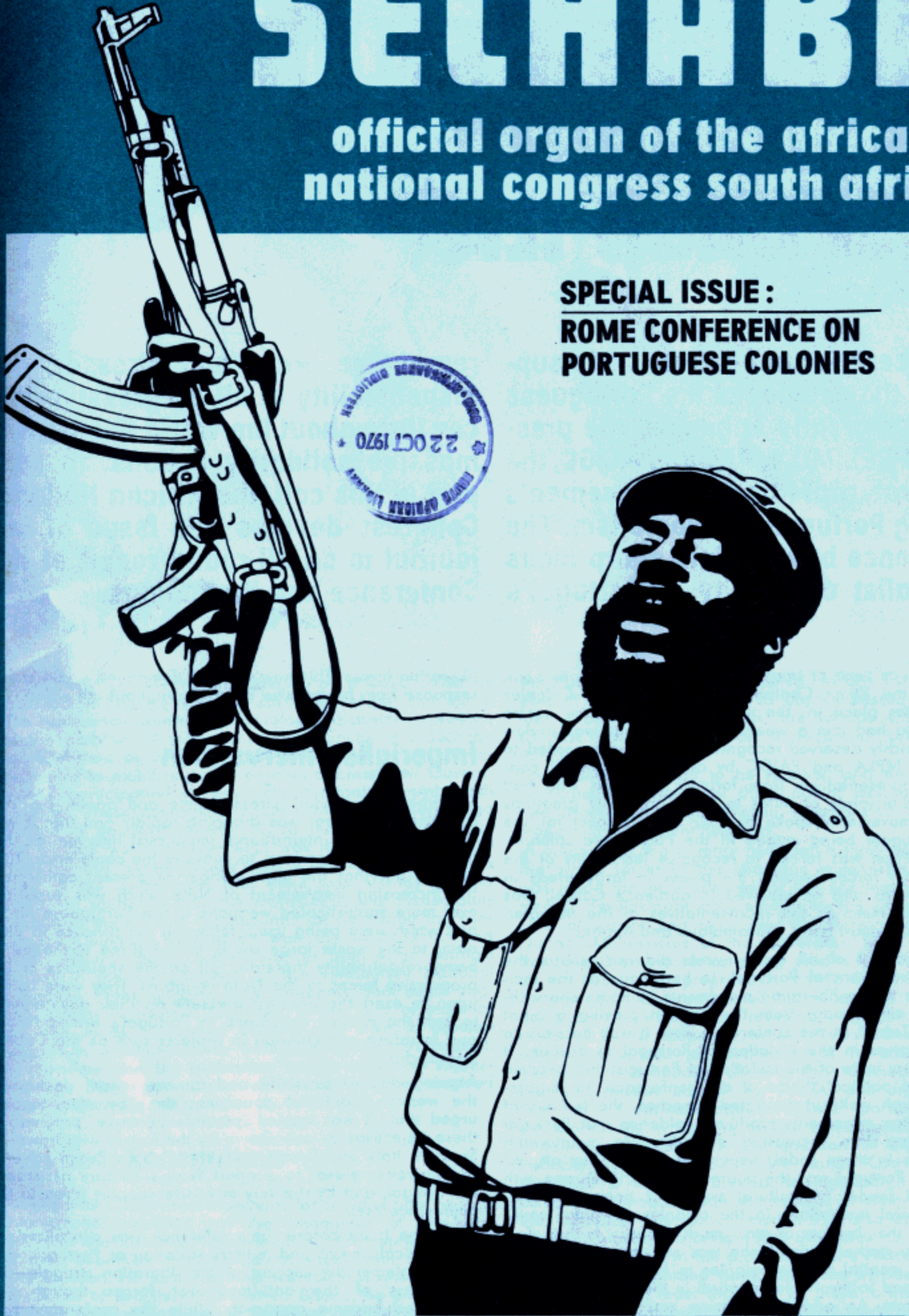


SECHABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa

SPECIAL ISSUE:
**ROME CONFERENCE ON
PORTUGUESE COLONIES**



AGAINST PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM- AN INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

The recent Rome Conference in support of the peoples of the Portuguese Colonies greatly enhanced the prestige of FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC, the three fraternal liberation movements fighting Portuguese Colonialism. The Conference brought into sharp focus imperialist complicity in Portugal's

repressive wars and stressed the responsibility of all progressive forces throughout the world to mobilize massive solidarity actions. In support of this call, the African National Congress devotes this issue of our journal to an all-round report of the Conference and its findings.

It was a nice twist of irony, as Cabral was quick to point out, that the Rome Conference on Portuguese Colonies should take place in the very same conference centre where Nato had met a week previously. Thus was underlined the richly deserved recognition that was accorded to FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC by delegates from all continents. Representatives from forty-six countries who had travelled thousands of miles to bring solidarity greetings to these movements spoke of their deep respect for the armed struggle being waged in the Portuguese colonies. Even the Pope was forced to recognise the reality of the revolutionary forces holding the power in large areas in these colonies and he received in audience Cabral, Dos Santos and Neto as the representatives of the liberated people of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola.

The significance of all these events did not escape the Fascist government of Portugal. In her pique at the facilities given to the liberation movements in Rome she withdrew her ambassador from the Vatican proving a point made by Cabral at the conference, that it was possible to make progress in the isolation of Portugal in Europe. It was this very issue of the isolation of Portugal that became the central political theme of the conference. In impassioned though well substantiated speeches, the leaders of the liberation movements produced evidence that Portugal was running into increasing difficulties in maintaining costly wars in three widely separated areas. They argued that since Portugal was the poorest country in Europe with a crippled feudal agricultural system at home and outworn colonial institutions in the colonies, Portugal could not carry the burden of war much longer. In her desperation to gather support she was seeking international investment capital for the colonies to boost the economic life there and to involve imperialism in the defence of their new interests. An added dimension was therefore being introduced into the wars in the Portuguese colonies by the internationalisation of the interests seeking to crush the

liberation forces. This new element demanded an adequate response from progressive forces throughout the world.

Imperialist Intervention

The liberation leaders stressed time and again, that the character of the war was changing rapidly and that it was the escalation of international imperialist intervention that had induced the sponsors to convene the conference. They pointed out that the main danger at present came from the increasing involvement of Nato which was supplying ever more sophisticated weapons to the Portuguese forces and which were being used, following the practice in Vietnam, to lay waste large areas in the three territories. A heavy responsibility therefore fell on the shoulders of the progressive forces in the Nato countries. They were called upon to exert the greatest pressure on their governments to halt the military assistance to Portugal's armed forces, and to refuse participation in projects such as the Cabora Bassa scheme.

Arguing against passivity, and for an activist posture in the western capitalist countries, the liberation leaders urged that it was indeed possible to make progress in these objectives as was shown by the formal withdrawal of Sweden, Italy and Britain from the Cabora Bassa scheme, by Norway's refusal to support Nato's military assistance to Portugal, and by the very extensive support given to the conference itself.

Once the issue before the conference was crystalized as the political, moral and military isolation of Portugal, and the complementary support of the liberation struggle, the diffuseness of the anti-imperialist forces though not mentioned became apparent. While the conference was marked by a sense of unanimity, it was also obvious that what is lacking is an active concerted broad anti-



imperialist front which could take up on a world scale the isolation of Portugal and the strangling of her war effort. The conference nevertheless developed a positive approach to the problem of solidarity actions. Speakers urged the establishment of large national committees in all capitalist states to mobilize public opinion against their Government's participation in any collaborationist activity with Portugal. These committees could draw on the very large degree of goodwill towards Africa that already exists in the western world, though what was now required was to translate this 'sentimentality' into a concrete force for the aims of the conference. That there was already a solid basis for solidarity with the movements was immediately evident in the working commissions set up during the conference. Delegates from Africa, from the Soviet Union and other Socialist states, representatives from large political parties in the west, leaders of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front, mingled with delegates from small support groups in western countries. In the field of material aid, the words of western activists who wish to develop support in a practical way were listened to with respect. At the same time, the spokesmen for the movement expressed their deep appreciation for the vast aid they received from the Socialist countries.

Juridical Recognition

An important issue raised perhaps for the first time at such international meetings was the recognition of the legal status of the liberation movements as the representatives of their countries. Amilcar Cabral spoke with feeling on this question. He said that whereas Portugal was no longer in control of two thirds of Guinea Bissau, he and his colleagues were still obliged to travel on a document of another country. He revealed that while criminals and drug smugglers could enter France freely, he and his comrades

were unable to do so. The United Nations itself was culpable in that while some of its organs passed pious resolutions about decolonization, the various U.N. agencies did not give aid to the de facto power controlling the liberated areas.

These anomalies had to be rectified and the conference consequently urged that the juridical recognition of the free peoples in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique was a just and urgent necessity.

In addition to the primary need for military equipment for the armed forces of the liberation movements, an appeal was made for increased aid for the exciting and experimental development programmes in the liberated areas. This call was backed up by most impressive visual evidence. During the recesses of the conference films were shown from the three territories giving proof of the claims made of the substantial progress in the fields of health, education, agriculture and small industries. For many of the delegates the films were a revelation, and the Foreign Minister of Sierra Leone for instance was frank enough to admit that he had not been aware of the achievements in this work in a country close to his, Guinea-Bissau. He promised greater support for PAIGC and urged strongly that other African states should participate more enthusiastically in backing up the anti-colonialist struggle. Other speakers took up the question of the paucity of publicity. Romana Ledda of the Italian Communist Party proposed a massive propaganda campaign throughout Europe to break through the curtain of silence drawn by the capitalist information media. He also spoke of the need to overcome a certain lack of interest to be found in the European Left in the problems of the African liberation movements. Supporting views expressed by other speakers, he urged that a mass character be given to the campaigns of European solidarity with the active participation of all political tendencies and groups.

(Contd. overleaf)

SPEECH OF MARCE- LINO DOS SANTOS

PRESIDENT OF CONCP
(Conference of Nationalist
Organisation of Portuguese
Colonies
AND VICE-PRESIDENT
OF FRELIMO

(edited English translation)

We thank you for the strong evidence of solidarity which you bring to our people in the struggle.

We are happy to be with you in the struggle for the freedom of our people and for humanity at large.

We address to the Italian promoting committee our warmest thanks for being host to this meeting. And we address, through you, to the Italian Government our thanks that the voice of anti-colonialist justice may be heard here in Italy.



Photo Jeffrey Blankfort

Continued from Page 3

South Africa's Looming Presence

From South Africa, Tennyson Makiwane, speaking for the African National Congress sharpened the focus of an issue raised by many delegates, the looming presence of South Africa in the subcontinent. He developed the theme of the close liaison between the South African and Portuguese regimes and urged the ever closer cooperation between the liberation movements in Southern Africa. He also warned that British strategic studies indicated a greater commitment to support for South Africa and that the arms to be supplied to the Vorster regime will also be

used against the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. What then are the achievements of this conference? To what purpose did delegates from so many countries, from Vietnam, from Cambodia, from the battlefield in Angola, from the centres of struggle in the United States and South America, come to Rome?

First and foremost, they came to pay tribute to the gallant forces of the anti Portuguese liberation forces in Africa. They came to give that recognition that is denied to them by the major capitalist powers who instead feed napalm into the destructive cannon of the Portuguese aircraft.

Second, they came to hear reports from the leaders of these movements on the progress of the wars of national liberation which give a special element to the African Re-

We also thank the promoting committee, the World Peace Council and the Afro Asian Solidarity Committee for making this meeting possible.

Portuguese colonisation, established by force, and maintained by force is today declining. We learned early on that all peaceful solutions of our problems were blocked and that only armed action could lead to freedom. On 4th February 1961 the militants of MPLA initiated the irreversible process of armed struggle. On 3rd August 1963 and 21st September 1964 the PAIGC and FRELIMO respectively committed the people of Guinea and Mozambique to armed action for national freedom. The CONCP established in 1961 established the unity of struggle between our three peoples and gave us the framework for our solidarity.

During the first decade we gained considerable victories and we have conquered vast regions enabling us to undertake the tasks of national reconstruction, the building of new structures and powers. Many friends here have visited our areas to see what we have achieved.

Some people speak of Portuguese colonisation which oppresses some 50 million of our people in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea and refer to an anachronism stemming from the stubbornness of an old dictatorship with outdated ideas. But Portuguese Colonialism also corresponds to certain structural requirements both of the governing Portuguese class and the forces supporting them at the international level. We are therefore concerned not with a metaphysical idea but by precise material interests. Portugal is one of the few European countries where the structure of land ownership remains mainly feudal. The 500 largest landowners have more land than the 500,000 of the smallest farmers. This reveals the drama of the Portuguese peasantry. There is therefore a great underdevelopment of the Portuguese countryside. The colonies are therefore a solution of Portugal's agriculture and of unemployment. This is why Portugal wants to settle a million people in the Caborra Bassa scheme. The colonies are a source of cheap raw material and a guaranteed market for its products. For instance the cultivation of cotton was forced upon the people of Angola and Mozambique for Portugal's use. The price given to the peasants was 1/4 of that for Portuguese

industry and 1/6th of the price on the international market.

The Portuguese textile industry like that of sugar and vegetable oils received 80% of their raw materials from the colonies.

At this time when Caetano is trying to modernize Portugal's industrial structures the financial support of the colonies is becoming increasingly indispensable. Particularly important is the export of Mozambique workers to South Africa and Rhodesia. This is a form of trade of slaves. Historically, Mozambique has been a supplier of labour. In the gold mines of South Africa the very low cost of manpower enables low grade ores to continue to be exploited. This is the basis of their success, resting to a considerable extent on labour from Mozambique and Angola.

The economic interconnection between our country and South Africa has led that Government to express its intention to intervene in Mozambique. In fact military intervention has already taken place.

But it is not only South Africa which is involved. Most of Portuguese armaments comes from abroad — from Britain, West Germany, France and the United States. They have also been responsible for the economic domination of our country. That Portugal is able to maintain a military force of 150,000 and operate on three fronts for more than 10 years, and that Portugal can spend 2 million dollars per day shows how important is the support Portugal receives from certain European countries and the United States.

Internationalised War

It is absurd to think of this as a Portuguese war alone.

The Portuguese are now finding themselves on the defensive and as a consequence they are in the process of internationalizing the conflict. Portugal has tried to obtain non Portuguese capital to participate in the exploitation so that other states will commit themselves to the war. They also try to create pressure groups in other countries to press for support and aid in all forms.

The growing importance of non Portuguese participation has changed the character

of the war into an international aggression and escalation.

In many important circles of Nato, the U.S., Britain, West Germany and France, there are voices to be heard asking for the creation of a new military pact under the cover of a Soviet or Chinese threat against the Cape Route."

Marcelino dos Santos then turned to the internal situation. Describing the life of the peasants under a repressive colonial administration he said. "This structure will be destroyed within the framework of the armed struggle. Once the old military structure is destroyed it will no longer be possible to maintain the old system. In Angola, Guinea and Mozambique a new form of economic and social organisation is being developed which replaces the foreign structures built up in our countries. We are creating a new popular order which is revolutionary and which has the support of the masses of the people. We also seek to overcome the ethnic, linguistic and other divisions among our people and above all to draw the correct line of demarcation between us and the enemy. We have to choose the correct instrument of mobilization and that can only be the masses. Today our struggle begins to yield the first fruits in the destruction of the formerly dominating colonial structures. We now have some of the elements for the organisation of our own power structures. In Guinea for instance Portuguese sovereignty has become a legal fiction. In Angola and Mozambique the situation is similar, and the organisation of economic life is now our own responsibility.

This is why solidarity now becomes of great importance. We require certain international solutions in support of our movements.

We want to address ourselves to our friends in the ANC and ZAPU which are fighting under the most difficult conditions. We express our solidarity and support to them and we hope that their struggle will lead to victory."

Dos Santos then went on to greet the other Liberation movements present at the conference and to express appreciation to the African states contiguous to the Portuguese colonies for their sacrifices and to other states in Africa.

(His speech was accorded loud and long applause)

revolution in these countries. They also came to acquaint themselves with the very substantial progress in national construction that is built-in to the liberation struggle and which guarantee that these struggles will not lead to a mere "raising of a flag and a singing of an anthem". Third, they came to inform the liberation movements and their friends what each organisation could produce in material aid, and how they would go about mobilizing support for the political, moral and military isolation of Portugal.

Finally, they came to identify themselves with the anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. There can no longer be any doubt about the special significance of the liberation struggles now raging in Africa. Just as Vietnam

heightened international awareness of the crimes of U.S. imperialism, so Portugal's war of repression in Africa has begun to open up a new area for a counter-attack against imperialist complicity in holding back the march of African people to freedom.

Concerted action against imperialist interventionism in Africa, as in the Middle East or Asia, must be given maximum attention by progressive forces everywhere.

We also demand the final rejection of all phoney 'liberation movements', the recognition of the genuine movements, even by the U.N., the fullest support for these movements, and most important of all, a massive international campaign which can bring into common action all anti-imperialist forces.

SPEECH BY AMILCAR CABRAL

PRESIDENT OF PAIGC ON THE OPENING DAY OF THE CONFERENCE

(edited English translation)

Amilcar Cabral opened his speech by welcoming the delegates and then went on to express his appreciation to Italy for allowing the conference to take place in Rome and for having disassociated itself from the Caborra Bassa project. He then called on Italy to go even further in helping Africa to develop its own history. He said: "In the presence of the Vatican we must denounce the criminal complicity of the Portuguese Church in Portuguese colonialism. The Pope should take action against the Portuguese Church and I am making this appeal in the name of 100,000 Catholics in my country.

Those who have come to our country are aware that part of our national territory, in particular the bigger cities, are still occupied by foreign troops. The situation now is that Portuguese troops are moving back to these cities where they remain isolated and paralysed. Our forces, on the other hand, are acting against these very cities. There is therefore an inversion of the situation as compared to the beginning of our struggle. Today there are no longer columns of Portuguese troops which can go right through the country. They can only use planes to bomb our liberated areas or launch concentrated assaults in selected areas in terroristic attacks on the civilian population.

We, on the other hand, consistently attack the ports of the Portuguese. Recently we were able to attack 26 big tanks.

Our action is also directed against the boats on our rivers.

We are also preparing in Cape Verde in order to pass from the political level to the military level.

You will see, therefore, how a population which was largely illiterate is now capable of engaging in a war which is becoming a modern war. We do have great difficulty since we are short of military

material but with help of our friends the prospects are now quite favourable for us. The Portuguese certainly know that they cannot win this war.

On a political level we believe that our people are learning how to develop our self-determination. In our country we no longer have a foreign administrative power. Two-thirds of our territory is independent and visitors have been there for some weeks without seeing a Portuguese official, only their planes.

We feel that we now have the elements of a free state in our country. We have political organisation, we have also set up popular courts and in the villages it is our peasants who judge those who commit crimes. We have also developed a trade system and are now preparing to organise our first popular national assembly. **You see that we no longer need the Portuguese, we have seized our independence ourselves. But we want the Portuguese to leave our country totally.**

Since we have achieved such progress internally, there is a contradiction between our internal and external situations. In our country we are sovereign but on the international level we are not recognised.

On the international level, all those who help us are our friends while those who help Portugal are our enemies. We do not want to interfere in the problems of others whatever the nature of these conflicts may be. We want to pursue a policy of independence, of peace and the solution of our country's problems.

In Africa there are still many contradictions between African states. Elsewhere, even among our allies, there are also contradictions and many problems. This inevitably affects our own progress.

Our Great Progress

But we are making great strides forward. We are diversifying our agriculture, developing our home industries and training the officials for the new administration. We wish to tell you how proud we are of our cultural work, of our new schools, of our new teachers and of the 15,000 pupils all over the country in primary schools. We have built hospitals in the countryside and we have trained doctors, nurses and set up quite a number of medical centres in the liberated zones. As for the situation in Portugal, we must say that we have always drawn a distinction between Portuguese colonisation and the Portuguese people. We hope that Portuguese opposition internally will find a common platform on the basis of the independence for our people. We have always had good relations with the Portuguese opposition of all tendencies and we want to develop better relations with the Patriotic Front of Liberation of Portugal. This is most important. We also hope that the actions of the Portuguese workers and students against the Portuguese war can be further developed. We greatly admire the people of Portugal but we also know that the actions of the ruling class has reduced Portugal to poverty. **Portugal does not produce planes itself yet it is using highly sophisticated planes against our peoples.** Who is supplying these materials? First, the member countries of Nato, and even though people in these countries say that these planes are not intended for use against us it is obvious that you do not give a sharp knife to an idiot who is likely to use it against someone. That is what Nato is doing.

We are not fighting against Nato. We do not think it is necessary for us to destroy Nato for our country to be free but we denounce the fact that Portugal uses Nato arms against us.

We urge that those who are anti colonialist should develop new actions to end this complicity of the Nato powers in the colonial war in our countries. We believe that all those who can act and do not act are likewise responsible.

We hope that all aid to the Portuguese government may be ended so that Italy may not be an accomplice to Portugal in the colonial war.

I wish to refer briefly to the aid which Sweden gives us today. We have developed friendly relations of cooperation with the Social Democratic Party and other organisations. Sweden has given us concrete aid and we believe that this is a useful example for all other western countries. The Portuguese government also think so and it has carried out a lot of propaganda against this aid but I can announce to you all that Sweden has decided to even increase the aid which it is giving us. I hope that other western countries will follow this example. We must isolate Portugal to a greater extent. We must act against this government at all levels, the forms of action depend on the concrete conditions in each country.

This is the affair of the movements in each country.

In this conference we will discuss and suggest concrete measures towards this goal and we hope that in each country a unity of action will develop as much as possible, but in any case each organisation must continue to work in favour of our struggle.

Friends and Allies

I wish to say a few words about our allies and friends throughout the world. We must say to the representatives of African unity that aid from Africa is not in correspondence with the needs of our struggle so far. We know how much the Secretary of the OAU is desirous of giving us aid and we hope that each African state will do its best to grant our needs.

We must here denounce all those in Africa who are against the National freedom of our people. There are people who act even worse than the Portuguese and we denounce them. Like Banda who is an ally of racism in South Africa and of Portugal, and we must ask that an action be developed against him. But we also call your attention to the disguised Bandas.

In the Socialist camp we have always had a sure ally in the liberation struggle. It is the duty of the socialist camp, their historical duty, not only moral duty. And we must say that without the help of the socialist countries it would be very difficult to carry on our struggle.

It is true that we receive material from certain African countries, like Algeria for instance which gives us what it can but unfortunately it does not produce arms. We have even received material in the beginning from Morocco but we must say that it is not sufficient for the struggle we are carrying out today. It is the socialist countries and especially the Soviet Union which help us particularly. We have received important aid from other Socialist countries with regards commodities such as Rumania, Bulgaria, Cuba, GDR, Hungary, and we hope that all these socialist countries will do their utmost to increase their aid because they are historical allies – our struggle is theirs.

In the other countries we must specifically mention the support developing daily in Holland, in Belgium, and in France. We must mention that in our wounded the blood of Frenchmen is circulating and this comes to us every 15 days.

We favour the creation of committees of support throughout the western world.

We particularly hope that the Communist Parties in Western Europe and other left parties, and all progressive organisations anti-colonialist in principle will take all measures to help our struggle.

We have received aid from the Italian Communist Party and hope that this aid will be developed.

I must call your attention to a point raised in Western Europe by some who say they intend to help us but they want to see if we are receiving aid from

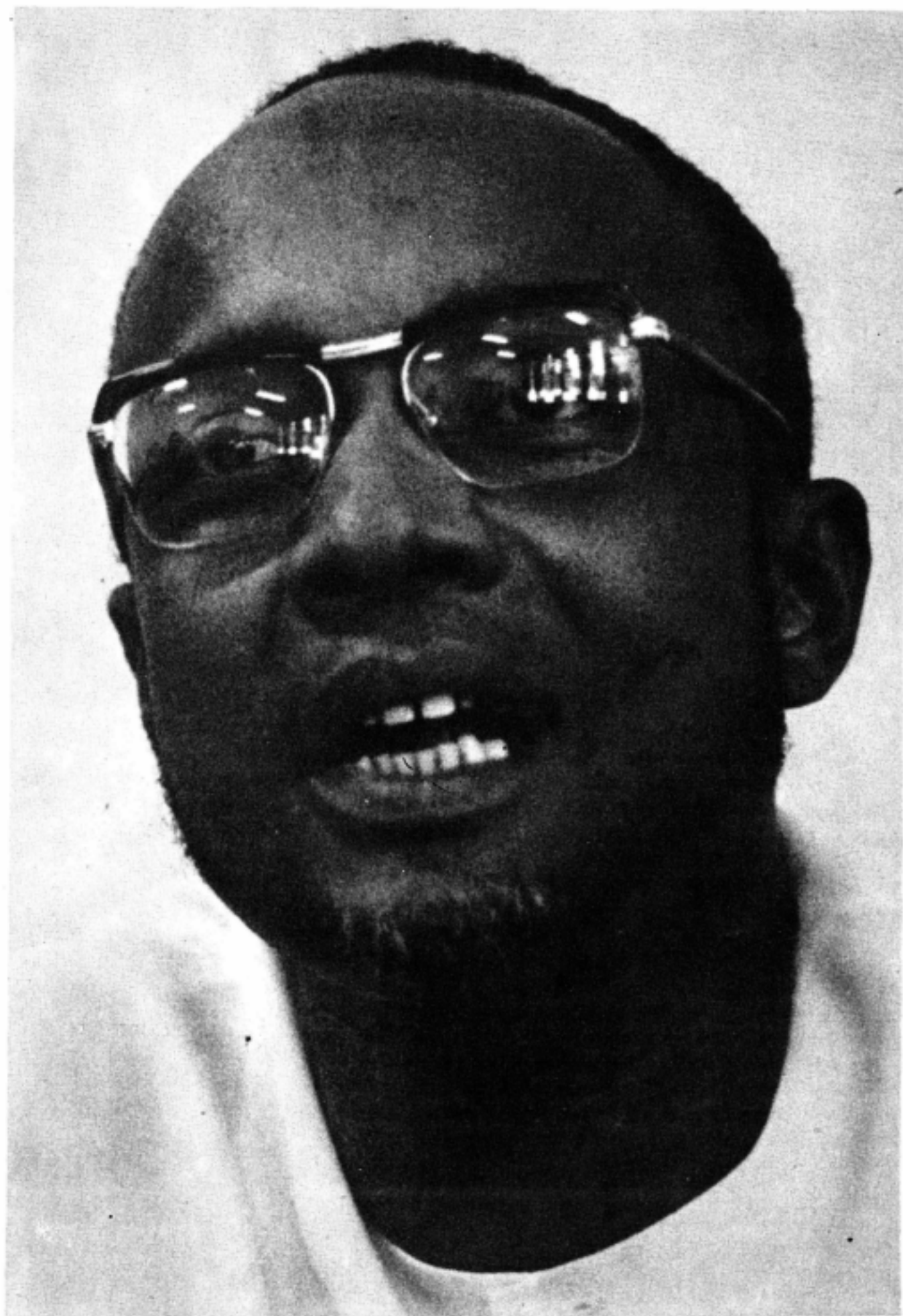


Photo Jeffrey Blankfort

Communist countries. We cannot understand this. We believe that the concrete conditions of life of our people – the difficult struggle we are carrying out fully justifies the principle that we should accept aid from everyone and we must say clearly that we are not anti-communist. Those who wish to help us should do so but they should not raise conditions.

Others are concerned that we may leave our old friends in order to find new ones. This concern should be left aside. We need old friends and new ones. Nobody should fear for us if we do not fear for ourselves. The basic principle of our struggle is that those who are struggling

for freedom and independence must first be free in thought and action. We are sure that all our friends in Western Europe will understand this principle. We are absolutely convinced that our struggle is an act of solidarity towards all people in the struggle for national freedom, but also for all people struggling in Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America in the general framework of anti-imperialism.

We hope that all opinions, all tendencies which meet here in Rome for solidarity with us will find here a basis for the unity of the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle.

(Loud prolonged applause)



SPEECH OF DR. A. NETO

PRESIDENT OF MPLA

(edited English translation)

"While we are struggling on the battlefields to obtain our independence, we consider it a great success that this Conference is being held in Rome. A new phase has been reached in the field of solidarity for our people, and we are convinced that this conference will be the prelude to the broadening of international solidarity towards our people.

Our war has been in progress for 9 years and we have overcome many obstacles. However, one obstacle remains, the prohibition of action at the Congo Kinshasha border. In some cases our underground fighters have to travel some 6,000 kilometers to reach an area of only 200 kilometers away. This is delaying our struggle. But we have opened new regions of action despite this. There is the Eastern Front, including the 3rd region, part of the 4th and 5th region and these now represent areas where a new life has developed. We control effectively an area exceeding 500 square kilometers. Many visitors have passed through dozens of villages over hundreds of kilometers. They appreciated the enthusiasm with which the population and the cadres are developing agricultural fields, the literacy campaigns for youth and adults, the training of armed fighters. In large areas, the liberation war introduced the first medicines and school books. In these regions no one can move about without the permission of the popular authorities. We are creating shops to supply essential goods to the people in these areas. Slowly our people are discover-

ing the laws of democracy and self administration. A radical transformation has therefore taken place for the population in the areas we control. **Power has moved from the colonialists to the MPLA which in turn hands it to the people.**

Some officers of Portugal now realize that they cannot win this war. Caetano himself has lost faith in his generals and is seeking among his imperialist allies greater aid, but which can only be temporary. In Portugal there are two currents: the first which wants to maintain the colonial war, the second seeks to prepare for the integration of Portugal into Europe on the assumption that the colonies will be lost.

The radio and press in Angola and Portugal vigorously denounce the scale of war accusing the military of profiting from the war by self-enrichment. Demoralisation is eroding the colonial presence in Angola and the number of Portuguese defections is daily increasing. Having lost control of more than 1/3 of Angola, the

Portuguese can have no more illusions about the outcome of this war. It is now starting a process of reform which history has shown to be a failure, in other similar situations.

Expelled from many regions, more and more isolated in the international arena the Portuguese will not be able to avoid a catastrophe if it does not listen to reason. The Portuguese soldiers, especially those who have become agents of oppression will know that the people await eagerly the arrival of the forces of the MPLA. The colonialist army is discredited and the appeals of the MPLA stimulate the action of the workers, the students and the population at large.

The MPLA desires friendly relations with the Portuguese people who are fighting against Fascism. We wish to appeal to the Portuguese people to develop a strong campaign against this colonial war.

We firmly hope that this conference may develop a campaign to influence the west European governments against the supply of arms to Portugal."

Dr. Neto then went on to invite the U.N. Committee on decolonisation to visit Angola to see the extent of the liberated areas so that the F.A.O. and W.H.O. could begin to make a direct contribution to the development of these regions.

"It is difficult for these specialized agencies to consider our fighters as being other than refugees. This means that any resolution pertaining to the liberation movement loses effectiveness because it is limited in practice to a statute of refugees which is contrary to the spirit of the resolutions. In conclusion, we repeat that we wish to see this meeting as a launching point for further manifestations of solidarity. Rome must lead to increased moral, material and political support for our people."

(Prolonged applause as the speaker is embraced by the chairman.)

For our London readers.

REMEMBER THE A.N.C. 1970 BAZAAR

This is our major annual fund raising effort – roll up to support the fight for South Africa's freedom.

At the Assembly Hall, Theobald Road, Holborn.

On Saturday 10th October from 11 a.m. – 5 p.m.

Bring your family for a South African lunch.

SPEECH OF T.X. MAKIWANE

HEAD OF ANC DELEGATION

"We from SA consider that our brothers in Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Angola are our close comrades in arms, we share borders with Mozambique, and Angola borders on Namibia. We have always known of the close collaboration between SA and the Portuguese and it is no accident that during the visit of the Fascist Vorster to Europe, Portugal should have been one of the countries he visited.

The Portuguese colonial administration has been the supplier of cheap African labour to the SA mines. In return Portugal gets gold handouts

from the SA regime. It is a lie spread by SA propagandists that the workers from the Portuguese colonies are attracted to SA by prospects of better payment - we all know that this is forced labour and that the people have no choice in the matter. Neither are they allowed any facilities such as trade union rights in SA - they are subjected to the same race discrimination and exploitation as the SA workers.

Today SA and Portugal are collaborating closely in the Cabora Bassa scheme which is certainly not for the benefit of the African people. We

have heard a great deal of the introduction of foreign military units into the Portuguese colonies. We ourselves want to stress that SA is emerging as a new imperialist state in its own right in Southern Africa which is already extending its economic domination and military intervention in the area. By the use of economic blackmail, it has tried to convert free states on its borders into its puppets. I refer to countries like Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana. SA has penetrated further afield into countries like Malawi and it is with alarm that we say that it has not been entirely unsuccessful with its threats and blackmail. Today SA is menacing Botswana simply because they want to build a highway linking it with the independent African countries to the North. SA has succeeded in converting Malawi into its puppet. The Pretoria regime has become a gendarme in the area with troops in a number of neighbouring states. SA's aggressive activity has gone even far beyond this area. During the Nigerian Civil War SA intervened by sending arms and mercenaries, and there were also SA mercenaries in the Congo to suppress the progressive elements.

In the Middle East, the SA government has true to form intervened on the side of the Israeli aggressors by allowing huge sums of money to be sent by the SA Zionists, by making use of SA Zionists to fly the Mirage aircraft in the Israeli air force and by other means. In central Africa, SA continues with espionage and sabotage to intervene in Zambia and Tanzania.

Because of the political, economic and military collusion between SA and Portugal, we who today fight for freedom and revolution in the area have deemed it necessary to join hands and consolidate our unity.

As part of this process, the ANC and ZAPU have formed a political and military alliance. We have fruitful and practical solidarity with FRELIMO and MPLA and PAIGC. We hope to consolidate this alliance further."

Comrade Makiwane then went on to discuss imperialist strategy in Africa and the South Atlantic.

"In practice the same imperialist war effort and war potential is being used in the Portuguese colonies in SA and in the Middle East. It is the same US Mirages which bomb civilian villages in Egypt, Guinea Bissau, Senegal, Zambia, Angola, Zimbabwe and elsewhere.

As for our tasks after this conference, we agree that Cabora Bassa must be given high priority. Secondly the

A.N.C. delegates J. Jele and T.X. Makiwane





M.P.L.A. Guerrillas

question of immigration of European workers to the Cabora Bassa area, to SA and other territories is another field we should concentrate on. We know that mobilising the population and workers in Western Europe is no easy task because imperialism has ably exploited the insecurity and unemployment fears of the workers of western Europe, but we are bound to say that those jobs offered in Africa are Black jobs taken at the expense of African workers in our countries. Lastly the production and dispatching of war materials from Western Europe deserves close attention. We must arouse widespread opposition in Western Europe against these activities of the imperialist powers."

(Applause.)

QUOTE

"The objective of our struggle is not only to drive out the foreign troops out of our country and to eliminate colonial domination; it is also to lay the bases of our independence and of the economic, social and cultural progress of our people." Cabral.





DECLARATION OF THE ROME CONFERENCE

1. One of the essential characteristics of the history of our times is the vigorous development of national libe-

ration struggles which have been transformed for many countries into independence and the regaining of dignity for hundred of millions of men and women in Africa and elsewhere. Portuguese colonialism, which



refuses decolonisation and conducts genocidal wars against the people of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, is manifestly a crime against humanity. To dominate and exploit the peoples and riches of

Angola, Guinea and the Cape Verde, Mozambique and San Tomè, it has resorted above all to repressive actions. It has instituted forced labour, the compulsory export of workers, a system of obligatory cultivation of

certain crops solely for its own profit and that of the companies.

2.

Every time these peoples attempted to express, even by peaceful means, their rejection of the brutal exploitation which was enslaving them, the Portuguese colonialists in cold blood resorted to massacres.

3.

That is why, in fully assuming their national and historic responsibilities, FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC led their peoples along the only road which could bring them freedom and independence: armed national liberation struggle. In developing the popular fight towards victory, in identifying themselves with the interests of their peoples, FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC are confirmed as the true representatives of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea and the Cape Verde. Their activities can be seen in the destruction of the structures of domination, new and traditional, and in the establishment of a new and popular social order.

4.

In order to oppose this situation, the colonialists of Lisbon are facilitating penetration of powerful economic interests of imperialist powers to ensure that these interests should consider their fate as linked to that of Portuguese domination. They become defenders of the cause of Portugal's colonialism, expressing themselves through the policies of their governments, and thus create conditions for an increasing internationalisation of the confrontation.

5.

The direct and massive aid from NATO — not to speak of the military and economic support Lisbon receives from the governments of the United States, West Germany, Britain and France — is a decisive factor in Portugal's ability to continue her colonial wars. The governments of member states of NATO must dissociate themselves from this crime, isolating Portugal at both political and military levels and firmly condemning this colonial war. It must also be underlined that Portugal's grand design is strengthened by the racist and colonial alliance between Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

6.

In spite of the assistance and the collaboration which she enjoys, Portugal cannot control the situation, so

that her allies have been led to consider the use of South African troops and material in Angola and Mozambique. The struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies becomes in this context a vital contribution to the cause of freedom in Africa, and to the cause that applies to all humanity — national independence and human dignity.

7.

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

8.

For the first time delegates from 64 countries, representing 177 national and international organisations, have met in Europe to study and decide upon ways of developing political, moral and material solidarity with the struggling peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

9.

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

10.

To achieve this, we must increase the isolation of the Portuguese colonialists by exposing the massive support they receive from the NATO Alliance in general, and in particular from the United States, West Germany, Great Britain and France. This must also be



The Conference Hall.

undertaken with regard to all the national and international economic and financial institutions that provide Portugal with the necessary means for continuing her aggression.

11.

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

12.

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

13.

In this tenth anniversary year of the United Nations Declaration on the right to independence of the colonial peoples, and on the threshold of the tenth anniversary of the launching of the armed national liberation struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, the Rome Conference reaffirms its solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique and San Tomè and Príncipe and calls on all countries, governments, national and international organisations, and to all men of good will, to accomplish these inspiring tasks.

THE PEOPLE OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES WILL WIN!

PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM WILL DISAPPEAR!

A WAR OF INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS

REPORT OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSION

Intervention – by Maurice Gastaud

Since the Khartoum Conference, the rich and multi-farious aid and support given to the liberation movements by the Socialist countries has continued and even further developed. This aid is considered by all to be of decisive help in the fight against imperialism and for the liberation of the oppressed peoples.

On the other hand, in the capitalist countries, in the first place in Western Europe, a growing number of movements, political parties and trade union, youth and women's organisations have placed the problem of active support of the struggle of the populations of the Portuguese colonies on their agendas. New solidarity committees of a very broad nature have been set up.

All this is doubtlessly a result of the successes gained in different fields by the PAIGC, the MPLA and FRELIMO in the armed struggle and also in the organisation of the liberated areas where the foundations of a new society have been laid. All this is most encouraging and confirms our absolute faith in the final victory. But whereas we do see that efforts have been made in the domain of solidarity, it must also be stressed that this solidarity is still far from corresponding to the needs of the struggle.

That is why this Conference, by drawing up a balance sheet of what has been done so far represents a very important phase, provided that it is followed by practical activities in each country.

Many speakers stressed that the colonial wars of Portugal are part of an imperialist chain of actions against the forces of progress and freedom all over the world. By supporting Portugal, international imperialism aims at maintaining its system of oppression and exploitation and even to strengthen it. To do this, in view of the success of the liberation movements, **it has internationalised these wars.** This does not mean that the general imperialist strategy is not beset by many contradictions which reflect the various capitalist interests, and from which we must profit in each country. But they nevertheless arrive at a common understanding against the freedom of the peoples, whether it be the peoples of the colonies or of their own countries. **That is why there exists, quite objectively, a common interest between the people of the capitalist countries and the peoples fighting against colonialism.**

In view of the internationalisation of the war in the Portuguese colonies, it is necessary to create a united front of the Socialist countries, the liberation movements and the democratic and progressive forces of the capitalist countries, for it is a fact that on the success of this struggle depends not only the future of the Portuguese colonies but also the future of other oppressed peoples, since the anti-colonialist struggle is only one aspect of the general struggle against oppression and exploitation. For this very reason it concerns all mankind.

Bring down the Walls of Silence

Concerning the sector of the struggle in the capitalist countries, the Conference calls upon us to develop our actions within the imperialist arena. To do this, it is above all necessary to mobilise the masses, which means, initially, to inform them.

The commission demands that everything possible be done in the various countries, in order to bring down the wall of silence upheld by the mass media of the monopolies. The initiatives taken by the various parties and movements, the information they provide their members and those whom they influence, will facilitate a growing public awareness.

By enlightening the public about the reality of these dirty wars and the monopolistic interests hidden behind them, it will be possible to increase the number of sympathisers among the masses and to facilitate their mobilisation for actions for political and material solidarity.

Military Isolation of Portugal

The Commission is unanimous in hoping that united action can be developed to achieve:

– a final end to the direct supply of military material to Portugal by certain countries, in particular France and West Germany;

– a final end to the training outside Portugal of military cadres for the colonial war;

— a final end to the collaboration between the ground, air and naval forces of America and the different Western European countries and their Portuguese counterparts. Concerning NATO, various suggestions were proposed, but the speakers were unanimous in demanding that the governments within this organisation should stop delivering arms to Portugal. This conforms with UN resolutions on decolonisation.

The regular use of NATO-supplied weapons in the Portuguese colonies is a complete exposure of the stated defensive character of this organisation, by implicating it in offensive wars which make all the member countries of NATO accomplices in the aggression committed against the people of the Portuguese colonies.

Finally it is urgent and essential that in each country action should be undertaken to ensure that soldiers of the national liberation movements who are imprisoned by the Portuguese army are treated entirely in accordance with the Geneva Convention and that torture and arbitrary execution are stopped.

Political Isolation

Condemnation, at international assemblies, of Portugal's colonial policies and of the aid given by different imperialist countries, led by the United States, is considered imperative. We must aim at the political isolation of Portugal and her moral condemnation. Public pressure on these powers from parties and organisations must force them to forbid participation by financial companies from their countries in investments in the Portuguese colonies. It is essential that the **trade unions** in particular expand

their activities further, and unite and mobilise the workers in order to emphasise both moral and material solidarity. The political commission approves the plan of USPA and WFTU to organise an international conference in support of the workers and people of Africa in particular those from the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa. Any joint action should likewise press for the exclusion of the Portuguese government from all meetings of international organisations, UN and specialised agencies so long as her policies of colonial domination and discrimination continue. The Commission congratulates UNESCO, among others, which has taken the decision not to invite any longer Portugal to its international meetings.

Economic Isolation

Economic sanctions must be taken by the different governments against the Portuguese government. These should include:

- consideration of the advantages gained by Portugal from her membership of the European Free Trade Association;
- refusal to allow Portugal to enter the Common Market, and that this should not be discussed before the colonies are independent;
- ending the granting by the American and European governments of long-term credits to the Portuguese government;
- stopping industrial or agricultural investments in the Portuguese colonies.

The Commission congratulates the victory won by the progressive and trade union forces of Sweden, Italy and

Samora Machel — President of FRELIMO.



MATERIAL AID AND POLITICAL ACTION

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION
ON MATERIAL AID
Rapporteur: Dr. Joao B. Burza (Brazil)

1. General Proposals

In the Commission there was general agreement on the following proposals as the basis of the deliberations which were held:

First, that it is impossible to isolate the question of material support from the question of political action. No support committee or solidarity organisation should limit itself to the collection of material aid. It is equally necessary to attack and take action against the crimes of the Portuguese Government and the complicity in those crimes of the governments and business circles of the United States and the majority of West European countries. Without the collaboration of the

governments of the NATO countries, Portugal would not be able to continue its colonial war.

Secondly, the liberation movements have the right to receive assistance and aid from Western Europe, in addition to that received from the Socialist and African nations. The progressive forces and governments of West Europe have the duty to gather and supply that assistance and aid on the largest possible scale.

Thirdly, that while there is a rising tide of support in Western Europe for the liberation movements, the contributions made so far are inadequate. Fourthly, as an essential preliminary to political action and the raising of material support, a massive mobilisation of public opinion is

required. Fifthly, the struggle must be seen as the joint struggle of FRELIMO, MPLA, PAIGC, and of the liberation movements in the countries of Southern Africa against the racist alliance of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

2. Sources of Material Support (other than Western Europe)

i) **African States:** The Commission recognised the considerable contribution made by the African governments bilaterally and through the O.A.U. Liberation Committee; appreciated the limits imposed by economic considerations; but recommended that an appeal be sent to the African governments to increase their efforts and their contribution.

ii) **Socialist States:** The Commission further recognised the invaluable support provided to the liberation movements by the governments, solidarity organisations and peoples of the socialist countries.

iii) **Non-aligned Nations:** In addition to the African states, the Commission recognised the contribution made by other non-aligned states; and resolved that all such states should be requested to place the question of support to the liberation movements on the agenda for the Conference of Non-aligned Nations to be held in Lusaka in September 1970.

3. Western Europe

The Commission agreed to give principal attention to ways and means of increasing dramatically the material support coming from Western European countries. **Delegates from twelve Western European countries and a delegate from the pro-**

(Continued from Page 17)

England and by the direct intervention of the East African countries which have led to the withdrawal by financial groups from these three European countries from participation in the Cabora Bassa project. This success is encouraging and should serve as an example to bring about the withdrawal of West German and French trusts and which would be a tremendous victory.

It was stressed in numerous interventions that the struggle for independence in the Portuguese colonies is inalienably linked with the struggle of the African peoples in South Africa and Rhodesia. The inter-connection of interests and actions of the governments of those countries and the government of Portugal in the military, political and economic fields is obvious. Furthermore this struggle cannot be dissociated from the other anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles going on in other parts of the world.

Broad National Committees

Various speakers dealt with the setting up of broad national committees of support and the role they are to play was discussed by the commission in detail. These commit-

tees should be set up not only in the developed capitalist countries – although this is of primary importance – but also in Asia, Latin America and in certain African countries, where they ought to be able to receive the support of the government concerned, thus implementing the decision of the OAU. In the present phase of setting up and the broadening of national committees the question arises whether it is desirable to set up an international body.

But this does not mean that there should be no exchange of information between committees and that the Conference should not endeavour to facilitate this. A number of the contributors spoke in favour of marking the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the UN Resolution on decolonisation, which will be in December of this year.

Through meetings, articles in the press, film shows, exhibitions and all other suitable forms of information, through delegations to public authorities and parliaments, with the help of deputies and other elected representatives of the people in favour of the cause of anti-colonialism, through demonstrations of all kinds, we must see that it does not remain a formal ceremony but a phase marking new and real successes which will contribute to the decisive victories of the fighting peoples of the Portuguese colonies under the militant leadership of MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC.

gressive forces of the United States participated in the discussion.

The Commission is aware of the fact that varying political and social conditions necessitate varying forms of actions prevailing in a number of countries and that in the whole of Western Europe it is necessary to intensify efforts in order to increase aid and support in all their forms. In most if not all countries it is advisable to concentrate on humanitarian rather than on military aid. However, the following proposals were made, as being suitable for action in all West European countries:

a) To press all governments to stop assistance to Portugal — following the lead taken by Sweden — and to donate help to the liberation movements; and where a reactionary government is in power, to press all progressive opposition parties to adopt these policies in their programmes.

b) To take action, where appropriate, through specific groups, such as aid given by women's and youth organisations to women activists of the liberation movements, or help granted by teachers in the form of school equipment.

c) To work — in collaboration with the liberation movements — on large scale projects such as the printing of school books or the supply of a long-range wireless transmitter.

d) To recall to the governments concerned and diffuse as widely as possible among political parties, social and humanitarian organisations and public opinion in Western Europe the UN Declaration on the gaining of independence by the colonial countries and the peoples which claim the need to liquidate colonialism under all its forms and in all its aspects. On December 14 of this year, we shall celebrate the tenth anniversary of this Declaration, which will be an occasion to popularise all the UN resolutions on this problem, the legal character of the national liberation struggle in the light of international law and the need to help and to support the national liberation movements. It will also be indicated to ask international institutions and the UN Specialised Agencies to step up, on the basis of their resolutions, the granting of aid to the fighting peoples of the Portuguese colonies, bearing in mind the need for direct consultations with the representatives of the liberation movements.

e) To urge UNESCO to reconsider their rejections of a proposal for educational assistance.

f) To appeal to all religious organisations, in particular the Roman Catholic organisations and the World Council of Churches to grant material and financial aid; to exercise pressure on the Roman Catholic hierarchy to cease its complicity with the Portuguese colonial regime.

g) To organise assistance for deserters from the Portuguese armed forces.

h) To provide trained personnel to work in Africa for the liberation movements, provided that the support committee wishing to sponsor any volunteers consider most carefully their political orientation and suitability for the work.

The Commission wishes to stress that these proposals are by no means exhaustive. Every possible means, aimed at all possible groups and sections of the population, must be used.

4. Types of Aid

The Commission recognised that support might be provided:

i) in the form of financial means, sent directly to the liberation movements, allocated — if one so desires it — to a particular project. In that case few problems would arise. The Commission noted that the International Defence and Aid Fund was ready to help in transmitting funds earmarked for humanitarian aims from Europe to Africa.

ii) by the provision of materials. The Commission agreed that the liberation movements must retain the absolute right to decide what materials they require. The following forms of aid were stressed in particular; uniforms, boots, tinned foods, transport facilities, educational material, blood plasma and medical equipment.

The Commission urged that the three liberation movements make available to support committees' lists of materials required.

5. Organisational Questions

Proposals were put forward for the creation of some form of bureau or information centre in Western Europe. After discussion on all these questions the Commission resolved:

i) that national support committees should be set up in every West European country as the principal means of co-ordinating information and actions within each country.

ii) that there should be direct and close communications between national committees on the one hand and the liberation movements on the other hand;

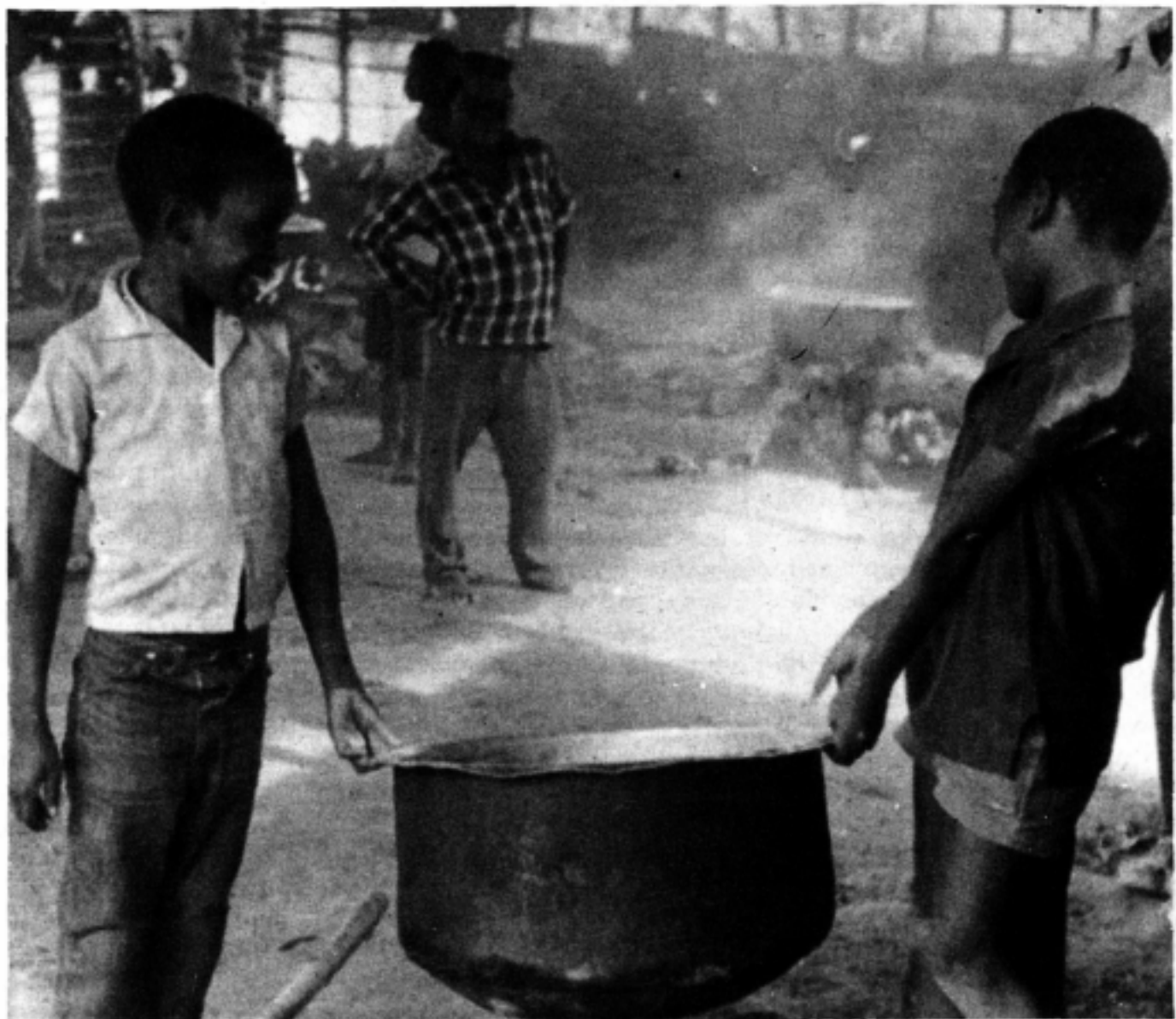
iii) that there should be close collaboration and mutual assistance between the different national committees; and that to facilitate such collaboration, every delegate to the Conference should be provided with the names and addresses of all other delegates;

iv) that the national committees should arrange conferences of national committees to exchange ideas and improve co-operation.

Addendum

The Commission welcomed warmly Mr. Manuel Rohas, from Peru, who presented to the CONCP a cheque for 3,000 Dutch Guilders. This money had been collected after a hunger strike of 300 students attending the International Conference of the FAO in the Hague. The WFDW also handed over a symbolic gift of 200 US dollars.

Soup for the liberated areas.



PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM IN THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM

Extracts from a Pre-Conference Discussion Document

Portugal, the least advanced of the imperialist powers, has held on to its colonies in Africa – Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique – longer and more desperately than any other. In the process its subordinate role in the world imperialist system has deepened: the last of the colonial powers is now little more than a neo-colony itself. Pressed from above and below – by international business and political interests abroad; by the working class and peasantry at home; and by the rising force of the liberation movements in the overseas territories – the Portuguese ruling class finds itself left with little time and little space.

The involvement of international capital has endowed the national liberation movements in the overseas territories with a global significance, transforming local wars of liberation into integral elements of the anti-imperialist struggle. Already they have advanced beyond the narrow nationalist definitions of earlier anti-colonial movements in Africa, and this poses important issues for the organisation of support movements in the imperial metropolises.

Contradictions in the Reactionary Bloc

The reactionary bloc against which MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO are conducting their struggle consists of important elements of international business and America, Britain and the NATO alliance on the one hand; and Portuguese capital, and the Portuguese state on the other. In addition there is South Africa, concerned to export apartheid to Mozambique and Angola, in order to buttress its own position to the north. The Portuguese state is at present in the anomalous position of being the spearhead of this bloc, while at the same time it is the weakest link in the imperial chain.

The launching of the armed struggle in the overseas territories in the early 1960s brought Portuguese colonialism into absolute crisis: from being a source of imperial tribute the overseas territories now required substantial amounts of military expenditure. Portugal faced serious economic difficulties, and politically its position was no stronger. An archaic colonial regime was not able to muster much support for its repressive policies in the conditions of the early 1960s, when widespread decolonisation in Africa and many other parts of the world created a strong impression that a third force was emerging in world politics to which the major imperial powers would have to pay at least lip service.

Certainly these powers would at that time have been happy to see some form of decolonisation in the overseas territories and the establishment of nominally independent regimes through which their influence could continue to be exerted. But no basis for such regimes existed as the Portuguese, unlike the British, had not assiduously created a client class to whom the trappings of power could be safely handed over. The only political instrument for imperialism was Portuguese colonialism.

The move from an established isolationist policy to encouraging the entry of large amounts of foreign capital into the African colonies and into Portugal itself evidences the development of this alliance of reaction. The staggering growth of foreign involvement over the past decade suggests the vigour and urgency with which it is being cemented. On the face of it this seemed to resolve the Portuguese dilemma, for the inflows of capital released resources and provided the foreign exchange necessary for

military expenditure, while at the same time Portugal implicated the major imperial powers in her policies and so attracted powerful political support. In reality, however, the Portuguese situation is not so bright: its own capital cannot compete against the large multi-national corporations which have come in through the open door, and politically it has been reduced to little more than the pliant instrument of the major imperial powers.

It is at the moment in the interests of the Western powers to maintain the plausibility of Portugal – for domestic political reasons they cannot afford to get directly involved in another imperialist war – and this has given the Portuguese a limited space for manoeuvre. They have launched the Cabora Bassa scheme as an attempt to transform the situation to their own advantage. Before we develop our argument, however, the first fact to note is that **it is the stepping up of the armed struggle that is increasing the pressures on the reactionary bloc, and promises to tear it asunder.**

The Colonial Era

Relative to Portuguese, foreign investment has always played a dominating role in the overseas territories although in absolute terms, and compared with recent developments, it has not been so very large. As a businessman in Mozambique put it: "When you judge the Government's attitude to foreign capital today, you'll do well to remember that when Salazar took over in Portugal just about forty years ago "Mozambique was virtually owned by foreigners – many of them British". This situation can be traced back to the beginning of the century when the chartered company was established as the instrument of control – like the Cia da Mocambique which had sovereign rights over the province of Manica e Sofala and was financed by British, French and Belgian capital. This branch of foreign involvement is manifested today in some of the large plantation and transporting companies like Sena Sugar Estates, the Benguela Railway and DIAMANG.

In 1926, however, with the accession to power of Antonio Salazar, there was immediate firm government control over the activities of these companies and the beginning of more than thirty years of a very introverted economic policy in the colonies that is too easily termed "economic nationalism". It was more than this and had all its roots in Salazar's philosophy of the "New State".

The economic developments in the colonies were, and still are, to a large extent a function of developments in the Portuguese economy – both in terms of the raw materials required and the availability of capital to invest in obtaining them. Thus, during the thirties and forties period of economic crisis and war there was relatively little new investment by Portugal. This by no means meant that the colonies were disregarded; on the contrary, the idea of Portugal as an imperial power and the closer integration of the colonies and the metropole was a pillar of Salazar's theory of the New State. Portuguese colonial policy has been defined by one writer as falling into three distinct phases: the period of discoveries, the period of pacification and "the period of exaggerated misconceptions of Portuguese colonial destiny as manifested since 1926".

The New State, incorporated in the 1930 Colonial Act and the 1933 Organic Law centralised administration (thereby countering the early twenties trend towards administrative and political

autonomy) and by presenting a united imperial front showed the world that Portugal was still a force to be reckoned with. The Colonial Act affirmed the unity and solidarity of a Portugal consisting of peoples ethnically, economically and administratively varied, but united in goals and interests. This "colonial mystique from the values of the past and the promises of the future" was probably far more an objective creation in the face of disunity and political crisis at home and the sense of insecurity generated by previous Anglo-German plots to carve up the territories, followed by League of Nations proposals to control finances and hence also the colonies, than a reflection of average Portuguese sentiment, but there can be no doubt as to its success. The idea of the Lusitanian community centred on Lisbon soon established itself in the international arena and made its influence felt on all subsequent colonial legislation.

But the most important point to be borne in mind when considering this phenomenon is that in fact we are dealing with just another colonialist and imperialist set-up in which political power is directed towards economic gain by the "mother country". Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the case of cotton and the textile industry. In 1925 it was officially estimated that Portugal's annual requirement of raw cotton was approximately 17,000 tons, of which only 800 tons came from Mozambique and Angola. In 1926 the Portuguese Government decided to establish cotton as an African peasant crop — by a regime of forced cultivation. This was done by granting purchasing monopolies to concessionary companies who were made responsible for developing cotton growing by Africans within the area of their concessions and had the right to acquire and process all cotton produced. Cotton thus became an obligatory crop for Africans living in areas designated as cotton producing — a regulation harshly enforced by local administration officials, much to the detriment of the peasant's own subsistence crops.

A system of price control, compulsory quotas for supplies to Portugal and restrictions on local textile production ensured Portugal a supply of raw cotton at prices which gave her textile industry an advantage in the world market. At the same time the colonies provided a secure market for a large part of the industry's output. For Portugal the scheme was highly successful: in 1960 she received 87% of her raw cotton requirements from the colonies and ranked twelfth among European producers of cotton thread and cloth, with an industry comprising 419 factories employing a total of 70,000 workers. In 1963 cotton goods provided an export revenue of 1,500 million escudos (\$52.5 million), about one eighth of visible exports. The growth of one of Portugal's most important industries can thus be traced directly to a conscious policy of colonial exploitation in which forced cultivation was an essential part.

Forced Labour

The advantage of the "New State" approach was that this exploitation could be carried out under cover of a theory based on the supposed welfare of the colonised peoples — the theory that overseas policy was designed to achieve the social as well as the economic integration of Portuguese Africa by "assimilation". From this stemmed the system of "indigenous" and "non-indigenous" categories which "in a period of thirty years changed the legal status of less than half of one per cent of the African people". The most fundamental concept of the New State's labour policy was the African's obligation to work:

"The State shall endeavour to teach the natives that work is an indispensable element of progress"

"If we want to civilize the native we must make him adopt as an elementary moral precept the notion that he has no right to live without working."

This labour policy is embodied today in article 146 of the constitution which states "The State cannot force the indigeneous population to work except on public works or in the execution of a penal sentence or to carry out a fiscal obligation." The exceptions are so general that in reality this still provides a legal base for the practice of forced labour. The categories of "indigenous" and "non-indigenous", as they were seen in practice, make nonsense of the assimilation theory.

In 1951 the colonies were suddenly transformed into "Overseas Provinces" — a further step towards "integration". Also during the 1950s the First Development Plan 1953–1958 began to establish the vital infrastructure of dams, communications, ports etc.,

essential to economic exploitation on any large scale, and to the more active encouragement of white immigration. But Salazar was still not interested in the introduction of foreign capital.

In theory, however, while the emphasis was still on the importance of the predominance of Portuguese interests, in practice Portugal never had, and never could have the capital to fully exploit the territories' natural resources as she wished. Moreover it soon became obvious that with the growth of anti-colonial movements elsewhere in Africa Portugal was going to need help to maintain and consolidate her position. At the same time developments in the field of international capital were influencing the situation. With post-war reconstruction complete and Europe free from the communist "threat" American capital turned its attention elsewhere. The subsequent outbreak of the liberation wars acted as a catalyst, adding weight to both the financial and political implications of the new "open door" policy which Portugal was about to adopt. In 1969 *Die Zeit* reported: "In a kind of last-minute panic Portugal has in the past few months opened wide its hitherto almost hermetically closed doors to foreign investments. The reason for this changed course is... the knowledge that Portugal will inevitably lose the struggle now beginning for its colonial empire if it is not able in time to win powerful allies for itself in the struggle... In this dangerous situation Salazar has radically changed his economic policy. Without much noise, with a minimum of publicity even, he set out economically to internationalize, to the greatest possible extent, his empire. It is in particular the Americans, the Germans and the Japanese who are called upon in connection with the industrial development in Portugal's underdeveloped African and Asian possessions." Today this policy is seen to be securing the intended results: "... Laterly there has been a growing realisation that the involvement of foreign capital in Portuguese Africa has its effects on the attitudes of foreign governments to the nationalist revolts."

Legislation in the 1960s therefore accepted the inevitable and opened up the colonies completely, but gave generous incentives to investors. They get tax holidays of up to ten years, guarantees regarding repatriation of capital, dividends and profit (better guarantees than the investor from the metropole) and exemptions on plant and raw materials.

The colonies are becoming more and more important to the stability of the Portuguese economy, even despite the cost of the wars, and they are consequently being drawn closer and closer under the wing of Lisbon. In the period 1965–67 Portugal's imports from the overseas territories rose by fourteen per cent and her exports by twenty per cent. In 1961 per capita income in Portugal was \$250 per annum. By 1965 this had risen to \$420, still one of the lowest in Europe but an incredible growth rate. This coincided with a large influx of foreign capital to the Portuguese economy but is also directly attributable to the retention of the colonies.

A Perpetual Trade Deficit

Portugal reaps other, more complex benefits from the possession of the colonies. They have a perpetual trade deficit with Portugal which buys many of its imports from them at prices below the world level. This surplus for Portugal is an important contribution to its own trade position as it has a chronically unfavourable balance with the rest of the world. Despite this, the fact that there is always a balance of payments surplus is due partly to invisible revenue from tourism and migrants' remittances but also to the surplus balances of the territories. In 1968 the overall balance of international payments of the escudo zone showed a surplus of 4,115 million escudos (\$144 million approx.); the overseas territories together contributed 2,241 million escudos (\$78 million approx.), more than half. These are derived mainly from mineral exports and from the earnings of the transit trade. The plans for complete integration of the overseas territories envisaged the establishment by 1972 of an area of free trade between Portugal and the overseas territories, and the free movement of capital and persons. Although some tariff barriers have been removed this still operates to the advantage of Portugal whose goods have a free market in the territories, often to the disadvantage of local industries. There has been no move to free the currency exchange controls that restrict the territories' trade. There is no free movement of capital — the escudo in the territories is not freely convertible to that of the

metropole even though the territories are considered part of the escudo zone for balance of payments. Moreover, although the territories' surpluses are with foreign countries and thus in valuable foreign exchange (and in hard currency at that — Angola coffee goes to America, iron ore to Japan and West Germany, Mozambican and Angolan oil to America, South African payments for migrant labour are in gold), **the territories do not have control over their own foreign exchange earnings.**

Inter-territorial payments within the escudo zone are cleared through a central exchange which is the Bank of Portugal in Lisbon, where the exchange holdings of each territory are kept in separate reserve funds. All accounts are cleared in escudos and thus the net gold and foreign exchange earned by the territories benefit Portugal's account. The Portuguese concept of "economic integration" therefore means that diamonds produced in Angola are sold by Diamang to Portugal, who sells them on the international market and earns the foreign exchange. Deprived of these foreign exchange earnings and the profits, the territory in turn has to borrow from Diamang and receives a loan in escudos. In 1967 Mozambique had a balance of payments surplus with foreign countries of 923 million escudos (\$32 million approx.), a balance of payments deficit of 333 million escudos (\$12 million approx.) with Portugal, and yet it had to obtain a 150 million escudos (\$5¼ million) loan from the Escudo Zone Monetary Fund to facilitate its payments to Portugal.

With the flood of foreign investment into the colonies in the past few years, mainly concentrated in the profitable export sectors of oil, minerals and a few crops, the economic *raison d'être* for Portugal's policies is not hard to find. Indeed, Portugal is now going out of her way to do everything possible to encourage as much foreign capital as possible. In September 1969 the Portuguese Finance Corporation was created to promote financial operations and investments, especially those that involve relations with foreign countries. Its initial capital of \$300 million has been subscribed by the Portuguese government and the overseas territories as well as by "various banking and credit institutions" in Portugal, the latter being so completely tied up with international monopoly capital as to be merely a subsidiary of Western European and American financial combines.

A glance at the so-called Third National Development Plan reveals a similar trend. It was originally envisaged that "national" sources would provide 64% of the total, including 15% from the Portuguese Government and almost 20% from the territorial governments. In the 1969 programme, however, financing from the central government has dropped to 6.5% and that of the territorial governments to less than 10% of the total. Compared with 1968, external financing was expected to rise from 2,768.7 million escudos (\$97 million approx.) to 4,170 million escudos (\$146 million approx.) Moreover, if the transitional Development Plan is anything to go by, actual government expenditure will not even reach this target. In Mozambique, for example, only 29.3% of the estimates were actually spent. Of this more than half went on transport and communications (presumably for the war effort), 49% of its original target, while only 25% of the original target was spent on health, education and welfare.

The Metropole Today

All these developments are hardly surprising when one considers that the same thing has been happening in Portugal itself, which is now virtually a colony of Western capital.

Foreign control permeates all major sectors of the economy except agriculture (and even this is now under pressure with the encouragement being given to the settlement of northern European farmers and the sale of large tracts of land). The most important banks — such as the Banco Nacional Ultramarino, la Banco Português do Atlantico, la Banco Burnay, la Banco Espirito Santo, la Banco Borges e Irmão — are dominated by foreign capital which through them control the most important national economic activities.

The Moncorvo iron mines, the most important in the country, belong to the German steel trust, Vereinigte Stahlwerke. The sixty most important uranium mines are British and American-owned — and Portugal is one of the world's most important suppliers of uranium. Wolfram production is controlled by British capital. Other less important minerals such as tin, molybdenum, coal, copper and manganese are all dominated by foreign

interests. In other words, almost the entire natural resources of the country are controlled by foreign capital. And so are the service industries: production and distribution of electricity is dominated by SOFINA (USA), urban transport and water distribution are run by British companies, as is international radio-telephone communications.

Thus, the financial invasion of the colonies is a natural extension of the situation in Portugal, but South Africa also provides a route through which monopoly capital, already deeply entrenched there, can find access to the Portuguese colonies. The labour requirements of the South African mines early on led to the formation of important economic links between South Africa and Mozambique. Since the 1903 Witwatersrand Agreement South Africa has regularly been supplied with cheap migrant labour from Mozambique in return for agreements involving increased South African use of the port of Lourenço Marques and hard currency cash payments, which have made a significant contribution to the income of the Portuguese government of Mozambique. Until comparatively recently, though, the interdependence of the two countries was played down by their respective governments; old colonial rivalries and the theoretical differences between their racial policies coupled with the traditional South African disdain for the Portuguese, discouraged the extension of these links into other sectors of the economy.

The expansion of the activities of international capital in South Africa has probably been an important influence behind the recent increase in South African economic involvement in Angola and Mozambique, but the threat posed by the liberation wars has been largely responsible for the change in diplomatic attitudes. Faced with this danger the South Africans soon "came to discover that their policies were not so very different after all from those of the Portuguese, and the discovery that they all shared a concept of white supremacy, whether called assimilation or apartheid, drew the countries of southern Africa into closer rapport". This 'rapport' has since been considerably strengthened. As the South African Foreign Minister put it in April 1969, "We are two very friendly countries and we are perfectly identified with each other as defenders of civilisation in Africa. We have a common mission to fulfill and we are fulfilling it. We South Africans, government and people, respect and admire the Portuguese, and we are fully aware that, in confronting and defeating terrorism, the Portuguese are rendering a noteworthy service to the West and humanity itself". On the military level, extensive assistance by South Africa — financial, material and in manpower, is well known. Financial involvement in mining in Angola and agriculture and transport in Mozambique have been outlined above. To foster closer trade relations between Angola, Mozambique and South Africa the Bank of Lisbon and South Africa was formed in 1965, resulting within a few years in South Africa replacing Britain as Mozambique's most important trading partner after Portugal. However, the ultimate in collaboration between the racist regimes and international capital will be achieved in the two major hydro-electric projects for Angola and Mozambique — the Cunene and Cabora Bassa.

Portuguese — S. A. Collaboration

The strategic advantages of Portuguese — South African collaboration are by no means one-sided. Apart from her vast army Portugal has one very important contribution to make to the alliance — oil. Despite extensive efforts no significant deposits of oil have yet been found in South Africa itself but in Cabinda alone Portugal is now producing 7.5 million tons of oil per year. Since her own requirements are only 3.75 million tons, this leaves a significant surplus which could be exported to South Africa. As the Financial Times has pointed out, "... the fact that Cabinda could, in the event of U.N. sanctions and blockades, supply the needs of most of Southern Africa... is an important new factor in the international equation".

Strategic considerations have also played their part in the rapprochement between Portugal and the rest of Western Europe. Over the past few years almost every major foreign policy statement by the Portuguese government has stressed the importance of Angola and Mozambique in securing Western control over the Atlantic from the West Coast of Africa, and over the Indian Ocean from the East Coast. Such pronouncements have inevitably been accompanied by demands for the extension of



the NATO area to cover the colonies, a demand which in practice has long since been met. Portugal's relative success with this line of argument is closely linked with the "open door" economic policy. It can hardly be coincidental that "the oldest ally" apart, the two countries with the heaviest financial involvement in Portugal and the colonies are those that have proved the staunchest allies in the colonial wars – U.S.A. and West Germany.

The war has not only created a political need for Portugal to search for allies but has also caused a drain on her financial resources which has made it imperative for her to find foreign credits to offset military expenditures. In 1967 Portugal's balance of payments surplus of 3,641 million escudos (\$127 million) was due partly to its surplus on capital account with medium and long-term capital movements, mainly to credits for imports and financial loans. To give a few examples of this recent flow of foreign capital to Portugal: in the three years 1965–1967 loans to the public sector alone totalled \$4,120 million including:

- \$ 345 million from U.S. banks
- \$ 984 millions for the bridge over the Tagus
- \$ 1,044 million external loans in U.S. dollars
- \$ 135 from Siemens/Kreditanstalt for the postal and telegraph service
- \$ 851 credits for shipbuilding

In 1969 Marcelo Caetano admitted the close connection between the colonial wars and international financing: "all the military effort overseas has been and will go on being supported from the ordinary income which before was largely used to cover development expenses. Now we have to face many of these expenses with money obtained by loans". Hence Decree Law 47296 of 31 October 1966 which authorised the Minister of Finance to contract internal and external loans to finance the development plans.

The nature of the Portuguese governing élite itself and its relations with international capital helps to explain the speed with which the 1961 change of policy was able to take effect. The ownership of both land and industry in Portugal is concentrated in the hands of a few families who, protected by the Roman Catholic church and the army, have been allowed free reign over the economy. The lack of domestic capital has always made members of this group receptive to links with foreign companies, but the fear that foreign capital could swamp them and usurp their control over economy has also won widespread support for the pre-1961 restrictive policy. This conflict was disguised during the height of the Salazarist period but the influence of the "outward looking" capitalists within the government can be demonstrated by the fact that even in 1958 more than 48 former ministers and Salazarists, four governors of Angola and four ambassadors held directorships in the largest companies, most of which were foreign. The economic and political contacts already existed through which foreign firms could immediately take advantage of the relaxation of official controls.

A New White Power Centre

Recently the Portuguese have been announcing plans involving the large-scale immigration of the whites into the colonies, associated with the Cabora Bassa and Cunene dam projects. This suggests that they intend to create a white power on the model of South Africa and Rhodesia.

In terms of Portugal's immediate national interests this plan must represent a certain sacrifice in favour of South Africa, for Portugal

would be unable to supply more than a fraction of these immigrants herself. Total emigration to Africa in 1965 was only 14,012 and with her present labour shortage Portugal could not afford to step this up significantly even if she could provide the necessary incentives. The immigrants must clearly be collected from all poorer countries of Europe, with a probable contribution from South Africa and Rhodesia. As such their loyalties would be local and, rather than looking towards the Portuguese Empire, they would naturally turn to South Africa as the main protector of their interests.

Recent relations between Portugal and South Africa, culminating in Vorster's unprecedented visit to Lisbon, indicate that despite these drawbacks Portugal is intending to opt for the South African solution. This is not incompatible with her other recent tendency to seek closer relations with Europe. Both moves indicate that the Portuguese government is being forced to recognise the reality of its subordinate role in the capitalist world.

The apparent conflict between "Europe" and "South Africa" is largely spurious. Much of the capital in South Africa is European and many of the big companies interested in the Portuguese territories operate from both Europe and South Africa. Portugal is not in the position of trying to decide whether to hand over control to South Africa or to Europe; the situation is rather that international capital, represented by both South African and European companies, is already taking control in the Portuguese colonies and is seeking the South African political solution as the best means of furthering its interests.

The Disappearance of the Middle Way

It should now be clear that the struggle in the Portuguese colonies is no mere local affair: its significance for the world outside Africa is not restricted to Portugal. Many of the corporations that control the commanding heights of the American, British, European and Japanese economies are represented in the overseas territories. Firms that employ large numbers of workers in the metropolitan countries, and that supply the brand products which are such a familiar feature of life, not to mention the banks on the corner of each street, have rushed in through the open door in search of profit.

These firms are now concerned to see Portuguese colonialism defeat the liberation movements. In the long term they will be happy to see Portugal pass from the African scene, but the significance of this approach should not be mistaken. What is being planned at this moment is an integration of the Southern African economy around South Africa, in which foreign business will co-operate happily with apartheid and white settler regimes to keep the African people in subjugation.

Archaic colonialism is on its last legs; the aim of the reactionary block is to supercede it with more modern forms of oppression, suited to the increased intensity of exploitation which the imperatives of modern capitalism dictate.

Thus the lines are sharply drawn in Southern Africa. On the one side the forces of reaction – international business, Britain, America, South Africa, NATO Portugal and so on. On the other side, the national liberation movements and the support they receive from progressive forces outside. No compromise is possible in Southern Africa: those of us who oppose reaction there must bear this in mind when we work out our strategy for organising support in the imperial metropolises.



▶▶ **Our next issue will feature an exclusive interview
with Frelimo Vice President, Marcelino Dos Santos.** ◀◀

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