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ARMED REBELLION IN THE FAR SOUTH OF ANGOLA

Second Report from an MPLA Action Committee.

To the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola:

We are once again addressing ourselves to our brothers in the struggle for the people's freedom who broadcast over "Fighting Angola".

God sees the imploring souls here, sees their needs, the prisons in which we suffer and our tears. He does not close His eyes or cover His ears. The man He has chosen to deliver us from the hands of the Portuguese fascists is our great hero Agostinho Neto, who started from nothing and will ultimately achieve so much.

This letter is addressed especially to our President Agostinho Neto.

With the continuation of the revolution started in January, cattle vaccination stations and schools made of mud were destroyed, and there were even attempts to destroy administrative posts, the Chiedi, Namacunde, Evale, Mongua and Cuamato posts.

The whole population, even children, were all in the revolution with the same faith. Groups made up of hundreds of young men were formed, all on bicycles, and armed with their African weapons: machetes, axes, assegais and sticks.

They went from one post to another, asking what was done with the money from the taxes levied by the Portuguese colonialists. All the taxes, including dog licences and payments for cattle vaccination and "mahongo" (a drink which Africans in those regions distil from certain fruits; the distilling is done by women and it contains no alcohol). The Portuguese puppet imposes a tax on this drink and even on "kissangua", which is also made by women and is used

solely for quenching one's thirst.

The courageous men of our people wanted to know what use was made of all this money, and also of the 380 escudos for the "minimum general tax". Even the officials in charge of the posts were not able to calm them down, and neither were the traders. Then the district governor decided to call for their chief, Governor General Rebocho Vaz, from Luanda.

On his arrival in the district, at Pereira d'Eca, Rebocho Vaz summoned all the people from those posts.

But all showed the same faith. They did not want to go there. Then it was they who summoned him, first to the Chiedi post, but he did not agree. Then to the Namacunde post, and he agreed to go there. He found them all assembled there, waiting for him. There were not only men there, but also women and children, old men and women, some on bicycles and some even on foot. Among them were many who had come from very far, owing to their determination to speak their minds. Some had come a distance of at least 75 kilometres, so that all might tell puppet Rebocho Vaz what they had to say to him.

The questions put to Rebocho Vaz were neither surprising nor a miracle. The people seemed to know how to use their heads when they spoke, without having to be taught.

Here are the questions and answers of both Rebocho Vaz and the people:

Rebocho Vaz started first, saying: "What are you doing and what do you want?"

Answer: "We want to know where all the money you rob us of goes to."

Rebocho Vaz answered: "What is all this money and how are you robbed?"

The people answered: "We are robbed in the fol-

lowing way. You don't find any work for the men who pay the 380 escudos tax. There is only work for the white man coming from Portugal. Secondly, in order to pay all the taxes you demand of us, we have to go and earn money in the other country, South Africa. When we come home again, on crossing the border at the Ochicango post, we are searched and all the nice things we bring back with us are taken away from us. Thirdly, there is always a vehicle there to take us back to the town of Pereira d'Eca, it being compulsory that we go in it. When we get there, no one is allowed to leave without paying for going in the vehicle, regardless of whether he has a bicycle or not, or of whether he is going near or far.

Fourthly, we are then forced to go to the posts and pay the tax. Ten Rands, i.e. 380 escudos, are taken from us, just like the nice things taken from us at the frontier or even from our homes when the police come. In other words, we are left with nothing. Yet we have spent a long time away from our families in another country. If you kill an ox, a kid, a pig or a goat to celebrate with the whole family, you have to pay a free for doing so. Otherwise you go and buy meat from the butcher, where meat is very dear. Fifthly, our sons are recruited by the Portuguese puppets to work in the fisheries at Porto Alexandre, Benguela and even Lobito. Others work on tobacco at Quilengues. In their case, when their contract is finished they are given the meagre contract sum, at most 500 escudos after a year's work, and they are shut up in the shops. They leave all their money there. The result is that the ones from South West Africa arrive without

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ARMED REBELLION SOUTH OF ANGOLA

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a cent, with not even enough to buy sweets for their brothers. And when they return, they are not transported as they were when they were recruited. When they are recruited, they are fooled with 100 or 200 escudos, depending on how big they are. But once the contract is completed, this money is deducted. So, isn't all this robbery, Mr. Rebocho Vaz?" the people asked.

Comrades, Rebocho Vaz was incapable of answering.

Then Rebocho Vaz tried to get out of it and said: "The money from taxes and fees is used to build schools and hospitals. All this is a very great thing for you."

The people answered: "We

ox, kid or pig, he comes and charges you a fine equal to the value of the animal killed.

As for the schools in the villages, the Portuguese colonialists have them built out of mud roofed with palm leaves, and only in a few kimpos. And they send a monitor there who has only had primary schooling which is barely enough for himself. If he doesn't know enough for himself, how are the pupils going to benefit? What use is he?

This is why we have burned those rotten schools and vaccination stations, which are only there to exploit us."

Fascist Rebocho Vaz asked: "What do you want now?"



do not see the point of all this, because we only see schools and hospitals in places where there are whites. Where there are less than ten houses of whites from Portugal, they establish a village. More than ten houses is a town and then they put a doctor there. But in all those places an African who goes to hospital for treatment has to pay for everything and it is very expensive. So we want to ask you something, Mr. Rebocho Vaz: where are there hospitals and schools for Africans? And with all the kimpos (villages) we have, with so many people, so many children, we have no buildings for the children going to school, so what is the money we contribute used for?"

"All we see in the 'kimpos' are cattle vaccination stations used for paying another thief, the veterinary doctor. If you do not pay him the fee for killing an

"What we and the others from South West Africa want is to pay only 75 escudos tax, that is, two Rands, not to have to make payments for just anything, to have the money to build a good house and not to be disturbed where we are, because the land is ours."

Puppet Rebocho Vaz threatened to kill.

But all of them, the people, answered together: "If that's how you want it, start with the new-born baby and finish with the old man of 200. Kill all of us and don't leave a living soul in this Kuanhaina region. But we too are going to destroy everything."

After which Rebocho Vaz went back to town without saying goodbye. But all of them, the people, stayed there. Then they too decided to go to town to get an answer. Three days later, they found him in town.

Rebocho Vaz made them all assemble on the airfield.

All Rebocho Vaz's troops were there, threatening. But the people called them all the insulting names under the sun, and Rebocho Vaz too.

Then fascist Rebocho Vaz said he would stop all taxes and fees apart from the minimum tax, and he left.

Comrades, when the true guerrillas of the people saw African Angolan soldiers threatening revolutionaries, they were absolutely astounded, because what the people were doing was for the good of all Angolans, not only for Kuanhamas.

That is why the people in the region rose up against the Angolan soldiers in the colonial army. They ordered their expulsion. There was fighting and some were even killed.

Comrades. Puppet Rebocho Vaz found himself obliged to abolish even the minimum tax throughout the Kunene district. This tax, which was 380 escudos, is now 75 escudos. But he had to abolish other things too. All taxes and fees were abolished.

Rebocho was in the district for five days and the rebellion started on 3 February and lasted till 10 February. This is how the people in Kunene region commemorated the eleventh anniversary of our national revolution, how they commemorated 4 February.

Comrades, the rebellion has not ended yet. It is continuing but in a different way, and we know that we are going to fight a big war against the Portuguese colonialists together with the MPLA guerrillas, the soldiers of the Angolan people.

Comrades, all the oppressed African peoples are fighting for freedom. Our people, the Angolan people, will win. The people of Kunene are carrying on the struggle and they know that the MPLA, led by our President Agostinho Neto, will bring independence to our Angola.

Comrades, I shall end here. The PIDE is very actively hunting out people, but we are vigilant.

We heard your answer to the letter we sent at the end of January. We were all very happy when "Fighting Angola" broadcast about it.

Greetings from all of us. Comrades, onward, onward, for Victory is Certain.

Signed: SILIVELI ECI
NDINGA

PORTUGAL ILL WITH COLONIALISM

It would appear to be difficult for the African patriots to carry the political struggle inside the colonial metropole itself. Yet increasingly wide cracks are appearing in the walls of the stronghold that Salazar built.

"The commander of the military region sent me out with a hundred men to reconnoitre. We had to verify reports that the terrorists, that is to say the Angolan guerrillas, had infiltrated into the area nominally under our forces' control." The young Portuguese who spoke these words had been a captain in the colonial contingent in "the overseas province of Angola" until a few months before. "Our instructions were to cover about twenty kilometres in the Bie bush and return the next day. It was certainly a dangerous mission. One could sense that MPLA men were in the area. Contact with the local population had ceased to be normal for some time. This meant that the guerrillas were gaining ground. I personally had no wish to risk my life or the lives of my men for a reconnaissance mission."

TYPICAL REMARKS

"So what was I to do? What practically all reserve officers do. Say 'yes sir', leave the fortified camp which was our base, go a few kilometres into the forest, stop in a safe place, post sentries and return to camp the following day to report that the reconnoitring had shown that there was nothing: no terrorists, no population, nothing at all." And he added with a smile: "Naturally, to pass the time in the forest, we hunted and played cards..."

There was nothing exceptional about this officer's remarks. If anything, they were typical. During my trip to Portugal I questioned a lot of people who had just served in the army, officers, non-commissioned officers and ordinary soldiers. All spoke readily on condition that their names would not be mentioned. What emerged from these conversations was the fact that the colonial army as a whole does not believe the slightest bit in its "civilising mission", as the Lisbon strategists claim, and it therefore has no desire whatsoever to fight.

The army's two mottoes

(This article by Bruno Crimi appeared in *Jeune Afrique* on 27 May 1972 and was reproduced in *Facts and Reports*, the bi-weekly publication of the Angola Committee in Amsterdam).

are (1) "Bring back your whole skin, including the skin of your heels" which, in Portuguese, means that one should fight as little as possible and also tire oneself out as little as possible; and (2) "Above all, no heroism".

"The fact is," another young officer told me, "in Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique you only rarely find someone who wants a confrontation with the guerrillas. If you can run away without too much risk, well, so much the better!"

Of course, this only holds true for the army. "It's quite different with the airforce," the same officer explained. "Just as in Vietnam, the strategists of the colonial war are trying to make the airforce do what the infantry can't do. Anyway, the pilots don't run much of a risk." Indeed, the MPLA, like the PAIGC and FRELIMO, only have a few anti-aircraft batteries which are quite insufficient for any serious retaliation against the terrorist tactics of the colonial forces.

A man very close to the Minister of War, a person who openly (at least in front of me) plays the part of a "liberal" (while asking me not to reveal his name), told me: "We are well aware that Amilcar Cabral could arrive in Bissau this very day. But he couldn't hold the town, because we have the airforce and he doesn't have enough anti-aircraft equipment." "But he could ultimately be supplied with anti-aircraft equipment," I said. "That's true, and we also know that the PAIGC's weapons are daily becoming more dangerous for us," he said. "But so long as Cabral can't hold Bissau, the Portuguese won't leave Guinea."

In any event, the rejection of "heroism", the indifference and the ignorance of the problems already suffice to explain if not a defeat, at least a military deficiency of which everyone in Portugal is aware, even if it is spoken about as little as possible.

To understand the underlying reasons for this state of affairs, it should be re-

called that Portugal has been under a dictatorial regime for more than forty years. This dictatorship has never involved attempts at "mobilising" the people, as in Mussolini's Italy and Franco's Spain. Salazar's dictatorship in the past, and Caetano's today, have always been, so to speak, cold and technocratic. Salazar, who was always shut up in his office, never had any contact with "his" people and Caetano's presence among the Portuguese is confined to opening a few bridges and highways and making televised speeches two or three times a year.

"ON THE MOON"

Eleven years ago, the Minister of Defence stated that he was going to control the Angolan rebellion led by "international communism" in three months. The same was said at the beginning of the struggle in Guinea in 1963, and on the situation in Mozambique in 1964-65. Throughout that whole period, hundreds of thousands of young men were sent to "the overseas provinces" to "defend the values of western civilisation and Catholicism".

At that time, the Portuguese papers only published the official communiqués of the commands in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique, in which — curiously enough — there was never any mention of war but regular reports of "victories" of the armed forces. Moreover, they listed the names of those "dead for the Fatherland". No details were ever given on the places where these men fell. No mention was ever made of planes shot down by anti-aircraft guns or of the ships sunk by bazookas in the rivers of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. In this situation, what could a poor peasant from Alentejo know about the Portuguese war in Africa? To quote the words of another officer: "When our men land in Angola, it is as though they were arriving on the moon. The peasants especially have never seen blacks and they are all amazed to see so many of them. And if one takes them, for example, to the districts of Moxico, Cuanza Norte or Luanda, they don't know

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Portugal ill with Colonialism

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where these areas are. They are bewildered. Forty years of dictatorship and a wretchedly monotonous and totally depoliticised life does not prepare them at all to listen sceptically to the speeches on "Portugal's great mission" in its "overseas provinces" which are made by their superior officers (for whom the war is a good deal, judging by their pay).

"To assess the situation in the colonies, you should spend a few days in a combat zone," I was told by a young worker from Setubal who had just completed his service in Guinea. "It's enough to drive you mad. I remember very well that in the Bafata area we lived underground all day. We had to walk through a fifteen-metre trench to go for a piss. We knew there were sharpshooters in the trees around the camp. Every time one went to the latrines, one risked one's life. And there was fear, deadening fear. People became closed and didn't speak. Often there wasn't enough to eat, but there was always enough to drink, beer and wine. We got drunk to overcome our terror."

This situation develops deep-seated racism among the troops. The reasoning is very elementary: it is because of blacks that we are in this situation and it is blacks who are killing and wounding us, therefore blacks are to be hated. Lack of political consciousness and boredom lead to apathy among the men in combat, who — with a few exceptions — do not understand that it is the Lisbon hawks and the government who are responsible for the situation in which they find themselves.

CHICKEN THIEVES

Two and a half years ago, during a voyage I made to Guinea Bissau, a PAIGC military commander told me:

"The Portuguese have been reduced to the role of chicken thieves." To anyone who does not know the situation in the colonial army, this might sound like mere propaganda. But the fact is that the Portuguese often quite literally behave like

chicken thieves.

The settlers who live in Angola and Mozambique (there are no settlers in Guinea, but only a few thousand administrative officials, especially in Bissau) are not unaware of the state of mind prevailing in the colonial contingent. This is the reason for the growing uneasiness of "Portuguese residents in the colonies". On a number of occasions, especially recently, settlers have insulted officers and soldiers of the contingent, accusing them of not defending Portugal's interests (i.e. their own interests) in the overseas provinces with "determination".

The commanders in chief of the three territories, the "famous" Spinola in Guinea, Rebocho Vaz in Angola and Kaulza de Arriaga in Mozambique, are also well aware of military realities. They prefer to entrust intervention operations to the airforce, crack troops such as the "commandos", or paratroopers, who are often chosen from among the sons of settlers.

All things considered, a peasant from the metropole is not too concerned about "losing" the "overseas provinces".

Moreover, the steady deterioration of the military situation in Africa has led the settlers in certain areas to form a veritable reserve army which is well trained and "conscious of the mission that awaits it", according to a teacher in Oporto who returned from Mozambique two years ago. Naturally, the "Direcao geral de seguranca" (DGS, the political police) is increasing its powers in the colonies in geometrical progression. It no longer exercises its powers solely over political African circles in the towns (as such, suspected of "subversion"), but also over the army itself. It is symptomatic that the number of DGS agents in the army is constantly growing. And it is for this very reason that the more politicised elements in the army are absolutely unable to move an inch.

While the prisons in Luanda, the Cape Verde Islands, Beira and Lourenco Marques are being filled with

thousands of blacks suspected of having nationalist sympathies, the Portuguese soldiers are counting the days before they return home.

It is therefore easy to understand why it is that when they speak of Portugal, the leaders of the national liberation movements only accuse the Lisbon rulers and never the Portuguese people, who are exploited, deprived of freedom and reduced to indifference.

LOST TIME

Despite appearances, there is a great deal of talk about the colonies in the government. According to certain indiscretions, three major trends are discernable:

(1) The extremist trend represented by the military and the Minister for Defence. In his opinion, without its African empire, Portugal would no longer be viable and would be reduced to "a geographic expression". Portugal would fall prey to "foreign imperialism" and its national identity would be lost, both politically and economically. If it is to hold its own with the "other" powers, it must at all costs keep "its" African territories.

(2) The so-called "liberal" trend favouring the formal independence of the "provinces", which is chiefly represented by such financial circles as the Companhia de Uniao Fabril, the Banco de Angola, Barclays Bank of Mozambique, Banco Pinto e Soto Mayor, the omnipotent Banco Nacional Ultramarino, etc. They have powerful ties with international capitalism and advocate a strong and technocratic government, but shorn of all the more gaudy frippery of the dictatorship. These circles now realise that the "internationalism" of the Lisbon government was largely determined by its economic weakness and the fact that it did not have the means, before the armed struggle was launched, to transform direct colonialism into indirect colonialism (neocolonialism). Now they are trying to make up for lost time, as if present conditions were the same as ten or twelve

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PORTUGAL AND THE COMMON MARKET

It is becoming boring to repeat that Portugal is an underdeveloped country, the most backward in Europe. With its 600 dollars annual per capita output, it lags well behind Greece (950 dollars), and there is a yawning chasm between it and the Common Market countries (2,270 dollars) and the United States (4,660 dollars).

Portuguese agriculture, despite its extreme poverty, still provides about 20 per cent of gross national product formation and employs no less than 31 per cent of the economically active population.

Average per capita consumption --without taking into account the flagrant and explosive social inequalities -- is only 430 dollars annually, as against 1,680 in France. It is not therefore surprising that young Portuguese should be seeking asylum in that country!

With an education system which is downright obsolete, Portugal spends only 1.44 per cent of its GNP on education, whereas the superdeveloped United States, Belgium and Holland spend 5.1, 5.57 and 6.71 per cent respectively.

This is the Portugal which would like to join the Common Market! With three colonial wars on its back, an internal battlefield, a wholly fascist structure devoid of the slightest shred of democracy and what is more, a Mussolini-type system of feudally-conceived corporations which merely serve to create a ponderous, sterile and parasitic bureaucratic apparatus.

Let us therefore examine the problems which would stem from Portugal's entry into the Common Market, starting with agriculture.

Owing to the archaic methods of working the land, Portuguese agricultural products generally carry higher prices than those of the Common Market countries, notwithstanding the very much lower wage levels in Portugal. Agricultural yields are rather poorer than in the developed countries, yet Portuguese agriculture constitutes about 20 per cent of the GNP, whereas in France it is only 7.4 per cent, in Germany 4.2 per cent and in the United States 3.3 per cent. In other words, if Portuguese agriculture constitutes such a substantial part of the GNP, this is not because it is advanced, but solely because of the overall backwardness of the Portuguese economy, where industry itself is by no means productive.

In the event of Portugal joining the Common Market, only tomatoes, wine and cork would be competitive, which would mean the collapse of Portuguese agriculture as a whole.

Portugal, which calls itself a country of farmers, is in fact a big wheat importer, even committing itself in international agreements to import 85 per cent of its annual requirements.

Even the Portuguese wine industry, which is at grips with a serious crisis of over-production, is only profitable to the extent that a substantial part of production is sold in the colonies, owing to protectionist legislation which is extremely unfavourable to the latter. This means that the Portuguese wine industry has been lulled into complacency by easy and assured outlets in the colonies, neglecting quality, as a result of which, apart from a few varieties, Portuguese wines cannot today compete with Italian, French, Spanish, Yugoslav or even Greek wines.

The Secretary of State for Agriculture recognised this himself when he stated: "The restoration of the wine industry with a view to establishing a policy of quality and competitive prices is a fundamental imperative which must be put into effect with persistence, courage and a sense of reality."

The slow process of mechanisation is not sufficient to make up for the massive rural exodus; the exodus to the big towns and, above all, to France. From 1960 to 1970, there was a population increase in only five of the eighteen districts of Portugal, i.e. Lisbon, Oporto, Setubal, Aveiro and Bragá. The Portuguese countryside is being depopulated! Many villages are inhabited only by old people, women and children who, as though struck by fatalism, merely wait for monthly remittances from a relative who has taken refuge in France.

The worst part of it is that Portuguese agriculture is crushed under the heavy burden of inefficient bureaucracy and by a plethora of parasitic middle-men. Unless there are profound structural changes, Portuguese agriculture will never be able to get out of this situation. Southern Portugal belongs to half a dozen latifundists, real sharks who have shamelessly exploited the people for centuries and who have never taken the slightest interest in mechanising agriculture, but only in their high living and orgies at Estoril.

The north of Portugal is divided into small landholdings which can never be productive unless large producer cooperatives are set up, as Antonio Sergio always advocated. But the fascist authorities of course reject all popular solutions.

Together with agriculture, fishing is the most backward sector of the Portuguese economy. With its obsolete fishing fleet and out-of-date fish processing industry, Portugal can never hope to compete with Norway or even Spain in this field.

Furthermore, the recent scandal over the high mercury salt content in Portuguese tinned fish, which was denounced by the US Food and Drug Administration, is a good indication of the primitive state of the fishing industry in Portugal.

Taken as a whole, this industry provides about 40 per cent of the GNP and employs only 26 per cent of the total economically active population.

The mining industry is still embryonic and, moreover, it is controlled by foreign monopolies. In addition, in order to meet the present need for tungsten, the Panas mines have been penetrated by Charter Consolidated and the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, the very company which is exploiting the diamond mines in Lunda, in Angola.

The fact is that industry provides 60 per cent of Portuguese exports, but these are mainly simply processed agricultural products, chiefly textiles and foodstuffs. Industry is therefore poorly developed.

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PORTUGAL AND THE

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The more specialised and demanding industries, from optics to automobile manufacturing, are totally unknown in Portugal.

Public finances are dominated by an extremely grave phenomenon: inflation. Whereas during "fascism's good years" the oligarchy noisily bragged about the "stability of the escudo", now they never stop offering advice on how to combat inflation!

In any event, the so highly vaunted "monetary stability" under Salazarist orthodoxy was not in any sense a result of the balanced development of the national economy, but of the strangulation of all economic potentials through the patriarchal policy of "feathering the nest". In other words, rather than accumulate gold and foreign exchange, it would have been far better to mobilise these reserves and make them productive. It is obvious that the main victims of the whole so-called austerity policy are the Portuguese working masses.

As we have pointed out, the main feature of the economic situation today is inflation. What are its causes? The remittances of emigrants, foreign exchange inflow from tourism and, above all, non-productive budget expenditure.

Public expenditure has grown more rapidly than national revenue. Now if this expenditure were productive, it would provide an incentive for economic growth, but it so happens that it is non-productive, that it is above all military expenditure, which attained the record figure of 13.7 million contos in 1971.

An under-developed country like Portugal cannot, with impunity, indulge in the "luxury" of spending about half its budget on wars which are lost in advance, having no war industry of its own and therefore having to buy all its war material with foreign exchange.

In the face of the growing and pressing needs arising out of the wasteful colonial wars, the Portuguese national debt rose from 17.3 million contos in 1960 to 38.7 million in 1970, with an even sharper rise in the external debt.

Taxes increased much more rapidly than national wealth, becoming almost intolerable for the working masses and seriously affecting broad sectors of the bourgeoisie itself.

The working people are even more sorely afflicted by this taxation policy, just as they are the main victims of inflation. The consumer price index in Lisbon increased by at least 19 per cent from 1949 to 1963, and from that year until 1971 it registered the alarming increase of 65 per cent. In the last months of 1971, the increase was as much as 12 per cent which, according to the fascists, "reveals a seriously upset economic situation". Now if prices rise and salaries are frozen, who suffers? The working masses, obviously. The tears shed by Marcelo Caetano before the television cameras when he stigmatises inflation are therefore nothing but crocodile tears!

However, there is one aspect of inflation which is seriously worrying the fascists. Contrary to the theories put forward nowadays - and especially in Portugal - inflation is not accompanied by economic growth! Nor could it be when the major part of state expenditure is not for productive investment, but for desperately prolonging lost colonial wars!

Indeed, the growth of Portuguese production is far from attaining the planned rate of 7 percent, a rate which is in fact insignificant if we consider the extent of the gap between Portugal and the developed countries.

The Portuguese economy is to a very great extent dependent on countries abroad. Imports represent 23 per cent of the gross domestic product and exports 16 per cent.

But the decisive factor, as regards the balance of trade, is the excessive chronic deficit, which is itself evidence of a centuries-old parasitic existence.

In 1970, with exports amounting to 27 million contos in terms of value and imports amounting to 45 million, there was an astronomical deficit of 18 million contos, meaning that exports represent only 60 per cent of imports! And if we exclude from this total figure trade with the colonies,

it will be seen that only half exports.

Portuguese exports are of low value products, which makes them vulnerable. If we consider that they consist of products which are easily marketable, liable to be dropped at the quarter of all Portuguese exports. If we add cork, wines, timber, pulp, the total represents 60 per cent of exports!

Despite the big trade deficit, the balance of payments traditionally shows a surplus. First and foremost, through the colonies, not only would the deficit be much more accentuated, but also for all the low quality Portuguese products from the colonies, which have positive value for the world, are the habitual recipients of exchange to Portugal and a source of profits from the export of profits, primarily from the colonies.

Balance of payments surplus is made up of sums sent home by Portuguese emigrants and other countries in Europe and Africa, and resources accruing from tourism.

Let us therefore dwell on the balance of payments. Revenue from tourism, which is the main source of contos, is indeed considerable, but it is a fairly risky factor liable to decrease year to the next.

What is more, it is a grossly inadequate source solely as a source of foreign exchange. It gives rise to distorted economic sectors to the detriment of the more important, since luxury hotels and such establishments are either unproductive or unprofitable.

Apart from all this, there is the fact of the investment in tourism. The big international trusts take advantage of it. It happens, for example, that a tourist on an inclusive tour in England, who pays a single sum paid in England, travels on an English plane, stays in English hotels, and finally goes back home with his "money" stays in England!

The fascists were unable to control the exorbitant prices at which they sold as much as 10 escudos there. They can no longer spend their hard-earned money fleeing to the far north, to the United States. Portuguese is indeed total!

As for the remittances of Portuguese emigrants, a really substantial source of contos, a really substantial source of contos, the unfortunate Portuguese emigrants whom they found themselves forced to leave, destined to escape conscription, they live in wretched conditions. There are approximately one million Portuguese in France and desperately seeking work for their families.

What an appalling situation! The unfortunate emigrants have to put up with the unbridled greed of the French bourgeoisie.

Despite everything, they manage to get that their families can survive. They send 14 million contos! 14 million contos upon upon by the fascist oligarchy, because it is a war economy.

COMMON MARKET

f of all imports are covered by

confined to a limited number of extremely vulnerable, especially consist of extremely common products available in other countries and a slightest crisis. More than a exports are textiles and clothing. ed fish, tomato paste and paper 0 per cent of the value of total

it, the Portuguese balance of surplus. How is this achieved? colonial exploitation. Without the negative foreign trade balance at there would also be no outlet guese goods. Furthermore, the e trade balances with the rest l suppliers of precious foreign traditional source of capital ate transfers, etc.

ses are also due to the monthly ese emigrants in France and d A ica and, thirdly, to the ism.

se two last factors.

ch amounts to some ten million e but, as is well known, it is a to substantial change from one

at mistake to look upon tourism n exchange. Tourism inevitably omic growth, favouring a few of others which are certainly otels, gambling rooms and other superfluous or even harmful.

is the undeniable fact that most in Portugal is not Portuguese; are of this! It quite frequently n Englishman pays for an all- vering all his expenses with a and then flies to Lisbon in an isbo to Algarve in an English visits English gambling rooms y the same procedure! All the

o hush up the recent scandal arve. A cup of coffee can cost ! As a result, most Portuguese idays at Algarve and they are o Minho. The alienation of the

migrants, in 1971, 14 million n, came from the hard work of igrants in France, many of to leave their country clan- on for the colonial wars. And in the shanty towns of Paris! million Portuguese living in g their own livelihood and that

And what vexations the unfor- up with, especially when, as a papers, they fall prey to the monopolies!

at aside franc after franc so vive! And together they make ontos which are avidly seized rchy, because this is foreign of balancing state finances!

In order to show what we mean, we shall go into the problem of emigrant remittances in greater detail. This question is obviously closely bound up with galloping emigration.

We have here two diametrically opposed economic concepts: the French concept favouring the influx of foreign labour to produce wealth in France, and the Portuguese concept, advocating the export of national workers in order to benefit from the foreign exchange they send to their families. It is more than clear that the French concept is the more intelligent, since they put foreigners to work to produce wealth in France, in the Renault and Saint-Gobain factories. True, there is one weakness in this, which is precisely that capital leaves the country, but this minor drain is largely compensated for by the export profits gained from the sale abroad of the products of these monopolies. In any event, since the wages of Portuguese workers are very much lower, profits are increased in the same proportion. The drain suffered by Portugal, on the other hand, is extremely serious. A country's greatest wealth is its people. The only people who do not understand this are inveterate fascists like Salazar and Caetano. And the inflow of foreign exchange from emigrants cannot in any way compensate for this tremendous obstacle. In the years to come, Portugal will have to pay dearly for this monstrous crime of the fascist regime. When that day comes, all fascist bombast about keeping payments balanced despite three colonial wars will be to no avail.

How can Portugal join the Common Market?

Let us first take a look at the pattern of Portugal's foreign trade with various economic blocs and other related questions.

In 1961, the colonies accounted for 12 per cent of Portugal's imports and 23 per cent of its exports. In 1970, these figures were 14 per cent and 24 per cent respectively. In 1961, the Common Market supplied 38 per cent of Portugal's imports and absorbed 22 per cent of its exports. In 1970, these figures fell to 32 and 19 per cent. EFTA accounted for 32 per cent of Portugal's imports and 22 per cent of its exports in 1961, and in 1970 the percentage of imports rose 24 per cent and exports soared to 35 per cent. These figures mean the following:

1. That Portuguese trade with the colonies has remained stationary.
2. The position with the Common Market is gradually declining.
3. The position with EFTA is becoming stronger, especially as a client.

Let us examine the various aspects of the question point by point. Notwithstanding the whole protectionist system of the colonial pact, trade with the colonies has remained stationary for the simple reason that underdeveloped Portugal has nothing to sell to the colonies, which need machinery and tractors, not wines and sardines! Despite all the strident propaganda on the so-called "common Portuguese space", it never has been and never could be a reality. It was still-born. And the final touch was recently given to all this nonsense with "the new system of inter-territorial payments". The fact is that the urgent and imperative needs of the colonial wars have forced the fascists partially to limit non-essential imports from Portugal. This is grounds for expecting a substantial fall in trade between Portugal and the colonies in the next few years.

It is natural that Portugal's position with the Common Market should have crumbled to dust, since its products do not have sufficient vigour to transcend the barriers of this economic area.

As for EFTA, if Portugal's position has been strengthened, it is solely and exclusively due to the famous Appendix G to the Stockholm Convention.

(Continued on Page 8)

PORTUGAL AND THE COMMON MARKET

(Continued from Page 7)

EFTA, the European Free Trade Area, comprises seven European countries led by Britain and it was created as a counterweight to the Common Market. Portugal, which was not so structured as to be able to join "the Six", was forced to become an associate member of EFTA, so as to remain totally isolated. But despite the much less coercive character of EFTA, Portugal could never be a full member. Condescending to help an old ally which could find no way out of its underdevelopment, the six other partners decided to include in the Stockholm Convention, with which the organisation was instituted, the notorious Appendix G in which special favours were granted to Portugal.

Therefore, basing itself on Appendix G, Portugal can freely export to the EFTA countries without being subject to any tariff surcharges, while it can impose customs duties on products from those countries in order to protect its embryonic industry. Being preferential, this parasitic situation had to be only for a given period during which Portugal undertook to industrialise in order, ultimately, to liberalise its trade. But the time limit expired and Portuguese diplomats went snivelling to beg for an extension of the period, using the burden of the colonial wars as their pretext. And since the EFTA powers also had an interest in defending Portugal and the colonies, and because they were loathe to "let down" a European partner, they yielded, thereby ultimately helping to ensure that a most urgent problem was not solved.

But finally the bomb fell. Britain and the other countries of little Europe started negotiations to join the Common Market, completely deserting Portugal. Lisbon then tried desperately to join the Common Market,

but in such a way as to have preferential association, like a copy of the EFTA Appendix G, forgetting that the rules of the game are much stricter in the European Economic Community. And yet Portugal has the impudence to complain that Belgium and Holland are the biggest opponents to its joining the new enlarged Europe.

And what role is reserved for the colonies in all these machinations? Claiming to be "one and indivisible", Portugal is out to save its skin and will join the European organisations on its own. In any case, it could not do otherwise, since the others would not permit it to! This is yet another incongruous feature of that obsolete regime! The irony of it all is that it was under Article 24 of GATT (which permits the creation of free trade areas) that Portugal created the abortive "common Portuguese space" years ago! In other words, in order to institute an apparently "national" structure, Portugal is having to have recourse to international agreements which provide for the regularisation of international trade, thereby implicitly agreeing that the colonies are actually other countries with different needs and problems.

The fascists are counting on what they call their "economic diplomacy" to obtain preferential membership of the Common Market. But this will not be easy. In any case, even if they succeed, this will not solve the fundamental problem, which is Portugal's appalling underdevelopment. All they can do is to seek temporary palliatives to defer the problem, and for every problem that is deferred, a thousand others crop up.

But the solution to all these problems is being found by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, and by the Portuguese people themselves, who, arms in hand, are destroying this whole edifice of centuries-old plunder and infamy.



Portugal ill with Colonialism

(Continued from Page 4)

years ago. The strategy advocated by "liberal" circles close to the government totally ignores the fact of the advance of the armed struggle in the three colonies. But all this has not prevented the "liberals" from having a ready-made solution for each of the three colonies, as we shall see later.

FORMAL "AUTONOMY"

(3) The "centre position", which is today represented by the head of the government, Marcelo Caetano. While continuing the war and supporting the ultras in the army, Caetano grants a few small concessions to the "liberals". Recently, for instance, a law was passed granting formal "autonomy" to the "overseas provinces". Nothing has in fact changed in the relations between the metropole and the colonies, yet this is a victory for those who see themselves as the champions of independence under the remote control of the metropole.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that together with the law on the "autonomy" of the African provinces, another law was passed which went almost unnoticed. It could assume cardinal importance. As from now, no profits from investments in the colonies can be "exported" to the metropole, but must be re-invested locally. Of course this applies only to Portuguese capital, not to foreign capital. The aim of the measure is clear: to achieve infrastructure growth in the colonies by increasing the Portuguese presence in these territories, which are virtually the exclusive preserve of foreign capital.

Moreover, this measure has a twofold purpose. On the one hand, it provides grist for the mill of the supporters of "independence" and, on the other, it satisfies the ultras, who would like to see an increased "metropolitan presence" in the colonies. While this second aspect is easy to understand, the first requires that one explain the attitude of the "liberals" towards the African territories.

Everyone is in agreement

on one things, that Guinea Bissau is "already lost".

"We know that there have been indirect contacts between the PAIGC and the government," I was told by an official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who added: "The problem is that of knowing how soon Bissau can become independent. Of course I am only talking about continental Guinea, not the Cape Verde Islands, which will remain attached to Portugal." The official then led me to understand that the "autonomous status" just approved by his government was merely a first step towards recognising the independence of Guinea Bissau and ceasing to treat the colonies as "metropolitan territories".

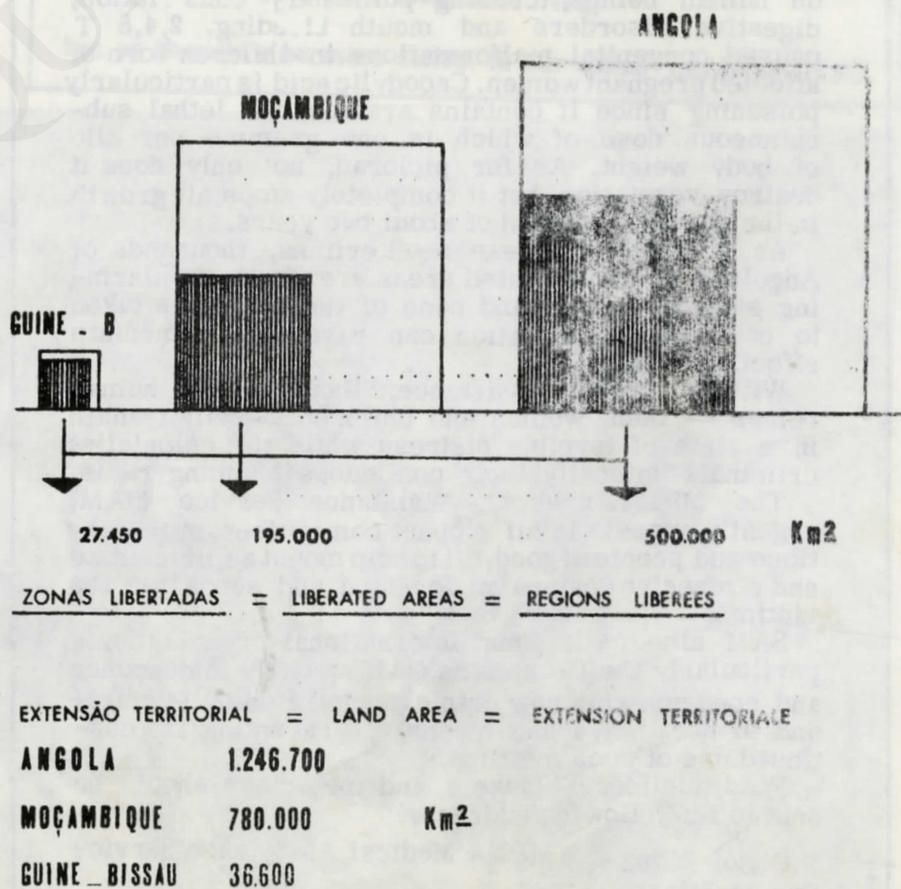
According to his analysis, events (and international pressure) are making the Portuguese government accept "independence" under the strict control of the metropole, an "independence" which would make Angola a second Rhodesia and Mozambique a second Malawi. According to these same plans (which have not been publicly spoken about up to now), the white pre-

sence in Angola is sufficiently big to ensure that the territory could be run on Rhodesian lines, whereas "puppets" would have to be found for Mozambique.

But the major contradiction in these plans is that the struggle in the three territories is wholly and deliberately ignored. The official finally said: "You've been to Guinea Bissau. Is all that they say about liberated territories really true?" Was this provocation or genuine ignorance of the situation?

But the fact remains that so long as the problem is not discussed at top level, it cannot be solved. The matter does not as yet concern the masses, who do not see it as a "national problem". "Not enough people have been killed yet," I was told by an architect working in a clandestine party in Lisbon. "The tragedy of the young men who fall in combat still only affects their families," he added.

Does this mean that more people have to die in Africa before the Portuguese masses come out of their lethargy?



An O.M.A. (Organisation of Angolan Women) delegation at the W.I.D.F. Council Meeting

An O.M.A. delegation composed of Comrades Tch-yina and Chela attended the Women's International Democratic Federation Council Meeting and Seminar held in Varna, Bulgaria, from 30 April to 10 May 1972, with Mme. Herta Kussinen presiding as Chairman.

Sixty-three countries were represented at the meeting. Among other subjects discussed, the delegates debated the question of "The Role of Women's Organisations in Involving Young

Women in the Economic, Political, Social and Cultural life of their Countries."

In her address, the W.I.D.F. President referred to the present international scene, particularly stressing the present situation in Indochina, the Portuguese colonies and the Middle East, as well as the problems of apartheid and racism.

The W.I.D.F. Secretary General, Mme. Cecile Hugel, presented a paper on the "Role of Women's Organi-

sations in involving young women in the economic, political, social and cultural life of their countries." In discussing the question of training cadres, the Secretary General gave as an example the work carried out by the militant cadres of the Organisation of Angolan Women.

During one of the working sessions, the O.M.A. Delegation was presented with the "Nadhezda Krupskaya" Medal, awarded by UNESCO on the proposal of the W.I.D.F. The presentation of this prize was accompanied by a long and significant ovation from all the delegates, showing their admiration and solidarity, as well as their encouragement to Angolan women and to the armed struggle for national liberation of which they form an integral part.

In the course of the W.I.D.F. Council Meeting the O.M.A. Delegation chaired one of the plenary sessions and also participated in one of the Resolution Drafting Commissions of the Council.

In its General Resolution, the W.I.D.F. Council Meeting strongly condemned the Portuguese fascist colonialist regime for its criminal acts against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guine and Cape Verde, for the bombing and repeated acts of aggression against the Republic of Guinea, Tanzania and Zambia and the Peoples Republic of Congo. At the same time, it renewed its support for the exceptional contribution women are making in the liberation struggles in the Portuguese colonies, confirming its solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guine and Cape Verde.

It was agreed that in 1973 an international meeting should be organised, to be attended by women from Angola, Mozambique, Guine and Cape Verde, South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, as well as women from Portugal and other NATO countries.

The O.M.A. Delegation also had the opportunity to make contact and exchange views with the other delegates present at the Council Meeting, and so strengthen their mutual ties of solidarity.

URGENT APPEAL

Unable to halt the expansion of the MPLA's liberated areas in Angola, the Portuguese war criminals have once again begun to spray herbicides and defoliants on our people's crops.

From the effect of these chemicals, they can be identified as:

- 2, 4 D (2,4 dichlorophenoxyacetic acid)
- 2,4,5, T (2,4,5, trichlorophenoxyacetic acid)
- cacodylic acid

-- picloram (made by the Dow Chemical Company under the commercial name of Tordon).

Considerable acres of cassava, maize, sweet potatoes and fruit trees have already been destroyed. Furthermore, cattle and wild life in these areas show signs of poisoning. Fish in the rivers and lakes die in the first few days after the chemicals are sprayed.

These chemicals also have very harmful effects on human beings, causing pulmonary congestion, digestive disorders and mouth bleeding. 2,4,5 T caused congenital malformations in children born of affected pregnant women. Cacodylic acid is particularly poisoning since it contains arsenic, the lethal subcutaneous dose of which is one gramme per kilo of body weight. As for picloran, not only does it destroy vegetation, but it completely stops all growth in the soil for a period of about two years.

As a result of these new crimes, thousands of Angolans in the liberated areas are now in an alarming state of hunger and none of the measures taken to counter this situation can have any immediate effect.

Without urgent assistance, thousands of human beings -- men, women and children -- will remain in a state of terrible distress while the colonialist criminals intensify their continuous bombing raids.

The MPLA medical Assistance Service (SAM) urgently appeals to all support committees, organisations and people of goodwill to help mount an immediate and a massive campaign for food and seeds for the victims.

SAM also calls upon international organisations, particularly the UN and the OAU strongly to denounce and condemn this new crime perpetrated by Portugal and to seek ways and means of preventing the continued use of such methods.

Food, clothing, blankets and medicines should be sent to the following address.

P.O. Box 20793 MPLA Medical Assistance Service
Dar es Salaam,
Tanzania.

APPEAL

In carrying out its education programmes, the MPLA has already been able to count on the active solidarity of a number of individuals and institutions. However, the magnitude and complexity of the tasks to be fulfilled force us to appeal for further manifestations of solidarity, especially in meeting the following needs:

- 1 The construction of a school complex, including five blocks (hostel, primary school, secondary school, secretariat and kitchen), with an approximate total number of 50 rooms.
- 2 Equipment for physics, chemistry, zoology, botany and mineralogy laboratories, including wall maps.
- 3 Four Land Rovers (or their equivalent), one of them a van.
- 4 Typewriters with a minimum 50 cm carriage and a keyboard adapted for for typing in Portuguese.
- 5 Duplicating machines of the Gestetner type, and accessories.
- 6 Equipment for a hostel: sheets, camp beds, blankets, towels, cutlery, plates, mugs, cooking pots, kettles, tents and rucksacks for 500 persons.
- 7 School material: exercise books, pencils, ball point pens, erasers, coloured

pencils, satchels, drawing cases, rulers, set-squares, protractors, and compasses for use on blackboards.

- 8 Equipment for agricultural work, including seeds.
- 9 Sports equipment (football, volleyball, basketball, athletics and chess).
10. An offset litho press and accessories.
- 11 Three-speed tape recorders.
- 12 16 mm cine cameras and appropriate projectors and screens.
- 13 Slide projectors.
14. Two generating sets.
- 15 Supplementary foodstuffs

for children (milk, wheat flour, oil and tinned food).

In considering our needs, we request our friends to remember that consignments for secondary education should be addressed to:

**DEC/MPLA
B.P. 2353
Brazzaville
Peoples' Republic of Congo**

Other consignments can also be sent to:

**DEC/MPLA
P.O. BOX 20793
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania**

LIBERATION OF PRISONERS

The national liberation struggle, which has produced heroes among our people, is a just struggle and will continue until final victory, thanks to the tenacity and consistency of sincere patriots who, in the ranks of the guerrilla or in clandestine activities, worthily defend our right to be independent.

Hundreds, if not thousands, of Angolan patriots are held in Portuguese prisons, in Angola, Cape Verde or Portugal. Many others suffer from restraints on their liberty, under restricted residence in various places, either inside the country or elsewhere.

Their lives are in danger.

Only by intensifying the armed struggle and by FULLY MOBILISING INTERNATIONAL OPINION can we secure the liberation of our comrades who are imprisoned inside the country and elsewhere, and save their invaluable lives.

Let us therefore be more active. In our action lies their HOPE.





War Communique No. 6/72

Because they are incapable of impeding the victorious advance of our forces, the enemy are trying to demoralise the Angolan people, using the most criminal methods to this end.

Indeed, the Portuguese colonialists have launched a big offensive against our militants and are continuing to use defoliants and herbicides, destroying crops and trying to use hunger to defeat our heroic people.

However, neither hunger, napalm nor any of the criminal methods seized upon by the enemy will prevent our Victory.

On 25 July 1972, our guer-

rillas attacked and completely destroyed the enemy barracks at Lumbala, on the Eastern Front. Our forces captured several enemy vehicles and arms and ammunition.

On 27 July, at 3 p.m., the Zone D, Sector 2 Second Squadron Section, using bazookas and light arms, attacked an enemy cavalry company from battalion 2870, operating in the Mavinga area. The enemy suffered 10 killed and 6 wounded. We captured a field radio set, 8 oxen, 10 FN magazines and 8,000 tins of food.

On our side, three comrades were slightly wounded.

1971, a successful year for PAIGC, Frelimo and MPLA

During 1971, FRELIMO, the PAIGC and the MPLA achieved important and significant victories for national liberation.

In Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, the PAIGC, FRELIMO and the MPLA not only inflicted heavy losses on the colonialist armed forces but also increased the number of barracks and vehicles destroyed, bridges sabotaged, roads mined, ships sunk, planes and helicopters shot down and ambushes laid.

As a result, the liberated and controlled areas have been expanded to include $\frac{3}{4}$ (Guinea-Bissau) $\frac{1}{4}$ (Mozambique) and more than $\frac{1}{3}$ (Angola) of the total area of each respective country.

1972 will be a year of new and greater successes for the PAIGC, FRELIMO and the MPLA, through their heroic fighters and militants who, by their courage, determination and selflessness, reaffirm the irrefutable fact that VICTORY IS CERTAIN.

Sent by : DIP DELEGATION,
Box 20793,
Dar es Salaam, TANZANIA.

TO :