



**MOZAMBIQUE
WILL BE FREE**

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This booklet was prepared by the members of the Africa Committee of the Committee of Returned Volunteers (CRV) New York Chapter. CRV is made up of people who have served overseas, mainly in the Third World, and who have had a chance to see U.S. foreign policy in action. They have come to realize that this policy works for forces that maintain the status quo of wealth and privilege for the few and poverty and ignorance for the many. This policy must be radically changed, both at home and abroad. Our booklet is one of many steps toward the building of a movement toward such change.

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FORWARD

Political independence for most of Africa came a decade ago, without the prolonged violence of war. Not so for Mozambique, now entering the fifth year of armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialists. Portugal's rule, fascist at home, is even more oppressive overseas. The forty-year reign of Salazar's dictatorship has ended, but the inflexible policies of a military and business oligarchy continue.

Portugal, a NATO member, is a "charter member" of the post-war "Free World." But its response to demands for self-determination for the peoples of its African colonies has been a blunt NO. Independence is unthinkable; talk of it is treason. African nationalism is seen as a threat to the unity of the Portuguese nation. England, France, even Belgium maintain great influence in Africa while granting political independence. Portugal is not so subtle.

Over the years Portugal's rigid oppression has left few choices for the Mozambican people. They could acquiesce to continual Portuguese oppression. They could protest, and risk prison or even death. Some could go into exile and try to forget their country. Or they could turn to the difficult task of organizing armed resistance against the Portuguese. This last choice was made by the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). Now there is war. Through the process of executing the Revolution, Mozambicans are constructing new political and economic structures geared toward self-reliance. These new structures can prepare Mozambicans for life in a society that is free of the neo-colonial ties which often exist between Western powers and the Third World.

Mozambique is far away, rarely mentioned in the American press. But the United States is not uninvolved. "It is important that Portugal continue to contribute to stability in Africa," says the State Department (U.S. State Dept., "Background Notes on Angola," 1967). Portugal is a military ally: it provides America with an air base; it receives American aid. Its "overseas provinces" provide new investment opportunities for American businessmen. Portugal maintains itself in Africa only with the support of the United States and other Western countries. Every year United Nations' resolutions condemn by large majorities Portugal's policies and the support that Portugal receives from the United States and others. Yet the United States policy towards Portuguese colonialism continues unchallenged by popular dissent.

Those of us who prepared this booklet have worked in Africa, some of us with Mozambicans. We hope it will help to make people in America, some of whom are already aware of what their country is doing in Asia and Latin America, aware of what is happening in another part of the world. We believe it is necessary to take sides -- against Portuguese colonialism and the whole imperialist system which props it up -- and for the liberation of Africa.

We ask for your support.

PART ONE: REVOLUTION IN MOZAMBIQUE

I. FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM

MOZAMBICAN PEOPLE,

Workers and peasants, workers on the plantations, in the timber mills and in the concessions, workers in the mines, on the railways, in the harbours and in the factories, intellectuals, civil servants, Mozambican soldiers in the Portuguese army, students, men and young people, patriots,

IN THE NAME OF ALL OF YOU

FRELIMO today solemnly proclaims the general armed insurrection of the Mozambican people against Portuguese colonialism for the attainment of the complete independence of Mozambique.

-- from the FRELIMO Central Committee Proclamation of September 25, 1964

On September 25, 1964 FRELIMO, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, began its military struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique. By this time it had become clear that the only path to independence for Mozambique lay through war. For decades all organizations which encouraged political involvement or which began to look like trade unions had been suppressed by the authorities or infiltrated by the secret police. Dock strikes in the 1940's and 50's were put down brutally; hundreds of strikers were killed or deported to the prison island of São Tomé. In 1960 some 600 Mozambicans were massacred in Mueda during a peaceful demonstration after the authorities had led them to believe that their grievances would be heard. Meanwhile the Portuguese government continued to claim Mozambique as an integral part of Portugal, refusing to consider even long-term or partial independence for her colony. The 1961 massacres in Angola served as a clear indication of the extremes to which the Portuguese would go in order to hold onto her African colonies. For those Mozambicans who had found life intolerable at home and who eventually organized into nationalist movements abroad, war was obviously the only alternative.

THE MAJOR SOURCES FOR THIS SECTION ARE: 1) Eduardo Mondlane, The Struggle for Mozambique (Penguin African Library, 1969); 2) Mondlane, "Toward Liberation -- the Future of Mozambique" (Motive magazine, February 1968); and 3) Mozambique Revolution (FRELIMO, Department of Information, P.O. Box 15274, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, 1966-1969).

FRELIMO itself was the result of a 1962 merger of three of the earlier existing parties, UDENAMO, UNAMI, and MANU, which had been formed by Mozambicans in Rhodesia, Kenya, and Malawi respectively, and which had all moved to Dar-es-Salaam with the independence of Tanganyika. Since its inception FRELIMO has remained essentially united, although a few members have, over the years, broken away to form splinter organizations. The most important of these, COREMO (Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique), has headquarters in Lusaka. There is very little information about its activities.

At the first FRELIMO Congress held in Dar-es-Salaam in 1962, Mozambicans of widely varied backgrounds met to elect leaders and to determine basic policies. Under the leadership of the late President, Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, FRELIMO laid the first plans for exerting diplomatic pressure at the United Nations and elsewhere, organizing underground cells throughout Mozambique, training volunteers and preparing for guerrilla warfare, finding schools for young exiled Mozambicans, and building up the organizational structure which could carry out a revolutionary struggle that would be long and hard.

It was at this first Congress that groundwork for FRELIMO's philosophy of politics, economics and social welfare was laid, a philosophy which was summarized by Dr. Mondlane in a February, 1968 article in Motive magazine:

- 1) FRELIMO IS A DEMOCRATIC movement, fighting to establish a government in which the majority of the Mozambique population, regardless of color or religion, will choose their leaders freely;
- 2) socialism will be the economic system followed to determine control of natural and human resources of the country;
- 3) social welfare of the people as a whole, not of a small group of privileged individuals and their families, will receive the energetic commitment of the leaders of FRELIMO as befits a movement guided by socialist principles.

THE ARMED STRUGGLE

The armed struggle opened in 1964 with a series of small actions in the northern provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa. The Portuguese were taken by surprise. They had expected armed action, but they had imagined that it would take the form of small raids across the border from Tanzania, and even now they speak in terms of "infiltrators" and "border raids." In reality the FRELIMO Army was already in the country, and the attacks were launched from bases set up well inside the borders. FRELIMO has always drawn its recruits from the villages and now trains all but its officers inside Mozambique.

During the first three years of the war, 1964-1967, fighting was confined mainly to the two northern provinces. By 1965 FRELIMO had liberated an area which represented about a fifth of the total area of Mozambique. There the Portuguese forces were restricted to bases and towns, and were constantly ambushed when they attempted to move outside these fortified areas. By 1967 FRELIMO forces had grown sufficiently in strength and experience to be able to mount offensives against Portuguese bases, to cause considerable damage, and in some cases to force the Portuguese army to abandon fortified positions.



FRELIMO MILITANTS GATHER IN A MASS MEETING IN NORTHERN MOZAMBIQUE

In 1968 the re-opening of a new fighting front in Tete Province, adjacent to Zambia, marked a new stage in the war. Tete is important not only because it indicates the progress of the Revolution southward, but also because it is one of the richer areas of Mozambique in mineral wealth, and the site of the proposed Cabora Bassa Dam backed by South African and international capital. It is in this region that South Africa has stationed troops to aid the Portuguese.

In 1969 the fighting in Tete has intensified and actions continue in Cabo Delgado and Niassa. The following figures show something about the growth of support for FRELIMO's struggle: in 1964 the FRELIMO army consisted of only 250 trained and armed men. By September, 1967, there were 8000 trained and equipped men and women, and others who had completed training but for whom equipment was not yet available.

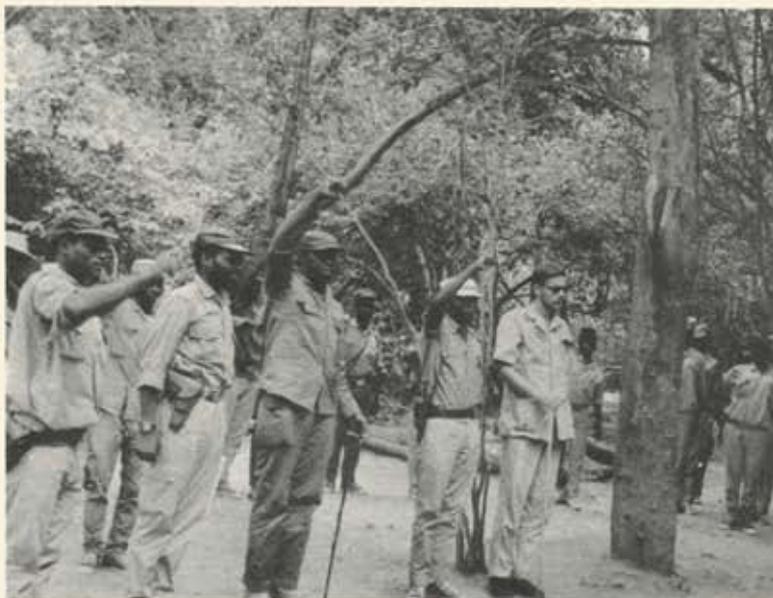
The strength of FRELIMO control in the two northern provinces was clearly demonstrated when in July, 1968, the second FRELIMO Congress was held in complete security in Niassa Province. In addition to delegates from all over Mozambique, the Congress was attended by representatives of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization, of several other liberation movements in Southern Africa, and the English historian, Basil Davidson.

Attendance at the 1968 Congress by members of other Southern African liberation movements signifies the strengthening of formal and informal alliances among them and underscores the important role that FRELIMO is playing in the struggle for control of Southern Africa. FRELIMO is allied formally with PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of [Portuguese] Guinea and Cape Verde) and MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) through the Conference of Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP); and informally with ANC (African National Congress [South Africa]), ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union [Rhodesia]), and SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization [Namibia]). FRELIMO's cooperation with the independent states of Africa is sustained through its relationship with the Organization of African Unity (OAU). In recent years the OAU has done much to help FRELIMO and the other liberation movements through military and political support and through assisting the achievement of unity within the movements themselves. Finally FRELIMO is a member of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, the Tricontinental Congress, and the World Council of Peace, all organizations which feel themselves threatened by the big powers which have associated themselves with Portugal, and so are natural allies of the liberation movements in Africa.

Essential material support for FRELIMO comes from a wide variety of sources. First, from many independent African countries; and second, from all over the world, including the governments of China, the USSR, Eastern Europe, and Scandinavia, as well as non-governmental groups in Western Europe and the United States.

BUILDING A NEW MOZAMBIQUE

But the Mozambican Revolution can not be won by a military struggle alone. The real revolution must take place in the lives of the people whose task it is to build a new Mozambique. As a first step in this task FRELIMO launched in 1962 an educational program among Mozambican refugees. Several primary schools and a secondary school were established in Tanzania to prepare Mozambicans for higher education, and today some 150 Mozambicans have been aided by FRELIMO in universities and technical schools abroad. Courses in teaching, nursing, agriculture and political organizing are also in progress. But with the opening up of ever-wider areas of territory within Mozambique itself, the emphasis in education shifted to the improvement and expansion of schools there. One class of FRELIMO-trained teachers has already returned to Mozambique, and over 20,000 pupils (soldiers and other adults included) are learning in FRELIMO schools. Naturally these schools are poorly equipped--textbooks are being written, printed, and distributed as quickly as possible--and the teacher-student ratio varies from 250:1 to 25:1, but enthusiasm to learn is high.



FRELIMO LEADERS MUNDLAKE AND SAMORA WITH SWEDISH JOURNALIST IN MOZAMBIQUE, 1968.

Education is only one of the responsibilities which have come to the peoples in the liberated areas of northern Mozambique. Now agriculture and trade, which were formerly tightly controlled by the Portuguese, must be organized anew. Cooperatives, which were suppressed in the past, are being revived and encouraged by FRELIMO. The people now grow crops for their own use. They are also urged to produce a surplus to feed villagers whose crops have been destroyed in the fighting and by Portuguese air raids, or who have been forced to leave their homes to escape reprisals. Children in schools have gardens as do FRELIMO soldiers whenever possible. As a result, more land is under production than ever before, the surplus being exported to Tanzania through marketing cooperatives.

A very serious problem for the people in the liberated areas of Mozambique is the scarcity of essentials, such as soap, oil, salt and clothing, since all importation of goods from the South has ceased. Many of these commodities are now brought into Mozambique by foot carriers from Tanzania, but small scale local industries are also being established. These include soap-making, salt-production, and the manufacture of agricultural implements both from the wrecks of ambushed Portuguese vehicles and, in some areas, from local iron ore.



Mozambicans have also organized health services to replace those few clinics previously provided by the Portuguese. These consist mainly of scattered first aid centers, a few field hospitals, and a large hospital in southern Tanzania. An orphanage is being established by LIFEMO, the League of Mozambican Women.

In all these activities FRELIMO has encouraged the Mozambican people to participate fully and is constantly trying to help them to combine familiar customs of tribal government with the new structures it is establishing. In December, 1968, a group of students from different African countries, but all members of the University College Revolutionary Front in Dar-es-Salaam, had a chance to see this process of social and political change in action. They visited northern Mozambique and then contributed an article to the January-February 1969 Mozambique Revolution, the FRELIMO English-language periodical. The article contains enthusiastic observations about the changing role of young people, of women, and of "uneducated" peasants. The students write of the determination of the peasants to participate on an equal basis with the military, and even cite an example of civilians arresting a soldier for leaving camp without permission. Finally, they show great admiration for the speed with which the peasants are developing political, social, and military expertise. Their report concludes, "What we saw was no disorganized rabble sporting a few modern weapons, but a highly trained, strictly disciplined, well organized and efficient guerrilla army supported by a sophisticated administrative system and a political militant population."

Meanwhile Portugal fights to retain her colony. In her methods of counter-insurgency she seems to have taken some cues from American strategies in Vietnam. Aldeamentos (strategic hamlets surrounded by barbed wire) are being provided for as much of the population of the affected areas as can be forced into them. It was estimated in 1968 that 800,000 people were living in 350 of these special villages. And there are continual attempts to play on tribal feelings, to encourage desertion, and to employ other techniques of psychological warfare. There is a government agency for "Psycho-Social Services" which carries out many of these programs. With the bomb assassination of President Mondlane, it would appear that FRELIMO gains are pushing the Portuguese to resort to less subtle methods of counter-insurgency.

RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Mondlane's assassination on February 3, 1969, was a severe blow to the Revolution. In the words of the FRELIMO Central Committee Statement of April 21 (quoted in the Mozambique Revolution of March-April, 1969), Mondlane was "a man unequalled in stature in the history of the people of Mozambique...the embodiment of the dignity and the fighting spirit of the Mozambican people." Yet FRELIMO leaders have died before, and many more will die before the victory is won. The martyrdom of a great leader can serve to unify and strengthen a great cause. On February 11 the Executive Committee issued a statement which says in part:

The crime now committed by the Portuguese colonialists allied with world imperialism will be a new yeast which will increase our hatred against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, the hatred against oppression in all its forms, the hatred against all regimes that are oppressive--colonial, fascist or racist, the hatred against the exploitation of man by man (quoted in Mozambique Revolution, January-February, 1969).

In April the Central Committee of FRELIMO met to determine its future leadership. According to a communique published in the March-April Mozambique Revolution, "The Central Committee concluded that it was necessary to establish a collective leadership, able to assure the efficient direction of our organization and principally to ensure the dominance of the political line correctly defined by the Second Congress of FRELIMO." Accordingly a Council of the Presidency was established, and Uria Timoteo Simango, Marcelino dos Santos, and Samora Moises Machel were elected as its members. The varied backgrounds of the three leaders reflect the heterogeneous nature of the party and will guarantee that the opinions of its members are well represented. Uria Simango, who was the Vice President of FRELIMO and who will serve as the coordinator of the Council, is a Protestant pastor from the Beira region. Marcelino dos Santos, who was FRELIMO Secretary for External Affairs and later Secretary of the Department of Political Affairs, is a poet formerly active in literary movements in Lourenço Marques and France. Samora Machel, from the Gaza district of Mozambique, was training to become a nurse before he joined FRELIMO. As chief of the FRELIMO army, he was also responsible for internal affairs.

In their April discussion the members of the Central Committee reached beyond the solution of their leadership problem. According to the editorial in the March-April Mozambique Revolution, "something completely new happened at this meeting, distinguishing it as an historical landmark in the development of FRELIMO: like a fresh wind there appeared a completely new element of criticism and self-criticism." In the past, the Central Committee members had all been aware of divisions but had never brought problems into the open, fearing to aggravate the situation and wishing to present an appearance of unity. Re-evaluation and self-criticism occupied several days of the meeting and finally served to clarify goals and to develop a genuine unity among the Central Committee members. The editorial concludes,

We shall have setbacks, but we shall know how to learn from them, how to improve ourselves and our work. We do not deceive ourselves with false hopes of an easy path: because it is not a mechanical process, it needs our complete and active engagement, our constant efforts. Our experience has shown us that it takes an endless process of criticism and self-criticism to eliminate the residue of the colonial system that still persists in us, for us to place ourselves decisively on the right side of history, for us to discover and implement the necessity of the Revolution.

While reaffirming our decision to fight with more determination, based on a new understanding of the situation and in the certainty of expressing more fully the will of the people; we wish to stress that all these innovations are in fact a continuation; and that all of them are linked with the policy of our late President, Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, whose work is not only being continued, but is being taken to greater heights by the Movement. The unity he came to represent has now reached a higher stage: it is unity at the service of the Revolution. A LUTA CONTINUA.

* * * * *



FRELIMO WOMAN MILITANT

II. THE EXPLOITED LAND

Mueda Massacre--1960

...some of these men had made contact with the authorities and asked for more liberty and more pay...Then the governor invited our leaders into the administrator's office. They were in there for four hours. When they came out on the verandah, the governor asked the crowd who wanted to speak. Many wanted to speak, and the governor told them all to stand on one side. Then without another word he ordered the police to bind the hands of those who had stood on one side, and the police began beating them. I was close by. I saw it all. The people...began to demonstrate against the Portuguese, and the Portuguese simply ordered the police trucks to come and collect these arrested persons. At that moment the troops were still hidden, and the people went...to stop the arrested persons from being taken away. So the governor called the troops, and...told them to open fire. They killed about 600 people...I myself escaped because I was close to a graveyard where I could take cover, and then I ran away.

--Alberto-Joaquim Chipande, FRELIMO militant
(Mondlane, Struggle for Mozambique, pp. 117,118)

More than half of all the people in the world still living under colonial rule are subjects of the Portuguese Empire. In Africa, the list includes Guinea (Bissau), the Cape Verde Islands, São Tomé and Príncipe (islands off the coast of Gabon), Angola, and Mozambique. Today there is war in Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique. The conditions under which Africans live in Mozambique--paralleled in the other Portuguese colonies--explains why.

POLICE STATE

The police state in Mozambique is an extension of the police state in Portugal itself. The elitist coalition of business, military, and church interests which was built up by Premier Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, continues to be in firm control of Portugal and its "overseas territories." At home opposition is silenced by imprisonment or exile; in the colonies by imprisonment or execution. PIDE, the Gestapo-trained International Police for the Defense of the State, is greatly feared. The structure of government itself and its supporting legal system are totalitarian as well. Censorship, the prohibition of trade unions, limitations on franchise, and a single-party political system all aid to control the people closely.

THE MAJOR SOURCES FOR THIS SECTION ARE: 1) Marvin Harris, Portugal's African "Wards" (American Committee on Africa, 1958); 2) James Duffy, Portuguese Africa (Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1959); and 3) Eduardo Mondlane, The Struggle for Mozambique (Penguin African Library, 1969).

The oppression of the fascist state is aggravated by the colonial situation. The people in Mozambique are even more defenseless, the police more ruthless, and the inequalities more extreme than in Portugal itself. The Africans are subject to a passbook system not unlike that of South Africa. The caderneta (passbook) contains a record of the bearer's taxes, employment, travel, and other vital statistics. It must be shown on demand; official stamps are required for travel outside one's own district or in order to seek employment. For papers not in order, there may be a sentence of correctional labor, or a beating with the palmatório, a short paddle with holes that suck at the flesh. And there is no restraint on police power--whether it be in dealing with an illegal dock strike in Lourenço Marques (all strikes are illegal), with a group of African peasants in northern Mozambique, or simply with intellectuals whose loyalty might be suspect, and who therefore must be locked up. "Liberalization," in these circumstances, may mean little more than releasing a few of the more prominent political prisoners and watching them closely enough so that they can be rearrested at will. There is no security for anyone not ready to pay devoted allegiance to the slogan "Mozambique is Portugal."

COLONIAL ECONOMY

Mozambique serves the traditional colonial function of providing the metropolitan country with raw materials, an external market, and foreign exchange. Major export earnings come from agricultural products: cotton, cashews, sugar, copra, sisal, and tea. The plantations and concessionary companies are owned by Europeans. The cotton goes to supply Portugal's textile industry; the finished cloth is sold in the colonies and abroad. Income from the transit trade of goods passing through the modern ports of Lourenço Marques and Beira to South Africa and Rhodesia boosts the escudo (Portuguese currency equal to about U.S. \$.03) area balance of payments.

Eighty-eight percent of the Mozambican people still live on the land and try to make their living from it. Therefore Portuguese land policy is of vital importance; it is a policy of actively promoting European settlement through land concessions and settlement schemes with little regard for the welfare of African farmers. At present approximately half of the agricultural land is in the "traditional" or African sector; the other half is in the "developed" (i.e., European) sector. In order to attract more European farmers, the Portuguese government is encouraging Portuguese soldiers, of whom there are about 60,000 in Mozambique, to stay on--particularly in the areas near the war zones--when their terms are up. South Africans are also reported to be settling there. The plans for the Cabora Bassa Dam in the northwestern province of Tete call for a million settlers along the Zambezi River.

Africans have no representation on the plenary councils of the provincial settlement boards which advise on matters of land occupation and rural organization. The administration is currently relocating masses of African people in land reserves. Ostensibly, these resettlements provide opportunity for medical, educational, and technical assistance to Africans, but the relocation areas, often regimented barrack-like villages, also make possible easier administrative and military control of the people.

Industrialization has been minimal in Mozambique so far, and even mining is relatively undeveloped. One of the reasons is that Portugal's own capital resources are not sufficient for undertaking such development. Since 1965,

however, the gates have been open to foreign investment. South Africans, Western Europeans, Japanese, and Americans are all involved in prospecting and in limited development of industry.

FORCED LABOR

In Portuguese eyes African "idleness" is a crime. For an African to be technically working, he must be a paid employee; subsistence cultivation for oneself and one's family does not count. Since the majority of Africans are still subsistence farmers, an extensive "labor reserve" is available for Portuguese manipulation. In recent years legal reforms and economic development have somewhat lessened the significance of direct forced labor, but it still sets the pattern for African employment. As Marvin Harris commented in 1958:

All that is necessary for [this] system to function is for the administrator to have the power to indict the Africans as malingerers without having to prove it in a court of law. Under existing laws natives so accused are faced with the alternative of being conscripted for public works or of 'voluntarily' signing a contract with private employers. These laws indirectly equip the administrator with almost complete discretionary power over the Africans' mode of employment (Harris, Portugal's African "Wards," p. 21).

A decade later this statement remains substantially true.

One of the results of such a policy is that in some areas of southern Mozambique less than 10% of the adult male population lives at home throughout the year; cultivation of crops is left to the women and the elderly. Meanwhile the wages paid the men are abnormally low; estimated earnings of Mozambican cotton workers, for example, are less than \$30 per year.

Wage scales for whites, on the other hand, are considerably higher than in Portugal itself. In general European workers receive up to three or four times the wages of Africans; and the influx of unskilled Portuguese immigrants cuts off many new job opportunities for Africans in the cities.

Portuguese ability to exploit the African means in essence a massive system of controlled migrant labor. Thus Mozambicans make up one third of the work force in the mines of South Africa. The workers are recruited by the Witwatersrand Native Labor Association, which represents the mine owners (A mutually beneficial agreement, made in 1928 between the Portuguese and South African governments, gives recruiting rights to the WNLA in exchange for an amount of £2 16s per head for every man recruited and a guarantee that South Africa will use the port of Lourenço Marques for 47.5% of its imports to and exports from the Transvaal). An average of 100,000 are recruited annually for the mines; an estimated total of 300,000 altogether leave the country annually as migrant workers.

EDUCATION

Theoretically there is no racial discrimination in Mozambican education. In practice, whites attend government schools while the overwhelming majority of African students (a very small proportion of the total number of children) attend Catholic mission schools. An African child is unlikely to complete more than the first two or three years of primary school, where he learns little more than the rudiments of the Portuguese language in addition to proper attitudes of patriotism, piety, and respect for work. Obstacles in the way of

Africans attaining higher education are great. The results are apparent in the following table quoted from the Statistical Yearbook of Mozambique, 1967:

EDUCATION IN MOZAMBIQUE: 1965

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Africans</u>	<u>Non-Africans</u>	<u>% African</u>
<u>Primary*</u>	358,378	333,679	24,679	93%
<u>Secondary</u> (Commerical & Technical)	11,779	2,198	9,581	18%
<u>Secondary</u> (Academic)	7,827	636	7,191	8%
<u>University</u>	321	4	317	1%

(* Includes both mission schools and government schools.)

For more recent years the statistical breakdown has not yet been published, but from the totals one can deduce that even if all the increases in enrollment were African, the percentages of Africans in schools would still remain quite low. This in a country where 98% of the population is African. For the entire population UNESCO still estimates illiteracy rates at over 96%.

THE PORTUGUESE MYTH--PAST AND PRESENT

The Portuguese first made contact with the African peoples and states in Mozambique in the fifteenth century but did not control the interior until after World War I; the "500 years of Portuguese rule" is a myth. In the area that is now Mozambique the Portuguese found many different African groups engaged in farming, herding, and trade. Some were part of the ancient state of Zimbabwe, and trade in gold and ivory between the Monomotapa, or priest-king, and the Muslim merchant cities of the eastern coast still flourished. For two centuries Mozambique, for Portugal, was primarily an outpost on the way to India; control was limited to coastal forts. Only when the eastern empire met reverses was consideration given to the African interior and a search for gold and silver undertaken. African resistance continued well into the twentieth century.

Throughout the whole period Portugal proclaimed a civilizing mission in Mozambique. In 1951 the territory was reclassified from "colony" to "province" in preparation for Portugal's entrance into the United Nations; thus the fiction could be maintained that Portugal had no "non-self-governing" territories. Instead, Portugal maintained, her "overseas provinces" were integral parts of a multi-continental, multi-racial Portuguese civilization.

Portugal's colonies differed from a society such as that of South Africa in the absence of a system of legalized apartheid. There was, of course, a distinction made between civilizados and indigenas, the uncivilized native population. To become "assimilated," natives had to meet the requirements of literacy, sufficient income, and full acceptance of all aspects of Portuguese culture. But by 1950, out of a total population of over six million, less than 5000 Africans in Mozambique had achieved this status. "The most that the assimilado system even sets out to do is to create a few 'honorary whites,'

and this certainly does not constitute non-racialism," comments Eduardo Mondlane (The Struggle for Mozambique, p. 50). In 1961, the "assimilation" terminology was legally abandoned; the social implications, however, remain the same. The myths--apartheid and assimilation--by which South Africa and Portugal maintain white supremacy are apparently contradictory; but the results--the distribution of privilege and wealth in society, the disdain which the rulers display towards those they rule--are remarkably alike.

REFORM?

Portugal's steady "colonial progress" was jolted by the 1961 revolt in Angola, and by the spread of wars of liberation to Guinea and Mozambique as well. The Lisbon government has been forced to remodel the myths, accelerate economic and educational development, and try to modernize the colonial structure. An attempt is being made now to co-opt Africans into the administration. But white immigration is still encouraged: the speculation about increased "decentralization" of power refers to white settlers, not to Africans, and any political opposition, particularly African nationalism, is still branded as treason.

Salazar's replacement by Marcelo Caetano has made no difference in Africa. Caetano, who as Colonial Minister was the architect of many of the Salazarist policies for the colonies, continues to assert that independence for Africans in Mozambique is unthinkable. Defense of the African "provinces" remains the top priority in the Portuguese budget. Adriano Moreira, who in the early 1960's was author of many of the co-optive "reforms" in Portuguese Africa, has been expelled from his post at the Higher Institute of Social Sciences. Candidates for 1969 elections in Portugal have been informed that discussion of the war in Africa is not permitted.

"Portuguese reform" or "liberalization" is a survival technique of the governing elite. It is an attempt to cloak continued colonial control in more palatable terms for international consumption. Portuguese liberalization is a calculated policy aimed at retrenching power and stemming the tide of the liberation struggle.

* * * * *

Independence is irrelevant to the welfare of man. It can be good if the right conditions are present...While these conditions are not being produced, to take part in movements for independence is acting against nature...The native people of Africa have the obligation to thank the colonialists for all the benefits...The educated have the duty to lead those with less education from all the illusions of independence...The present independence movements have... the sign of revolt and of Communism...we must not, therefore, support these movements...The Slogan "Africa for the Africans" is a philosophical monstrosity and a challenge to the Christian civilization, because today's events tell us that it is Communism and Islamism which wish to impose their civilization upon the Africans.

--Bishop Pereira, Auxiliary Bishop of Lourenço Marques,
from a statement read in all seminaries and churches
(Mondlane, Struggle for Mozambique, pp. 74,75)

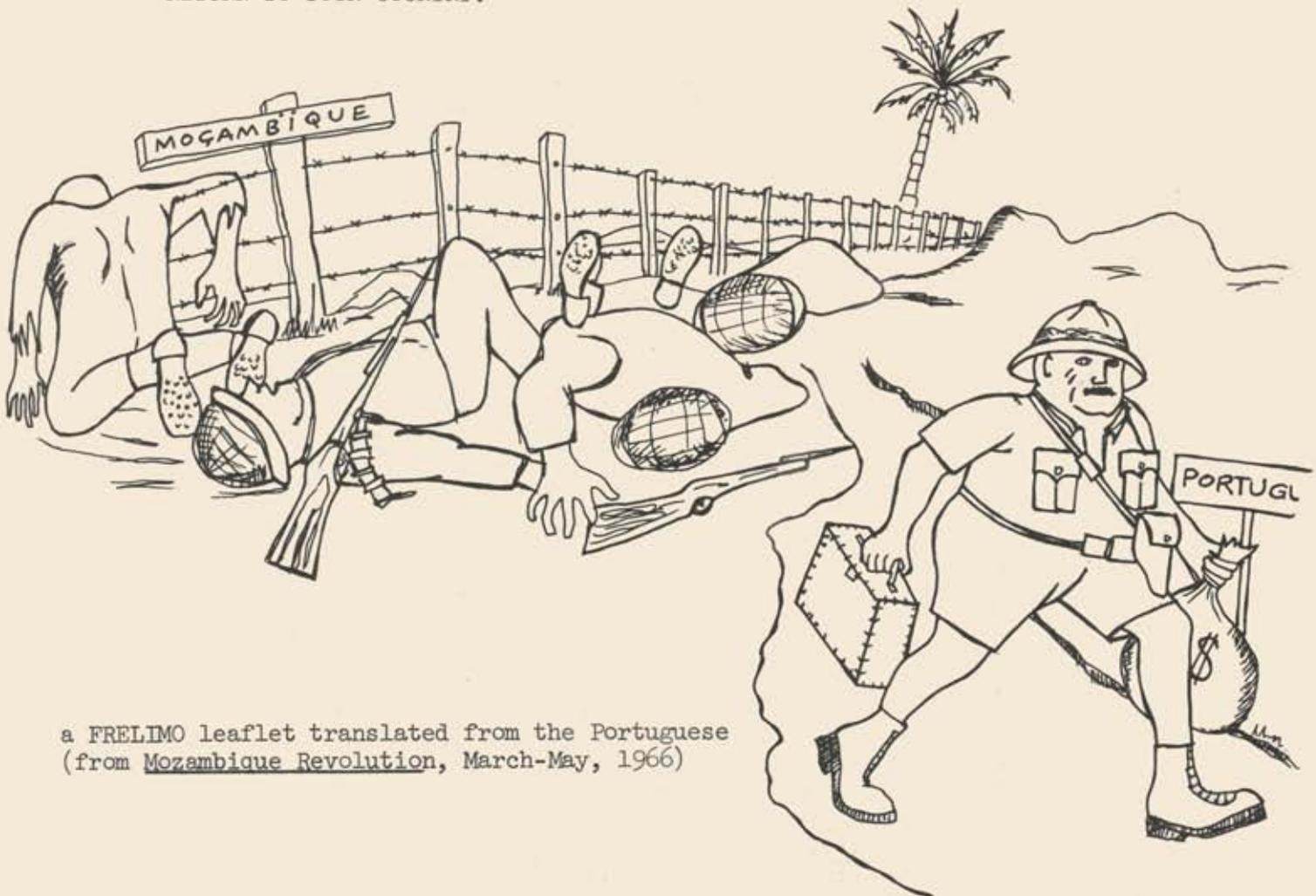
FRELIMO

PORTUGUESE SOLDIER, RETURN TO YOUR COUNTRY!
WE DON'T WANT TO KILL YOU, WE ARE NOT YOUR ENEMIES.
BUT YOU ARE OUR ENEMY, YOU ARE KILLING OUR PEOPLE.
RETURN TO YOUR COUNTRY, PORTUGUESE SOLDIER, YOU MUST GO,
OR FRELIMO GUERRILLAS WILL KILL YOU.

FAR AWAY, IN YOUR HOME, ARE YOUR PARENTS, YOUR BROTHERS,
YOUR WIFE, YOUR CHILDREN. YOU WILL NEVER SEE THEM AGAIN.
YOU WILL DIE HERE, IN AN AMBUSH, WITHOUT GLORY,
AS HUNDREDS OF YOUR COMRADES HAVE ALREADY DIED.

PORTUGUESE SOLDIER, YOU DO NOT FIGHT FOR THE "DEFENSE OF THE
COUNTRY". YOUR COUNTRY IS PORTUGAL, NOT MOZAMBIQUE.
YOU ARE DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE RICH. THEY STAY
IN LISBON AS BIG BOSSES, FULL OF MONEY, AND SEND YOU TO DIE
IN THE BUSH. YOU WILL DIE TO DEFEND THE RICHES THAT THE
CAPITALISTS HAVE IN MOZAMBIQUE.
YOU YOURSELF ARE ALSO DECEIVED AND EXPLOITED, PORTUGUESE SOLDIER!

REFUSE TO FIGHT IN THIS UNJUST WAR.
SAVE YOUR LIFE, SAVE YOUR HONOUR WHILE IT IS TIME.
RETURN TO YOUR COUNTRY, PORTUGUESE SOLDIER.
RETURN TO YOUR COUNTRY.



a FRELIMO leaflet translated from the Portuguese
(from Mozambique Revolution, March-May, 1966)

III. PARTNERS IN CRIME

Our modest military assistance has helped to foster close working relationships with the Portuguese military.

--Vice-Admiral L.C. Heinz, Director of Military Assistance
(Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 90th Congress, 2nd session, 1968, p. 447)

The situation in Mozambique is an integral part of the larger picture of colonialism, exploitation, and the denial of basic human rights to African people. As in Mozambique, the majority of people in Angola, South West Africa, Rhodesia, and South Africa must endure police harassment and suffer from the quick, efficient, and ruthless suppression of even the slightest dissent.

The present governments of these countries have one central common element--they are white minority governments in predominantly black countries. And they are frightened, determined to retain their present position and power through any means necessary.

These governments receive economic and military support from the United States and her allies. The U.S. claims to support freedom for all peoples, but in Southern Africa, as in Vietnam, America supports another world, a world of oppression and economic gain for the oppressor.

PORTUGAL AND SOUTH AFRICA

The geographical position of Mozambique, which stretches 1400 miles from Tanzania in the north to the gold-mining district of South Africa, gives it great strategic importance in the struggle against the white minority regimes of Southern Africa. Besides Tanzania and South Africa, Mozambique also shares borders with Zambia, Rhodesia, Malawi, and Swaziland, four landlocked countries which depend on her for ports and which are themselves involved in the struggle against white domination. Consequently, Mozambique is a vital key to Southern Africa. If it becomes independent it will naturally serve as a base of support for freedom fighters in Rhodesia and South Africa. For this reason as well as for economic reasons, it is of critical importance to the white regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia that revolution in Mozambique be defeated.

The friendship between Rhodesia and Portuguese Mozambique has grown since Rhodesia declared her independence from Britain (Unilateral Declaration of Independence). In 1967 after UDI, the port of Beira in Mozambique showed an increase in port traffic of 400,000 tons. Although it is impossible to assess

THE MAJOR SOURCES FOR THIS SECTION ARE: 1) United Nations Documents of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, October, 1967; October, 1968; and Working Papers on Territories under Portuguese Administration, June, 1968; June, 1969; 2) William Minter, African Liberation and American Foreign Policy: The Case of Portuguese Africa (to be published); and 3) Portuguese military publications, primarily Revista Militar and Jornal do Exército, 1960-1969.

the amount of trade which passes between Lourenço Marques and Rhodesia, there is no doubt that the Mozambican ports are serving Rhodesia more than ever. Rhodesian cars wearing the label, "Obrigado Moçambique" (Thank you Mozambique), testify to the source of their gas and oil.

But the real power in Southern Africa is South Africa, and her relationship with both Rhodesia and Mozambique is comparable to the relationship of the U.S. with many of her "allies." South Africa self-righteously sees herself as the defender of Western and Christian civilization on the African continent, the bulwark against encroaching communists and murderers from the North. Of South Africa and Rhodesia, Prime Minister Vorster has said, "We are good friends, and good friends do not need an agreement to fight murderers. Good friends know what their duty is when their neighbor's house is on fire" (Mondlane, Struggle for Mozambique, p. 203). In the summer of 1968 De Villiers Graaf, the leader of the South African United Party, called for military aid to the Portuguese. He asserted that the Portuguese were fighting South Africa's wars for them and that South Africa would be fighting terrorists inside its own borders within a week if Portugal were to withdraw from Mozambique. South African troops have already been reported to be at the site of the Cabora Bassa Dam construction in Mozambique's Tete province. Protection of the dam could be the beginning of an expanding program of joint South African/Portuguese troop maneuvers against FRELIMO guerrillas in that area.

When General Horacio Rebelo, the Portuguese Defense Minister, visited Africa in February, 1969, he met with his South African counterpart, Pieter Botha, in Capetown. The chief of the South African Defense Force, General Rudolph Hiemstra, was also present. The meeting is believed to have been arranged to consider "anti-terrorist campaigns" and to examine the overall strategic situation in Southern Africa. South Africa is militarily equipped to give sizable aid to Portugal without making a serious sacrifice. South Africa's military budget is higher than ever, and her total military strength is greater than that of the rest of sub-Saharan Africa put together.

In recent years South Africa has employed a wide range of strategies to maintain and extend her control in Southern Africa. She has, in her own legal terms, incorporated the former League of Nations Mandate, South West Africa (Namibia), and her troops are now stationed there to combat nationalist freedom fighters. South African troops are in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) for the same reason. More subtle is South Africa's near-incorporation of the three former High Commission Territories and her attempt to woo independent African countries with offers of economic favors. South Africa has always had a strong economic and cultural influence on Mozambique. If at any time Mozambique should declare itself independent of Portugal or if Portugal should withdraw, South Africa could move into the vacuum.

Countering the oppressors of South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese colonies, the African nationalist forces of the different countries of Southern Africa have also built alliances. They are in continuous communication, working together where it is useful. They know that what happens in one part of Southern Africa is important for all the other areas as well, and that the struggle must continue until the whole of the enemy alliance -- Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa-- has been defeated.

THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE

The Portugal/South Africa/Rhodesia alliance is important for strategy; but for military equipment, supplies, training and economic support, Portugal has

more powerful partners. The most important are the United States and West Germany, but other NATO countries are also involved. Portugal, a tiny country and the poorest in Europe, must have these "partners" in order to support her three colonial wars. Spending 48.7% of her entire budget on her military, Portugal does not even build her own airplanes. Instead, the Portuguese Air Force is almost totally equipped with planes made in NATO countries. Most prominent are: 1) American-made fighters and bombers, such as F-84s, F-86s, FV-2s, and B-26s; 2) transports such as the military versions of the DC-3, DC-4, and DC-6s; and 3) trainers such as the T-6s, T-33s, and T-37s which can easily be converted for combat use. The T-37s were delivered in 1963; 18 were paid for by the American government while 12 were bought by the Portuguese. Almost all would be of little use in a European war such as NATO might be engaged in. In Portugal's colonial wars they are supplemented by French-made Nord-Atlas transports and Alouette helicopters, by German DO-27s, and by Fiat G-91s, jointly manufactured by Italy and Germany.

Not only are the Portuguese planes made in NATO countries, but the Portuguese Air Force is NATO-trained and Portuguese pilots drop NATO-model bombs and American napalm (made by the Dow Chemical Company in Frankfurt, Germany) in Mozambique.

The American government maintains that no current aid from the United States is used by Portugal in Africa. Portugal has pledged to use such aid only for NATO purposes. Thus, in theory, the new 1,700-ton destroyer escort delivered to the Portuguese in November, 1968, will not go south of the Tropic of Cancer, the legal limit of NATO territories. And the more than \$50 million of military aid supplied since 1961 is claimed by the U.S. to be completely irrelevant to Portugal's colonial wars.

Yet reports from the guerrilla movements in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea refer again and again to the use of American equipment by the Portuguese. The U.S. did admit that much American equipment was used in Angola in 1961, but it is difficult to prove that a particular piece of equipment was supplied to the Portuguese after that year. Nor is it easy to disentangle the threads of the international trade in small arms. Yet when all the sophistry is put aside, two facts remain clear: 1) American equipment is being used by the Portuguese in their colonial wars; 2) even where American aid to Portugal does not go directly into the war effort, it still supports the fascist Portuguese government which is carrying on these wars.

And there are other channels for American equipment: the CIA, for example. In 1966 the public got a glimpse of what such involvement might mean, when a group of men were tried in Buffalo, New York, for smuggling B-26 bombers plus bomb-sights, armaments, and technical manuals, from Tucson, Arizona, to Portugal for use in Africa. Caught by customs officials, their defense was that they had been hired by the CIA, as a part of "Operation Sparrow." The CIA claimed ignorance but the State Department was concerned. It sent one of its own lawyers to advise the local prosecutor; at the trial large areas of questioning were ruled out of order by the judge for reasons of "national security." Eventually the men were acquitted.

In a war of counterinsurgency, the mobility given the colonial forces by military vehicles such as jeeps and trucks is essential. Yet "unarmed" vehicles are not included in the U.S. "restricted" lists. Kaiser (Willys) Jeep Corporation (Toledo, Ohio), according to Business Week (Jan. 7, 1967) "the world's largest manufacturer of tactical military vehicles," is one of the beneficiaries of this policy.

o nome
que tornou universal
Jeep o veículo todo terreno
WILLYS



O Jeep Willys é o veículo de maior produção em todo o Mundo, o que melhores provas tem dado e o mais resistente a qualquer desgaste.
É o «todo-terreno» preferido pelas forças armadas devido à sua incomparável resistência e versatilidade de aplicação.

C. SANTOS, S.A.R.L. Lisboa — Av. da Liberdade, 29-41
Porto — Coimbra — Braga — Faro — Oporto — Agentes em todo o País

This Willys ad was taken from the Portuguese army journal, Jornal do Exército, April, 1969.

Kaiser (Willys) Jeep Corporation "is now the world's largest manufacturer of tactical military vehicles" (Business Week). It has subsidiaries around the world, including Portugal and South Africa. A large shipment of jeeps was exported from the United States to Angola in 1963. More recently, in July, 1968, the South African plant of Kaiser received an order worth more than \$3 million from the Portuguese government.

A translation of the ad: "The name that made the all-terrain vehicle universal...Willys Jeep is the vehicle with the largest world production, the vehicle that has shown the best test results, that is the most resistant to wear...It is the 'all terrain' vehicle preferred by the armed forces because of its incomparable resistance and versatility of application."

The restrictions supposedly imposed by the United States may annoy Portugal somewhat, but according to Vice Admiral L.C. Heinz, Director of Military Assistance, "Our modest military assistance has helped to foster close working relationships with the Portuguese military." General Lemnitzer, describing the aid program for 1969, said that it "is designed to train key Portuguese military personnel and to provide maintenance support material." (Both Lemnitzer and Heinz quotes are from Hearings before a Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, 90th Congress, 2nd Session, 1968.) It was recently revealed that U.S. forces in Spain have conducted joint maneuvers with the Spanish to practice putting down a left-wing rebellion. In Portugal, too, the military is one of the bulwarks of the fascist state, and there have been reports of U.S. involvement in training of the Policia da Seguranca Publica, one of the special forces for internal security.

The "key military personnel" with whom the U.S. develops such good relationships are the officers who lead Portugal's troops in her colonial wars. They are likely to devote only peripheral attention to their under-quota NATO units. One of these officers is General Kaulza de Arriaga, who, before being transferred from Portugal to command the Military Region of Mozambique in mid-1969, took the trouble to make a two-week visit to the United States, at State Department invitation. His talks with Vietnam veteran General Westmoreland and Air Force General Ryan were followed by visits to military installations around the country.

Meanwhile the Azores base, used by the U.S. Navy and Air Force since 1943, continues to provide \$6 million a year for the Portuguese economy. That its use as a staging and refueling point grows much less important as airplane range increases bothers the Pentagon not at all; now the base is important, they say, for anti-submarine surveillance. In 1961 former Secretary of State Dean Acheson called it perhaps our most important overseas base (Yale Law Review, Vol. 51, Autumn, 1961, p. 9). For the Pentagon all bases are important.

The United States claims that its military relationships with Portugal are not inconsistent with its proclaimed support for self-determination for Africans. Such a claim is a diplomatic sham. The United States is not neutral. It stands clearly on the side of Portugal.

BUSINESS

Portugal exists as a state, but it does not exist as an independent or self-sufficient economic unit. It is itself a colony, depending heavily on its trade relations and on foreign investment for its economic existence and growth.

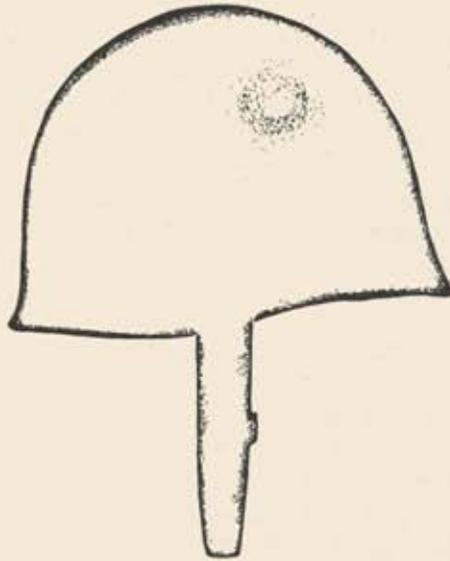
Although Mozambique is relatively rich in natural and human resources, Portugal does not have the capital required to exploit these resources. Other European and American interests do have capital, but until the colonial wars broke out, Portugal placed restrictions on foreign investment. Since the early 1960s, investment conditions have been improved and foreign involvement encouraged, so that others besides Portugal now have something at stake in maintaining the status quo. Two thirds of all investments in Portugal and her colonies are now made directly or indirectly by foreign companies.

Foreign interests in Mozambique can best be understood in the context of European and American business interests in Southern Africa as a whole. Mozambique has become part of an economic and military alliance which exploits the area from Angola and Namibia (South West Africa) through Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Mozambique, and south to the Republic of South Africa. Of the two Portuguese colonies, Angola has a more developed mining sector and therefore greater direct foreign involvement. Although there is some direct American and European investment in Mozambique, there is a great deal more which is indirect, channeled mostly through Anglo-American and other South African corporations.

After Portugal and South Africa, the United States and Great Britain are Mozambique's most important trading partners, although so far most of the trade has been in small quantities. The U.S. buys 80% of Mozambique's shelled cashews and most of its scarce minerals such as corundum and columbo-tantalite, but the quantity is still small. Portugal has encouraged increased production of export crops in Mozambique, but a favorable balance of payments results mainly from the revenue of the transit trade that goes through the ports of Beira and Lourenço Marques.

Much of the foreign investment in Mozambique is in mining and prospecting. The oil companies are a good example of the kind of concessions granted by Portugal. The Mozambique Gulf Oil Company and the Mozambique Pan American Oil Company have held a joint petroleum concession in Mozambique since 1958. By 1967 their total investment was \$22 million. Under the latest contract in 1967, the companies have the exclusive rights to develop hydro-carbon deposits in an area covering 47,718 square kilometers. The oil companies have agreed to spend at least \$9 million during the three-year contract. There is an income tax on profits from oil operations, but the company is exempted from import duties on equipment and from property tax. The Mozambican (i.e., Portuguese) government is entitled to a 50% share of all products mined and offered for sale, excluding natural gas.

Among other companies having similar contracts are Sunray Oil Company and Hunt International Petroleum, both owned by American reactionaries. The Pew family members, who own Sunray, were staunch Goldwater supporters. H.L. Hunt, Texas owner of Hunt International, is well known for his right-wing sentiments and the financing of Life Line, an ultra-right radio program. Through such concessions, not all of which are controlled by only the political "right," the Portuguese receive capital, and the oil companies receive their profits when oil is discovered. In Angola a Gulf Oil strike in Cabinda has already started paying off handsomely; within a few years Angola will be among the top 20 oil producing countries in the world. Butane gas discoveries in Mozambique may be exploited in cooperation with South Africa.



EM TODAS AS FRENTES da ECONOMIA
e do
PROGRESSO

Em todas as frentes que separam a ordem da desordem e marcam as fronteiras ameaçadas do nosso território, as Forças Armadas protegem o Progresso e a Economia da Nação.

Em todas as frentes, também a MOBIL protege os equipamentos do Progresso ao serviço da Economia Nacional.

Mobil

MAIS DE CEM ANOS NA VANGUARDA DA INDÚSTRIA PETROLÍFERA

This Mobil ad was taken from the Portuguese army journal, Jornal do Exército, December, 1967.

Mobil Oil Corporation, the eighth largest corporation in the world, is one of the family of Standard Oil Companies (Standard Oil, New York). It is reputed to have still substantial Rockefeller interests. It has two subsidiary companies in Portuguese Africa. Mobil Oil Portuguesa, the more important, is engaged in "marketing in Portugal, neighboring islands, and Portuguese Africa." It is 99.99% owned by Mobil Oil International. It is at present building, in Luanda, Angola, a new plant for oil storage and processing of lubricating oil.

A translation of the ad: "ON ALL FRONTS of ECONOMY and PROGRESS...On all the fronts that separate order from disorder and mark the menaced frontiers of our territory, the Armed Forces protect Progress and the Economy of the Nation...On all fronts, MOBIL also protects the equipment of Progress for the service of the National Economy...MORE THAN 100 YEARS IN THE VANGUARD OF THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRY."

In other areas of mining South African concerns are involved with diamonds, manganese, asbestos, beryl, colombo-tantalite, and other minerals. An American company is prospecting for fluorites.

South African and French companies are producing chemical fertilizers, and a British company is making laboratory supplies; South African interests are making corrugated cardboard and soap and considering starting a paper and pulp plant. American, French, and other international consultants are involved in a feasibility study for the establishment of a new steel mill in Tete. There is already a new Japanese car assembly plant. French money finances textile production.

In agriculture and small agricultural processing industries in Mozambique, South African companies (Anglo-American Corporation and others) are involved in commercial fishing as well as sugar, cashew, and copra production. Sisal plantations have received German capital. The largest sugar estates in Mozambique are largely British-owned with some French interests. There is Italian and British capital in cashew processing.

The Anglo-American Corporation, the major South African investor in all aspects of Mozambique's economy, has American millionaire Charles W. Engelhard on its Board of Directors (he is also one of the directors of the Witwatersrand Native Labor Association, the primary recruiter of labor in Mozambique for the mines in South Africa. Among other things Engelhard is a major contributor to the Democratic Party and a friend of ex-President Lyndon Johnson). Anglo-American heads up a consortium (ZAMCO) which recently won the contract for the construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam on the Zambezi River. Another consortium which may participate in the construction was formed by Morrison-Knudson, an Idaho company with wholly owned subsidiaries in Portugal and the Netherlands which has done construction projects in more than 20 different countries, including South Vietnam.

The Cabora Bassa Dam is the largest of several foreign-financed hydroelectric and irrigation schemes planned for Mozambique. It is expected to be larger than the Aswan Dam and to supply needed electricity to South Africa and Rhodesia as well as to open up a rich mineral area of Mozambique for European settlement and development.

Mozambique is in the midst of a Third Development Plan, 1968-1973. The anticipated expenditure is \$545 million. The largest areas of investment will be the development of new industry, transportation, and hydroelectric and irrigation schemes. The plan can be carried out only with the cooperation of foreign investors, who are expected to provide more than 25% of the cost. Portugal feels confident of business interest and support. Teixeira Pinto, the former Portuguese Minister of Economy, visited the United States in the spring of 1969 and at the end of his trip assured his countrymen that, "the position of Portugal in the United States has been consolidated, the North Americans being predisposed toward investment in Portugal, whether in the Metropole or in the overseas provinces " (Diario de Luanda, April 28, 1969).

SUMMARY

The U.S. government policy toward Portugal reflects the current economic and political situation. European and American investment in Mozambique and the rest of Southern Africa requires a stable situation for profit-taking and good growth potential. Politically the United States desires to keep Portugal a happy NATO ally in return for the use of the Azores. The U.S. government, in pursuit of these goals, has consistently rejected the valid claims of FRELIMO and the other Southern African liberation movements.

America proclaims her abhorrence of colonialism but votes NO at the United Nations to the call for sanctions against Portugal. America calls for peaceful change and claims to abhor violence but votes NO to United Nations resolutions calling for NATO members to stop giving military aid to Portugal.

Until the present time the United States has been able, generally, to cloak its exploitative and oppressive role in Southern Africa behind hypocritical public posturing and a sea of ignorance on the part of American citizens. The actual role of the United States, both directly and through its allies, Portugal and South Africa, in destroying the lives and freedoms of African peoples, must be made known. If we, as Americans, are to translate professed commitments to freedom and independence into reality, there is only one course open to us: we must support, by all available means, the Mozambican Revolution.

* * * * *

There he comes, armed and fierce
There comes the man who brings freedom,
Ragged and dirty, but with an iron heart,
The guerrilla smiles and sings
He has no house, little food and clothes,
He lives through suffering all
The torrential rains beat against him
The bitter cold bites harshly
Still he smiles and sings.
"I bring peace and freedom,
With this weapon in my hand
I'll drive out Salazar and his troops."
--O Guerrilheiro, by Cosme
(Mozambique Revolution, March-April, 1969)

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Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin. (Subscribe from K. Shingler, 10 Fentiman Road, London SW 8. £ 1 per year.) 4-5 issues a year. Provides current information both on developments in Portugal and in the colonies.

United Nations Documents of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Cover current developments and provide information on the role of foreign investment.

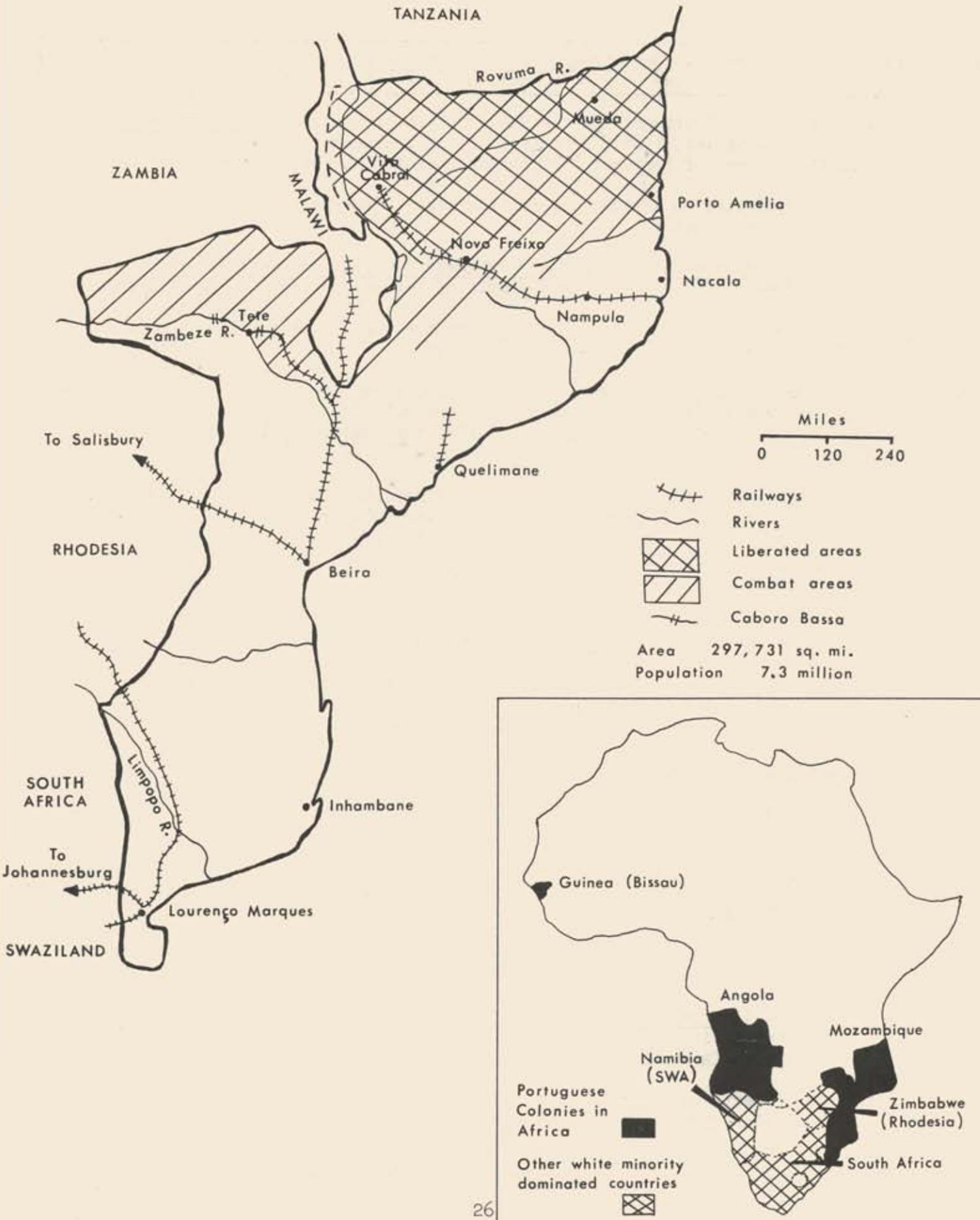
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MOZAMBIQUE



PART TWO: ACTION IDEAS -- WHAT YOU CAN DO

There are many ways to support the liberation struggle in Mozambique and work for the end of U.S. aid to and involvement in Portuguese colonialism. Relevant forms of action and education will vary with the nature of the working group and the resources available, both as foci for action and sources of information. In the next few pages various types of actions are suggested in the following order:

- I. DIRECT AID TO THE MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT (FRELIMO)
 - A. Our immediate goal -- funds for the Bagamoyo Teacher Training Course.
 - B. FRELIMO'S broader needs.

- II. ACTIONS AIMED AT EFFECTING A CHANGE IN U.S. POLICY
 - A. Conventional pressures on the government.
 - B. Educational campaigns.
 - C. Direct action aimed at American government and corporate involvement as well as at various Portuguese representatives in the U.S.

- III. APPENDICES
 - A. Direct action projects -- ways and means.
 - B. Letter and address forms.
 - C. Petition.
 - D. Suggested source groups and publications.
 - E. CRV local chapter chairmen
 - F. Publications of liberation movements
 - G. Other publications

The listings are not complete, but rather should be viewed as suggestions. We welcome and encourage contact with any individuals or groups wishing to undertake any action in support of the liberation movement in Mozambique.

I. DIRECT AID TO THE MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT (FRELIMO)

A. FUNDS FOR THE BAGAMOYO TEACHER TRAINING COURSE

In preparing this booklet we have had two goals in mind: 1) We wanted to inform Americans about the situation in Mozambique and encourage involvement in the process of changing this situation, and 2) We wanted to raise funds on as large a scale as possible to assist the Mozambique Liberation Front. With the second goal in mind, we are focusing on one small project, a training course for Mozambican teachers operated by FRELIMO at Bagamoyo, Tanzania. A description of this school and its needs together with some of the other educational programs of FRELIMO follows.

FRELIMO SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS IN MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique as a whole is 96% illiterate. In Niassa, Cabo Delgado, and Tete provinces, where FRELIMO controls large areas, there were under Portuguese control fewer schools than anywhere else in the country. So FRELIMO's present educational task is monumental. One set of difficulties is inherent in the war situation: the schools are, of necessity, para-military. Thus the students, like the rest of the population, must be prepared to protect themselves in order to survive in case of surprise attack by the Portuguese. Students must sometimes be absent from class because of duty as lookouts. Each student must know how to disappear in the bush, discipline himself for a long vigil, suffer hardships, carry heavy loads and walk long distances.

Other difficulties have to do with the lack of equipment and trained teachers. As for equipment, it is always insufficient. In most FRELIMO schools in Mozambique only the teacher will have books, and he may have only a few. Students make wooden slates and use charcoal on them or write on the ground. FRELIMO sends notebooks, pencils and other supplies when they are donated or money is received for them.

Finally there is the lack of trained teachers. The people are impatient to learn, and they teach each other as much as they can. But even those who are teaching have had only three or perhaps four years of schooling, and much of what they learned within the Portuguese system is useless in the present situation. So FRELIMO developed its teacher training course.

THE TEACHER TRAINING COURSE

FRELIMO's first teacher training course was offered in 1968; there were nine students, all members of FRELIMO, mostly between 19 and 22 years old, two or three of them married. One or two of them had served in the FRELIMO military, all of them had completed the fourth year of school, and some had already taught first or second grade.

In the course they learned ways of becoming self-sufficient teachers; they learned how to make a simple abacus and meter sticks; how to plan and do simple experiments in science classes; how to build a latrine and a water filter; how to make tools to aid in agriculture; how to make and use maps. They learned to be graphic and concrete in their activities whenever possible. The students were given rudimentary understanding of psychology and what is involved in learning. They learned to try to get their pupils to think rather than just memorize, to recognize realities rather than just words, to put to use in their lives what they learned in school. Most of this was very new to the teachers-in-training, who themselves had learned by rote and had little practice abstracting truths from observations or implementing things learned in the abstract.

When they completed the course, the new teachers returned to Mozambique where they now work as organizers of new schools, supervisors of first and second grade teachers, and as teachers themselves.

In 1969 FRELIMO plans to train one or two more groups of teachers; eventually, a variety of teacher training courses are planned so that the teachers can return periodically in order to continue their study and training.

OTHER PROGRAMS AT BAGAMOYO

The six-month teacher training course is one of several specialized courses held at the educational camp at Bagamoyo in Tanzania. The camp, which is about three miles from the center of Bagamoyo, was FRELIMO's first military camp in Tanzania in 1963; it was later converted to an educational camp when military training was moved to the interior of Mozambique and to parts of Tanzania nearer the border. The land in the camp is too sandy for farming, so the school must purchase food and use donated goods, rather than raise them there as other FRELIMO primary schools do. Students are responsible for the upkeep of the camp in daily tasks ranging from cooking to building repair. The buildings were built about twenty years ago for a resort and are today in poor condition, although in late 1968 the thatch roofs were replaced by zinc (without sure knowledge of where the money would be found for this improvement). The grounds also have a water tank with pipes leading to the well, but the pump wore out some time ago and there have not been funds to replace it.



Besides the specialized courses, the Bagamoyo camp houses the fourth year primary classes. In 1969 these will consist of 75-100 pupils in the regular fourth grade plus a group or two of military men sent to either a six-month fourth grade course or to finish their primary school training. In 1967, a six-month course was given to train political cadres. This may be repeated in 1969. Other possibilities are being explored for technical courses to give specialized training to a select number. All of these latter courses depend heavily on outside help for personnel, financial and material resources.

FUNDING NEEDS

Immediate funds are needed at Bagamoyo to pay for the water pump and the zinc roofing; for the bread, beans, flour, fish, and vegetables the students eat; for the medicines and health care they receive; for chalk, notebooks, pens, rulers and books.

EARMARK YOUR CHECKS "BAGAMOYO TEACHER TRAINING" AND MAKE THEM PAYABLE TO THE AFRICA FUND. MAIL THEM TO:

Committee of Returned Volunteers/New York
Africa Committee
65 Irving Place
New York, N.Y. 10003

These funds will be transmitted to the Mozambique Institute (in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania), the fund-raising body for all nation-building FRELIMO projects.

B. FRELIMO'S BROADER NEEDS

Of course the Bagamoyo Teacher Training Course is only a small segment of the entire program of the Mozambique Liberation Front. FRELIMO's broader needs are many and varied. Funds are always short, and money can be raised and sent to FRELIMO, preferably undesignated and free to be used for military or whatever other needs may dominate at the time. Contributions can be made directly to FRELIMO, P.O. Box 15274, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania; or to the Africa Defense and Aid Fund, a program of the American Committee on Africa. In the latter case checks should be made payable to AFRICA DEFENSE AND AID FUND, earmarked FRELIMO and mailed to CRV/New York Africa Committee at the above address.

If you are particularly interested in helping the military but prefer to send goods rather than money, think in terms of lightweight waterproof equipment such as tents, knapsacks, etc., or in terms of clothing. In relief shipments of clothes, men's clothes and shoes are scarce. FRELIMO could use thousands of pairs of sturdy men's trousers (or shorts), boots and work shoes. Raincoats would also be welcome. Do not send large sizes.

If you are interested in giving non-military assistance but want to know more of the possibilities beyond helping the teacher training program, a limited number of copies of the budget of the Mozambique Institute are available. We will send a copy to groups seriously planning to raise substantial aid.

Non-military possibilities mentioned in the budget include among others:

1. Medical supplies and drugs.
2. Education. Funds for buying textbooks and library books in Portuguese; funds for printing textbooks written specifically for Mozambique; school supplies from such things as paper and pencils, fabric and sewing machines (non-electric) to such things as soccer balls and guitars.
3. Transportation. The purchase of an ambulance, several landrovers, a five-ton truck, an eight-ton truck, a couple of cars, bicycles, and a motorcycle -- for use at the various camps, schools, hospitals, and for transportation within Tanzania from ports to the border where things pass to Mozambique.
4. Refugee needs. Funds for the operating budget at the orphanage; the purchase of clothing, blankets, toothbrushes, towels, etc. for the displaced and disabled people.
5. Communications. The purchase of cameras, dark room supplies, tape recorders and tapes for publicity work and internal communications.
6. Office supplies. The purchase of equipment from file cabinets and mimeograph ink to typewriters.

BEFORE SENDING SHIPMENTS OF ANY GOODS IN KIND, BE SURE YOU CHECK HOW TO CHANNEL THEM SO THAT FRELIMO WILL NOT HAVE TO PAY DUTY ON THEM ONCE THEY ARRIVE. For information or clarification, write to the Committee of Returned Volunteers.

People in FRELIMO have ideas and plans which can take effect only when funds are available to train personnel and purchase materials. In raising funds there is no reason why those of us living in the wealthy United States can not help. Please do so--immediately and repeatedly.



II. ACTIONS AIMED AT EFFECTING CHANGE IN U.S. POLICY

A. CONVENTIONAL PRESSURES ON THE GOVERNMENT

From all evidence it is patently clear that Congress has little or no interest in Southern Africa. Portugal is viewed as an appendage of our European policy, a fairly insignificant one at that, and her colonial policy is all but ignored. Congress might be moved to act on very specific issues in response to events in Africa; or individual Congressmen might be drawn into the Portuguese question through involvement in wider concerns such as the movement against the maintenance of U.S. military bases abroad, as evidenced in existing activity of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Therefore, pressure on Congress and the Executive must be viewed on the one hand as holding action (the Nixon administration gets three-times the pressure from the right-wing to alter U.S. policy on Southern Africa than it does from the left), and on the other hand as a technique for the building up of a constituency to be utilized by a Congressman at a given time.

Your own Congressman should be the first to receive correspondence. In your letters you might call for the following changes in U.S. policy:

1. The implementation, in accordance with the United Nations General Assembly resolution, of an arms embargo against Portugal.

2. The end of all appropriations for military or other aid to Portugal, e.g., the training of Portuguese military in the United States; visitations by U.S. defense personnel to the Portuguese colonies.
3. The amending of the Export-Import Bank Act so that no credits, guarantees or insurance subsidies provide for corporations functioning in non-self-governing territories (This would affect e.g., Gulf Oil).
4. Relevant legislation preventing exports to and imports from non-self-governing territories (This would affect e.g., U.S. coffee imports from Angola).

Other Congressional Committees to watch include: in the Senate, the Foreign Relations Committee and the Appropriations Committee; and in the House, the Foreign Affairs, Appropriations, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and Armed Services Committees. For a fuller catalogue of Congressmen, their present or potential interest in Southern Africa, and tactics to be used in writing (e.g., if there is a substantial black constituency in a Congressional district), write for an "Africanists' Guide to the 91st Congress" to Mr. Gary Gappert, American Committee on Africa, 711 14th Street N.W., Room 700, Washington, D.C.

Letters to the President and to the State Department should be written as a register of awareness and concern.

To be found in the Appendices are a sample letter and petition, together with a list of address forms for government officials. We would like to receive a copy of any correspondence. It may be useful to us.

B. EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGNS

There are a number of ways in which groups can act in building interest in Portuguese Africa, and a number of resources for such educational efforts. These resources include:

1. Mozambican students in the United States. Contact the Mozambican Student Union (UNEMO) through CRV/NY. This group can provide you with the names and addresses of nearby students.
2. A film on Mozambique, VENCEREMOS, is available from the American Committee on Africa, 164 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. (212-532-3700). It was taken inside Mozambique in liberated territory in 1967.
3. Buttons calling for a FREE MOZAMBIQUE (see order blank on last page).
4. MOZAMBIQUE WILL BE FREE booklet (see order blank).
5. A FRELIMO representative is sometimes based in New York. The American Committee on Africa (see address above) could inform you whether or not he is currently in the country.

Meetings and forums can be centered about important dates in Mozambican history such as September 25, the beginning of the armed struggle in 1964, or June 16, a commemorative date of the Portuguese massacre of 600 people in Mueda, northern Mozambique.

Groups should make sure that information about Portuguese Africa is present in area bookstores and libraries (see bibliography) and that journals of the liberation movements, such as Mozambique Revolution, receive wide distribution (see list of movement publications).

Newspapers and journals which have articles about Portuguese Africa should get responses through letters to editors; radio programs with shows on this topic or advertisements for companies or agencies supporting Portugal should be contacted, and campus or other local papers should receive original articles from interested groups.

C. DIRECT ACTION AIMED AT AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND CORPORATE INVOLVEMENT AS WELL AS AT VARIOUS PORTUGUESE REPRESENTATIVES IN THE UNITED STATES

Possible foci for direct action are listed below in addition to some recommended actions. A list of pointers, "Direct Action Projects--Ways and Means," can be found in the Appendices.

1. The U.S. Department of Defense. The U.S. trains Portuguese military personnel in the United States. Protest against America's support for Portugal could focus on ROTC programs on campuses, recruiting centers, and other military establishments, especially if Portuguese military personnel are known to be present.
2. U.S. Corporate Interests. Direct action can focus on the economic and strategic way in which certain American companies support Portugal's colonialism. Of the American corporations involved in Portuguese Africa, Gulf Oil is certainly the most prominent. Its head offices are in Pittsburgh, Pa. Charles W. Engelhard's Minerals & Chemical Corporation, which has its headquarters in Newark, N.J., is another possible focus. Possible relevant actions aimed at these corporations are:
 - a. Research. Research on the operations of a particular corporation in the domestic sphere so as to relate its overseas policies to internal ones is always important. Sources for such research would include a research methodology guide (25¢) produced by the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), "Researching the Empire," available from P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Park Station, New York, N.Y. 10025; and materials which are now being produced by the Africa Research Group, P.O. Box 213, Cambridge, Mass., 02138. It would also be useful to make personal contact with employees, unions, or others connected with the business.
 - b. Attending stockholders' meetings. Protests may be lodged at annual stockholders' meetings by either stockholders or their proxies. Such protests have an educational value for the stockholders attending.

- c. Visits to companies, plants, distributors and retailers by groups; pickets; guerrilla theater acts--all aid in building knowledge of the policies of a corporation. These tactics have been used in relation to American banks investing in South Africa.
- d. Disengagement. Organizations or individuals who hold stock in these companies should be urged to dispose of this stock, write formal protests to the company, contribute their earnings to the liberation struggle, etc.
3. Portuguese Representatives. Portuguese consulates, embassies, travel agencies, and tourist offices are geographical foci for action. Official representatives of Portugal should not be allowed to travel in the U.S. without attention being drawn to the African situation. These official representatives are not limited to the Embassy in Washington (2125 Kalorama Road N.W., Washington, D.C.). There are numerous consular representatives, some official, some honorary, some Portuguese, some American. The following are on the most recent State Department list:

Mobile, Alabama--George Allen Haas, Jr.
 Los Angeles, Cal.--Joseph Sigal
 San Francisco, Cal.--Antonio Leal da Costa Lobo
 Waterbury, Conn.--Adriano Seabra da Silva Veiga
 Honolulu, Hawaii--Frank G. Serrao
 Chicago, Illinois--J. Leonard Herron
 New Orleans, La.--Leo P. Arceneaux
 Boston, Mass.--Afonso Henriques de Fonseca de Azeredo Malheir
 New Bedford, Mass.--Vasco Antunes Villela
 Newark, N.J.--no name listed
 New York, N.Y.--Alexandre Eduardo Lancastre da Viega
 Philadelphia, Pa.--Jose Bernardino Henriques
 Providence, R.I.--Mamuel Alves de Carvalho
 Houston, Texas--Mrs. Margaret Decker Stegent

The Portuguese Airline, T.A.P., should not be neglected, nor should advertising agencies or others who aid T.A.P.'s promotion, arranging, among other things, special tours to Portugal. T.A.P. has offices in Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Montreal, Newark, New York, and San Francisco.

* * * * *

I will forge simple words
 that even the children can understand.
 words which will enter every house
 like the wind
 and fall, like red hot embers
 on our people's souls

In our land
 bullets are beginning to flower.

--from "Poem" by Jorge Rebelo
 (Mondlane, Struggle for Mozambique, p. 185)

III. APPENDICES

A. DIRECT ACTION PROJECTS--WAYS AND MEANS

The outline detailed below is not an exhaustive or complete guide on "how to hold a demonstration." Rather it is meant to point the way toward areas of consideration in order to facilitate such action.

1. Selection of a Target: Clarify your focus through a discussion of priorities (e.g., ROTC on a campus vs. a Portuguese dignitary) and strategies. Consider what targets exist in your area (see attached list of possible targets), and whether these targets can be made meaningful through education and action. Research on a particular corporation, individual, or event must often precede target selection. Other important considerations are: a) the size and type of your constituency; and b) the timing of your action (on a particular day to commemorate the Revolution, e.g., in Mozambique, September 25--the anniversary of the beginning of armed struggle, vs. the arrival of a Portuguese dignitary, corporate recruiter, etc.).
2. Participants' Publicity: A leaflet explaining why, where, when, etc. an action is to take place is the next step if you want to mobilize large numbers. Beyond distribution of this leaflet, groups and individuals have to be contacted personally by telephone or visits. Do not depend on the written word. Ads or announcements should be placed in the media depending on finances, and posters placed in public places.
3. Press: If one of the purposes of the action is to reach a wider audience through the media, newspapers, TV and radio must be notified of the event both through press releases sent out well in advance and phone calls closer to the event. A spokesman for the group should be selected to handle the press during the event. At these demonstrations it is important if Africans are involved, to direct the press to interview them, and to emphasize that not only do the protesters protest U.S. support to Portugal, but also support the liberation struggle.
4. Police: Again depending on the constituency and the purpose of the action, it must be decided whether or not to contact the Police before your happening (check your local law too).
5. Arrests: If arrests are likely to occur, lawyers and bail money should be arranged beforehand, ideally with a lawyer at the scene as an observer.

B. SAMPLE LETTER

A letter like this could be sent to your senators, representatives, the President, etc. IT IS ALWAYS BEST TO WRITE IN YOUR OWN STYLE USING YOUR OWN LANGUAGE AND IDEAS. See list of proper address forms for government officials below.

Dear _____,

I am deeply concerned about America's inadequate response to the military struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique. The Department of State has stated that it would be in the best interests of both the Portuguese and the Mozambicans to have political independence come about in a peaceful manner. This is an unrealistic position. Portugal's stand is unequivocal. She will never consider independence for her African colonies. African groups asked in vain to negotiate for independence before taking up arms to fight for it. It would seem, then, that in favoring "peaceful change," the U.S. State Department really favors "no change."

Despite U.S. words in the United Nations which indicate support for African self-determination, her actions belie her rhetoric. Specifically, arms shipments to Portugal which fortify her strained defense budget, use of Portuguese bases in the Azores, and increased investment in the colonial economy of Mozambique undercut American supposed support for self-determination.

I urge you to use your powers to effect a complete rethinking of the United States' relationship to Portugal. If the U.S. truly supports Mozambican self-determination, it should at the very least 1) end the alliance with Portugal and relinquish the Azores bases; 2) discourage American investment, trade and loans in Portuguese territories; and 3) support the recommendations of the U.N. Decolonization Committee for sanctions against Portugal and aid to the freedom movements. Please inform me of your position on this matter and of your intention to act upon it.

Sincerely,

Address Forms for Government Officials

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500
(Mr. President:)

The Honorable _____
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510
(Dear Senator _____)

The Honorable _____
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
(Dear Mr. _____)

(Cabinet Members)
The Honorable _____
(Correct title, e.g., Secretary of State)
(Correct Department, e.g., Department of State)
Washington, D.C.
(Dear Mr. Secretary _____)

The Honorable _____
U.S. Mission to the U.N.
799 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017
(Dear Ambassador _____)

C. SAMPLE PETITION

A petition like this one might be sent to the President, the Secretary of State or your congressmen. If signatories represent an organization, be sure to include its name in your listing.

TO _____:

We, the undersigned, request the immediate cessation of American arms shipments to Portugal. Although some of these arms are earmarked for NATO use, they free Portuguese weapons to be used in Angola, Guinea (Bissau), and Mozambique against Africans fighting for independence. American military support for Portugal belies U.S. support in the U.N. for self-determination in the Portuguese colonies. We also urge the relinquishment of the American base in the Azores and the discouragement of American trade, loans and investments in the Portuguese territories. Withdrawal of these tacit aids to Portuguese colonialism will lessen the disparity between American words and actions on the issue of freedom and self-determination for the Portuguese colonies.

(Signatories, address, organization)

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

D. SUGGESTED SOURCE GROUPS AND PUBLICATIONS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

1. U.S.A.

Africa Research Group
P.O. Box 213
Cambridge, Mass.

radical research on U.S.--
African relations.

American Committee on Africa
164 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10016
(Washington Office: 711 14th St., N.W.
Rm. 700, Washington, D.C. 20005)

literature, contacts.

Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa
14 W. 11th St.
New York, N.Y. 10011

publications on Southern
Africa; action group.

Institute for Policy Studies
1520 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Washington contacts, individuals doing research on Africa.

International Relations Committee
United Church of Christ
777 U.N. Plaza, 9th Floor
New York, N.Y. 10017

literature on South Africa in "kit" form.

National Council of Churches
Africa Department
475 Riverside Drive, 6th Floor
New York, N.Y. 10027

some publications, contacts relief work.

North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA)
P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Station
New York, N.Y. 10025)

methodology guide to research on U.S. and Third World, research on Latin America.

Radical Education Project
Box 561 A
Detroit, Michigan 48232

literature.

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
1608 West Madison, Room 206
Chicago, Illinois

local contacts, some literature

United Methodist Church
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027

special magazine on Southern Africa, "A Time for Change."

United Nations, N.Y. (Check in your area for a local U.N. Library or a library which receives U.N. Documents)

Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid produces monthly bulletins, "Notes and Documents" on South Africa.

Records of the Committee of 24 on Non-Self-Governing Territories and the Fourth Committee on Decolonization contain material on the Portuguese Territories, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia (South West Africa), etc.

University Christian Movement
Southern Africa Committee
475 Riverside Drive, Room 752
New York, N.Y. 10027

monthly newsletter on Southern Africa, contacts.

Regional Groups in the U.S. In some areas there are groups particularly established on Southern African issues. In addition to those listed below, local Black Student Unions, SDS Chapters, other community groups are foci for information and action. If you know of groups not listed in this kit, please inform us.

California: Southern Africa Freedom Action Committee
Attn: Arnold Hlatshwayo
c/o Sinclair
3061 $\frac{1}{2}$ Stocker St.
Los Angeles, California 90008

Missouri: St. Louis Committee on Africa
Chairman: Mrs. Allyce Hamilton
Box 2975
St. Louis, Missouri 63130

New Jersey: New Jersey Committee on Southern Africa
Attn: Roland Bennett
Westminster Choir College
Princeton, New Jersey

Pennsylvania: Pittsburgh Committee on Southern Africa
P.O. Box 8134
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15217

Americans for Democratic Action
112 South 16th St.
Philadelphia, Pa. 19102 (doing work on U.S. investments)

Wisconsin: Madison Southern Africa Committee
22 Sherman Terrace
Madison, Wisconsin 53704
Attn: Ruth Minter

Campuses where actions on Southern Africa have occurred are another possible source of information and cooperation. These campuses include:

Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio
Boston University, Boston, Mass.
Brown University, Providence, R.I.
Bucknell College, Lewisburg, Penna.
Claremont College, Claremont, Cal.
Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Macalaster College, St. Paul, Minn.

New York University, N.Y., N.Y.
Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio
Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.
Rockefeller University, N.Y., N.Y.
Union Theological Seminary, N.Y., N.Y.
University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Univ. of California, Santa Barbara, Cal.
Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

2. United Kingdom

Africa Bureau
2 Arundel Street
London W.C. 2

Publishes Africa Digest, monthly.

Africa Confidential
5/33 Rutland Gate
London S.W.7

weekly 8 page analysis on Africa.
(\$25.00/yr.)

Anti-Apartheid Movement
89 Charlotte Street
London W. 1

Anti-Apartheid News, monthly on
Southern Africa; active British
group.

International Defence and Aid Fund
2 Amen Court
London E.C. 4

Publishes an Information Service
Manual, detailed statistics on
economics, politics in South Africa,
Namibia, Rhodesia (\$15.00/yr.).

Central Africa Research Office
Wheatsheaf House
Carmelite Street
London E.C. 4

Pamphlets on Central and Southern
Africa.

British Council of Churches
10 Eaton Gate
London S.W. 1

Material on Rhodesia, South Africa,
based on conferences, symposiums.

Committee for Freedom in Mozambique
1 Antrim Road
London N.W. 3

Materials on Frelimo, Mozambique.
Action group.

Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin
Attn: K. Shingler
10 Fentimon Rd.
London S.W. 8

Quarterly publication on politics
and economics in Portugal and the
colonies; war news.

3. France

South Africa News & Analysis
104 Boulevard Hausmann
Paris 8

Monthly analysis bulletin, cultural
emphasis.

4. Canada

Canadian Committee for Zimbabwe
Box 932
Station F, Toronto

Newsletter on Rhodesia, Nibmar.

5. South Africa

South African Institute of Race Relations
P.O. Box 97
Johannesburg

Source for statistics, legal
developments in SAIRR's Annual Survey
of Race Relations, other publications.

E. CRV LOCAL CHAPTER CHAIRMEN

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Ithaca, N.Y.
607-277-3771

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Los Angeles, Cal. 90029
213-664-1019

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Madison, Wisc. 53705
608-233-6090

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Milwaukee, Wisc. 53212
414-562-2998

Minneapolis-St. Paul

Eric Oxelson
3122 S.E. 4th St.
Minneapolis, Minn. 55414
612-331-4022

New York City

Mike Righi
office: 65 Irving Place
N.Y., N.Y. 10003
office: 212-477-0404
home: 212-662-1912

San Francisco

office: 833 Haight St.
San Francisco, Cal. 94102
415-626-6976

Seattle

Phil Klein
5020 22nd Ave. NE
Seattle, Washington 98105
206-525-2470

Washington, D.C.

Gerald Schwinn
1509 Q. St. NW
Washington, D.C. 20009
202-667-3776

<p><u>CRV National Office</u> 65 Irving Place New York, N.Y. 10003 212-228-4470</p>

F. PUBLICATIONS OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF SOUTHERN AND COLONIAL AFRICA

FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front)
Mozambique Revolution, P.O. Box 15274, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania

ANC (African National Congress
of South Africa)

Mayibuye
P.O. Box 1791
Lusaka, Zambia

Sechaba
49 Rathbone St.
London W.1, England

Spotlight on South Africa
(see Mayibuye address)

COREMO (Mozambique Revolutionary
Committee)

Valiant Hero
Box 1493
Lusaka, Zambia

GRAE (Revolutionary Government of
Angola in Exile)

Information Department
B.P. 1541
Kinshasa, Republic of the Congo

MPLA (Popular Movement for the
Liberation of Angola)

Information Department
Box 20793
Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania

PAC (Pan Africanist Congress of
Azania S.A.)

Azania News
P.O. Box 2412
Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania

PAIGC (African Party for the Indepen-
dence of Guinea (Bissau) and
Cape Verde Islands)

Bulletin
Box 298
Conakry, Republic of Guinea

SWAPO (South West Africa Peoples
Organization)

Namibia Today
P.O. Box 2603
Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania

SWANU (South West African National
Union)

Information Department
Jerum 2306
Studentbacken 23
Stockholm 11540, Sweden

UNITA (National Union for the Total
Independence of Angola)

Information Department
P.O. Box 2246
Lusaka, Zambia

ZANU (Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) African
National Union)

Zimbabwe News
P.O. Box 2331
Lusaka, Zambia

ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union)

Zimbabwe Review
P.O. Box 1657
Lusaka, Zambia

NOTE: Some of these movements have representatives in the United States. For more
information contact:

American Committee on Africa
164 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016
212-532-3700

G. OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Africa Today

Graduate School of International Studies
University of Denver
Denver, Colorado 80210

monthly, some emphasis on
U.S. policy, Southern Africa.

Africa Report

Suite 500
Dupont Circle Building
Washington, D.C.

monthly publication of the
African American Institute,
contains country surveys and
articles.

Newspapers

Times of Zambia

Box 69
Lusaka, Zambia

The Star (Johannesburg, S.A.)

c/o Argus South African Newspapers Ltd.
220 Central Park South
New York, N.Y. 10019

Zambia Mail

Box 1421
Lusaka, Zambia

The Rand Daily Mail

Johannesburg, South Africa

The Nationalist

Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania

Tricontinental (O.S.P.A.A.L.)

P.O. Box 4224
Havana, Cuba

* * * * *

The Patriot is not only he
who fights the aggressors
with weapons.

NO!

The honest man
who works the soil of his country
and waters it with his sweat
He too is a revolutionary.

-- Plantai arvores, by Manuel Gondola
(Mozambique Revolution, March-April, 1969)



RETURN TO: COMMITTEE OF RETURNED VOLUNTEERS/NEW YORK
AFRICA COMMITTEE
65 IRVING PLACE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

Please send me _____ of the Mozambique Will Be Free booklet, @\$1.00 each.

Please send me _____ "Free Mozambique Now" buttons, @ 25¢ each.

For booklet or buttons make check out to CRV/NY Africa Committee.

I enclose a check or money order for _____ payable to:

- a) "The Africa Fund" for the Mozambique Institute (specify Bagamoyo Teacher Training, or other program).
- b) "Africa Defense and Aid Fund" for FRELIMO.

NAME _____ TELEPHONE _____

ADDRESS _____

on this day i
son of mozambique nationalist and patriot
in the name of those things most sacred to me
my people and my country
swear to devote all my energies to the service
of the revolution
i shall never vacillate
until the liberation of my people
my life belongs to the revolution

-- Mozambique Revolution, September, 1965

* * * * *

.....In our units and on our missions we have often come across unarmed Portuguese civilians. We didn't harm them. We asked where they were coming from; we explained our struggle to them, our sufferings; we received them kindly. We do this because our struggle, our war, is not against the Portuguese people; we are struggling against the Portuguese government, which is also exploiting the Portuguese people themselves.

-- Joaquim Maquival, FRELIMO militant
(Mondlane, The Struggle for Mozambique,
p. 160)

* * * * *

In 1964 I joined FRELIMO because our people were exploited. I still did not know properly what to do about it. The people didn't know what to do. We had heard our neighbours in Malawi had been liberated and would come to liberate us, but we soon learnt that we would have to liberate ourselves. The party told us that we and no one else are responsible for ourselves.

-- Joaquim Maquival, FRELIMO militant
(Mondlane, The Struggle for Mozambique,
p. 126)

