ethiopia's entry into the League of Nations in 1924 (Rui Patrício has evidently forgotten that in 1924 Portugal was not yet a fascist state). Patrício went on to say that the 'anti-Portuguese' motion passed by the meeting disregarded international law and the Charter of the United Nations and that Portugal would not therefore pay her share of the expenses for the Addis meeting. The Ethiopian government later remarked that Patrício had used 'language unbecoming to a foreign minister'.

UNTA

We have received the following message of thanks from UNTA (National Union of Angolan Workers), MPLA's trade union wing, for the printing press obtained last year by NATSOPAF: 'Dear friends, in the name of our people and trade union organisation Uniao Nacional dos Trabalhadores Angolanas (UNTA), we wish to thank you most warmly for your aid of a printing press which you sent to our workers and fighting people. This militant and friendly aid which you have sent will be a real and historic help. As the struggle and difficulties daily increase, we believe that we can count on further aid from British workers in the future.'

Portugal's first overtures to the Common Market took place as long ago as 1962; but the negotiations that were to follow in 1963 never happened basically because the negotiations between the EEC and Britain collapsed. However the issue of Portugal's relation to the Common Market was raised again in 1969, when it was realized that Britain's willingness to join the Market threatened the very existence of EFTA.

Portugal managed to secure a large range of privileges from her membership of EFTA and was concerned as to what would happen to these privileges if EFTA were to disappear. So talks have been continuing for over a year now on possible Portuguese associate membership of the EEC, and the retention under the EEC of the privileges Portugal had enjoyed within EFTA. These negotiations started at a ministerial meeting on 24 Nov. 1970, where the Portuguese Foreign Minister requested to be 'as closely connected to the Common Market as possible' in the framework of an 'association agreement'. Full entry to the market was not possible due to 'the degree of economic development of the country and certain aspects of the constitutional principles of Portugal' - an oblique reference to the colonies.

Even in this very first session, Portugal began requesting a number of special regulations in connection with its industrial and agricultural backwardness. As for the future relationship between the Common Market and 'my country's non-European provinces', the Portuguese Foreign Minister simply stated that a different approach would be necessary due to their present state of economic development and their status as non-European territory'. In other words the Portuguese are not contemplating a choice between Europe and Africa - they intend to have both.

Additional negotiations took place on 7 Jan. and 29-31 March last year. After both talks the Portuguese delegation commented that the parties concerned had reached a basis of understanding and that the Portuguese proposals had been favourably received. Once again Portugal expressed its desire for association with the Common Market, which will later become integration within the Common Market. France, Luxemburg and West Germany all pledged their support for the Portuguese proposals. As for Britain, it is hardly to be expected that a Tory government would be prepared to let down our oldest ally - certainly this would be anathema to

No colonialism in

Geoffrey Rippon, staunch member of the Monday Club and a good friend to the white supremacist cause in southern Africa. Therefore British and Portuguese teams negotiating on the EEC have worked in close accord.

On 16 June, 1971, the Common Market Commission published the 'provisional terms' of the agreement with Portugal. These represent a total capitulation to Portugal's demands that the special privileges granted her by EFTA will be continued and in certain cases even augmented. With respect to agriculture Portugal requests the EEC to grant the same privileges as EFTA, so that a number of agricultural products receive the same benefits as the industrial products, and also demands preferential treatment in regard to other products such as wine, potatoes, peas, beans, figs etc. The response from Brussels is as follows: 'The Commission is of the opinion that, within reason, Portugal's desires with respect to agricultural products must be taken into account'. The Commission is willing 'to make Concessions with respect to those products that represent a concrete export interest for Portugal'. With respect to industrial products, Portugal wants

AFTER THE AZORES WERE

'The treaty is a political act in which the solidarity of interest between the two countries is recognized, and it is in the name of that solidarity that we put as an instrument of action at the disposal of our American friends, who are also now our allies.' Thus Marcello Caetano on the recent treaty between the US and Portugal through which America pays the colonialist regime some \$436 million as rent for her air base in the Azores. Note that despite their common membership of NATO America was only a 'friend' of Portugal before this treaty was signed; now she is an 'ally'. Evidently the Portuguese are now acting on the assumption that their colonial wars have the blessing of the White House. 'We are helping the United States to the best of our means', said Caetano on 17 Dec., 'and it is right that the United States should help us to the best of theirs'.

Liberal American opinion is not too happy over the Azores deal. The 'Washington Post' on 18 Dec. pointed to the importance of the pact in terms of the morale and standing of the Portuguese government: 'Mr. Caetano may not do much for Mr. Nixon's political image, but Mr. Nixon does plenty for Mr. Caetano's....By allowing trade priorities to lead it into closer association with Lisbon, Washington unavoidably identifies itself further with a colonial regime. It did so without a word to indicate it may have some residual sympathies for Africans fighting for independence'. The 'New York Times' summed up Nixon's attitude thus: 'A too easy willingness to extend help to dictatorships and an indifference to the struggles of suppressed peoples for self-determination continue to characterize the foreign policy of this administration' (9 Dec).

Voices of protest against the agreement were raised in the Senate, particularly by Senator Clifford Case who introduced a resolution calling on President Nixon to submit the new pact to the Senate as a treaty demanding ratification. Nixon has wriggled out of this by claiming that America hasn't signed a treaty with Portugal - it has signed an agreement

Treaties need ratification, agreements don't. As Senator Case says, 'Nowhere in the Constitution did the Founding Fathers intend that the Executive could skirt senatorial approval simply by calling a pact with a foreign government an Executive agreement'. Another influential voice raised in protest has been that of the black congressman, Charles Diggs (who infuriated Vorster's government when he visited South Africa last year). He has resigned from his position as a member of the US delegation to the UN in protest against the 'stifling hypocrisy' of the Nixon administration. He indicated that the Azores pact was only the most recent in a long series of US dealings with Portugal.

His resignation was accompanied by increased protest from other sectors of the US black community. In early February a number of individuals testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, condemning the treaty as a prop for Portuguese colonialism. At this hearing, Dr. James Turner, a Cornell professor, announced the formation of a campaign to counter the Nixon policy: 'This campaign will join forces with all existing community organisations and groups in the black community and other peoples in support of the struggle. We wish to put all political candidates who wish black support on notice that a noticeable section of their political platforms must include support for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa'. Already Turner's group, the Committee for Positive Action, has called for the tearing up of the Azores pact, for boycotts of Portugal in South Africa and Rhodesia - including the reversal of the decision to break sanctions and buy Rhodesian chrome - and for support for the liberation movements.

At the same hearing Willard Johnson, an MIT professor, asked why it was that the US had suddenly chosen to pay Portugal in one fell swoop more than all the aid supplied to Portugal over the previous 18 years. In fact the US has used the base for 28 years without any direct payment, and for the past 9 of these without any agreement at all. Besides which the Azores base has been described as 'non-

the Common Market to adopt the same preferential measures as EFTA. This means a six-year reduction of duties for certain products until the beginning of 1980. However for some of these products Portugal wants an even lengthier postponement for an unspecified period of time. The harsh fact is that these Portuguese proposals have been included, almost word for word, in the proposals of the Common Market Commission. This, of course, has encouraged Portugal to hope for even greater concessions.

Britain is pushing for a quick settlement of these

the Common Market!

issues, and wants arrangements between the EEC and all those EFTA nations not seeking full membership concluded so that they will enter into force on 1 Jan 1973 - the projected date of British entry into the market.

Should Portugal get the associate status she wants, dragging her colonies behind her, then the EEC will be guilty of shoring up Portugal's shaky economy, thus enabling her to continue meeting the expenses of her three colonial wars. Without the preferential trade agreements of EFTA, or the EEC substitute that Portugal has proposed, it is doubtful whether the fascist economy could go on functioning at all.

A campaign is developing in Holland to keep Portugal out of the EEC. The three Dutch trade union federations have launched a joint appeal to the President of the Dutch Lower House of Parliament saying that Holland must demand that the Caetano regime make concessions at home and in its attitude to Africa before allowing a settlement on trading policy. Portugal's application for associate membership of the EEC should be rejected as long as she

'tramples human rights underfoot at home and wages a brutal colonial war on three fronts abroad'.

Portugal's position at present is that she wants to gain Europe without losing Africa. Europe will have to learn that in any economic federation there can be no room for fascism and colonialism. The lead given by Holland should be followed by the labour movement in other EEC countries.



HEY MAN! YOU BETTER BE CAREFUL.
NOW WE'RE IN THE COMMON MARKET
YOU MAY BE INFRINGING ICELAND'S
FISHING RIGHTS!

SOLD

essential', even 'obsolete'. The answer to this stigma, Turner declared, was nothing to do with the Azores, but rather the massive and growing US economic involvement in southern Africa, tying America ever more surely to the white supremacist states. Turner concluded that all governmental aid to these states must end, private investments there withdrawn and aid supplied to the liberation movements. 'The only safe and humane use of white American power in southern Africa would be to break the hold of these alien and oppressive white minority governments'.

Not everyone in the US, however, expresses disgust with Portuguese colonialism in so peaceful a manner. On 24 Jan, four bombs were planted in the Portuguese Airways office on Fifth Avenue, New York - only one of which succeeded in going off.

NATO

Last summer the West German government was considerably embarrassed when the Portuguese press inadvertently admitted that Fiat G-91 fighters sold by Germany to the Portuguese armed forces under NATO agreements were being used in Africa. Now the West German government has officially stated that such arms will only be used in the NATO defence area. The West German Minister of Defence, Herr Schmidt, explained in Nairobi on 14 Jan. that the weapons sold to Portugal were meant solely for defence purposes in Europe, and that his government objected to Portugal's flagrant breach of this understanding. A few days later, on 21 Jan., Parliamentary Sgare Secretary, Karl Moersch, in reply to a question in the Bundestag, confirmed that the government had no intention of supplying further arms to Portugal.

However, the pro-Portugal lobby in Germany has tried to find a way round this ban, by the simple

procedure of selling equipment to Portugal through a middle-man. The middle-man in this instance is Stockleigh Holdings Ltd. of Dublin (a British managed firm with six Irish business directors, all related) to whom the German Luftwaffe planned to sell 22 Moratlasse transport aircraft. From Ireland the planes were to be ferried to France, to SNIAS, the French national aerospace industry, 'for conversion'. The final destination of these planes was undoubtedly Portugal; the Portuguese air force survives on second-hand-planes and has already used Moratlasse exclusively in the colonies. However, this little deal fell through, being called off abruptly by the Germans who gave no reasons for their action. It would seem reasonable to assume that the West German government suddenly realised what certain people in the Luftwaffe were up to, and that Stockleigh Holdings was acting on behalf of the Portuguese, and quietly quashed the whole thing.

Other elements in NATO make no secret of their pro Portuguese feelings. Especially ardent in the favour with which he looks on Caetano's colonial policy is Joseph Luns, NATO's Secretary General. Luns also does not like being disagreed with and was considerably put out when two of his NATO partners, Denmark and Norway, attacked the Portuguese and Greek dictatorships during a recent NATO Ministers Conference. This displeasure he expressed in terms which the Danes found most objectionable. The Danish Foreign Secretary, Anderson, retorted sharply: 'The new Secretary General should make himself familiar with the idea that the government of any NATO member is fully entitled to determine her own responsibility about international issues and to state her opinions about them'. One would have thought that Luns would have kept his mouth shut after that - however on Dutch radio he proceeded to insult Anderson, calling him 'a freshman who does not yet know exactly the meaning of the Secretary General's function'. What Luns seems to be saying in this arrogant statement is that the Secretary General should have the right to decide the foreign policy of all of NATO's fifteen member states. As for the 'freshman' gibe, Luns omitted to mention that Mr. Anderson's predecessor, Mr. Hartling, happens to support his successor's criticism.

IN THE SERVICE OF FASCISM

Leading the European firms in the ZAMCO consortium building the Cabora Bassa dam are the huge West German monopolies. In this article we examine the credentials of two of these industrial giants of the free world - Siemens, and Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft - Telefunken (AEG, for short) SIEMENS Siemens holds one of the key positions within ZAMCO - it is in charge of the construction of Cabora Bassa's power station. In addition, Siemens is a member of the ZAMCO Sub-consortium for High Voltage Direct Current Transmission whose job it is to see that the power secured from the Zambizi will travel 900 miles southwards into South Africa.

Cabora Bassa is not Siemens' only involvement with Portuguese colonialism. It has aided the Portuguese war by helping equip the Portuguese air base in Bissau and at least 5 air bases in Mozambique (at Beira, Nampala, Freixo, Tete and Lourenço Marques). Siemens has also provided electronic and electro-technical equipment for war planes supplied to Portugal by West Germany (including Fiat G-91 fighters and Moratlava Transports used by Portuguese paratroop divisions). Branches of Siemens are in operation in Angola and Mozambique, as are branches of Siemens' Portuguese subsidiary Siemens Companhia de Electricidade S.A.R.L. In South Africa the subsidiary Siemens (Pty) Ltd. operates, representing West German capital to the value of 1.85 million rand. Siemens is Germany's largest electrical firm, and is rapidly expanding - but far less so in West Germany itself than abroad. In 1970 the number of workers employed by Siemens rose by only 6% - but the number employed abroad rose by 28%, due of course to the much lower costs in the third world. To a growing extent it is in the third world that Siemens realizes its profits. In the last ten years the turnover of Siemens subsidiaries abroad has trebled - small wonder that Siemens is the fourth largest profit maker in West Germany. In 1951, Siemens paid its shareholders no dividends; in 1970 it coughed up a very generous 16%. One notes with interest that it was in 1969 that Siemens received the Cabora Bassa contract from the Portuguese.

Siemens has a very murky history. Carl Friedrich von Siemens, boss of the firm in the Nazi era, joined Hitler's camp as early as 1928. Later he sat on the Nazi 'General Economic Council' whose main task was the militarization of the German economy.

The Siemens management supplied Himmlers SS with the mechanical equipment for the gas chambers and crematoria of Auschwitz. The 2,000 unfortunate 'slave workers' who had been forced to manufacture this equipment at Siemens were gassed by the SS at Auschwitz in 1943. Siemens made huge profits out of the war not only because they were major suppliers to the armed forces but because they were able to use forced labour rounded up throughout Europe by the Wehrmacht. In Berlin-Hasselhorst, Siemens even has a special concentration camp of their own, supplying them with slave labour.

Abroad, both before and during the war, Siemens foreign branches became espionage centres for the German army and centres for underground political work in the interest of Nazism. Frequently the Siemens representative and the local Nazi party functionary were one and the same person. In Spain, one Carl Cords managed the Siemens establishment; at the same time he commanded a Nazi secret police force which from 1934 on smuggled weapons for the Spanish Falangists, terrorized and kidnapped German political emigres, and carried out Nazi propaganda. Ricardo W. Staudt Vice-President of Siemens and the same person, was decorated by Hitler for his pro-fascist services with the 'Grand Cross of the Order of the Eagle' in 1942. This was the highest decoration Nazi Germany awarded to foreigners.

After the end of the war the Siemens bosses were on the US list of war criminals. But Siemens was not denazified. The war criminals in the Siemens management were not tried. This was conscious US policy, particularly that of Charles H. Powell, head of the 'Electrical Industry Department' of the US military administration in West Germany. Powell was one of the bosses of the US electrical firm of Westinghouse with which Siemens had co-operated closely since the 1920's. That the outcome of the war had not greatly changed Siemens was shown by the appointment of Carl Hubert Schwernicke as personnel manager. He was a former agent of the Gestapo.

Siemens present board of directors reads like a list of war criminals. Herman van Siemens, the grandson of the firms founder, was in fact listed as a war criminal in 1945. Now he is an honorary member of the board of directors, also honorary senator of the West German 'Fraunhofer Society' which controls bacteriological weapons of mass annihilation. Ernst Van Siemens, arms-industrialist for Hitler, is the present Siemens chairman. The Vice-Chairman, Dr. Peter van Siemens, represented a Siemens foreign branch under Nazi control until 1939. The one-time Nazi banker, Herman Josef Abs, sits on the Siemens board as a representative of the 'Deutsche Bank'. So too does Dr. Egan Overbeck, who was a major in Hitler's general staff until 1945. It is difficult to think of a group of men whose past experience better



RELAY, HERE FERNANDEZ, WE HAD EXACTLY THE SAME LITTLE DIFFICULTY WITH THE MÖHNE DAM, BACK IN 1943,

fits them for working on Cabora Bassa.

AEG AEG too is involved in constructing the power station for Cabora Bassa under the general direction of Siemens. The firm also heads the ZAMCO sub-consortium for High Voltage Direct Current Transmission. It therefore shoulders the responsibility for building converter stations in Mozambique and South Africa which will convert three-phase current into direct current; and back again. It has a third involvement in Cabora Bassa through the West German 'Hoehst' building trust, a joint-stock company for civil engineering in Essen, 25% of whose capital is owned by AEG.

Like Siemens, AEG flourishes all over the third world; but its foreign apparatus is not guided

1933-1972

directly from Germany. Instead Switzerland is used as a base, with the aid of the two Zurich based holding companies. AEG-Telefunken International AG. (capital: 80m. Swiss francs) and AEG -Telefunken Interfunz AG (capital: 9 million Swiss francs). Through these holding companies AEG has vastly expanded its business in Africa over the past decade on a neo-colonial basis.

AEG reported in 1970 that 'After receipts in 1970 of a total of 37 million marks the book value of the foreign interest reached 175 million marks (approx. £20 million). The turnover of the foreign branch companies increased in the reported year 1970 by 30% to 1.4 thousand million marks (approx. £160 million). The orders received were 41% more than in 1969. The employees of the foreign branch companies increased by 21%. The orders received include the AEG contracts for Cabora Bassa.

AEG has a similar history of involvement with Nazism as Siemens. On 27 January, 1932 AEG representatives were present at the Industrial Club in Dusseldorf when the German monopolists chose to throw their weight behind Hitler. Herman Bucher, general manager of AEG since 1928, was one of the most generous financiers of the SS and the Nazi party even before Hitler's coming to power in 1933. When Hitler expanded his army AEG became one of the Wehrmacht's most important suppliers and between 1936 and 1939 AEG turnover doubled. Mines, grenades, locating equipment, target finders searchlights, rifle barrels - all these were produced by AEG. 'AEG-Telefunken is the eye and ear of the Wehrmacht', boasted an AEG director.

Wherever Hitler's armies marched, AEG scurried along close behind them. In occupied France AEG appropriated some 17 million marks over dozens of others in Belgium, Holland and Norway. AEG also grabbed the electrical equipment factories of Poland and the occupied parts of Russia. A worse

fate awaited the Polish and Russian people. One of the orders sent out by AEG director Koehn reads: 'Children of eastern workers from the age of twelve can be employed in our enterprises'. Another AEG director, Friedrich Ernst, was given the post of 'Reich Commissar for Dealing with Enemy Property' - he was to administer the Nazi treasures looted from all Europe.

In 1944 the Nazis resorted to their V2 missiles shot at Britain, France, Belgium and Holland, killing tens of thousands of people. AEG was fully involved in the production of this monstrosity. AEG directors Professor Waldemar Paterser and Hans Heyne worked on the weapons in the closest collaboration with SS Sturmbannführer Werner von Braun (now a popular hero in the United States).

At the end of the war AEG suffered severe losses. Its nine factories in East Germany were expropriated and became public property, and it lost all its capital interests abroad in 1945. But thanks to aid from America, the firm quickly recovered. Six of AEG's most incriminated representatives were imprisoned as war criminals but their US business friends gradually saw to their release. Today AEG is back in a position of dizzy pre-eminence. Hans Heyne, formerly of the V2, organizes missile production by an AEG subsidiary for NATO and the West German Bundeswehr, while AEG itself is believed to be busy creating prerequisites for West Germany's own illegal production of nuclear weapons.

Like Siemens, AEG places value on continuity of personnel. Managing committee member Dr. Friedrich Hammerling has served AEG since 1935, and his colleague, Professor Werner Nestel, has served the Telefunken arms trust since 1937. One Hans C Boden heads the board of directors. He was one of Hit Hitler's War Economy Leaders, and in 1944 supervised the 'Aryanization' and management of armaments production in the Hungarian factories stolen by AEG.

Today AEG supplies NATO with aircraft and missile electronic devices, radar systems and militarily usable nuclear research installations. Portugal finds herself a frequent customer of AEG. Evidently this giant combine is one firm where nothing much has changed over the past 40 years.

Cunene Conference

The Cunene River Scheme in Angola, like the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique, was conceived by Portugal and her allies in order to reinforce white rule in Southern Africa. The river runs along the border between Angola and Namibia, and the object of the scheme is to promote the further integration of these two countries, create conditions for establishing the presence of half a million additional settlers in the region, and through international financial loans and other links involve external parties even deeper in the Southern African conflict.

The essential point that emerged from the Symposium was the need to see the Cunene Scheme as part of an integrated enemy strategy in Southern Africa. From this starting point it follows that the way to end this and similar schemes is by increasing support to the liberation movements and total disengagement from the ruling regimes. Within this framework came specific proposals for attacking companies and banks known to be involved in the scheme - Wimpeys and the Hill Samuel bank are two from Britain - to force their withdrawal, and also recommendations on blocking Portuguese and South African association with the Common Market, assistance for Portuguese deserters and draft resisters, ending arms supplies to Portugal. The World Council of Churches Special Programme to Combat Racism recently took the initiative of organising a Symposium to study the implications of the plan and make campaigning proposals and recommendations, not only for the churches but of interest to everyone who is opposed to the present regimes in Southern Africa. The whole question is of course highlighted by the current situation in Namibia itself, and by the new phase of MPLA activity in Angola.

and fully supporting the forthcoming SWAPO Conference on Namibia.

Uran construction has already begun along the Cunene, and settlers are starting to move in. The international campaign against Cabora Bassa has taught the Portuguese a lesson; matters concerning Cunene are being conducted behind a curtain of discretion and secrecy. We must not allow it.

Liberal Party

Another national organisation - the Liberal Party - has at last decided to formally support the liberation movements. On 26 Feb. the following resolution was passed in motion by the Council of the Liberal Party: 'This Council of the Liberal Party condemns the present British government's continuance of the Labour Government's tacit support of Portuguese colonialism in Africa. Council urges that Britain, in its relations with Portugal, shall seek an end to the violent repression of liberation movements in Portuguese colonies, by (for example): (a) Britain supporting the present Norwegian demand within NATO that Portugal ends bombing and similar methods in Africa. (b) Britain supporting the international request for a UN commission to investigate allegations of the use of chemical warfare by Portugal. So long as Portugal persists in military repression in order to maintain colonial supremacy, Council urges Liberals to support liberation movements in the African territories of Mozambique, Guinea and Angola, which the Portuguese dictatorship insists on treating as provinces ruled from Lisbon' We welcome this resolution and hope that the Liberal Party will ensure its full implementation.

Fight the Sell-out in Rhodesia

No Independence before Majority Rule!

On the weekday following publication of the Pearce Commissions report, the Rhodesia Emergency Campaign Committee is calling a demonstration to

reiterate its principles of NIDMAR and support for the struggle of the Zimbabwe people. This demonstration will be held in Whitehall at 6.00pm.

Happy New Year

Those Portuguese fortunate enough to own a radio would have heard, had they tuned it to the Lisbon home service on the evening of 30th Dec., a new year speech from General Sa de Vilana Rebelo, Minister of Defence. The following passages from this speech give an interesting insight into the Portuguese military mentality: '1971 was the tenth year since the armed forces were moved to our threatened overseas provinces, speedily and in strength, at President Salazar's orders. These have been ten years marked by the countless sacrifices of the Portuguese military and their families posted to and from the overseas provinces, by the effort of the tax-payer to help the state to withstand the weight of military expenditure, and by the firm support given by the people of Metropolitan Portugal and the overseas provinces to the defence of the national heritage....'

'The enemy, however, does not give up. It is therefore necessary to provide for the maintenance of the military machine until tranquillity returns to the overseas provinces. Some people, either unwise or with their feet not too firmly on the ground, think that we have too many troops in the overseas provinces. They go to the point of stating that the military have an interest in extending their terms of duty. Those who think this have no idea of the huge sacrifices made by the military....'

'Special attention will be devoted to enemy propaganda. Unable to defeat our troops overseas, enemy circles have in the last few years attempted to undermine and weaken the nation's powers of endurance. Some of our oldest and best disciplined institutions have been flooded with anti-patriotic doctrines printed in pamphlets and trashy booklets. Certain records carry demoralising and morbid ballads and fads. Our youth is affected by drugs sold clandestinely outside schools....'

Two days later, on Jan 1, another New Year message was broadcast, this time by the Portuguese president, Americo Tomas. This speech, though obviously better thought-out than Rebelo's, is still haunted by the spectre of the gigantic Communist Conspiracy about to overwhelm all civilization: 'My good wishes also, and especially, go to the servicemen of the three branches of the armed forces who so unselfishly continue defending the sacred integrity of Portuguese soil in our provinces of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, in fierce and heroic battle against the terrorists who for over ten years have been plaguing parts of these provinces, Portuguese for over five centuries, from bases in neighbouring countries.'

'Either because they deliberately - and not through ignorance - abetted the military, or because of international law and good neighbour relations, or due to internal incompetence, the leaders and protectors of these countries continue to give refuge to these terrorists, aiding and abetting the setting-up of bases for training and infiltration and supplying arms and substantial aid, which comes mostly from the communist countries. The presence of non-communist western Europeans in the African continent is harmful to the aims of the communist countries, and therefore intolerable to them....'

It is perfectly understandable that the communist countries, in order to spread their political doctrines and to further their aspirations for world domination, should continue increasingly to step up the anti-Portuguese campaign. But that the Western countries, at least those who have resisted the infiltration of communism, should ingloriously follow the same course, this is an aberration that I have always failed to understand....'

LITERATURE LIST

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