



guerrilheiro

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FRELIMO PAIGC

MPLA



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lous - two FRELIMO ambushes, on 12 April and 19 May, took a toll of 6 patrol boats and the lives of many on board them.

In the north the remaining Portuguese garrisons in Cabo Delgado lost 200 men to FRELIMO attacks in the period May-September. Undoubtedly the most significant operation was one on 18 Sept. against Muedá, the Portuguese military headquarters in the province. This raid was launched simultaneously with attacks on seven other posts in the province and took the Portuguese completely by surprise. No less than 18 aircraft on the ground were destroyed in the raid - 2 jet fighters, 7 helicopters, 5 Harvard bombers and 4 reconnaissance planes. The ammunition and fuel depots were blown up, a number of barracks wiped out and heavy casualties inflicted on the enemy soldiers. Of the planes which were called in to give support to the Muedá garrison, one Harvard bomber was shot down and crashlanded in FRELIMO posi-

tions. Such a loss of aircraft is a very serious blow to the Portuguese military in Cabo Delgado.



GEURILLAS? WHAT GEURILLAS?
IT'S THOSE BLASTED HIGH
WINDS THAT'VE DONE THIS!

ANOTHER UDI?

Are there serious plans afoot for a Mozambiquan UDI? Persistent rumours indicate that one section of colonialist opinion would like to establish an independent Mozambique which would be under the control of the white settlers but with a black puppet government which might make the set-up acceptable to the OAU.

The leading man in this trend of thought is Jorge Jardim, one of the biggest businessmen in the territory. He is a director of the Bank of Lisbon and South Africa, owns the important newspaper *Noticias de Beira*, and is employed by the Malawian government as their consul in Mozambique.

Evidently his connections with Malawi have convinced him that it is much easier to maintain white supremacy through a figurehead African regime such as that of Hastings Banda, rather than through a protracted and expensive war.

Jardim has a candidate in mind for a puppet president. This is Dr Miguel Mtrupa, a defector from FRELIMO, who has been actively collaborating with the Portuguese for over a year now, and is currently employed as a journalist on the *Noticias de Beira*.

Jardim and Mtrupa seem to have reached the conclusion that FRELIMO cannot be defeated by purely military means, and hope that a nominally independent Mozambique would deprive FRELIMO of much of its support. If a substantial body of African opinion could be won away from the liberation movement in favour of the new 'independent' Mozambique, the position of the white settlers would be assured.

Furthermore, this 'solution' would rid western governments of the embarrassments of ploughing their investments into nakedly colonial regimes.

Jardim's most important convert to this scheme is reported to be Kaulza de Arriaga himself, C. in C. of the Portuguese forces in Mozambique. De Arriaga is an ambitious man, once considered a possible contender for the Portuguese presidency. Fighting a hopeless war in northern Mozambique cannot appeal greatly to him and he may well be willing to risk an adventure such as Jardim has in mind.

The Jardim plan could be seen as a solution to South Africa's problems - stable black satellites such as Malawi are much more congenial to South Africa than rickety colonial structures which breed revolutionary upheavals.

continued overleaf

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Conditions for a break with Lisbon are more favourable in Mozambique than ever before. The white settlers are infuriated firstly by Lisbon's failure to defeat FRELIMO and secondly by the imposition of stringent financial controls earlier this year. But the question that Jardim's supporters must be

asking themselves is - what if the African people are not deceived by this solution and continue to support the objectives of FRELIMO? Can the settlers really go it alone without the Portuguese army? What support can they expect from South Africa? The answers to these questions will affect not only Mozambique but Southern Africa as a whole.

WHY SMITH WENT TO LISBON

The opening of the new front in the heart of Mozambique - the province of Manica e Sofala - was acknowledged by the Portuguese, South African and Rhodesian newspapers in isolated and fragmentary reports which, pieced together, provide a comprehensive background to Ian Smith's visit to Lisbon and a subsequent meeting between the South African and the Rhodesian heads of Defense in Salisbury at the end of October.

These events coincide with reports that there is widespread tension and confusion in Mozambique, between the army and various security forces, and between the hard core of 'settler nationalists' and the authorities. The Governor General, Pimentel dos Santos, meets with shouts of derision whenever he appears in public, whether personally or on film in local cinemas. There are reports that the average Portuguese soldier is strongly disliked by local whites and that these would feel safer if South African and Rhodesian troops joined the fighting in the most vulnerable areas.

At the beginning of October it is suddenly announced that Ian Smith, after a short holiday in Madeira Islands, has visited Lisbon to hold the first talks with Prime Minister Caetano. In Rhodesia there are widespread rumours that Sir Alec Douglas-Home might also be on a secret visit to Lisbon. Apart from laconic statements, acknowledging the Caetano - Smith talks, the Portuguese press tries to present the event as just a personal meeting, despite the fact that these were the first top-level talks there have ever been between Portuguese and Rhodesians since UDI in 1965.

And in the meantime reports of increasing guerrilla activity continue. On 23 October, a few days after Smith arrived back from

Lisbon on a Portuguese TAP plane, reports appear in the press of a tractor and a trailer having been blown up by a landmine, in an area not far from the Beira-Rhodesia railway line, killing five farm-workers and injuring another ten.

The visit to Lisbon acquires a greater significance when on 29 October it is disclosed in the South African press that 'growing anxiety about the military situation in Mozambique led to high-level defence talks between South Africa and Rhodesia in Salisbury this week'. The talks were attended by the South African Minister of Defence, Mr P.W. Botha, the Chief of Defence Force, Admiral Hugo Bierman, the Rhodesian Minister of Defence Mr John Hoffman, and Rhodesia's new Chief of General Staff, Lieut-General George Wells.

According to the Johannesburg Sunday Times of 29 October: 'The Rhodesian Government in particular is becoming increasingly doubtful whether the Portuguese can safely contain FRELIMO rebel activity in Mozambique. The Rhodesian view is irritating the Portuguese who feel it casts an irksome reflection on Portuguese military ability'.

The well-known South African reporter Peter Younghusband adds: 'I understand that when the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith met the Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr Caetano, in Lisbon on 12 October they discussed in detail their conflicting views about Mozambique's security'. A Portuguese official said: 'In our way of thinking the Rhodesians are being alarmist in an attempt to affect our strategy. We believe their reports are unjustified'.

The Rhodesian unease stems mainly from the exposure of the vital railway line from Umtali to the port of Beira. Guerrillas, moving south from Cabora Bassa, which is

PAIGC holds first elections

The elections to the first national assembly of Guinea is the most important of recent events there.

The purpose of the elections is to prepare for the creation of the independent state Guinea-Bissau. The National Assembly will decide on a suitable time for the declaration of independence - a unilateral declaration based on the will of the majority of the people, unlike the Rhodesian UDI.

The decision to have general elections was taken last year. In the preparations meetings were held in each sector of the liberated regions, and attended by all persons of voting age (18 and over). Each meeting nominated candidates for the elections. Voting was secret. As most people are illiterate, the vote consisted of a 'yes' or a 'no' to the list, represented by a green and a white ballot paper respectively.

Of the elected representatives, one third go to the National Assembly and the others to Regional Councils. The assembly will consist of 120 representatives, 80 elected by the masses and 40 by the members of the party. 'Provisional representatives' will be elected for the areas not yet liberated.

In relation to negotiations with Portugal, Cabral stressed that PAIGC has always been asking for a political solution to the

liberation struggle. Now the people of Guinea-Bissau are in a position to declare their independence from Portugal. "Negotiations will give Portugal her last chance to participate like a civilized country in the decolonisation of our country".

Cabral visited Sweden as a guest at the conference of the Social Democratic Party. He expressed the gratitude of the liberation movement for the one million pounds assistance promised by the Swedish government. Although PAIGC gets most of its support from the socialist countries, humanitarian assistance from some western countries is a sign that these countries object to the continued presence of Portugal in Africa.

Cabral's visit to Sweden, like that of Gil Fernandes to the British Labour Party conference, is part of a diplomatic offensive to isolate the Caetano regime and get recognition as legal representatives of their people. Nevertheless, he did not miss the opportunity to show the links between the struggle of PAIGC and that of the Swedish workers. While in Sweden he held a meeting with shipworkers at the Erikaberghs wharf in Gothenburg. The shipworkers had earlier protested against the treatment of African workers at the partly Swedish-owned Lisnave shipyard in Lisbon.

Smith in Lisbon... cont.

heavily defended by Portuguese troops, have operated just north of this line and of the road from Beira to Umtali. Understandably the Rhodesians fears are motivated chiefly by the fact that the country, suffering from economic sanctions, relies heavily on the Beira route for survival. They have told the Portuguese that the unpaved and sandy road extending for hundreds of miles is ideal for minelaying operations.

The Portuguese, at best, are confronted with such an increase in expenditure that they might soon start having misgivings about their ability to cope. Already, as a

direct consequence of economic pressures, both Angola and Mozambique are heavily indebted to Portugal; in order to collect its debts Portugal has placed such a curb on imports that there is now a shortage of equipment, accessories and building materials in both territories. Moreover, while the fiction of the parity of the Portuguese, Angola and Mozambique 'escudo' is maintained, the alarming fact is that in London the 'European escudo' is bought at the rate of 64.75 to the pound, both Mozambique and Angola escudos are worth much less, 110.00 to the pound.

GUINÉ - THE NEW

THE SOCIAL WELFARE

Guine is one of the smallest countries in Africa - at 15,400 square miles it is about the size of Switzerland. The argument that this has helped the rapid advance of the liberation struggle may well be true, although it is not equally true that the enemy benefit just as much if not more, from a reduced arena of battle, bombers can saturate the area much more thoroughly.

Moreover, while the planes enjoy the relative freedom of the air, the guerrillas must grapple with a tropical terrain and climate that must be among the toughest in Africa - miles of marshy swamps that reduce mobility and generate a myriad of debilitating diseases, and tropical rains alternating with frequent droughts, bringing hunger and famine.

Mainly because of these conditions, Guine has never been a settler country like Mozambique and Angola. In fact, with small deposits of bauxite its only known mineral resources, it has been little more than a glorified trading post controlled by the giant Portuguese monopoly Cia. Uniao Fabril; the main export, groundnuts, was compulsorily cultivated before the war by about 50,000 African families. Its social services were consequently even worse than the bare minimum found in the two other colonies: about 8 doctors for the whole rural population of less than 800,000, most of the 300 hospital beds in the capital, literacy at barely one per cent, and one government secondary school, mainly for Europeans.

This is what the war is all about, but like the other liberation movements, PAIGC is not waiting for their day of independence to bring about radical changes. 'The greatest success of our struggle is not the fact that we are capable of successfully fighting the Portuguese colonialists but the fact that we are at the same time creating a new social and cultural life in our country'. PAIGC state that

after the war development of agriculture and raising food production will be a top priority. Its program specifies, among others, the ending of the monocultivation of groundnuts and the need to fight famine and drought.

In the liberated areas there have already been vast increases in the acreage under rice and a wide variety of vegetable crops have been introduced. Of course, the droughts still occur, but now the movement's effective control of the liberated areas means that food supplies can be transported from one part of the country to another, or if necessary brought in from outside. Seeds can be supplied for new quick-growing crops and for the next season's planting. No one starves any more.

On the other side, however, since the war the Portuguese have been forced to import thousands of tons of rice every year to feed their troops and urban populations, while PAIGC are able to produce a surplus for export.

A network of People's Shops was established in 1964, and by the summer of 1968 there were 15, operating on a barter system. All activities are co-ordinated through one large central shop, with smaller ones in the regions and zones, and mobile 'buying brigades' that travel through the villages.

These buy supplies for the fighters, for boarding schools and hospitals, and export the surplus - forest rubber, kola nuts, bees wax, palm oil and nuts, and some groundnuts. Imports include soap, salt, sandals, writing materials, implements and torches. Here again the system has had repercussions beyond the liberated areas in that prices of produce bought by the Portuguese from the peasants have risen in order to keep pace with the prices paid by PAIGC. From 1968 to 1971, for example, prices paid to rice growers rose by 200 per cent.

SOCIETY DEVELOPS

PROGRAMMES OF PAIGC



Despite improvements in diet, malnutrition is still a problem and exacerbates the suffering caused by indigenous parasitic and infectious diseases, quite apart from the war casualties. But PAIGC is gradually building up a health service that covers the whole country. There are now about six PAIGC doctors in Guinea, nine hospitals (some equipped for surgery) and about 120 dispensaries with travelling medical teams. The most serious cases are transferred to their Solidarity Hospital, established in Boke in the Republic of Guinea in 1969. In 1968/69 alone, 80 nurses were trained - 30 inside the country and 50 abroad.

Education has always been a central point in the PAIGC programme: 'The rapid elimination of illiteracy .. obligatory and free primary education .. urgent training and perfection of technical cadres'. At present this means elementary education within the country, secondary education at the Amizade Institute in the Republic of Guinea and higher education through scholarships in Europe. Shortage of materials, staff and sometimes family opposition to prolonged

schooling has meant that primary education cannot yet be compulsory.

Between 1968 and 1971 there was a 17 per cent increase in schools and a 36 per cent increase in teachers. The teacher/pupil ratio was reduced from 1:54 to 1:34. In all there are probably about 15,000 children in school now, compared with 2,000 before the war. And last year 100 students were sent to Europe for further training.

Training courses and seminars, for students as well as for teachers, are also important - to produce new textbooks, or to study the role of the student in the liberation struggle, 'to oppose .. the mistaken idea which leads to the belief that those who study or take courses will thereby become privileged in our society tomorrow'.

PAIGC have good reasons to be proud of their achievements so far, but they are the first to challenge smug self-satisfaction. 'Our people have to face a colonial war .. they live under difficult conditions .. Yet nobody goes hungry, nobody is exploited, the standard of living gradually improves'.

FRELIMO creates a school

Bertil Egero reports on a visit to FRELIMO's new secondary school.

Lack of educated people is one of the serious problems facing FRELIMO in its struggle for the liberation of Mozambique. The Portuguese system of education in the colonies effectively prevented the rise of an African stratum with at least elementary education. For this reason, FRELIMO regarded the build-up of a training program as a matter of high priority. Already in 1962, the year of the formation of the movement, the work began on higher education through the Mozambique Institute. The Institute started basically as accommodation of Mozambiquan students at a neighbouring secondary school for refugee students. In 1964 it opened its own first classes in new premises. When the school was closed in 1968 there were around 160 students, some of whom were attending the American secondary school. But most of the students were in the five grades now opened at the Institute, soon to see its first group of students with full secondary school education.

The closure of the school was the result of internal difficulties fomented by external agents of the enemy who wanted the important higher education program to fail. The growth of elitist attitudes among the students and their lack of involvement in the realities of the struggle were critical factors. It took time to analyse and resolve these and related problems.

Two years later, in 1970, FRELIMO started anew, and after a period of necessary preparations the school was opened, on 25 October, in Bagamoyo north of Dar-es-Salaam. In contrast to the earlier school, this one is run and staffed directly by FRELIMO.

Mario Sive, the headmaster, talked about the principles guiding the work of the school. He said: 'The aim of the school is the same as for all education within FRELIMO, to serve the people and the liberation work. The studies are not part of individual careers but are intended to fill the needs of the

organisation in all phases of the work. The students belong to the cadre of the movement, prepared to put their knowledge to use in the military struggle and in the reconstruction work'.

The school is growing rapidly in size. From 50 students in its first year of operation, it now has over 130 students, coming from the liberated areas of Mozambique. All of them have had four years of primary education, and many have also participated directly in the military struggle.

All the students have their primary education in schools run by FRELIMO. They have now been entrusted with the task of adding another four years of study in the isolation of the boarding school, far from their home country. Of the over 130 students eleven are girls, a low proportion by European standards but here a clear sign of the growing participation of the Mozambiquan women in the revolution. The youngest students are 11 years old, the oldest 20.

According to Mario Sive, the lack of educated people in FRELIMO is so great that for some time to come they would have to rely on teaching assistance from abroad. However, after having started with six foreigners and two Mozambiquans, the present staff of eleven teachers contains only four people recruited from other countries.

Although the foreign teachers of course lack direct experience of conditions in rural Mozambique, theory and practice are as far as possible integrated through the use of concrete examples in the teaching. Apart from the traditional subjects history, geography, mathematics, science, biology and english, a significant part of the time is spent on important subjects such as various artisan skills, agricultural work and political education. The agricultural work serves the double purpose of counteracting any elitist attitudes against manual work and spreading the knowledge of improved methods of farming, in addition to increasing the self-reliance on foodstuffs of the school.

for the future

The political education consists of lectures and seminars on the party and its aims, the background to its formation, the development since 1962 and the rules and regulations for military, political and social activities. Analyses of the conflicts and crises in the history of FRELIMO, e.g. the expulsion of former vice-president Uria Simango or the events around the closure of the old secondary school in Dar-es-Salaam, is an important part of the studies.

'The political education is necessary', says Sive, 'to give the students a clearer idea of their role in the struggle, and to create the insight and motivation required so they can in the future contribute fully to the work. But we do not limit the political element to a few hours teaching a week. The very way we have chosen to organise our little community is intended to break with the traditional authoritarian pattern and create relations built upon self-confidence and mutual respect. We have created a democratic system with student representation in different committees, and whenever necessary we have general meetings to discuss problems of common interest. At these meetings, all are free to criticize and suggest improvements.'

That the discipline is good at the school is seen from the way students act in all contacts with the teachers or each other. It is not a military type of mechanical discipline enforced through threat of sanctions, but the form of discipline functionally required in the work inside Mozambique and therefore a form for interactions directly related to the earlier experience of the students.

Coming from a society where the debate about educational reforms is intensive and often progressive, I saw during my visit many things which could be criticized from a radical point of view. For instance, the marking system seemed somewhat out of place, and could perhaps be abolished in favour of team work emphasising the collective method of problem-solving.

Meals in common for students and staff, and more egalitarian conditions in relation to domestic work, would also appear to be areas open to reform.

But the frames of reference for the teachers at the school are very different from ours, and it is not immediately clear that experimenting with what for them are unknown forms of education would be of value for the school. Here as for all work in the liberation of Mozambique, the best approach seems to be to have reforms grow naturally in interaction with the changes in all sectors of the struggle.

Starting with one grade in 1970, the aim of the school is to add one grade each year until the planned four-year secondary education is fully developed. Besides, the school is used for various courses of shorter duration for primary school teachers, for cooperative organisers, for administrators etc. The lack of resources will therefore remain a constant problem, and all sorts of support are required. A difficult problem appears to be to find the right kind of foreign teachers, skilled and committed to the work and prepared to tackle all difficulties given by language and other conditions.

The closure of the school was a loss for FRELIMO. But in a very important sense it was a gain, by making FRELIMO aware of what sort of cadre they were about to create for the party. The new school is radically different and is not likely to be subjected to the crises that led to the closure of the old school. The students who will leave the school in future will provide the movement with a very much needed contribution of militant, politically conscious and capable members, with perhaps a decisive impact on the development of the struggle.



ANGOLA

Genocide by disease?

"Seeing as later on we'll have to spend money on bullets to kill them, they might as well begin to die now of venereal disease".

These words of an Angolan government official are reported in the research notes of a Portuguese doctor working in Angola. His alarm about the spread of venereal diseases in southern Angola led him to publicise his information abroad.

When men are taken for contract or forced labour from the interior of Angola to work in the fishing industries along the coast, in the mines of Namibia or in the plantations, they come in contact with the disease for the first time and are extremely vulnerable.

Given the lack of medical services for Africans under the Portuguese rule, the possibilities for cure are minute, and when the men have finished their term of service they return to their villages and spread the disease there.

The report estimates that in some areas there is now 90% infertility as a result of venereal diseases. In the environs of Pereira d'Eca 250 out of 300 women observed showed signs of the disease.

Conclusions to be drawn are clear enough: that in the affected areas a marked population decrease can be expected.

Is this a euphemism for genocide? In the words of the report: 'The few people conscious of the gravity of the problem continue to ask them themselves to what point ignorance, neglect and/or calculation will be able with impunity, to play with the lives of the human beings who are subject to them.'

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Drawing by
Angolan child

Zambian villages attacked

MPLA's representative in Lusaka has disclosed that the Portuguese have recruited former Congolese mercenaries to attack villages in the Kalabo district in the western province of Zambia.

These mercenaries have been used in an effort to create enmity between Zambians and the guerrillas, masqueraded as MPLA fighters.

But the Kalabo governor, police and MPLA officials carried out an immediate investigation. They found that 16 houses had been destroyed, and they found ammunition shells and footprints which were traced to a Portuguese military camp at Mussuma.

During the investigations the party was told by villagers that they were attacked by Portuguese forces, not MPLA fighters. Furthermore, the village was shelled by aircraft, which MPLA does not possess.

Militants visit London

Armando Panguene of FRELIMO, Adelino Nunes of PAIGC and Jose Condesa of MPLA visited Britain in October - the first time ever that representatives of the three liberation movements have appeared on the same platform in this country.

At a public meeting in Conway Hall on 11 October, ARMANDO PANGUENE said that Portugal was only able to go on fighting in Africa because of the massive assistance it received from its NATO allies. "Portugal's new policy of getting foreign investment means that we are not fighting against Portugal alone, but against all the Western countries".

The liberation movements, he said, had made great advances in Mozambique, Angola and Guine Bissau. In Mozambique, the opening of a new front in Manica e Sofala province, lying to the south of the Zambezi river, was a very important step. It showed that the Portuguese strategy of trying to use the river as a barrier to stop FRELIMO's advance had completely failed.

On Cabora Bassa: "We cannot claim that we can block the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam. But by developing the struggle to the south of it we can cut off the supply of construction materials".

He said that all three liberation movements had reached "ideological maturity - not just our leaders, but our militants, villagers and children all understand the meaning of our struggle".

ADELINO NUNES reported that in spite of continual bombing by the Portuguese, PAIGC had established an administrative structure of village committees, rural hospitals and hundreds of schools inside Guine Bissau. Now it was organising elections to the country's first legislative assembly, made up of representatives of its liberated areas.

He said that Portugal was planning new acts of aggression against Guine's neighbour, the Republic of Guinea, but it was doomed in advance to failure. Any new Portuguese invasion would only

strengthen African solidarity.

JOSE CONDESSA stressed that when the liberation movements spoke of Britain, USA and West Germany as Portugal's allies, they did not confuse the role of the government and the role of the people. He said that people in all three countries were giving practical help. MPLA distributed shirts, shoes, milk, medicine and textbooks that it had received from Britain. But the movements did not want "charity" - "People must be conscious of why they are sending us aid. All aid should be part of a campaign for giving information about the struggle".



JOSE CONDESSA stayed in London to speak to a meeting at the Collegiate Centre, University College, on 12 October after the FRELIMO and PAIGC representatives had left for Italy.

Discussing the situation in Angola itself, Condesa agreed that UNITA was represented outside the country, but said that they were not fighting within Angola. In the areas of Angola liberated by MPLA, there was no evidence of UNITA.

On Holden Roberto's ENLA, Condesa said that it was regionally based and not a national liberation movement. Although they had access to 2,000 miles of frontier with Zaïre, and had been supplied with a great deal of ammunition, they had not succeeded in making a revolution anywhere in Angola. But in spite of ENLA's puppet leadership, the MPLA consider that many of the rank and file within ENLA are genuine militants who want to liberate their country. This was one reason for the renewed invitation to Holden Roberto to negotiate - an initiative which had met with little response so far.

7

Reports of Portuguese barbarism in Angola were revealed in evidence given to the last sitting of the UN Ad Hoc working group of the Human Rights Commission in Lusaka on 15 August 1972. The evidence concerned the 'aldeamentos', or so-called 'peace camps'; the Portuguese version of 'strategic hamlets'.

Romeo Chukula, a member of MPLA, reported to the commission how the Portuguese attacked his village of Chimwobole in the eastern province of Angola in April, and took everybody to the 'peace camps'. When they got there, they were paraded inside one of the barbed wire enclosures, and ten of the villagers were shot "to warn us of the consequences of helping the 'monkeys' (guerrillas)".

They create a desolation

Another witness told of how the captured Angolans are forced to join special groups of 'Africans only' army units to fight MPLA guerrillas whom they are told 'are from other countries and have got tails like monkeys'.

The most appalling revelation came from another prisoner at a 'peace camp'. He said that on Christmas day last year he and other prisoners were forced to eat the bodies of five chiefs. These chiefs had been killed because when the Portuguese authorities had asked them what they wanted for Christmas they had suggested game, and "they knew guerrillas were out there in the bush and would shoot the hunting

SOLIDARITY

At the Labour Party Conference at Blackpool in October a composite resolution on Southern Africa was overwhelmingly passed. Its most significant point was the demand that a future Labour government would cease to supply arms to Portugal through NATO.

Other points in the resolution included the affirmation that a Labour government will end all investment in, and campaign against emigration to South Africa, participate in UN work on decolonisation and apartheid and establish closer contacts

At Blackpool

with the liberation movements. A resolution calling for the intensification of sanctions against Rhodesia and rejecting the settlement proposals was also passed. Gil Fernandes attended the Conference representing PAIGC, there for the first time.

Although Conference has now pledged the Labour Party to take the side of the liberation movements in the Southern African struggle, there is no guarantee that a future labour government will honour this pledge. It is therefore necessary for the maximum pressure to be exerted to ensure that these resolutions are transformed into action.

Freedom fighters win

The liberation struggle of the Portuguese colonies is gaining momentum. Not only have the military successes given grave concern to Portugal and her allies in southern Africa, but international opinion has now taken a decisive step in acknowledging the realities of the struggle.

In September, the UN Committee on Non-Self-Governing Territories with a majority of 78 to 13 granted observer status to the liberation movements.

In October, the Secretary-General of PAIGC, Amilcar Cabral, and the Vice-President of FRELIMO,

Marcelino dos Santos, appeared before the Committee and presented details of the advancement of the struggle.

This action represents another step towards recognising the movements as the true representatives of their people.

The response from Portugal and South Africa came swiftly, as expected. Both countries withdrew from the Committee, accusing it of "violation of the constitution and encouragement of terrorism".

The Portuguese Foreign Minister,

and call it peace

soldiers."

Not everyone is horrified by the Portuguese version of 'peace' - the British ambassador to Portugal, David Muirhead, recently toured Mozambique and was shown round aldeamentos there. His verdict? - 'I am convinced that it is of utmost importance for those who live outside Mozambique to come personally and see the progress that is taking place....I hope very much to get another occasion to come to Mozambique to find further signs of the continuity of your progress'.

Of course a Tory ambassador might well be able to teach the Portuguese a few things about internment camps..

In London

At a meeting in London on FRELIMO Day (Sept. 25), Tony Gifford launched a new campaign to raise material aid for FRELIMO by appealing for money to buy a battery slide projector and slides of tropical diseases which had been requested by the FRELIMO hospital for use in the nurses training course, both in the hospital in Mtwara (Tanzania) and in the interior of Mozambique. £100 was donated for the project, and the slides have already been sent to Tanzania. Investigations have been made to find out what make is most suitable, and it is planned to send both a small battery projector and a larger one that can be in permanent use at the hospital.

Continued detention of black lawyer

Dr. Domingos Arouca, Mozambique's one and only black lawyer is still languishing in Portugal's notorious Peniche prison - although his sentence expired four months ago.

Dr. Arouca was arrested in 1965, accused of being a FRELIMO leader, of being responsible for subversion in southern Mozambique, of planning to blow up port installations in Lourenco Marques, and of being in clandestine radio contact with FRELIMO headquarters in Tanzania. His prosecutors were unable to prove any of these charges, but despite this he was sentenced to four years imprisonment and 15 years deprivation of citizenship rights (no great loss in Portugal). On 29 May this year his sentence was completed - but he was not released. Two other lawyers imprisoned with Dr. Arouca were released in January and February. Both of them were white.

In protest at his continued detention Dr. Arouca went on hunger strike from June 19-21. He has also written to the President of the Portuguese Bar, Mr. Almeida Ribeiro, asking him to intervene in the case. Dr. Arouca's imprisonment - which he claims is even in breach of Portuguese law itself - must give all those who actually believed in the Castano regime's alleged liberalization of security measures pause for thought

UN observer status

Rui Patricio, in a speech at the end of the General Assembly debate on decolonisation, denied all claims by the movements to have liberated large areas of Portuguese territory. He even went so far as to claim that the UN mission to Guine last year was hoaxed and never in fact went inside the country.

Patricio repeated his invitation to the UN Secretary-General to send a mission "to verify the effective exercise of Portugal's sovereignty in its overseas provinces of Africa".

The type of "sovereignty"

Portugal exercises became clear in a statement released by Amilcar Cabral at the General Assembly earlier the same day. Cabral described the famine threatening tens of thousands of people in the Cape Verde Islands, and accused the Portuguese Government of "stubbornly refusing any international contributions which might help to save hundreds, if not thousands, of lives". Instead, the Portuguese are taking advantage of the situation to try and weaken PAIGC.

Portuguese representatives at the UN refused to comment on any aspects of Cabral's statement.

BOOK REVIEWS

IN THE EYE OF THE STORM: ANGOLA'S PEOPLE.
Basil Davidson, published by Longman. £3.95

The revolution in Angola against Portuguese oppression and colonialism has an authentic voice in MPLA, which is too rarely heard in Britain. Basil Davidson's *In the Eye of the Storm* records that voice through the participants in the liberation struggle, and presents his own eye-witness testimony of his contact with MPLA in liberated areas.

The guerrilla fighters explain in interviews with the author how they came to be involved in the fight, after many had seen and rejected the best that Portugal offered to the handful of Angolans who would sacrifice their own identities and culture for the dubious privilege of becoming second-class Portuguese.

What impresses the reader in the occasional brief biographies of the fighting men is not the inevitability of victory that now appears certain to come from the long, hard political and military build-up, but the inevitability of struggle as the Angolan nationalists took up arms.

Their nationalism within a revolutionary framework is seen by Davidson as offering an important lesson to African countries already independent but within the confines of neo-colonialism. The Angolans chose struggle, and have built up their ideas through experience of working with the

people - experience that, as Davidson shows, is echoed in the struggles of FRELIMO in Mozambique and PAIGC in Guinea.

The Angolan people also have a history, largely ignored in Portugal except in the rare traveller's tales, few of which can be recommended. Davidson details the history that informants in Angola told him from their own recollection or from oral tradition - and matches it with documentary evidence where it can be found. This concern entails detective work and time that is not easily arranged in the midst of guerrilla warfare. But in Angola, African history is not forgotten, and is a factor in the pride the MPLA militants show in rescuing their country and people from alien domination.

It is sometimes asked in Britain why the OAU in Africa and the UN have accepted the MPLA as the representatives of the Angolan people, instead of the Portuguese colonialists who rule nominally. Davidson's historical and political study shows how the Angolan people have made MPLA strong, and how support in the villages enables men and women to fight the huge armies of a European country, Portugal, backed by the richest and most powerful of western states.

PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO EUROPE

Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, published by Aktion Dritte Welt: Freiburg. 95p

This book documents the economic and political involvement of Portugal and, increasingly, of international capital in southern Africa.

Part 1, 'The Present', examines whether Salazar's policies towards the African colonies have changed under Caetano, and concludes that "neither the legal and political nor economic policy towards the overseas territories have undergone any change...The overseas territories continue to function as protected markets and suppliers of foreign exchange for the

metropolis".

The Portuguese bourgeoisie is adapting its strategy. In order to protect and safeguard its profits and colonies, it has had to allow increasing involvement of international capitalism. This is entrenching itself in the colonies with an eye to neo-colonial solutions to the national liberation struggles. The Cabora Bassa dam is analysed as an example of the way these different interests operate.

Likewise, Ferreira examines the

Cunene river scheme which will supply electricity and water to southern Angola and Namibia. He lays particular emphasis on Portuguese, South African and West German interests in the two territories, e.g. West German interests in Namibian uranium. This means continued profits to the exploiters and continued oppression of the population.

This is followed by a brief analysis of SWAPO, the liberation movement in Namibia, and FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC.

Part 2, 'The Imperialist Strategy for the Future', contains an

PORTUGUESE AFRICA AND THE WEST
William Minter, published by Penguin 40p.

Most of William Minter's book is a detailed account of how the United States - although nominally pledged to the ideal of 'self determination' - through the NATO alliance, through increasing corporate investment in Portuguese Africa, through obstructive tactics at the UN, acts in practice as the main prop of the last colonial empire.

The US has always shown much more concern for its now obsolete base in the Azores, and for placating the dictatorial government of the least important of the NATO powers than for any effective attempt to put the principles enshrined in its own Declaration of Independence into practice in Southern Africa. Its distaste for colonialism pure and simple is far outweighed by its absolute terror of revolutionary war - and so while making polite noises to the Portuguese government asking it to

implement 'reforms', it aligns itself squarely behind the white supremacists of Lisbon, Salisbury and Pretoria.

The thoroughness of this book's analysis, with many tables and footnotes, is marred by misprints occasional lines omitted, and a table of contents that does not mention page numbers.

At the UN this is shown by constant failure to support motions demanding action against Portuguese colonialism on the grounds that they are unrealistic. But, as Minter says: 'It is not that the United States refuses to support the resolutions because they are unrealistic; such resolutions are unrealistic because the United States refuses to support them. They call for the relinquishment of military and economic ties with Portugal that the United States is unwilling to relinquish. And that is why Africans in Portuguese Africa have increasingly recognized that they fight not only against Portugal, but against a whole imperial complex headed by the United States'.

Sloshed, spoke out, then sacked

Malawian ministers should be careful of the amount they drink. This would seem the moral of the sad story of Malawi's Minister of Transport and Communications, John Gwengwe. In line with President Banda's policies of collaboration with South Africa and Portugal, Gwengwe went to Mozambique recently for talks with the Portuguese on railway and air transport. The hosts gave a cocktail party in his honour at which Gwengwe heartily enjoyed himself. So it was a more than slightly inebriated diplomat who rose to address his hosts. Throwing away his prepared speech, he insisted on talking without

notes - and proceeded to harangue his Portuguese audience, telling them that Malawi's policy of co-operation was 'sheer flattery', and that both Malawians and Portuguese knew that Mozambique belonged to the Africans and sooner or later FRELIMO would take power.

This was not what the Portuguese had expected to hear, and they complained to President Banda. And to prove that what drunken ministers let slip out is not in fact secret Malawian policy, Banda promptly sacked the unfortunate Gwengwe and dismissed him from the Malawi Congress Party.

LITERATURE ETC

The struggle for Mozambique - Eduardo Mondlane	40p
Revolution in Guine - Amilcar Cabral	45p
The liberation of Guine - Basil Davidson	30p
Revolution in Angola - Merlin Press	60p
In the eye of the storm: Angola's people	
- Basil Davidson	£3.95p
Portuguese Africa and the West - William Minter	40p
Portuguese colonialism from South Africa to Europe - Eduardo Ferreira	95p
War on three fronts	18p
Our people are our mountains - Amilcar Cabral	18p
Cabora Bassa and the struggle for Southern Africa	15p
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WCC profile of PAIGC	5p
WCC profile of FRELIMO	5p
Statutes and programme of PAIGC	2 1/2p
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POSTERS

Victory to MPLA	10p
Barclays supports apartheid	10p
Victory to People's War	2' by 3' 25p
Our people are our mountains	2' by 3' 25p
FRELIMO woman militant	2' by 3' 25p

FILMS

Venceremos - 16mm 20 minute film from Mozambique	
£2.50 plus postage	
Behind the lines - 16mm 50 minute film from Mozambique available from Contemporary Films, 55 Greek St., London W1.	
£8.50 '35 minute version £6.50)	

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

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

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

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Clothing campaign

Nearly 1 1/2 tons of used clothing has been shipped to Dar es Salaam for MPLA. The clothes were collected by a number of organisations and individuals throughout the country, and sorted and sent by the Committee.

Shipping costs are extremely high - over £90 - and the Committee would welcome donations specifically to cover this expenditure. We know from the liberation movements that clothing is badly needed, in particular the woollens that are not easily available in Africa. Visitors to Mozambique and Angola have reported both on the cold climate in some liberated areas and the wide use of clothing sent from abroad. For these reasons we feel the expenditure is justified.

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