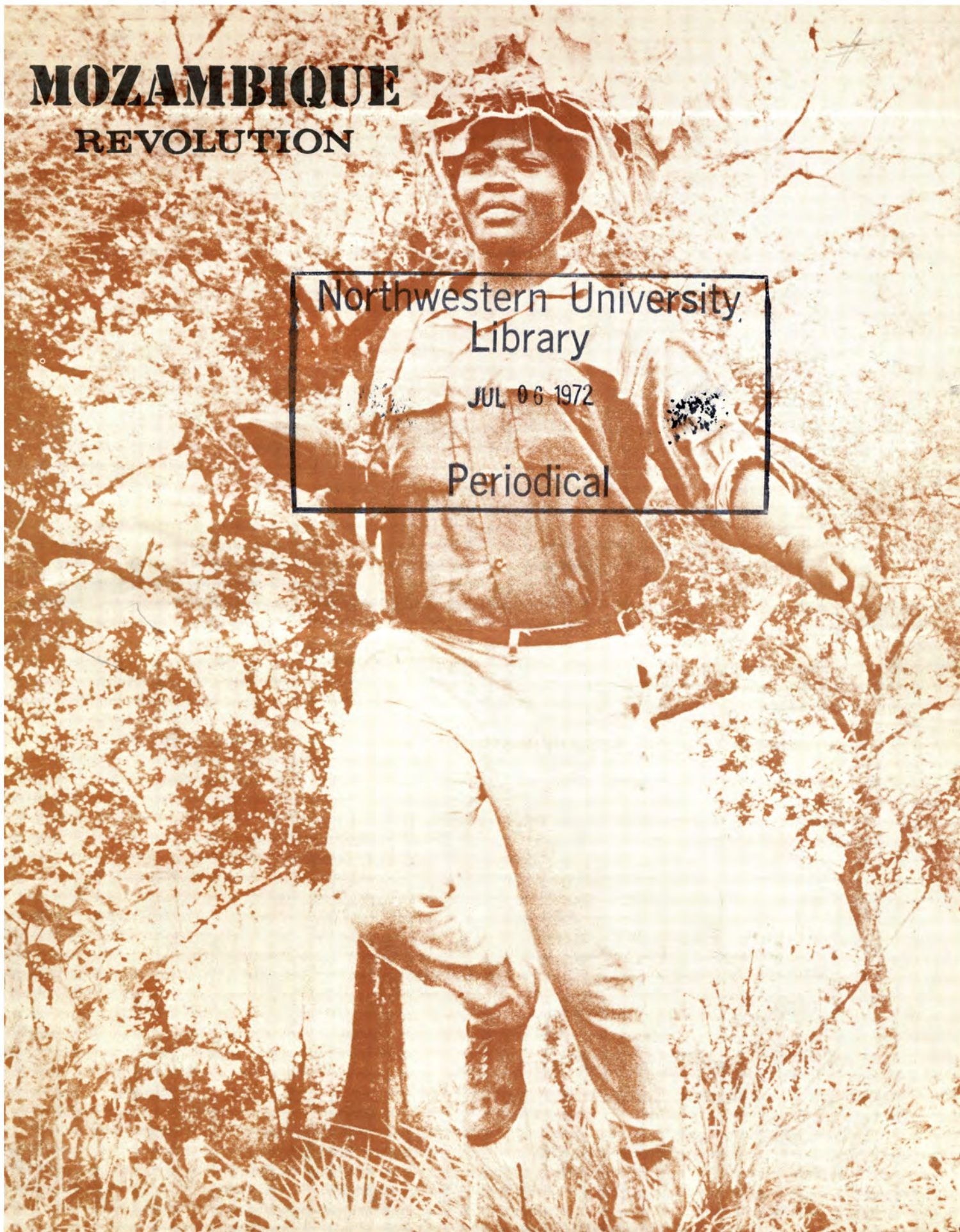


# MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION

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**MOZAMBIQUE  
REVOLUTION**

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# building up victory

FRELIMO's great successes during the past few months represent not merely the continued effectiveness of strategies and tactics developed over a much longer period; equally important, they demonstrate a qualitative advance in the nature of our struggle. For these recent achievements have sprung from the consolidation of a feeling of confidence among our people and our fighters in *the certainty of final victory*. This is a subjective element, to be sure, but it is an increasingly crucial one. Moreover, such confidence finds its basis in objective reality, in the concrete situation of our struggle.

One aspect of this reality is the great victories which we achieved in 1971, the most dramatic of which can be readily seen in the military field. Thus, during 1971, we killed about 2,900 enemy soldiers, destroyed 479 vehicles, shot down 4 aircraft and 5 helicopters, destroyed 27 bridges, attacked and destroyed 49 posts and camps, 6 trains and 14 boats. These are statistical data of great importance, since they indicate a substantial reduction in the human and material forces of the enemy. If we then combine these losses in Mozambique with the decrease in the population in Portugal itself, especially of those who emigrate to other countries to escape the colonial wars abroad and misery at home, and combine these also with other losses suffered by the colonial forces in Angola and Guiné, it becomes evident that Portugal approaches a point where her human reserves will be exhausted. This at a time when our own forces grow constantly as we liberate new zones.

By the end of 1970 we had already taken the war south of the Zambezi river in Tete Province. But

1971 saw the struggle spread, within a few months, like wild-fire so that today it covers the whole of the Province. As a result we are now attacking the enemy at his most sensitive point — we are vitally affecting his economy! Tete is our richest province in minerals, yet a South African mining company, Comocmin, has already withdrawn its workers from certain zones of that province simply because it considered the Portuguese authorities incapable of ensuring the physical security of the workers against the guerrillas. Others will withdraw. And the confidence of foreign investors will be even more badly shaken.

Linked to this, and even more crucial, is a growing failure of nerve on the part of the Portuguese themselves. Witness the complete failure in 1971 of the colonialist plan of «building roads to win the war». The Portuguese rested great hopes on this scheme, even to the extent of appointing in 1971 an expert in road-building to be governor-general of Mozambique. Yet a few months later the Portuguese themselves lost faith in the plan, finally admitting to themselves a fact that had been apparent for many months. Of course our own experience had taught us, as the enemy came belatedly to see, that roads, like pipe lines and rail lines, are the most vulnerable of targets; today we are certain that such roads will not be constructed.

Moreover, the disarray in the Portuguese camp has been reinforced by those anti-colonial and anti-fascist forces who are organising themselves within Portugal itself and who have begun to launch heavy blows against the colonial war machine. And this in turn is merely one among a number of external

factors which is contributing to our sense that victory is merely a matter of time. The African countries, the socialist countries, and indeed all the world's progressive forces declare, and increasingly put into practice, their support for our cause.

But the most important factor which inspires our vigorous sense of confidence lies closer to home, with the Mozambican people themselves. For we have succeeded, once and for all, in engaging the whole of the population in our common struggle. As a Tanzanian journalist who visited our country last April has written: «The question is sometimes asked whether FRELIMO has the support of the people of Mozambique. It is not a question of support. Everybody is involved. . . (at the meetings) none of those speeches about the need to rally around FRELIMO and drive out the Portuguese were heard. Everybody understood why. It is the HOW that they talk about». And even in those provinces where the armed struggle has not yet begun the people look to FRELIMO as their organisation, their guide. An analogy may help to clarify this point: the situation is reminiscent of Europe under Nazi occupation. Then the dominated people did not consider the Nazi authorities to be their leaders, but instead waited for orders and directives from their *real* government, which operated clandestinely or in exile. Such is the situation with those parts of Mozambique which still lie behind enemy lines.

One key to such results has been the work of the political commissars, of course — constantly at work

raising the level of political consciousness of the people and the fighters in our country. Everybody becomes clearer by this means as to the ideological orientation, the targets and the objectives, of FRELIMO. And this in turn enhances their fighting spirit.

Another key lies in an even more fundamental reshaping of social and economic relations. In the liberated areas, even while the war rages on, a new society, a new nation, is being constructed; the process reflects itself in the spheres of production and distribution, of education and health, of defence and participation. This dramatic reality affects fundamentally the people who live the new life of a free Mozambique; its message and its promise permeates the consciousness of those who still live beyond the forward line of our successful battle. National reconstruction and national self-confidence go hand in hand, and to this rule liberated Mozambique is no exception.

The sum total of these various developments is an impressive one. Their significance is also clear: as stated at the outset, they have granted us the certainty that victory, ultimately, is ours. The revolutionary process thus becomes a cumulative one. Our successes reinforce our confidence in a final victory; this confidence, in turn, makes us fight with increased ardour and determination, and helps us to achieve new successes. In this way a dialectic has been established which is fatal to Portuguese hopes; its forward momentum cannot be halted short of the independence of Mozambique.







# Nothing can stop what Mondlane began

The 3rd of February is a very important date in the heroic struggle of our people, and as a date of combat, it is one linked with blood and mourning. On the 3rd February, 1969, our comrade Eduardo Mondlane, founder of FRELIMO, architect of national unity, first President of our Movement, guide to Mozambican nationalism and pioneer of our revolution was assassinated. On the 3rd February, 1969, the Mozambican people lost one of their most beloved and devoted sons.

Before he came we were divided, grains of sand scattered before the wind. While we were like that, while division existed colonialism exploited and humiliated us. Comrade Eduardo Mondlane brought us the force that bound us firmly together, that made a people of us, that made the tribes disappear so as to create a united Mozambique. Because of this the colonialists and imperialists hated him and identified him as their main target. They hated Eduardo Mondlane because they fear the people, the immense force of the people, organised and conscious, who can destroy for ever the power of the exploiters.

*Three years have passed since the death of FRELIMO's first President, Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane. In a message addressed to the Mozambican people on this occasion, FRELIMO's new President, Comrade Samora Moises Machel evoked the memory of the man who founded FRELIMO and set it on the correct path of the revolutionary armed struggle for national liberation. He explained at the same time the meaning of the assassination of President Mondlane and indicated the tasks that remain to be fulfilled in order to achieve the work initiated by our first President. We quote here the following excerpts from his message.*

Eduardo Mondlane created cadres, created structures, as he had created our Unity, as he had defined our political line. As a result the struggle did not stop with his death. Instead it spread: the Zambezi was crossed, the Montepuez was crossed, now everywhere the enemy is attacked, isolated, and put to flight.

Eduardo Mondlane is not dead. It was he who, before, anyone else, understood and taught that our struggle should be a revolution of the peasants and the workers, and should involve the destruction of exploitation of man by man. As a result, he is forever present in the people's power that grows in our country.

Our task is to continue Mondlane's life, to carry the revolution through to its conclusion and to complete the task which he left to us: expand the armed struggle, liberate the country, continue the revolution.

Long live the unforgettable memory of President Mondlane!  
Long live the Mozambican people, united from the Rovuma to the Maputo!  
Long live the People's war of Liberation!  
Long live the Revolution!  
Independence or death. We shall win.

Samora Moises Machel  
President of FRELIMO.

## EDITORIAL

**T**HE COLONISERS, exploiters and oppressors of Africa will stop at nothing in their drive to sustain their crimes against the African people. They will bribe, they will buy leaders, they will confuse the ranks of Africans. And finally they will kill leaders.

We remember these tactics of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism because three years ago to-day these enemies of Africa assassinated one of the foremost leaders of African Liberation, Dr. Mondlane, President of Frelimo. The Portuguese who are errand boys of imperialism and capitalism in the so-called Portuguese colonies resorted to the assassination of Dr. Mondlane in the vain hope that this would strike a decisive blow to the movement for the liberation of Mozambique.

But their hopes have been decisively dashed. The assassination welded the Mozambique Liberation Front even more strongly, and the Front's fighting forces have executed the war against the Portuguese army of occupation in Mozambique more vigorously. All attempts to divide the leadership have failed, because in the last analysis the Mozambican revolution is so strong and authentic that it automatically weeds out the pretentious and treacherous leadership as it progresses.

One of the prongs of the Portuguese has been to try to get deserters from the Mozambican Liberation Front. Those they have succeeded in winning over during the last three years have been little men. So little have they been indeed that the attempt on the part of the Portuguese to present these quislings as men of Mozambican stature around whom people should rally have proved both ridiculous and ineffective.

On the battlefield Frelimo's fighting forces record more and more victories. Where the Portuguese used to deny any military activity, now they acknowledge it and put out some of their casualties. Where before they used to pretend that resistance to Portuguese occupation was confined to "a few pockets" in the northern Cabo Delgado province, now they openly admit that fighting is going on in this, in Niassa and in Tete provinces. Where before they pretended that the Cabora Bassa Dam project was not threatened by Frelimo forces, now they admit of their being hard-pressed. It can thus be seen that Dr. Mondlane's assassination far from weakening the fighting spirit of Frelimo has strengthened it many times fold.

But for the forces of colonialism and imperialism, the assassination was intended to be a blow also to Tanzania. It was intended to intimidate us into relaxing our support for the liberation struggle in Africa as a whole, and in Mozambique in particular.

In this regard also the enemy has miscalculated. Tanzanians have not and will not have "second thoughts" about the necessity for supporting the freedom struggle in Africa and in Mozambique. On the contrary TANU has reiterated that it is itself still a liberation movement and Tanzanians must strengthen themselves to bolster their support for the liberation of our continent.

And so as we remember the supreme sacrifice which Dr. Mondlane made in the service of the liberation of Mozambique, it behoves us to reaffirm that our own "UHURU" is not complete until the whole of Africa and Mozambique are free from colonialism and imperialism. It behoves us to reaffirm that our struggle to build socialism will only succeed if we support the struggle of our brothers in Mozambique to rid their country of Portuguese colonialism. It behoves us to assert yet again that our commitment to be truly free means also a commitment to support to final victory the liberation movements fighting to eliminate colonialism on our continent.

# TANZANIA'S TRIBUTE TO MONDLANE

On February 3, 1972, the national newspapers of Tanzania paid tribute in leading articles to the memory of Eduardo Mondlane. Above is the editorial from TANU's daily, The Nationalist. Below - the comment of the Government paper, The Standard.

## Comment

**T**HE people of Mozambique today pay tribute to the memory of one of their embattled land's greatest sons, Dr. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane.

Three years ago today the first President of the Mozambique Liberation Front died tragically when a parcel bomb exploded in his face in Dar es Salaam.

The people who perpetrated this vile deed, the Portuguese fascists and their stooges, were jubilant, confident that this loss to Frelimo would reverse the freedom fighters' march to victory. Today, the colonialists must be asking themselves what went wrong.

True, Dr. Mondlane's death was followed by a period of confusion and demoralisation among the militants. He was loved, respected and was a symbol of unity; so it was natural that his death was felt profoundly.

But in spite of this and in spite of the massive military and propaganda offensive which the Portuguese launched following the murder, Frelimo fought on with undaunted spirit. They made sure that Dr. Mondlane's death was not a useless sacrifice.

He had forged the unity of the Mozambican people in their struggle for independence. He had made the crucial decision that armed struggle was the only way to this freedom. Such a man's death had to be avenged.

And it is being avenged, as the enemy casualty list grows, as the foreign capitalists fret over their precious investments in Cabora Bassa, as the people march to inevitable victory.

The Portuguese need no further evidence of the failure of the aim behind their brutal deed of February 3, 1969, than the fact the Frelimo has since extended the struggle south of the Zambezi, and is now pinning down thousands of Portuguese troops around Cabora Bassa.

Dr. Mondlane has not died in vain. Like all others who have died in the struggle against colonialism, his example lives on to light the path to victory.

Throughout the world, everyone who cherishes the ideals of freedom and self-determination will join with the oppressed workers and peasants of Mozambique in paying tribute to the memory of this great freedom fighter.





Aircraft shot down in September, 1971, in Tete Province

## WAR COMMUNIQUE

### TETE

During the month of September in Tete's Eastern region alone, FRELIMO's guerrillas undertook 11 major sabotage operations and ambushes aimed at paralysing the enemy's communications system. Some of these operations took place on the international road which links Mozambique with Rhodesia in the south and Malawi in the north. Our fighters chose this road as one of their targets because it is the enemy's main line for circulating and distributing their forces. It is on this road that the Portuguese and Rhodesian forces come to massacre our people. Last May, the White Fathers submitted a report on some of these massacres and gave it as one of the reasons why they decided to withdraw from Mozambique, thus expressing their condemnation of the barbaric Portuguese colonial regime. But even after the withdrawal of the White Fathers, the massacres continue, carried out jointly by Portuguese and Rhodesian troops. In some cases, however, Rhodesian troops take the initiative. For example, on the 31st August, they carried out a raid on a village in the region of

Mutarara and murdered 9 villagers: David Safur Chitaia, Paulo Nikson, Jacob Zenda, Mairosse Tique, Pique and 3 children – two aged 9 and one aged 10. Also on 5th September, in the same region, Rhodesian troops killed 8 people – 6 adults and 2 children by locking them up in their houses and setting fire to them. The names of the murdered Mozambicans were: Singa Cabula, Veronica Singa (she was eight months pregnant), Erentina Madeguri Mazi and Estere Thomas (who each had one of their children with them), and Adamo Pedro. The Rhodesian soldiers also raped a girl and then killed her. These Rhodesian soldiers all came from the post of Sinoia.

### *operations on the international road rhodesia – malawi*

FRELIMO fighters undertook 3 sabotage operations on the main road which connects Mozambique with Rhodesia and Malawi: on the 11th September in the region of Capirizanje, one lorry was destroyed; on the 14th September, in Madambe, another lorry was destroyed; on the same day, 14th September, one vehicle was blown up in the region of Canchocho; on the 15th September, in Nyang'oma, 2 soldiers were killed and 2

were wounded by mines; on the 21st September, in the region of Nyang'oma also on the same road, an ambush resulted in 2 vehicles blown up and 9 soldiers killed.

### ATTACKS, AMBUSHES AND SABOTAGE

Other sabotage operations and ambushes in Tete caused the destruction of 13 vehicles and the death of 60 more Portuguese soldiers. These actions took place on the roads Doa – Mucunga (on the 10th September); Angonia – Tete (on the 14th September; Moatize – Mutarara (on the 15th, 21st and 30th September), and in the regions of Mfidzi, Tete, Casula, Furancungo, Vila Gamito, Nyimbe, Zobue and Angonia.

We also sabotaged the important railway line between Beira and Moatize, when we destroyed the bridge over the river Minjoma. Other bridges destroyed were over the rivers Canfidzi, on the road between Tete and Casula; and Duembe, between the posts of Zobue and Mughunda.

The enemy was forced to abandon 2 more posts in Chintunkula and Cussalala. Some important roads were also abandoned due to the number of vehicles constantly being blown up by our mines.

As a result the enemy are now using the Zambezi River to supply their posts of Zumbo, Mague and Canverere. We also attacked the posts of Madambe and Cateme. The attack against Madambe took place on the 4th September: 4 houses and a bulldozer were destroyed and many enemy soldiers killed. The next day the enemy abandoned the post. Cateme, which is also a railway station, was attacked on the 15th September; 2 houses were destroyed and 4 soldiers killed.

## OCTOBER – DECEMBER

### ATTACKS

During October – December, 1971, FRELIMO fighters attacked 10 posts:

- Chankumo, on the 3rd of October; 3 houses were destroyed and 7 Portuguese soldiers killed.
- Kanchueira, on the 7th October; all the houses were burnt and some equipment was captured.
- Chimwa, on the 9th October, 8 houses were burnt and 15 soldiers killed.
- Jailos, on the 24th October; the post was badly damaged.
- Chipera; on the 24th October; the post was partially destroyed.
- Mulumba, on the 28th October; the post's main building and several tents were destroyed.
- Mudzi, on the 2nd November; two buildings were destroyed, including the material depot.
- Canzi, on the 6th November. The post was damaged.
- Chintuza, on the 21st November. It was badly damaged by our artillery.
- Chiringa, on the 28th December. The attack resulted in the partial destruction of the post.

On the 5th October the enemy landed in Nchenga, arrested the whole population of a village and tried to take them to a concentration camp. On their way, they camped near a river, where our comrades made a surprise attack. Some of the enemy were killed, others fled. All the people who had been arrested were freed.

A fuel depot comprising several tanks was completely burnt by our fighters in the region of Chingodzi, between Moatize and Tete.

On the 26th November, 1971, the enemy from the camp of Taiobo moved towards the village of Macumbolenga. Their intention was to arrest and conscript people from the village for their armed forces.

They camped by a river before arriving at the village. Our comrades attacked

# TERRORISTS HIT TRUCK AND TRAIN IN TETE

TERRORISTS have struck again in the Tete district of Mozambique – they destroyed a Rhodesian truck on Friday and derailed a train on Sunday.

The 15-ton truck owned by Swift Transport Services (Pvt.) Ltd. was set alight by terrorist after it fell out of a military convoy on the road to Zobwe. The train was badly damaged when a landmine blew it off the rails, but it is not yet known whether anyone was injured.

The general manager of Swifts Mr. G. Lindsell-Stewart, said yesterday this was the fourth company vehicle destroyed by terrorists.

He said: "We have lost a lot of money because of these acts and will have to consider whether the service to Malawi should be continued. For the moment we shall carry on."

### CONVOY

In the latest incident, the truck was travelling from Rhodesia to Malawi with a cargo of empty cardboard cartons and glass.

Mr Lindsell-Stewart said: "It was in a military convoy, but it dropped behind near Zobwe. Six terrorists, all armed, stepped on to the road and flagged down the driver, Mr. Shingarayi."

"They threatened him, stole all his personal possessions, including his wrist watch, and set fire to the truck. Then they sent him on to Zobwe. "After reaching the town, Mr. Shingarayi contacted our agents. He later returned to the truck and described it as a write-off. The company is still awaiting confirmation of his assessment of the \$12000 truck

According to an unofficial report received in Beira, engineers and technical staff from Mozambique Railways have been sent to the scene of the train derailment.

The explosion took place on the line between Tete and the bridge over the Zambezi. No other details were available. Last month FRELIMO guerrillas blew up tracks on the rail supply link for the Cabora Bassa dam on several occasions. Trucks carrying vital supplies of cement for the dam were derailed.

There have been at least six or seven similar attacks since September last year. Chronicle Reporter, Africa News Service.

them there with mortars and light weapons and killed 11.

The next day, on the 27th November, the same troops were returning to their camp of Taiobo, carrying their wounded. They were again ambushed, and suffered more casualties.

### ambushes on the zambezi river.

1st October: 2 boats were sunk in the area of Holi, and all the soldiers in them were killed. –

12th November: 2 boats which had left the post of Mague carrying soldiers to patrol the shores of the Zambezi River were hit by bazooka and machine-gun fire and were sunk. All the soldiers, numbering approximately 20, were killed.

13th November: One boat was ambushed and sunk in the zone of Duagwa.

25th December: One patrol boat was sunk in the zone of Duangwe. All the soldiers in it numbering 12, were killed.

### actions on the international road rhodesia – malawi

16th October: one military lorry was destroyed in the zone of Nyangoma. when going from Moatize towards Zobue.

22nd October: 2 vehicles integrated in a military convoy, were destroyed by our fighters on their way from Zobue to Tete, on the international road.

10th November: one lorry coming from Malawi towards Tete, carrying Portuguese troops, was ambushed by FRELIMO forces in the region of Chinguere. The lorry was destroyed and many of the enemy were killed.



13th November: one lorry was destroyed and its crew of 2 was killed in the zone of Canchuera, between Moatize and Tete. On the 15th November, 1971, one lorry came from Malawi towards Changara, carrying Portuguese troops. It hit a mine and was badly damaged. The soldiers of that lorry asked for help from Changara. Another lorry was sent from Changara – but on the way it was blown up by a mine. Seven Portuguese soldiers were killed in those operations.

18th November: one lorry was blown up by a mine in the zone of Chanteala. Three more lorries were destroyed on the same international road; on the 22nd and 24th of December, in Massacama, and on the 27th of December in Kapilimbulile.

### SABOTAGE

Our main sabotage operations during this period were carried out in Fingoe,

hundred meters they stepped on our mines – and were killed. The enemy in the barracks, when they heard the explosions fired into the bush for one hour.

### railway line tete – beira

8th November, Chiweza region: a mine placed by our comrades destroyed the locomotive and one wagon moving from Doa to Missiti.

10th November, zone of Doa: the machine and 2 wagons were destroyed and the rest of the train derailed in an ambush

20th November, zone of Mutarara–Moatize: one locomotive and 3 fuel wagons were destroyed, and 4 other wagons damaged. The rail line was destroyed in an extension of 400 meters.

On 14th November, 1971, a FRELIMO sabotage unit blew up a bridge. The bridge, constructed of concrete, was on the main road of Chalimbane, in the

fuel on the crashed helicopter, set it alight and left our zone.

## CABO DELGADO

### ATTACKS

On the 23rd January, 1972, FRELIMO forces attacked and assaulted the military camp of Anga. The soldiers of that camp had several times attempted to intrude in our zones, and were disturbing the normal life of the population. The camp was situated 1 km. from Mocimboa da Praia.

Our attack started at 5.30 a.m. Part of our artillery directed its fire against Mocimboa da Praia, to paralyse the enemy and prevent the sending of reinforcements. Another section of the artillery bombed the camp of Anga itself. Afterwards, our infantry advanced and assaulted the camp.

Two Portuguese soldiers were killed – their names were Eugénio Paixão, the camp commander, and Carlos Alberto Azevedo da Silva, medical assistant. Another Portuguese soldier surrendered to the FRELIMO forces. His name is António Andrade da Costa, and he is prisoner in our zone. Many other puppet soldiers were killed and wounded, others fled to Mocimboa da Praia. Our comrades captured a large quantity of material at the post, including 28 weapons (three G-3 sub-machine guns and one FBP, 18 Mauser rifles, two shot guns and 4 automatic pistols), 34 loaded magazines for the G-3, 20 grenades, a Portuguese flag, uniforms, civil clothes, medicines, one radio, a photographic machine, etc., etc.

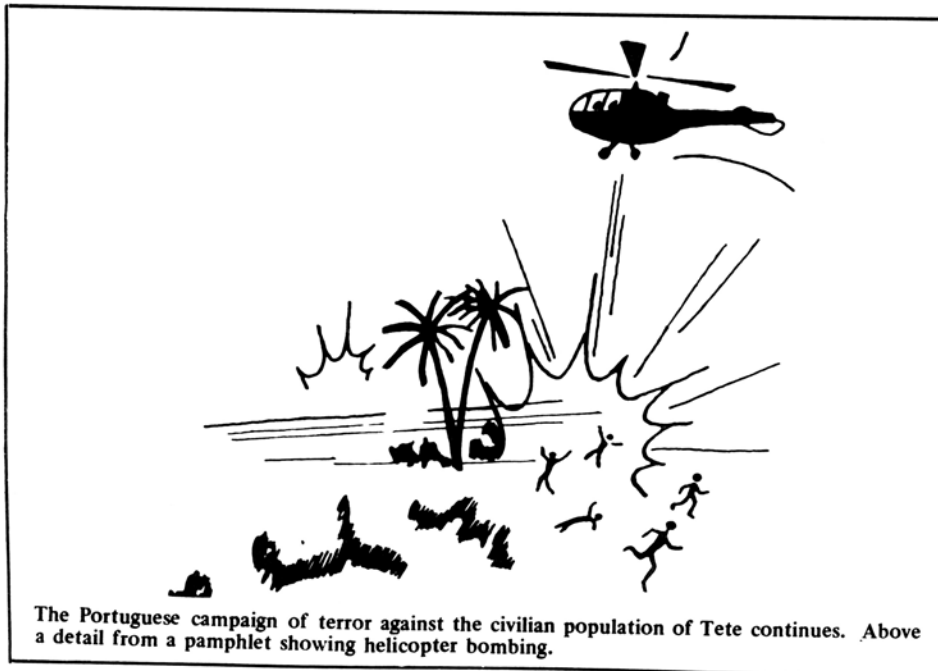
Other important attacks were launched against the posts of Nangololo (twice); Macomia, on the 24th December; and Sofala, on the 13th January.

A concentration camp near Montepuez was attacked on the 1st January, 1972, and 21 Mozambican nationalists who were imprisoned were freed.

On the 10th December, the enemy landed many forces by helicopter in the zone of Nangololo, in an attempt to enter our zones. Our comrades undertook a series of attacks which disorganised the enemy and forced them to retreat, leaving behind 27 dead.

Two enemy's artillery positions were silenced in the zone between Miteda – Muidumbe, and in Nachipungu.

In all these actions, more than 90 enemy soldiers were killed.



The Portuguese campaign of terror against the civilian population of Tete continues. Above a detail from a pamphlet showing helicopter bombing.

Chicoa, Bango, Oliveira, Nkuya, Casula, Chidima, Mavudzi, Caunda, Chioco, Nhinde, Chitumbo, Vila Coutinho, Muangazi, Malewera, Mpangula, Chipera, Uncanha, Tete Matema. Twenty-eight vehicles were blown up and about 80 enemy soldiers were killed.

An interesting and significant episode happened in the Portuguese barracks of Bango. When information was received that FRELIMO guerrillas were operating near their barracks, 2 Portuguese soldiers volunteered to go and «capture the bandits with our bare hands» – as they said. They left the barracks on the 17th November, the 2 of them alone. A few

zone between the enemy barracks of Mauvudze and Matema, and spanned the river Canjedza.

### helicopter shot down

We shot down a helicopter on the 15th of October. An enemy force comprising reconnaissance planes, bombers and helicopters entered our zone in Muchena, near river Rovubwe. Their orders were to locate and attack our bases. Our fighters opened fire on them and shot down a helicopter; its five-man crew was killed. The other helicopter succeeded in landing under the protection of the bombers. The Portuguese soldiers poured

## AMBUSHES

During October, 1971 and January 1972 FRELIMO guerrillas in Cabo Delgado carried out 30 large-scale ambushes in the zones of Ancuabe, Nangade, Ng'apa, Palma, Namatili, Nazombe, Sofala, Ravia, Mauguide, Namocha, Mueda, Macomia, Namwalilya, Inhankoma, Cuero, Chai, Mucojo, Ntowe and Miengelewe. More than 110 enemy soldiers were killed in these ambushes, 7 lorries destroyed and many prisoners freed from the concentration camps.

## SABOTAGE

We undertook 38 major sabotage operations during October, 1971, – January, 1972, in the zones of Sagal, Diaca, Mueda, Nangade, Pundanhhar, Nantadora, Chai, Nangololo, Nancatar, Macomia, Inhankoma, Quiterajo, Quinjenambi. More than 150 enemy soldiers were killed, and 37 vehicles blown up. A typical case of one of our sabotage actions took place on the 14th November, when a convoy left the post of Sagal towards Diaca. They entered a mined zone, 2 lorries were destroyed and 8 soldiers were killed. The column asked the post of Diaca for reinforcements. Another convoy then left Diaca. On the way they hit a mine which destroyed the front lorry and killed 3 soldiers. The 2 convoys, too afraid to go on, called in helicopter and aircraft support: 4 helicopters and bombers were sent and established communication between the two convoys, collected the dead and rescued the wounded. Then after communicating, each convoy made a half-turn and returned to their posts of origin. A bridge spanning the river Nnangu (on the road between Mocimboa da Praia and Diaca) was destroyed on the 22nd December.

## NIASSA

### *attack against the post of macaloge*

On the 23rd December, 1971, our comrades launched a heavy attack against the post of Macaloge, situated between Unango and Lulimbo. The post was considered by the enemy to be impenetrable by FRELIMO, a secure place where the sick and wounded soldiers were sent. It garrisoned more than one battalion (about 600 troops). The post was composed of the barracks, the administrative centre, the hospital, and a road constructing centre named TAMEGA. The buildings in the post included 10 very large

houses (some of which were one-storied buildings), 16 medium-size and several other small houses. The post controlled a concentration camp (one of the so-called «protected villages»). Since the beginning of the war in Niassa, the post had only suffered two light infantry attacks in 1965.

Our forces made a concentrated attack with artillery and infantry. The attack was launched on the 23rd of December, at 8.45 p.m. and lasted one hour.

The post was completely destroyed. The first mortar shells exploded the fuel depot, and the glaze of the fire enabled our comrades to see their targets and to aim accurately. Many enemy soldiers were killed, the buildings were entirely wiped out, the cars exploded, and the material of the construction company was completely burnt. The enemy did not react to our fire.

## SABOTAGE

In 17 sabotage operations, during October – December, 1971, our comrades destroyed 22 cars and 2 caterpillars, and killed more than 60 Portuguese soldiers in the zones of Vila Cabral, Meponda, Catur, Massangulo, Mandimba, Metangula, Lunho, Luvila, Olivença, Candulo, Mecula, Litunde, Mitende and Congerenge.

### *bridges*

Our sabotage units destroyed 3 bridges: on the 11th September, 1971, the bridge

spanning river Muazeze, which linked the posts of Oliveira and Mandalawi, was blown up. On the 25th of September, it was the bridge of Chinenje, on the road Oliveira – Massangulo. On the 10th December we destroyed completely the bridge over river Macong'onda, made of concrete, 5 Kms. from the post of Macaloge.

### *trains*

After the destruction of a train on the railway line between Nova Guarda and Catur, on the 15th September, 1971, where the locomotive and 2 wagons were blasted, our comrades organised another sabotage action on the same railway line. Thus, on the 24th of November, when a train was going from Catur to Luchimwa carrying troops and goods, it entered the mined zone. The engine and 4 wagons were blown up, and rolled a considerable distance away from the rail line. We estimate that about 20 enemy soldiers were killed and many others injured.

## AMBUSHES

19 nd 27 November, 1971: The enemy invaded the zone of Metangula. They were ambushed several times and forced to retreat without being able to launch any single action against us.

6 December: The enemy landed in the District of Mwembe. They were attacked as they landed and had to flee from our zone leaving several dead on our soil.







FRELIMO militant Conescence, whose father was murdered by the Portuguese.

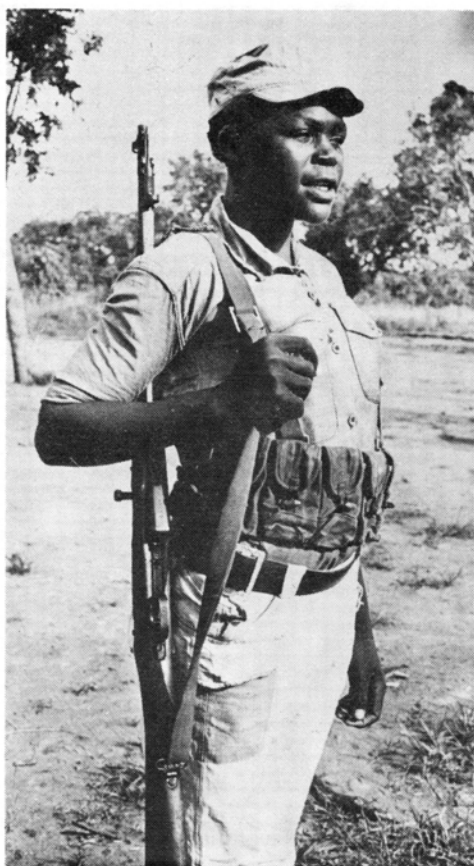
**'FRELIMO IS THE ONLY HOPE FOR PEACE IN OUR COUNTRY, FOR OUR PEOPLE'**

## **A VICTIM'S RELATIVES JOIN THE STRUGGLE**

A recent issue of Mozambique Revolution (No. 48) contained extracts from a document in which the White Fathers described atrocities carried out by the Portuguese against the Mozambican people in the Province of Tete. One of the assassinations reported by the White Fathers in the document was that of a Mozambican named Aroni, who was buried by the missionaries themselves three days after his death. To escape the massacre, Aroni's family fled into the bush and received the protection of FRELIMO. His daughter and a niece are now members of FRELIMO's Women's Detachment. Aroni had a nephew under his care and this young man had joined our ranks even before the massacres took place.

This is how Conescence, Aroni's daughter describes the assassination of her father:— «The Portuguese came to the shamba where my father was cultivating, and by the time I took notice they had encircled him. They approached my mother and me and told us: 'We are taking Aroni and he will not come back. You will never hear of him again.' They tied my father's hands and took him away in a car. My mother tried to follow on foot, but was left behind. Then she ran to the PIDE office, but they refused to let her in and she came back home.

*continued on next page*



Gloria David

«Later we learned that my father had been killed. We were told the details. The Portuguese asked him: 'Do you know why we are going to kill you?' He said he did not, and they told him: 'We are going to kill you because your son went to FRELIMO, he is a FRELIMO official. FRELIMO is killing us so we are going to kill you.' My father answered: 'You may kill me. My life is nothing -- and my son is where he must be. Yes, it is true that he went to FRELIMO.'

«The Portuguese gave my father a shovel and told him to dig a hole. He dug for a while and asked if it was enough. They told him to try to get into the hole. He got in. The Portuguese officer aimed at him but the gun got stuck. It fired on the second attempt. My father died immediately and they left him in the hole without burying him.

«My mother went to the spot later, but when she was taking the body out of the hole the Portuguese soldiers saw her. She ran away to the bush where I joined her. Then we met FRELIMO soldiers who took us to a base and took care of us. I

decided to remain at the base and join the Women's Detachment.

«My father was a peasant. He had a small plot of land, but in order to pay taxes he had to work for the Portuguese for at least three months every year.

«Besides my father, my uncle was also killed. He was beaten to death. I saw Portuguese and Rhodesian soldiers together in the massacres.

«My brother was the first of us to join FRELIMO. My father had gone to FRELIMO and told them: 'I have a son but the Portuguese will take him for the army. I want him to be in the FRELIMO army.' That was how my brother joined FRELIMO. FRELIMO is the only hope for peace in our country, for our people.»

**Gloria David**, Aroni's niece, said: I was in Rhodesia, where I had gone to visit my family. When I returned I learned that uncle had been killed, our village had been massacred and all the rest of my family was with FRELIMO. I decided then that I too would join FRELIMO and I am now proud to be a member of the Women's Detachment.»

## A PRIEST DESCRIBES PORTUGUESE BUTCHERY

A Portuguese Priest, Father Henrique Fernandes who witnessed the massacres which took place in Mukumbura in the southern region of Tete in May 1971 as a reprisal for the death of three Rhodesian soldiers wrote a letter to the Portuguese Head of State denouncing the crimes. . .

In a letter directly addressed to Premier Caetano and published in the Spanish Catholic weekly "Vida Nueva", a Portuguese priest, Father Henrique Fernandes reveals the atrocities committed over the past year in Mukumbura district, in northern Mozambique.

Still under the shock of what he has seen, the priest cites precise events and names, in order that the Portuguese propaganda response should not, yet again, be that these are "fanciful and utterly groundless accusations liable to harm the understanding between the overseas communities". It is for this reason, feeling

that it was no longer possible to be silent before the innocent victims of this shameful war, that Father Fernandes wrote directly to the Head of State. According to the facts reported, all civilians suspected of helping the FRELIMO guerrillas or of merely sympathising with the nationalist movement, are executed and thrown into hastily dug pits. Last May, 26 persons were shot. In September, 15 others were killed by Rhodesian troops called in to help the Portuguese high Command. A teacher at the Mukumburu Catholic Mission the father of three small children, was mowed down by

one of the bursts of shots fired without any warning.

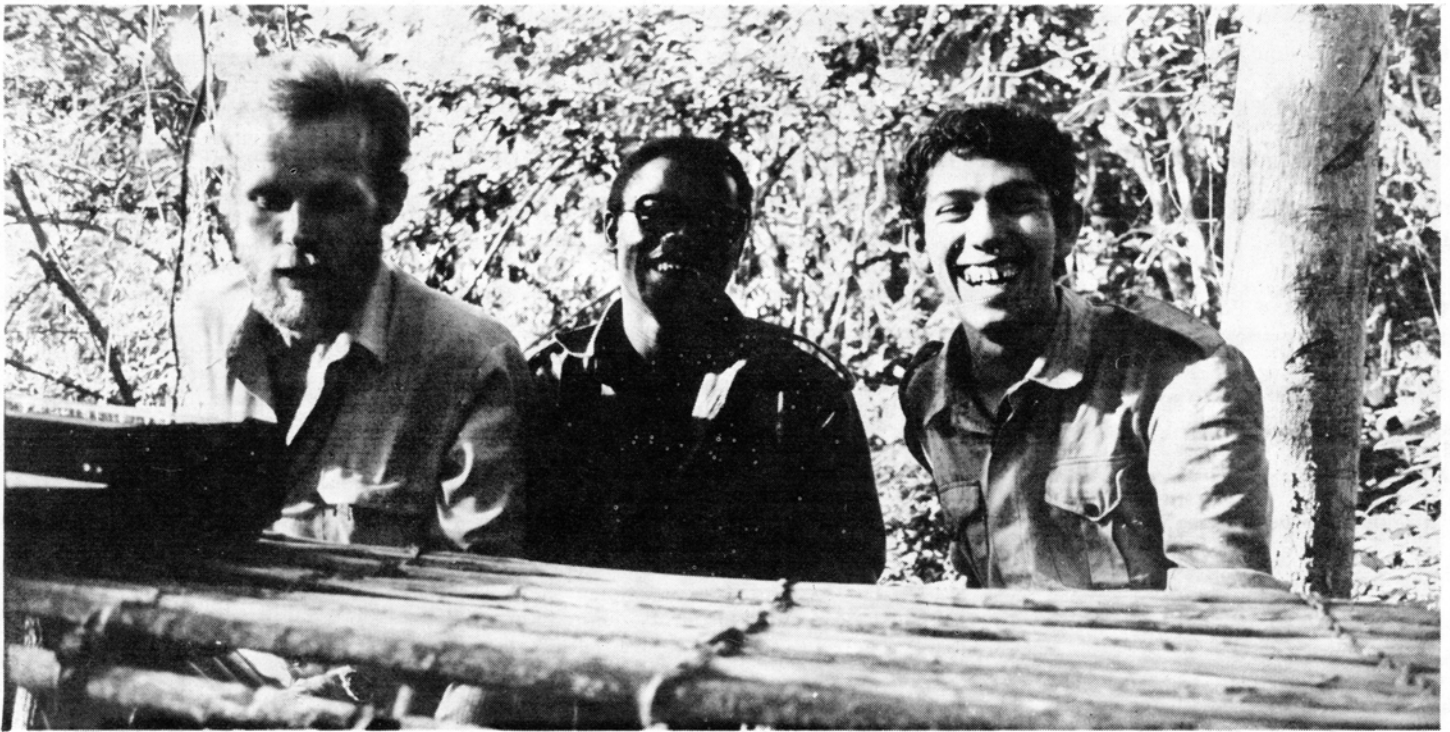
In the course of that same day numerous women as well as children were also massacred. When the butchery was finished, the soldiers made a human funeral-pyre with the bodies.

"On 10 October" continues the priest's hallucinatory account, "Portuguese commandos entered the village of Dak and massacred 19 innocents on the spot. After arresting teacher Damiano Conca, who also belonged to the local Catholic mission, they dragged him into the school and, in the presence of his pregnant

young wife and their two children, beat him for an hour and a half with pickaxe blows until all his limbs were smashed.

In November, a group of 40 commandos from the special forces transported by helicopter, were given the order to burn and kill throughout the region situated between Chinoá and Buxo. Within a few hours there were dozens of victims, among them 13 children. All the African huts were systematically burnt. In the village of Antonio, Portuguese troops put 16 women and children in a hut and they burned them alive.





## INTERVIEW WITH A PORTUGUESE PRISONER

**Q:** We are interviewing a prisoner-of-war captured by FRELIMO a little over a month ago. I will start by asking him what his name is and what his rank and what unit he was in, in the Portuguese army before he was captured.

**A:** My name is Antonio Andrade de Costa. I was conscripted into the army on the 25th January, 1971. I was operating in the town of Braga, in Portugal where I also received my training. I took my speciality in the town of Tomar. I was in the infantry.

**Q:** When did you come to Mozambique?

**A:** I left Lisbon on the 20th November 1971, by ship. I arrived in Mozambique on the 6th December.

**Q:** When were you captured by FRELIMO?

**A:** On the 23rd January, 1972.

**Q:** And where were you captured?

**A:** In the post of Anga.

*On the 23rd January, a Portuguese soldier, Antonio Andrade de Costa was made prisoner in the attack on the military camp of Anga, Cabo Delgado. Nash Basom, an American photographer who visited Cabo Delgado last month met him and interviewed him.*

**Q:** And since that time you have been in the custody of FRELIMO forces. Can you tell me how you have been treated during this time.

**A:** I have been treated very well.

**Q:** Have you any complaints about how you have been treated?

**A:** No complaints at all.

**Q:** Before you were captured were you told anything or did you have any beliefs about what would happen to you if you were captured by FRELIMO?

**A:** I did not know anything about FRELIMO. But I had been told that as a Portuguese soldier or as a policeman, I could not have any hope of survival if captured.

**Q:** So, before you were captured, when you thought about the possibility of what would happen if you were captured, what did you imagine?

**A:** I thought I would be killed.

**Q:** So you have been surprised at your treatment?

**A:** Very surprised indeed.

**Q:** What did your commanders tell you about FRELIMO's treatment of prisoners?

**A:** We were told that we should not surrender because if we did the FRELIMO men would try to get as much information out of us as possible and afterwards they would kill us.

**Q: What do you think is the reason for the war?**

A: The reason for the war in Angola, Guiné and Mozambique is the Portuguese Government. Because the Portuguese Government always says that Mozambique is Portugal.

**Q: What do the Portuguese people say about the war?**

A: The people cannot speak. And the Portuguese soldiers have to fight, are forced to fight.

**Q: You have been living with FRELIMO for a little over a month. Do you think they have the ability to win the war?**

A: I believe that Mozambique will get its independence because it has got the means for it. FRELIMO is on its own land and has got better weapons than the Portuguese government thinks.

**Q: During the time you have been a prisoner of war, have you had an opportunity to talk to some of the FRELIMO fighters?**

A: Yes. I have been talking much.

**Q: What have they told you about why they are fighting?**

A: They say they are fighting against the Portuguese government and not against the Portuguese people.

**Q: And is what you have seen any indication that what they were saying is true?**

A: Through the way they treated me, I can see that it is true.

**Q: You were captured at a place near the coast and now you are at another place, far away from the coast. This means that you have travelled through a large part of of Cabo Delgado Province. Can you tell me during that time, did you have any trouble.**

A: I was captured near the coast and I was taken on a five-day march to the Provincial Base. From the Provincial base I was taken to a village where I stayed for 15 days. From there I came to this base.

**Q: And to repeat the other part of my question – during all this marching, have you seen anything to indicate that the Portuguese are in control of the area, or is FRELIMO?**

A: From what I can see, the Portuguese do not have any control in this part of Mozambique.

**Q: Could you describe briefly the attack upon your post, during which you were captured. What happened to you and what happened to the post?**

A: The attack took place at 5.30a.m. It was a surprise attack. We were sleeping (we slept two in the same room) and were awakened by the noise of the firing – I recognised rifle-shots as well as mortars, bazookas and cannons. Some shells fell just near our house. My companion said «There they are. We have fighting». We took our G-3 guns and rushed to the shelter. There my friend said «My weapon is stuck». I answered: «Well you don't expect me to give you my gun!» He said worriedly: «I don't see any Chaganga around». I answered: «Maybe we should give ourselves up!» He replied: «You are crazy!» He ran into the house to try to repair his gun or get another one. By that time the firing was very intense around me. A mortar shell fell on my right side, and a hand-grenade was thrown on my left. I could not do anything so I stood up with my hands up. The head of FRELIMO Reconnaissance Section caught me. The Deputy Political Commissar approached and said: «Your friend was mad, we told him to come with us but he tried instead to hit me. He said he could never surrender to a black man so we had to kill him». FRELIMO men captured the weapons that were in the post – G-3, many Mausers and a machine-gun which belonged to the Administrator. They captured other material as well. I had been wounded during the fighting so I could not walk. The Deputy Political Commissar and other cadres carried me on their shoulders for a long distance. On the way, the people came to help them – everyone wanted to carry me, to help me.

**Q: How is your wound now?**

A: Only my feet are painful because of the march, otherwise I am all right.

**Q: Can you tell me something about the post where you were stationed, was it isolated or was it a trading centre?**

A: It was an advance post, there was no population around. The post was opened about a year ago and was garrisoned by a company of Portuguese soldiers. There was a cashew plantation there belonging to a landlord called Leal. But the troops destroyed the cashew trees, they even opened a big football field right in the middle of the trees. Instead of protecting they were spoiling everything. So Leal asked the authorities to send the troops away and to bring police. From that time I was there, with two other white soldiers acting as policemen and 60 black soldiers.

**Q: What became of the other soldiers?**

A: Of the two Portuguese soldiers, the younger one Carlos Silva was in the shelter firing against FRELIMO. He got shot in the head. He had been in Angola and Guiné. The older one, Eugenio Paixão, I know only what I heard, when he was told to surrender, he tried to hit the FRELIMO Political Commissar and the FRELIMO soldiers had to kill him. Many of the other black soldiers were killed or wounded, others fled to Mocimboa da Praia.

**Q: One last question – if you had an opportunity today to talk to your former comrades in the Portuguese army, what would you want to tell them?**

A: I would tell them that they are fighting against themselves. That what the Portuguese government tells are lies. I would advise them to give themselves up, because nothing of what the officers say will happen. And if they are still suffering it is because they want to. They could end their own suffering if they wanted to.

**Q: Do you expect to return to Portugal eventually?**

A: I don't know, I am in the hands of FRELIMO.

**Q: If you were eventually to return to Portugal, and your friends asked you to tell them about the war in Africa, what would you tell them?**

A: I would tell them that what the Portuguese government says is not true and the proof is that, if it was true, I would not be still alive





## FRELIMO AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council of the United Nations Organisation met in Africa for the first time in the history of the Organisation in order to deal exclusively with the problem of colonialism in our Continent.

In its intervention before the Council, FRELIMO criticised the lack of efficacy of the United Nations in such fundamental matters as the eradication of colonialism and singled out the main reasons for that inefficiency which is the attitude of the great imperialist powers such as the United States of America, France, Great Britain, and others who systematically vote with Portugal and block any decisive step that the United Nations would like to make. We also explained the actual situation of the armed struggle, the extension of the liberated areas, and the work for national reconstruction, inspite of the Portuguese terrorist activities. We explained particularly that the development of our struggle and the participation of our people dictates the recognition of FRELIMO and not Portugal as the sole legitimate representative of the Mozambican people. We also made concrete proposals in order to further isolate Portugal and increase the moral and material support to our struggle.

The meeting of the Security Council here on African soil is an event of great importance. In coming here to meet, the Security Council is declaring to the world as a whole how aware it is of the fact that the existence of colonialism and racist regimes in Africa represents a challenge to the principles of the United Nations, a political and moral anomaly which must be corrected, a crime against mankind which we all condemn and which we all wish to eradicate.

We have come here to tell you what the situation is in our country. To analyse with you the role that the United Nations has played in our struggle. To tell you our opinion of the causes of the weakness of the United Nations in the struggle against colonialism. And to ask you to take concrete measures to support our liberation struggle and to isolate colonial fascist Portugal on the international scene.

If there is anything important that we must emphasize here, it is the changes that have taken place in our country — the territory liberated, the schools and

hospitals created, the fields cultivated — all this has been the work of the people of Mozambique and of their organisation FRELIMO, supported by the Organisation of African Unity, the socialist countries and the progressive forces throughout the world, including those of the western countries.

True, the successes that we have won through the liberation struggle in our country have always enjoyed the valuable but too-far-removed moral support of the United Nations. None the less it is worth recalling this positive aspect of the action of the United Nations. After the unequivocal condemnation of colonialism in the historic Declaration of Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, of December 1960, the United Nations rejected the Portuguese fraud of «integration» of the colonies, and finally proclaimed the legitimacy of the struggle carried on by the patriots of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), and the Cape Verde Islands, and the need for all States to give them the necessary material and moral assistance in their

struggle for freedom and independence. We must, moreover, cite the condemnation of the military aid given to Portugal, whether directly or through the intermediary of NATO. We would also point to the specific and documented denunciation and the consequent condemnation of the penetration of foreign capital into the Portuguese colonies, particularly since 1965, a penetration which constitutes a form of direct and effective support to tottering Portuguese colonialism.

But in reviewing this impressive mass of decisions and resolutions, we note an equally impressive lag between the will of the international community, which has never been so clearly expressed as it is now, and the ineffectiveness of what has been done by the United Nations in the struggle against colonialism. The causes of this peculiar failure – of this passivity on the part of the United Nations – is to be found in the attitude of a certain number of reactionary Powers which are active everywhere, even here in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, where they vote against resolutions condemning colonialism by an overwhelming majority; it can also be found in our own country, where we know them by the names of companies that exploit our resources and our people through their investments, and in violation of recommendations of the United Nations: such names as Anglo-American Corporation, Bureau de recherches minières, Société nationale des pétroles d'Aquitaine, Rothschild and Sons, Barclay's Bank, Pan American Oil, Gelsenkirchner Bergwerks Aktiengesellschaft, Sumitomo, Alcan and others. We recognise them also in the labels and trademarks on weapons, airplanes, helicopters and military vehicles that we capture or destroy or shoot down in our country, such as G-3, FN, Allouette, Noratlas, Dornier, Fiat, Berliet, etc.

Here, before the Security Council, we launch an appeal to the United Nations, and to all its Members, particularly those who bear responsibility for the maintenance of colonialism in Africa, to cease their military support whether it be direct or within the framework of NATO, to put an end in their investments in our country, and to collaborate in positive action at the United Nations level.

It is not that we think such action can replace our fight, for we are fully cognizant of the fact that the primary effort must be ours, as we have already proved. But we believe that in view of the scope of the confrontation which is looming in southern Africa between the African masses fighting for their liberation and the

colonialist, fascist and racist regimes that want to perpetuate their domination and oppression, which are supported by the imperialist Powers of NATO, the international community cannot ignore its responsibilities.

Because it represents the people of Mozambique who are struggling for their liberation, because it leads the armed struggle, and because it is organising and controlling life in the liberated regions of Mozambique as an emanation of the popular will, the Mozambique Liberation Front is the only representative of the people of Mozambique. Today, we can no longer continue to consider Portugal as an administrative Power or attribute to it any degree of representativity, from the standpoint of law or of fact. Even in the region still under enemy domination, the people of Mozambique look at FRELIMO as its organisation, bringing together, therefore, the elements which are required by the classical theory of sovereignty – population, territory, organised political power. It is the Mozambique Liberation Front which stands for and represents the people of Mozambique in the international community, in the name of the right of peoples to self-determination – the true keystone to modern international law. We hope that the United Nations and the specialised agencies will know how to draw the practical material and legal conclusions from this situation.

We have already shown that it is the military, economic and diplomatic aid granted by certain Western countries to Portugal that enables it to pursue its repression against the people of Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Angola. This support seems to us today to be the primary obstacle in the path of our independence. In this connexion we ask the Security Council to find means to persuade these countries, and in particular the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Japan, to cease all forms of co-operation with Portugal which enables it or may enable it to continue the war. We ask that the decisions taken by the General Assembly on prohibiting the provision of arms destined to be used in the colonies should become obligatory, and that controls should be set up in order to verify this, particularly with respect to the arms and arsenal of NATO, whose very initials define the geographical limits of the utilisation of these weapons. We also ask that sanctions should be taken vis-à-vis Portu-

gal, because of its persistent refusal to conform to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration of Human Rights, and resolutions of the General Assembly. We ask that an immediate end should be put to all economic co-operation designed to strengthen the positions of colonialism – the most striking example of which is the Cahora Bassa project, which the General Assembly has unequivocally condemned. We ask for a clear and active position to be taken by the Security Council against the racist colonial alliance of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

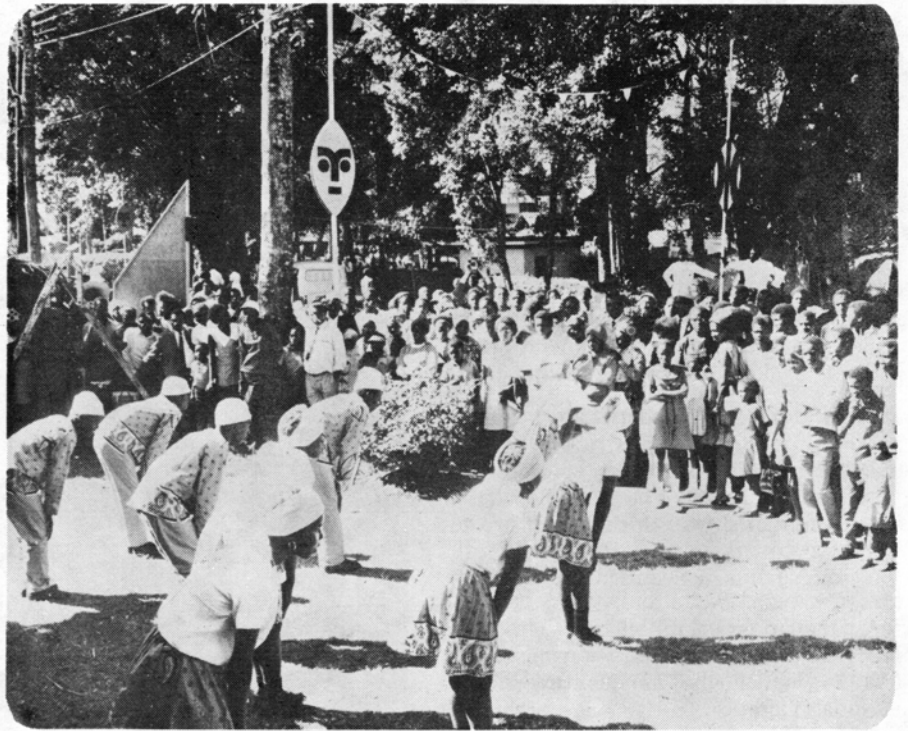
Finally, we ask that all moral and material assistance should be given to us in order to help our people and our organisation to continue the armed struggle for the complete liberation of our country, thus putting into practice the sacred principles of human dignity, and the freedom of nations, which are the irreplaceable foundation of the international community and the United Nations.

The United Nations has a special responsibility in this question of colonialism. It has declared it to be a crime against humanity. Today, in Africa and in the world there is already a whole series of countries which have assumed this role – the role of the United Nations – to ensure the defence of the peoples which are fighting against colonialism. And we want to talk here particularly about those countries which are neighbours of our countries and which are totally assuming their responsibility, their historic responsibility as a rear base of the peoples fighting against colonialism and racism. We are talking of countries such as Tanzania and Zambia, countries like the Republic of Guinea and Senegal, and the People's Republic of the Congo, which are every day the victims of Portuguese colonialist aggression, and which every day strengthen their solidarity with our peoples.

But we want to say primarily that these countries are in the process of assuming almost alone this responsibility, which is the responsibility of all mankind. We believe that it is our duty and the duty of all the Member of our World Organisation, the United Nations, to ensure all the necessary support whether it be material or moral, so that these countries can continue to carry out their historic role in the name of the United Nations which they have already undertaken, to defend peoples who have assumed a commitment to take up weapons to liberate themselves completely, and who are thus making a vast contribution to the progress of mankind.



# What is the Mozambican Culture?



Young men and women who took part in FRELIMO's Cultural Seminar dancing at the All African Trade Fair in Nairobi.

## Frelimo's first cultural seminar

A very important event in our liberation struggle was, at the beginning of this year the holding of a Cultural Seminar in one of the FRELIMO educational centres. The seminar lasted more than 3 weeks, from 30th December, 1971, to 21st January, 1972. Delegates from all educational centres in Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete participated.

The main objectives of the seminar were to make an inventory of the cultural wealth – traditional and revolutionary – of our people, and to establish rules of orientation in cultural activities. The work of the seminar centred around three basic questions: What is the Mozambican Culture? What has our expression of culture been in the past and what must be preserved from that traditional culture? How can we develop our culture?

The following commission were created:

- Commission on dance and songs
- Commission on drama and poetry

Commission on other cultural subjects.

The first commission made a selection of the FRELIMO songs and issued suggestions on the contents of new songs. It recommended also that ways must be found for the Mozambican dances to retain their local tone but remain integrated within the context of the Mozambican nation.

The commission on Drama and Poetry was entrusted with the task of studying the technical ways to present staged dramas as well as the ideas they present. Several dramas written by FRELIMO militants were discussed, namely: «Monomatapa», which tells the story of the great Empire that existed in Central Mozambique from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries; «The Teacher Who Did Not Prepare His Lessons» – a satire about irresponsible teachers who improvise their lessons in class with clear disadvantages for the students; «The Witchdoctor» – exposing the evils of superstition and the

real motivations of the witchdoctor; and «3rd of February» – presenting important moments in the life of Comrade Mondlane, the first President of FRELIMO.

The comrades of this commission also made a collection of poems written by FRELIMO militants, and gave technical orientations on how to read and write poetry.

The third commission made research on other cultural activities, namely sculpture, plastic arts, painting, drawing, journalism, legends, children's plays, photos. It also studied problems such as marriage, initiation rites, production, forms of dress, etc.

Other important topics in the discussions were the role of women in the cultural activities, and how the old people can contribute to preserve the positive aspects of the traditional culture.

In the children's camp there was an exhibition of toys made by the children themselves.

# ANGOLA'S NATIONAL DAY

## STATEMENT

On the occasion of 4th February, day of the beginning of the armed struggle in Angola.

The people of Angola, Mozambique and Guiné and Cape Verde today celebrate the 11th anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle for national liberation in Angola, against Portuguese colonialism.

This memorable date marks a new phase in the history of the struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies for their independence. The example of the MPLA militants, who in the dawn of the 4th of February, 1961, attacked the prisons of Luanda, galvanised the nationalists of Mozambique and Guiné to reinforce their political mobilisation, to develop political and military organisations and to launch the armed struggle for national liberation.

The 4th of February thus represents for all the peoples of the Portuguese colonies and for their fighting organisations — MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC, a fundamental moment in their national renaissance.

Today the armed struggle for national liberation extends to 10 out of the 16 provinces of Angola. Large regions are liberated, where the Angolan people live free from Portuguese colonial domination. Action Committees, democratically elected organs of the people's power, undertake the ruling of the population. In the Eastern Front in particular, the MPLA has achieved considerable progress, expanding the struggle towards the centre of the country.

In the course of the 11 years of struggle, the Angolan people have had to face many obstacles and difficulties, to unmask and break plots organised by imperialist reactionary forces, which were aimed at stopping the armed struggle for liberation or at depriving the Angolan people of the fruits of victory.

The correct leadership of the MPLA and the perseverance and determination of the militants and the people of Angola today force Portuguese colonialism to put itself on the defensive, confronted with the continuous development of the armed struggle for national liberation.



On the occasion of the commemoration of this historical day, we pay homage to the efforts and sacrifices of the Angolan people, which made possible the great victories achieved against Portuguese colonialism.

We encourage the Angolan people, under the leadership of the MPLA, to pursue their glorious combat for liberation of Angola and of the whole of Africa.

We appeal to the African peoples and to all peoples and forces who support the cause of freedom and national independence, to render more and more active support, in the political, national and moral plan to the heroic combat of the

Angolan people and of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

Long live the 4th of February!

Long live the liberation struggle of the Angolan people!

Long live the C.O.N.C.P.!

Long live the revolutionary unity of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and Guiné and Cape Verde!

UNITED WE SHALL WIN!

4th of February, 1972.

Samora Moises Machel  
President of FRELIMO  
President of CONCP.



***Chinese  
guests  
praise  
Frelimo's  
successes***



*On  
march  
through  
Cabo Delgado*

We have recently visited a liberated area in Mozambique at the invitation of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). We have seen with our own eyes the mental outlook of the Mozambican people, who are courageous and staunch and are persevering in struggle, and the vigorous and thriving scenes in the liberated area. We have learned much that is useful to us from the Mozambique people and their patriotic armed forces.

For three weeks in December, 1971 and January, 1972, a five-man team of journalists and cameramen from the People's Republic of China visited Mozambique, at the invitation of FRELIMO. The Chinese delegation saw many aspects of our work and had talks with our comrades, and in this way gathered material for articles and a film. Comrade Samora M. Machel, the President of FRELIMO, headed the Reception Committee which, at the Central Base in Cabo Delgado, held talks with the Chinese comrades. Their impressions:

The Mozambique people are a people with a glorious tradition of defying brute force and resisting foreign aggression. For a long time, the Portuguese colonialists have subjected the Mozambique people to ruthless rule, oppression and exploitation and brought them untold sufferings. Where there is oppression, there is resistance. Under the leadership of FRELIMO, the Mozambique people determinedly took up arms and raised the curtain on the armed struggle seven years ago. In face of the seemingly powerful enemy, the courageous Mozambique people have turned their centuries-old bitter hatred for the enemy into immense strength, and as a small and weak force, stood up to the big and strong. Through protracted, arduous and tortuous struggles they have withstood repeated enemy offensives and created many liberated areas, bringing about an excellent revolutionary situation through fighting.

Led by FRELIMO, the patriotic armed forces are now in control of a large amount of Mozambique territory and organs of state power at different levels have been or are being set up in liberated areas. Considerable progress has been



The Head of the Chinese delegation delivers a message to the Mozambican people in a mass meeting in the Provincial Base of Cabo Delgado

made in production, education and culture and public health. The people in the liberated areas are rebuilding their homeland with their own hands on the ruins of Portuguese colonialist rule. They have organised the militia and defence groups to safeguard the fruits of victory by arms.

The massive assistance to the Portuguese colonialists by NATO headed by U.S. imperialism cannot save them from defeat. The crushing of the Portuguese colonialists' large-scale military offensive in 1970 by the FRELIMO patriotic armed forces testified to the invincibility of the Mozambique people. We highly admire the the Mozambique people for their spirit of courageous struggle.

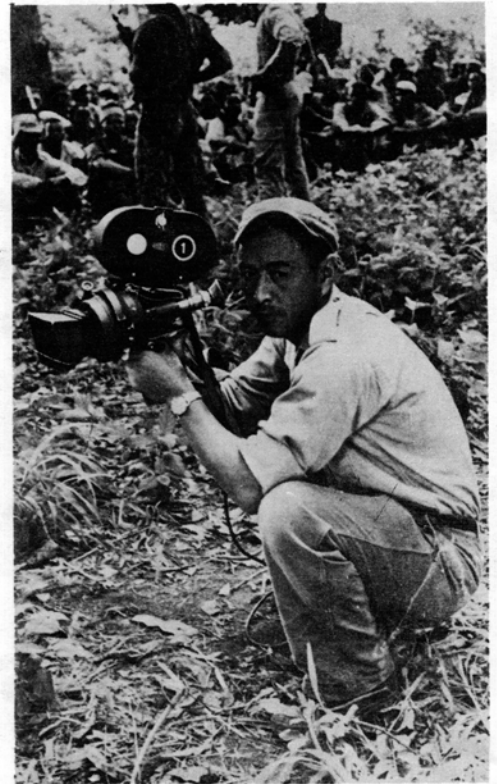
In the common cause against imperialism, the Chinese and Mozambique peoples support and encourage each other and have forged a profound militant friendship. A FRELIMO delegation led by President Samora Moises Machel made a friendly visit to China last year on invitation. During its stay in China, the delegation recounted to the Chinese people stirring exploits of the Mozambique people in persevering in armed struggle and building their liberated areas. The Chinese people were deeply impressed by all this. The heroic struggle of the Mozambique people is an enormous support to the Chinese people. To support

the Mozambique people and other oppressed nations and peoples in Africa in their struggle against imperialism is the bounden duty of the Chinese people. We regard every victory won by the Mozambique people in their struggle as our own.

During our stay in the liberated area, we were accorded cordial reception and hospitality by President Samora and other FRELIMO leaders. We were warmly welcomed by the guerrilla fighters and the masses in the liberated area. For all this we express our heartfelt thanks. We were greatly inspired by the Mozambique people's profound feelings for Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, and their deep friendship for the Chinese people.

In the world today, countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. This is an irresistible trend of history. The excellent situation in the revolutionary struggle of the Mozambique people is another vivid manifestation of this trend. We are convinced that so long as the Mozambique people really grasp their destiny in their own hands and persevere in revolutionary armed struggle, they will surely defeat the U.S. imperialist-supported Portuguese colonialists and win independence and national liberation.

Victory belongs to the heroic, fighting Mozambique people!



*The Chinese Delegation with President Samora Machel and other FRELIMO leaders in the post of Muidumbe, taken from the Portuguese last June.*



## VISITORS IN FREE MOZAMBIQUE

Having grown up a few miles from the Pentagon at the heart of western bourgeois materialist culture, there are several immediate observations which stand out as a result of my trip to Free Mozambique. Someone from another part of the world travelling with us might have singled out other aspects of what we experienced to emphasise.

One observation was the relative unimportance of material things in the personal lives of those directly involved in the struggle for independence. Personal possessions are kept at a minimum: no more than can be packed and carried away in a few minutes; the single most important possession being the one on which everything else depends, your gun. The important things are friendships, children, actions and particularly those actions directed towards the realisation of the common goal. I sensed a strong feeling of familiness between everyone I travelled with and met during my eleven days in the country.

A second observation follows directly from the first. This closeness between people includes both combatants and villagers. It is impossible to draw a line which will leave combatants on one side and villagers on the other. Many of the villagers are armed and many of the combatants come from the areas in which they live and work. While there is very definite military organisation and discipline, life in the FRELIMO camps is relaxed and the contact with the surrounding population also relaxed and productive.

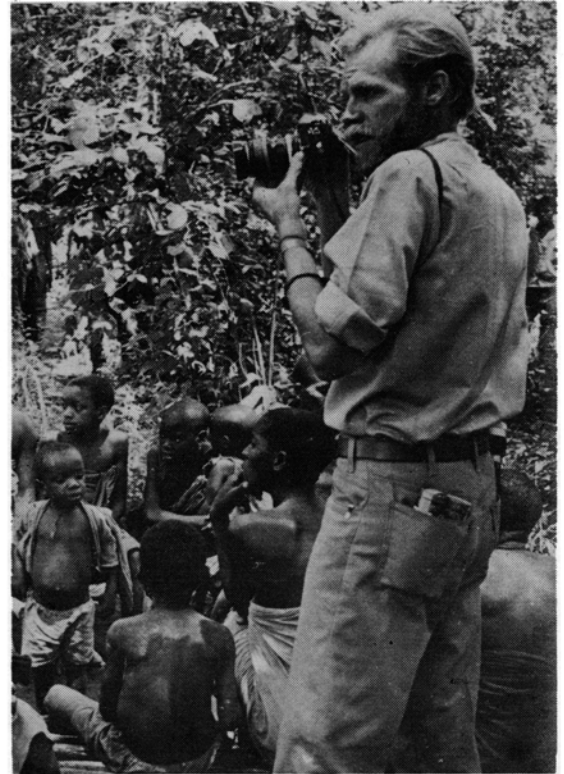
While military confrontation with the Portuguese is a major FRELIMO pre-occupation on the southern fronts of Cabo Delgado and Niassa and in Tete, it is only a small part of their work in the liberated areas. It was obvious to me that political education and organisation is well developed. Education and medical treatment, though limited, is more available than it ever was under Portuguese rule. The elimination of indigenous class structures and exploitation has progressed alongside the removal of Portuguese exploitation. Instrumental in this has been the establishment of production and marketing co-operatives. We passed many people carrying produce north to the Tanzania border for export. On their return they bring back purchased items and war material.

# 'FRELIMO AND THE PEOPLE ARE ONE'

Nash Basom, an American photo journalist working for the Church World Service of New York, who visited Cabo Delgado recently as a guest of FRELIMO in order to collect material for a book about Free Mozambique writes about his observations of life in the regions he visited.

All of this is evidence that the people are in full support of the struggle and that the FRELIMO program is committed to the establishing of a truly egalitarian society in which all have a voice and a productive role to play. There was additional evidence of the popular support which FRELIMO has earned. Water and gifts of food were offered us in many villages we passed through. The people bring unsolicited food to the camps for the combatants, which supplements the food they grow themselves. In addition to many villagers having fire arms, there are numerous small bomb shelters hidden in the woods close to village houses. The people have a militia which protects people working in the fields and carrying produce to the border.

With the support of the people, FRELIMO forces have little difficulty avoiding the occasional Portuguese raids and ambushes and in confining the Portuguese troops to their isolated posts and small enclaves. One quickly becomes used to the guns everyone carries and to the occasional small Portuguese plane searching vainly for signs of activity beneath the dense foliage. The things of primary interest remain the carrying out of daily domestic and political responsibilities. Thus, while the combatants themselves,



and the people, are well prepared to fight when necessary, their life in the liberated areas is devoted primarily to normal peacetime activities and the strengthening of social and political organisation.

During eleven days and 150 miles of walking in Free Mozambique we visited eight FRELIMO centres of various types. These included military camps, a food production camp for disabled combatants a local cell headquarters, two district headquarters which included infantry training, a school, health unit, militia division, a chapter of the Organisation of Mozambican Women, production of various articles, and care of orphans; and a large «pilot» centre which included a three-year primary school, a monthly newspaper for the region, and a medical post for the local people.

At the pilot centre we met another temporary visitor to Free Mozambique. This was a Portuguese prisoner of war captured about five weeks earlier. He has been living with FRELIMO combatants and villagers. His revised opinions of FRELIMO and the people with whom he was living were freely shared. On one thing in particular we both agreed. The final victory will certainly belong to FRELIMO and the Mozambican people.



On show in Nairobi: Some of the export crops produced in the liberated areas of Mozambique.

«FRELIMO, sisi tunautga mkono» (FRELIMO we are with you!). This is how Kenyan people and other visitors hailed the FRELIMO delegation as it passed in the closing parade of the first All Africa Trade Fair.

These calls expressed the enthusiasm of the Kenyan people and other African visitors to the Fair at the end of ten days in which they were able to learn about FRELIMO and the progress of the liberation struggle in Mozambique. They were also an expression of the profound impact the Mozambican people's struggle had made on the still fresh memories of Kenyan nationalist fighters.

That the liberation movements should have participated in the Fair might at first seem surprising. Yet it was justifiable from two points of view: because it was a way of informing people about the struggle and also because of the fact that owing to their control over large parts of these countries, they have taken over the running of the economy in those regions.

FRELIMO's participation fulfilled these two aims, showing the results achieved in the course of the armed struggle for national liberation, and at the same time describing the work done in the various spheres of national reconstruction — education and culture, health, social affairs and, especially, the economy.

## FRELIMO AT THE ALL-AFRICA FAIR

The theme chosen — Liberation and Reconstruction — was displayed in various ways at the different Fair stands.

The armed struggle was depicted through maps showing the progress of military activity, photographs of captured and destroyed military posts, captured weapons and destroyed aircraft. Most convincing was the display of aircraft and helicopter remains, radio sets, aircraft equipment and captured weapons. The visitors were therefore able to appreciate the progress of the armed struggle and the extent of development of the armed forces for liberation. They were also able to see for themselves and to judge for themselves the Portuguese colonial army's sources of supplies, the marks showing the countries of origin. There were American trade marks. A radio set from a Harvard T-6 destroyed by FRELIMO was marked U.S. property. The origin of a parachute captured by MPLA comrades was clearly shown — SWITLIK PARACHUTE CORP., NEW JERSEY, DATE OF MANUFACTURING JUNE 1965.

A door and seat from a helicopter shot down by FRELIMO in Cabo Delgado bore the label SUD Aviation, France. Great Britain, Federal Germany, Belgium and Italy also displayed their military support for Portugal with a Fiat G-91 cockpit top, 7.62 calibre NATO model FAL automatic rifles, grenades and radio transmitters and receivers.

NATO's complicity in the Portuguese colonial war, which is today the major obstacle standing in the way of our independence, was abundantly shown.

This section — Armed Struggle — was both inside and outside the Liberation Movements' stand, which was organised with the active participation of the OAU Liberation Committee. The sister organisations, the MPLA and the PAIGC, also exhibited at the same stand. Films showing various aspects of the liberation struggle were continuously screened before a densely-packed and enthusiastic public.

FRELIMO also exhibited at the Cultural and Agricultural Production stands. At

the former, Mozambican carvings bore witness to the cultural vitality of the fighting Mozambican people. These carvings, the product of a rebirth and re-examination of traditional cultural forms, illustrated the Mozambican life of today — combat and production — while also recalling still fresh memories of exploitation and colonial repression — the palmatoria and the mashila.

Agricultural produce from the liberated areas was displayed on a special stand at the Agricultural Production stand.

Samples of products from the liberated regions — cashew nuts, sesame seeds, groundnuts, tobacco, wax, castor oil seeds of various types — together with statistics on the growth of the major exports from the liberated areas, enabled the visitors to acquaint themselves with certain aspects of the economic life of free Mozambique.

However, the main feature of the FRELIMO display was the FRELIMO House.

Built out of materials brought from Mozambique and using the type of construction used in the liberated areas, this House, situated near the Liberation Movement stand attracted more than 50,000 visitors who, as they toured it were able to see various aspects of the Mozambican people's struggle. Aspects of oppression and exploitation were shown through cartoons, photographs and carvings. The display, with its accompanying texts, showed the development of the armed forces for liberation and their equipment, the participation of women and the involvement of the masses in the armed struggle. Education, health, agricultural production and handicrafts in the liberated areas illustrated either by photographs and statistical charts, or by examples of the textbooks used in our schools and in health education and production incentive campaigns.

FRELIMO militants showed all the groups of visitors around, telling them the historical background of the various features of the struggle and answering their questions. Two Mozambican sculptors worked ebony and ivory outside the FRELIMO House before a crowd of curious and interested people who came back in the evening to see the photographic slides projected onto the central facade.

The FRELIMO house was honoured by visits from illustrious guests. The President of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, made a lengthy tour of our House, listening to the explanations of the head of



The FRELIMO House was a big attraction for visitors to the Fair.

the FRELIMO delegation, Joaquim Chissano, who presented him with a parting gift of a souvenir album on the liberation struggle and records of FRELIMO songs. The encouraging words of that veteran nationalist fighter, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, expressed Kenya's unreserved support for the liberation struggle.

The Second Vice-President and Prime Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, His Excellency Rashidi Kawawa, accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, His Excellency John Malecela made one of his first visits at the Fair to the FRELIMO House, where he renewed the fighting greetings and profound solidarity which unite our two peoples.

The OAU Secretary General, His Excellency Diallo Telli, came to express the OAU General Secretariat's immense satisfaction at the great success of our display.

Among the other notable visitors were His Excellency M. Koinange, Minister of State in the Office of the President of the Republic of Kenya, His Excellency A. Jamal, Minister for Commerce and Industry of the United Republic of Tanzania, Robert Gardiner, Director of the Economic Commission for Africa, the Director of the Fair, the Vice-Minister for Agriculture of the Republic of Kenya, the heads of the delegations from Algeria, Cameroun, Madagascar. . .

The Kenyan people and other visitors from Africa and other continents participated massively in this great festival of solidarity by contributing materially to the Mozambican people's struggle. A large number of publications in English and Swahili and also writing pads — sold at support prices — were completely sold out.

Giving the most dynamic proof of the emergence of a new unitary and revolutionary Mozambican culture, a group of 30 young people coming from the schools, the health centres, the liberation army, the women's detachment, the co-operatives and the militia, these young non-professional artists presented a 35-minute programme of dances from the various regions of Mozambique and allegorical sketches on the liberation struggle. The group performed twice in the Grand Arena. During the last days of the Fair, the group performed on three more occasions outside the FRELIMO House, amidst popular enthusiasm.

Mozambique's participation in all aspects of the All Africa Fair was a great success from the point of view of informing the people. Above all, it showed the will of FRELIMO and the people of Mozambique to be present and playing their full part in the common endeavours of the African masses for their advancement and true independence.



# \$435,000,000

On 10 December, 1971, the State Department informed a scandalised general public that the previous day in Brussels it had signed an agreement with Portugal promising that country a sum exceeding \$435 million in credit, in addition to other forms of aid. This aid was allocated as follows i.a. \$400 million loan for economic and social development, \$30 million for farm commodities, and a right to draw a minimum of \$5m in non-military excess equipment, in addition to a loan of \$1 million for education and the free lease of an oceanographic ship. It was announced at the same time that the United States had been authorised to continue to use the Lajes base on Terceira Island in the Azores until February 1974.

This announcement was made on the eve of Nixon's visit to the Azores where he was to meet Pompidou after being received by Portuguese Prime Minister Marcelo Caetano. Observers were immediately struck by two factors:

The first was the unusually high amount of the promised loans which the New York Times referred to as «one of the largest assistance packages negotiated in many years in exchange for foreign base rights». The same observers stressed the considerable disparity between this and the sum paid to Spain for the renewal of the concession on the Rota base.

The second factor is the relationship that has been intentionally suggested in the mind of the public by announcing this agreement on the eve of Nixon's trip to the Azores in order to give the average man the impression that the huge loan granted to Portugal was merely the proper payment for the use of the base.

It is important to know if this is really the case, and what western strategists have been wondering is whether the Azores still play the same decisive strategic role as in the past.

## NIXON'S INVESTMENT IN PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM

The American presence in the Azores dates back to the end of the Second World War. Under the influence of the British, the Portuguese allowed the United States to use the Azores, only too happy to have the alibi of this newfound friendship with the winners of the war, in the hope that this would make people forget the too overt sympathy that they had previously shown for the Axis Powers. In 1951, the first formal agreement was signed under which the United States, within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty, had the right to use the base in time of war. In time of peace the right to station troops there and to use the base is dependent on treaties which are renewable every five years.

The strategic importance of the base, in which the US invested \$100 million between 1951 and 1957, was not questioned until mid-1960. It figured greatly in the shaping of Kennedy's policy towards Portugal, of which we shall speak later. The Berlin crisis and the threat of a sudden aggravation of East-West relations in Europe helped Portugal to retain an effective weapon for bringing pressure to bear on the United States and to ensure

itself of that country's decisive backing in getting NATO's blessing for the colonial wars and, therefore, military support.

The treaty for the lease of the Azores was renewed for five years in November 1957. Negotiations were started again in 1962, on the expiry of this new period, in the tense climate created by the Kennedy Administration's attitude at the United Nations. Finally, on 3 January, 1963, a temporary agreement was reached. A \$50 million loan was granted by the American Export-Import Bank, an agreement for the 50-50 financing of a warship was extended to three ships representing \$15 million in additional aid and 30 T-37 C fighter planes were supplied. Portugal, however, retained the right to revoke the agreement on the Azores at six month's notice.

However, profound changes occurred in world strategic concepts owing to the development of intercontinental ballistic missiles and especially, as regards limited wars, the appearance of long-range aircraft and nuclear submarines. The «world's biggest gasoline station» as the Azores have been called became a secondary factor in American strategy and western strategy as a whole. This was widely recognised by experts well before the signing of the last agreement. For more than three years a substantial number of experts who have analysed this problem have noted the considerable lessening of the strategic importance of the Azores and have urged the White House not to be guided by the need to keep the Azores. State Department officials have even hinted that the US was not prepared to pay too high a price for the Lajes base.

One might therefore wonder why President Nixon decided to step up negotiations on the renewal of agreements which had been dragging on since 1969 and, to this end, to send his Vice-President to Portugal on his return from where he pleaded the Portuguese cause.

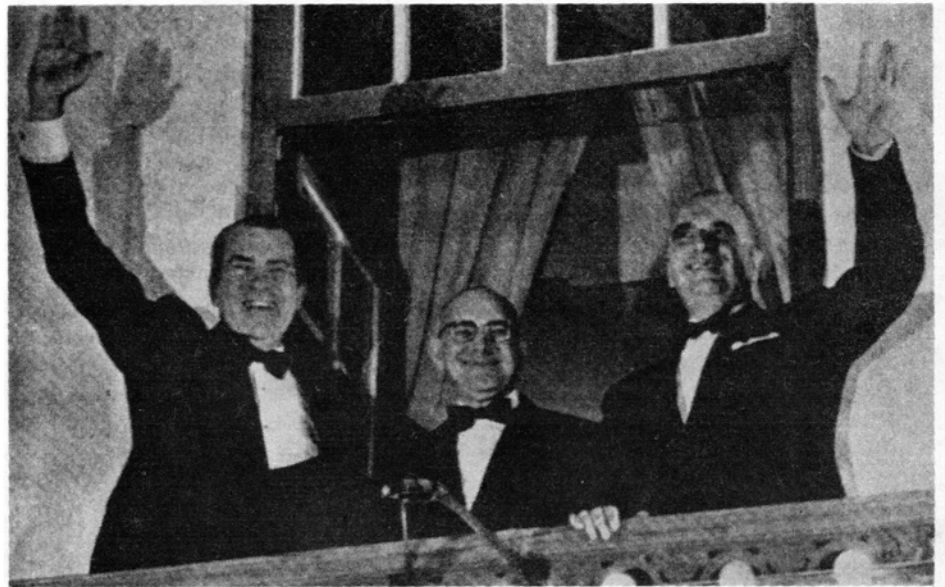
The only way to find a clear answer to this question is to try to review, although briefly, the history of the relations between the United States and Portugal following the Second World War.

Portugal which during the second phase of the war, had cleverly used the cover of neutrality in manoeuvring to reconcile its pro-Nazi stand with the Realpolitik of good relations with the Allies, found itself, because of the Azores, suddenly an eligible partner for the western world. Although Portugal's pro-German stand during the war and the dictatorial fascist nature of its internal policy initially worked against a close alliance with an America which had emerged from the war with a spotless liberal halo which it wanted at all costs to retain, the subsequent hysterical cold war climate featuring the anti-communism so dear to Portugal very soon dispelled all objections.

The additional fact that fascist and colonialist as it was, Portugal was still a virtually unknown country to most people, made it easier for it to join NATO as a founding member while the US made it a point of honour to refuse Spain's entry. The situation was such that the only reservations expressed came from Portugal itself. Salazar stated clearly that he was joining NATO because he saw in it an essential instrument in the fight against communism even if he did not subscribe to other aspects of that organisation's foggy ideology, namely its liberal statements of principle. «The description of this ideology is very unfortunate, . . . and contains many imperious and futile statements. . . we shall abide by the obligation and general measures. . . of the treaty but not its doctrine. . .»

US-Portuguese relations subsequently developed considerably from the point of view of supplies and military technical assistance within the framework of NATO as well as a series of bilateral agreements on military assistance.

From 1949 to 1961, Portugal received assistance under these Treaties amounting to \$ 370 million, \$ 290 million of which was earmarked for military assistance. A 25-man permanent advisory mission (M. A.A.G.) has since been working in Portugal.



The equipment supplied to Portugal includes F-84G and F-86F fighter planes, a large number of Harvard T-6 G's, TMK-3's — many of which, marked US Property, have been shot down by FRELIMO fighters in Mozambique — Lockheed PV-2 Harpoons, transport planes mainly C47 S's, and others. Escorts, minesweepers, patrol boats and a frigate, as well as two others granted on a lease basis. There were also M.41, M.47 and M.4 tanks and M.16 half track armoured personnel carriers.

It is not a question here of listing all these supplies — which has in any case already been done in a previous issue of this bulletin — but of pointing out that most of these aircraft and equipment, as well as the napalm cannisters marked PRO-PERTY OF US AIRFORCE, have been seen in the Portuguese colonies by observers from many countries, some from America itself.

Even more serious, a recent report pointed out that the US sold four times more herbicides to Portugal in the first eleven months of 1970 than they did in the whole of 1969. This was at the very moment when the liberation movements were accusing Portugal of using toxic weapons against their peoples and providing supporting evidence.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese Forces in Mozambique, General Kaulza de Arriaga followed a training course and held discussions with General Westmoreland of the US just before the

launching of the big Gordian Knot offensive which, in its style, size — and even its failure! — was a carbon copy of Westmoreland's mammoth operations in Vietnam.

Portuguese officers have been given counter-insurgency training at the US main centre for counter-insurgency at Fort Bragg, as the Pentagon itself has admitted. There exists detailed evidence on the American counter-insurgency instructors who have learned Portuguese before being transferred to Portugal. Prisoners and deserters from the Portuguese commandos have confirmed that this type of assistance has been given. But in addition to this open official aid, it is necessary to mention the clandestine aid given through CIA channels or by private operators when commitments made by the Government in international organisations make discretion necessary. The characteristic of this type of aid is that its existence is only officially recognised when an accident occurs in the carrying out of operations.

This was the case with the supply of 20 B-26's organised by the CIA in 1969, which ended in a scandal when one of the planes inadvertently overflew forbidden airspace above the White House. There has also been the recent case of a Canadian expert based in Detroit who, between December 1968 and June 1969, supplied machine gun ammunition chutes, prismatic vision blocks and military automotive differentials to be used in armoured cars and tanks.

In the field of intelligence, apart from the close fundamental links between the CIA and PIDE, it was recently learned that there were CIA agents with General Kaulza de Arriaga in Mozambique for training «special forces». All the treaties and agreements on military assistance confirmed the use of American weapons to the North Atlantic Area, despite the attempts Portugal had already made at the time of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty to have it extended to the colonies. However, the violations of this agreement, which have been acknowledged both by the US House of Representatives and the State Department itself, have not stopped this military assistance. This is not surprising if one recalls that Art. II of the U.S. Treaty on military Assistance agrees to facilitate the production and transfer to the Government of the United States of raw materials and semi-manufactures required by the US and which can be obtained in Portugal or in the territories under its administration. It can be said that even when it comes to the official written word, the US is innocent of colonialism. This is a most important factor which makes it possible to follow the thread of American policy through the years.

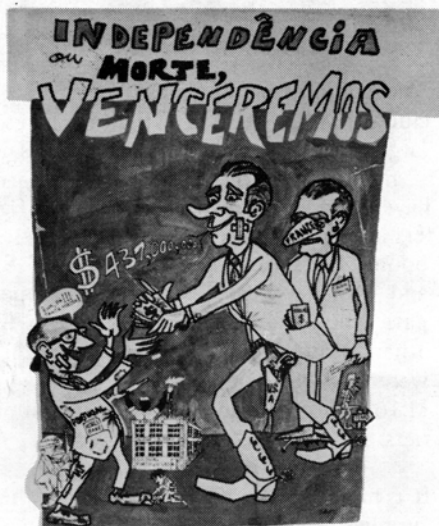
In March 1961, when the US voted for a United Nations resolution openly criticizing Portugal for its repression in Angola, relations between the US and Portugal became somewhat strained. The repression unleashed by the Portuguese colonial army in Angola had shocked world opinion and the Kennedy Administration, which wanted to give an apparent «new look» to its African policy, had to subscribe to the universal condemnation. It is interesting to recall that only a year earlier the United States had voted with Portugal to try to prevent the Portuguese colonies from being included on the list of non-autonomous territories which the United Nations was drawing up.

This position was also dictated by consideration of an economic nature. The independence of Angola and other Portuguese colonies, particularly of Mozambique, a reservoir of considerable resources, would inevitably remove the obstacles to the direct penetration of US capitalism to exploit the wealth which had up to then been the preserve of the Portuguese and their traditional allies, like the British.

The American position was therefore determined by both political and economic factors and the Portuguese response took into account the same factors.

Politically, they played the card of the Azores, for which the lease was about to expire. Salazar flatly stated on a number of occasions that Portugal was not prepared to comply with the European needs of the Free World in Africa.

Meanwhile, such leading figures in the United States as former Secretary of State Dean Acheson pleaded Portugal's case. And this pressure proved effective in only a few months.



But it was Portugal's economic response which, although slower, has doubtless more profoundly influenced American policy making over the past years. With the introduction, in 1965, of decree No. 46, 312, Portugal utterly changed its colonial economic policy, opening wide the doors to western investment in the colonies. Seeking to dispel the fears and discontent this aroused among traditionalist Portuguese capitalists, Franco Nogueira, then Portuguese Foreign Minister, gave what is still the best explanation of this total economic turnabout when he said that it was «to make the governments to which this capital belongs more closely associated with our remaining in Africa».

This new situation facilitated American capital penetration in the colonies. Each specialised economic journal or UN report which comes out provides new evidence of increased American economic involvement in Angola and Mozambique, parti-

cularly in the fields of hydrocarbons, mineral prospecting and construction. The United States was therefore able to catch up in only a few years and by 1970 it was the third biggest investor in the Portuguese colonies.

In this same connection, a partial explanation for the Azores agreement can be deduced from the Anglo-Portuguese Chamber of Commerce's very swift reaction to the signing of the agreement and the announcement of the size of the loans which are felt to threaten the predominant position Great Britain has held in Portuguese trade since the end of the 18th century. The British Ambassador in Lisbon hastened to state that: «The simple answer is that the UK authorities and institutions were and are both willing and ready to provide facilities like those provided for the US Export-Import Bank».

Moreover, the signing of this agreement cannot be dissociated from the Nixon administration's African policy, as outlined in the 1971 «State of the World Message», which condemned the white minority regimes, but no less firmly rejected any solution that called for violence or even pressures in that region of Southern Africa. The total lack of concern on the part of the United States as to what the international community, or even those African countries which are its friends, might think, has been shown by the fact that no attempt at verbal explanation has been made, not even what one American Congressman has referred to as «blatant hypocrisy». At the Addis Ababa meeting of the Security Council the American delegate merely repeated over and over again like cracked record, and against all the evidence to the contrary, that the United States could support only «peaceful change», while the representatives of the fighting peoples gave that very same meeting irrefutable proof of the intransigence of colonialist barbarism.

US support for Portugal must be seen within the context of preventing any change in the *status quo* in Africa. This is partly due to the fact that the independence of Angola and Mozambique would completely change the whole situation in Southern Africa, but also because the Portuguese colonies in Africa are considered, together with South Africa, to be



the guardians of the Cape route. Mozambique's importance to western plans is also heightened by western strategy in the Indian Ocean. In 1970, David Moore, American Under Secretary of State for African Affairs, visited Mozambique, and observers linked this visit with what was held to be the American Government's intention to use the bay of Porto Amélia in Northern Mozambique, one of the biggest in the world, to harbour the 7th US fleet in the event of war, and at no great cost.

It is also necessary to emphasise the type of aid the United States has promised to grant Portugal. In the hope of forestalling all public criticism, the Nixon government has been careful to stress the «non-military» nature of this aid. And is this really clear? The aid has been allocated for development schemes which range from town planning to the construction of airports, highways, bridges, hospitals and schools. A 30-million dollar loan has been earmarked for the supply of farm commodities. At first glance this might appear to be «peaceful» aid. All that is missing are medicines. However, one must take into account the fact that roads, bridges, irrigation schemes and agricultural development, to say nothing of airports, are all used by Portugal in its military strategy. Cahora Bassa is a good example of this. A not so well known example is road construction, which is one of the things on which Portuguese strategy in Mozambique hinges today. There is approximately 375-million dollar plan to provide Mozambique with 7,000 miles of tarred roads in the illusory hope of preventing the FRELIMO fighters from laying mines. It is interesting to note that a significant number of American firms have already tendered for the contract, when it is known that the first phase of the road programme will cost



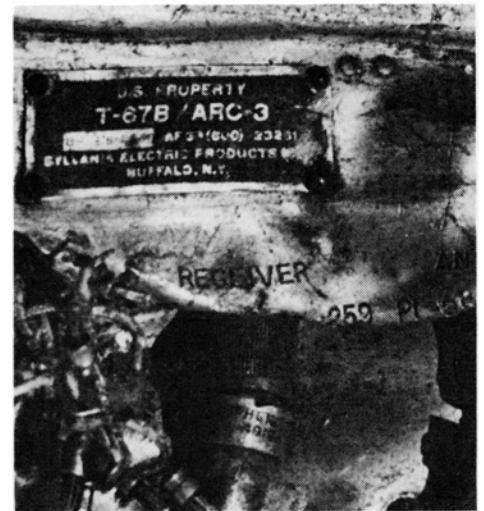
some 40 million dollars, 40 per cent of which must be financed by external sources.

It might of course be claimed that these loans are intended for use in Portugal and not in the colonies. But experience has already shown the value of such clauses. Furthermore, if aircraft, frigates and cannon which are not supposed to leave Portugal are used in the colonies, how can one validly speak of preventing Portugal from sending bulldozers from Portugal to Mozambique?

Whatever formula the Nixon government chooses for coming to Portugal's aid and openly associating its country with the maintaining of colonialism in Africa, nobody can be deceived. American politicians such as Republican Senator, Clifford Case considered that the US grant would lighten the burden of Portugal in the colonial wars and was in contradiction with the US proclaimed policy of self-determination. Mr. Diggs, the Republican Black Congressman was explicit when he said on resigning from the US delegation to the U.N. the day after the agreement was signed, that it represented «a new commitment of this Government to actively assist Portugal in waging war against Black people».

An article which appeared in «Mozambique Revolution» just less than a year ago analysing the attitude of certain western powers stated that «the growth of the struggle in the Portuguese colonies was not only to be judged by the advance of the military front lines, the increased offensives and the expansion of the liberated areas. It can also be seen from the growing involvement and commitment of the forces outside — both reactionary forces, who are rapidly closing their ranks, and also progressive forces who are increasing their support and solidarity in countries where only a few years ago ours was described as a 'forgotten war'.

Mr. Nixon is confirming our prediction. But at the same time an increasingly vigilant American public opinion is getting organised and will eventually frustrate this immoral alliance with the most reactionary form of colonialism. Indeed, it would appear that the conclusion and timing of the agreement have been presented in such a way as to seek to justify the obscure but still sacrosanct require-



ments of national defence, precisely because US public opinion is becoming increasingly exacting. Only a few days ago it was reported that the Council of the City of Dayton had rejected a very favourable bid of gasoline from the Gulf Oil Co. and had accepted that of another company at a much higher price, because Gulf was involved in exploitation and colonial oppression in Angola and Mozambique. Ever more American citizens, cultural and religious personalities, youth organisations and political bodies are increasingly forcibly protesting against the official policy of supporting reaction throughout the world.

In a strongly-worded commentary on the agreement, the New York Times expressed the hope that «in toasting the agreement with the head of a Portuguese government guilty of repression and censorship at home and old-fashioned colonialism in Africa, perhaps Mr. Nixon will refrain from the pretense that the pact has anything to do with defence of the 'free world'».

Judging by the photographs of the meeting, the exuberant smiles of the protagonists suggest that the identity of views and the closeness were such that mere hints were sufficient for understanding without any need for lengthy and necessary explanations.

A jubilant Caetano summed up the situation very ably when he said on his return to Lisbon: «We are helping the United States to the best of our means and it is right that the United States should help us to the best of theirs.»



*frelimo  
itashinda*

*frelimo vencerá*



فريليمو ستنتصر

*frelimo will win*



*frelimo vaincra*