



An International War

Marcelino dos Santos

The extensive analysis that Marcelino dos Santos presents in the name of the CONCP in his report to the International Conference of Support to the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies, gives this the importance of an historic document and, as such, *Tricontinental* brings it to its readers.

Here is the documentation necessary for a complete understanding of the political-economic and social situation imposed by Portuguese colonialism with the support of Yankee imperialism, which has made Portugal itself its neocolony.

DEAR FRIENDS,
Portuguese colonialism, established and maintained by force, is on the decline today. Slaughters such as that of São Tome (1953), Pijiguiti (Guinea-Bissau, 1959), Mueda (Mozambique, 1960), Icole and Bengo (Angola, 1961), have brought us to an understanding that any peaceful solution of the conflict we offered the colonialists was blocked, that armed action could put an end to the aggression. This necessity became more evident as everyone could recognize that Lisbon simply strengthened its repressive force in every answer to the calls and resolutions of the United Nations on the colonial problem.

This naturally led to our people taking up arms to liberate them-

selves.

On February 4, 1961, the militants of MPLA fired on the Luanda prisons and thus initiated the irreversible process of peoples' armed struggle. In turn, on August 3, 1963, and September 25, 1964, PAIGC and FRELIMO began the national armed liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism among the peoples of Guinea and Mozambique respectively.

The peoples of Guinea and Mozambique have been able to overcome their own difficulties rapidly in successfully launching the national armed liberation struggle, and with their Angolan brothers, have undertaken the effective destruction

of Portuguese colonialism.

The unity achieved at the national level, like that forged among our three peoples and organizations, gave us the necessary and powerful instrument with which to build our victory. The Conference of the Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP), established since 1961, subscribing to the tradition of unity in the struggle of our three peoples, provided us with the effective framework for effecting our mutual support and strengthening our ties of friendship and solidarity. CONCP became ever more necessary and effective as the unity it formalized grew out of an identity of principles and analysis, a similarity of methods, of a single perspective for the development of the freedom action.

In the course of this ten-year period, our peoples have been able to achieve very important victories. Our armed struggles have extended across a considerable extent of national territory and have succeeded in destroying the colonial state over vast regions, which has permitted us to begin the process of national reconstruction, the creation of new power structures that correspond to the new relationship of existing forces in our country. Many friends present here have been able to measure the progress achieved by FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC in the course of visits they have made to the liberated zones of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique.

To speak of national liberation, of the advances of our struggle demands an evaluation of the importance of the enemy interests at play and a definition of the objectives realized through this

liberation, in relation to the real needs of our people.

On the other hand, for us it is also a question of better organization of our common forces with a view to achieving victory, because our action takes place within a precise context both at the African and the international level and appears in each one of our countries as the materialization of the general struggle for man's liberation.

For many, to speak of Portuguese colonialism, is to speak of the oppression to which some 15 000 000 Africans in Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde and Mozambique are still subjected, is to speak of the anachronism that is the result of the stubborn outmoded ideas of an old dictator. But the facilitating of the colonial war which has lasted for close to ten years, the renovation of the Portuguese fascist leadership after the political death of Salazar, the network of alliances and complicity that the Portuguese aggressors enjoy, demonstrate fully that this is not the case.

The colonial war, Portuguese colonialism, corresponds to certain structural necessities both of the Portuguese ruling class and of the international forces that support the Portuguese Government. We are not faced then with a metaphysical or mystical outdated colonialism, but rather with precise material interests.

Portuguese colonial domination appears as a necessity of the archaic structures of Portuguese agriculture. Despite the fact that approximately 50% of the Portuguese gross national product comes from agriculture and that the majority of the working Portuguese population is concentrated in this primary sector, Portugal continues to be one of the

few countries of Europe in which the latifundist structure is still largely a feudal dependency. In effect, if it is recognized that the 500 principal landowners hold as much land as the 500 000 small landowners, that more than 30% of Portuguese peasants cultivate less than a hectare of their own land, we understand at the outset the drama of the Portuguese peasantry.

It is evident that this situation consequently brings with it unemployment and underemployment and misery in the Portuguese countryside. The colonies then appear as one of the natural areas for the excess Portuguese population, a zone for the absorption of Portuguese unemployment and, therefore, a solution of the social conflict of the Portuguese countryside. It is within this framework, for example, that the Portuguese plan arises for installing a million new colonists in the Zambese Valley, which is to be irrigated by the future Cabora Bassa dam. It is this necessity as well that explains in part the Portuguese policy of "colonies," that is, the establishment of Portuguese peasant communities without any technical qualification in the richest lands of Angola and Mozambique.

On the other hand, the principal products of Portuguese agriculture, particularly wine, find in the colonies a sure market, protected from all competition.

Portuguese industry, which lacks all technical modernization and progress, finds in the colonies a privileged source of cheap raw materials and a sure market for the sale of its products. The case of the Portuguese textile industry is sufficiently symptomatic. According to information supplied by the II Congress of Portuguese Indus-

tries, 30 to 50% of the equipment in this industry would be considered practically unusable.

Nevertheless, this industry included a third of the industrial work force and the value of the products it exported reached to more than an eighth of the total value of Portuguese exports, thanks to the role played by cotton, basic raw material for this industry. At present 82% of the cotton is supplied by Angola and especially by Mozambique. In 1926, at the time of the fascist coup d'etat, the Portuguese cotton industry consumed 17 000 tons of cotton annually; all the colonies together produced only 800 tons a year. The fascist government introduced by decree the forced cultivation of cotton; the monopoly over the purchase of cotton in vast areas was granted to some companies, along with the right to impose on all the peasants in these zones the production of an annual quota of cotton.

The textile industry, like sugar and vegetable oils which receive 80% of their basic materials from the colonies, annually reaches more than \$10 000 000 thanks solely to the favorable prices of raw materials.

The advantages which Portuguese industry finds in colonial exploitation can also be illustrated by the deterioration of the terms of exchange between the colonies and the metropolis: while in 1962 Portugal paid an average of 3500 escudos per ton of imports from the colonies, as opposed to 5200 escudos paid in 1958, in 1962 the colonies paid 9800 escudos as opposed to 6500 escudos in 1958 per ton imported from Portugal.

Relations between Portugal's balance of payments and its com-

mercial balance abroad make colonial domination an ever greater structural necessity of the present organization of the Portuguese economy. In effect, in spite of the value of Portuguese exports, the balance of payments for the escudo zone with the rest of the world is favorable to such an extent that present Portuguese gold reserves and exchange can cover 18 months of imports. More than half the surplus comes from the favorable balance between the colonies and the outside.

At a moment when the Portuguese economy is trying to reconvert itself under the leadership of Marcelo Caetano to function within European integration, and for the necessary modernization of industrial structures, we must agree that the financial support of the colonies becomes more indispensable every day.

At this level, the exporting of Mozambique workers to South Africa and Rhodesia plays a particularly important role. Twenty-five per cent of the surplus of balance of payments between the escudo zone and the outside is directly or indirectly provided by this new slave trade.

These facts lead us to state the problem of the role that our countries are called upon to play within the context of the strategy of imperialist domination.

One of the first roles assigned to us, historically, was to supply the labor force. No need to go back to the practices of slave trade; to understand the present situation it is enough to mention the case of the South African gold mines.

As you know, 90% of the gold

produced in the so-called western world comes from the mines of South Africa. According to experts, these mines are an economic absurdity because it is necessary to extract an average of more than 160 000 tons of earth to get one ton of gold. In Canada, the United States, Australia, mines with a higher percentage of gold were closed once they reached the point of no profit. But the mines of South Africa seem to bring many benefits. In effect, the basis of the success is the ridiculous price of the African work force and the nonexistent safety measures. Thus, since 1928, an annual average of 2105 Mozambique workers have died in accidents. Social welfare for the miners exists on paper only, salaries for below-surface miners don't even come to a dollar a day. Very well, an important segment of the miners come from other countries, from Angola and especially Mozambique, which supplies almost 80% of the foreign work force in the mines.

Suppliers of the work force, our countries are also suppliers of energy, especially oil, gas and hydroelectricity. Because up to now, oil and gas have been discovered only in Angola and Mozambique in Southern Africa. The Cabinda oil deposits have already placed Angola in fourth place among the African producers of black gold. Gas from the Moamba deposits in Mozambique supplies the Witwatersrand region, the industrial center of South Africa.

But as far as energy is concerned, the giant Cabora Bassa dam project stands out above all. This dam, which is to produce a third of the total energy produced in Africa, would cost approximately \$400 000 000 in its first phase —

that is to say, 40% of the total US investment in Southern Africa. Following that, another three dams that are to be constructed in Uncua, Boroma and Lupata would raise the total production of the complex to 50 000 000 000 Kw/h, a percentage five times greater than that of the Aswan dam, for example.

But however important the industrial projects conceived to function in Mozambique because of Cabora Bassa, it is evident that they alone do not justify such a project. The fact is that from the energy supplied by Cabora Bassa it is proposed that not only will Mozambique be industrialized and the development of South Africa be accelerated, but also that the whole of Southern Africa will be industrialized, including other countries such as the Congo, Tanzania and Kenya. Cabora Bassa will be the point of departure for the creation of a gigantic common market in the zone, at the exclusive service of the foreign interests that dominate the people. The Kunene dam project in Angola falls within the same perspective. It is hardly by chance that just as around the location of the future Cabora Bassa dam, there are South African military bases there.

The riches of the soil and subsoil of our countries are also at the service of the interests that dominate our people, De Beers, Sumitomo, Anglo-American, Gulf Oil, Krupp and many other names too unhappily well-known to the peoples of the whole world.

On the other hand, Angola and Mozambique lie at the entrance to the rich hinterland of Southern Africa, as zones which will necessarily have to be passed through by the imports and exports of the region.

Angola for the minerals of Katinga and Zambia, Mozambique for the rest of the group, are the natural ports of the region. Moreover, the development of the anti-imperialist struggle in the Middle East and the new strategy of maritime transport oriented toward the use of super-tankers, give them a first place role in the "Cape route" and make the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Guinea, Cape Verde and Mozambique a series of strategic points for the conquest of this path.

The Cape Verde archipelago appears to be an ideal strategic zone for communications control between Europe, the South Atlantic and Latin America.

The geographic location of Angola and Mozambique has even made of these countries a security frontier for the interests that dominate Southern Africa.

Many times the South African Government has expressed its intention to intervene in our countries. Actually, this intervention, including military intervention, is now taking place and, what is more serious, it is taking measures with a view to creating conditions for a new escalation of South African aggression.

Unfortunately, not only the neo-Nazi authorities of Pretoria participate in the aggression against the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique nor are there only specifically South African interests that control and exploit all the riches of the Portuguese colonies and of Southern Africa.

If one excludes the production of G-3 automatic rifles at the Braço de Prata plant (manufactured under a Belgian license with the technical

assistance of the German Federal Republic) and the mounting of the Auster D5-160 British monomotor planes, all of Portuguese armaments are of foreign origin, and all from NATO and certain member countries, very particularly the United States, West Germany, Great Britain and France who, by chance, are the main countries in the economic domination of our countries and our area.

The fact that Portugal, the most backward country of Europe, can maintain an expeditionary corps with more than 150 000 men, the fact that it is able to carry out a colonial war on three fronts over almost ten years, that more than half of its budget is spent on war, that the daily cost of its aggression is almost \$2 000 000, and that it is free to extend its criminal acts at whim to neighboring countries, fully demonstrate the importance of the complicity and support it enjoys from certain groups in Europe and the United States.

Actually, it is absurd at present to conceive the colonial war to be a Portuguese war and all Portuguese strategy confirms that. Having lost the offensive, trapped in a defensive strategy, the Portuguese colonialists are compromised in a double process of internationalization of the war in order to overcome the situation.

This internationalization is expressed first of all in the attempt to extend the aggression to the states bordering our countries in an effort to justify the thesis that our struggle is inspired from abroad, and on the other hand and above all, to intimidate independent Africa and lead it to apply negative

pressures against our struggle.

The Portuguese colonialists even hoped to create such a situation that their allies, on behalf of a supposed mediation between Portugal and Africa, would be able to impose conditions contrary to the fundamental interests of our people.

The patriotic consciousness of the African masses, the correct principles that guide the Tanzania National African Union (TANU), the United National Independence Party (UNIP), the Congolese Workers' Party (PCT), the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG), the fighting spirit of leaders such as Nyerere, Kaunda, N'Gouabi and Sékou Touré, have totally frustrated these Portuguese plans. At each provocation, each aggression, Tanzania, Zambia, the People's Republic of the Congo, the Republic of Guinea, have reinforced their solidarity with our peoples, have extended support to our organizations.

Another area on which the colonialists have counted with considerable success, it should be stated, was the strengthening of their alliances and the development of the support of these alliances for their criminal cause. In a first phase, that we can place at the beginning of the last decade, Portugal did everything possible to increase the participation of non-Portuguese capital in the economic exploitation of its colonies. In this manner it sought to benefit from an economic contribution that would help support the war. On the other hand, once these economic interests were established in the colonies, the purpose was to call on these economic forces to identify their interests with the cause of colonialism, and thereby transform them into pressure groups which, in their coun-

tries of origin, would defend the Portuguese cause to their respective governments.

At the present moment, when it is strongly in need of this support, the government solicits and obtains from its allies growing financial as well as military assistance. The growing importance of non-Portuguese economic interests in our countries and the increase in western military aid this consequently brings, have qualitatively changed the Portuguese colonial war: aggression against us has become internationalized and operates on a perspective of escalation.

This situation becomes clearer when, faced with Portuguese military defeat, which becomes more evident every day, these same sources hasten to conceive new plans of escalation and aggression against our people.

Thus, the recent military plan of the conservative party, which anticipated sending nuclear submarines and air carriers to the shores of Angola and Mozambique, which speaks of strengthening military and economic aid to the colonial war, and even foresees the creation of a new military alliance which, under the pretext of protecting the Cape route, proposes, in fact, to extend the aggression against us.

In the leadership ranks of NATO and of the United States, England, the German Federal Republic and France, responsible voices are more and more often heard requesting the creation of a new military pact which, under cover of a pretended Soviet and Chinese threat against the Southern flank of NATO and the Cape route, will obstruct — against the will of the masses — the destruction of the racist and colonialist regimes of Southern

Africa, Guinea and Cape Verde.

This imperialist cruelty toward us finds its explanation not only in the extension of existing interests in our area, but also in the importance of the effective checking of these interests through our struggle.

Our struggle, the action of FRELIMO, MPLA, PAIGC, cannot be described as a military action only. In our country war cannot be defined exclusively on the basis of an arms confrontation and military technique. To do so would be to discount the real nature and content of our fight. The necessary military dimension of our struggle is possible only through the political dimension that leads it.

To define our struggle, its orientation, its objectives, is first of all to define the social base of the struggle, the nature and extent of the contradictions between our working people and the forces that oppress them.

Speaking of foreign domination — Portuguese and other — we have explained the ends achieved by this domination, the necessities it satisfies. Now we must understand, in material form, what servility to these interests means for our peoples.

For the peasants of the cotton zones of Mozambique and the coffee plantations of Angola, for the peanut growers of Guinea, the domination of the concessionary companies, the exploitation of the lands by the huge agricultural companies means the most complete misery. The companies oblige the peasantry to do forced labor on their lands, which is greatly beneficial to the companies but which brings the

peasant a salary of only \$0.17 per day. The concessionary companies force the peasant to produce cotton or coffee which, at the end of a year's work, under the best of hypothesis, will bring in some \$40 which will only serve to amortize the eternal debts to the company stores.

For our peasantry, national liberation only materializes first through the disappearance of the company. In the liberated zones of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, the company cannot survive once the military and administrative repressive apparatus is destroyed. This is why CUF disappeared in Guinea and SAGAL had to cease its exploitation of the Mueda peasantry.

The colonial state, intimately associated with the companies, which seizes the peasants to subject them to forced labor, which brutally represses all opposition to colonial exploitation, which obliges the peasant to pay three months of his income in the form of taxes, the state whose administration, legislation, system of justice and entire structure is conceived solely to enslave the working people, is also destroyed in the process of armed struggle for national liberation. It is evident that once the military apparatus is destroyed, no one will be able to tolerate the presence or content of the colonial administration.

The destruction of the power of the colonial state and of the companies is therefore the objective of the peasantry that our fight makes real each day.

This objective is also that of the entire working masses of our countries, of the farmer workers and the

industrial workers, the miners and fishermen, the entire working people crushed by taxes, subjected to forced labor, victim of every kind of brutality and humiliation.

It is for this reason that in the liberated zones of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, there has been started a state power, a form of economic and social organization that expresses the victory of the working peoples, excludes forever national or foreign structures that subject man to exploitation or that, excluding him from participation in the decision, make him an object and never a subject of the will of history, of his society.

Through the people's committees for power, at different administrative levels, through the people's tribunals, the system of cooperatives for production and sales, we are creating in our countries a new people's social order, a truly new and revolutionary power.

Because our action is correctly a revolutionary action, which means that it leads to the overthrow of the old regime, the creation of new social relations in production, the liberation of the process of developing production forces, we have been able to gain the massive support of our peoples and we have therefore been able to struggle victoriously.

You will understand, then, the importance that we give to the ideological factor, to the problem of the development of a correct political line.

To transform a metaphysical rationality into a scientific rationality, to explode the false solidarities of tribal or religious order and replace them with a national solidarity, to overcome ethnic, linguistic and other divisions inherited from the

past and fed by colonialism, in order to construct the unity of the revolutionary forces, to lead the masses to a correct definition of the enemy, to establish a firm line between friend and enemy, to distinguish clearly between the secondary and the essential, are fundamental tasks that must be accomplished to achieve the victory of the revolution. Only an ideology that corresponds scientifically to the objective interests of the working people is able to provide us with the analytic instrument capable of satisfying these needs. For this reason the struggle for a revolutionary ideology corresponds and is identical with the struggle for the unity of our working people and for the development of our armed fight for national liberation.

Certainly this position meets the natural opposition of all the forces within our countries that conceive national liberation to be their own rise to power as the exploiting force. To put it another way, since the nature and content of our ideology, the type of people's mobilization and struggle to which we are committed, cannot satisfy the egotistical and antipeople aims of these exploiting minorities, they have organized themselves against the revolution, openly joining the Portuguese colonialists or creating diversionary maneuvers designed to deceive the masses, sow confusion in the ranks of the forces that support us. But just as the wind blows away the small clouds that seek to hide the sun, so the growing unity of our people in struggle is manifested in the continuing development of the struggle and destroys all antipeople plots.

Today our struggle is beginning to bear fruit because beyond the

destruction of the structures of domination it is creating the new reality.

It is certain that neither FRELIMO nor MPLA nor PAIGC have decided on any juridical expression of the situation that exists in fact in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique. It is no less certain that the very elements that constitute sovereignty — the population, the territory, the organization of power — are less and less in the hands of the Portuguese colonialists and become more and more important for the nationalist movements. Thus, in Guinea, for example, Portuguese sovereignty has become a judicial fiction without any relationship to reality, as is true in a third of the national territory of Angola and in some 200 000 km² of Mozambique territory.

Whether in the organization of institutions, of economic life or even as a coercive power, it is clear that these responsibilities fall on FRELIMO, MPLA, and PAIGC, that it is they who effectively exercise them.

It is within this context that the task of solidarity must be approached.

First, that solidarity must not be left to the evolution of the situation but, on the contrary, it must impose an evolution on the situation to make it favorable to the people's cause. By the same token, the form of this solidarity cannot ignore the present de facto judicial situation in our countries.

Stated another way, it is necessary to affirm that the forms and objectives of solidarity must correspond to the real content and level of the development of our struggle.

It is not possible to retreat from what has already been effectively won: the decision of our people to fight with arms in hand until they win complete independence, the fact that we have assumed national sovereignty and that in vast zones of the territory of the homeland we effectively exercise a power that expresses the new relationships of force that are established in favor of the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique and, finally, the rejection of any solution that in any way abridges the integrity of the national territory.

At the moment when the enemy is trying in every way possible to detour the people from the struggle led by MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO in order to create the international conditions that will make possible puppet solutions or compromises that will empty national independence of all content, it is important that solidarity be expressed clearly in favor of our organizations. To affirm solidarity with MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO is to support an action and its meaning, it is above all to affirm that there can be no solution to the colonial problem other than that demanded for our peoples as expressed in the voice of their representatives: our organizations.

It is clear that this solidarity will be empty of its real meaning if it is not able to assume the real content of our struggle. We are not fighting only to hoist a flag other than the Portuguese, we are fighting to destroy a certain social order and establish a new one with a people's content. That is to say that solidarity must contribute to the realization of our program of national libera-

lion. Moreover, to the degree that the colonial aggression suffers a mutation and attempts to internationalize itself, it is necessary to internationalize the anticolonialist action as well.

It is within this context that we consider the struggle of the democratic European forces against support given to Portugal by NATO and other powers to be of fundamental importance. It is necessary that — following the example of our Swedish friends — the German, English, French, Italian and American democratic forces, together with the armed action of FRELIMO and African diplomatic action, prevent their monopolies from participating in the construction of Cabora Bassa. It is important that the action of the Western democratic forces together with the liberation action of FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC, and African diplomatic action, succeed in preventing all support to colonial Portugal from their governments and economic organizations. It is essential that the action of the Western democratic forces together with the action of the liberation movements of independent Africa and all progressive humanity block whatever new escalation or internationalization of aggression against the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique.

But solidarity with our struggle must take other possible and necessary forms that lead to supporting our efforts at national reconstruction, development and improvement of our health and education services.

Dear friends,

Our support is directed to our comrades in struggle, of ANC, ZAPU, SWAPO who are carrying on a courageous struggle under dif-

ficult conditions. We are sure that our people will unfold the armed national liberation struggle further each day and will thus make conditions more favorable for the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia.

The exemplary and heroic battle of the Vietnamese people and the peoples of Indochina against the most cruel and barbarous aggression on the part of the worst enemy of the people, North American imperialism, constitutes a precious theoretical and practical support for our struggle. We want our comrades of the NLF of South Viet Nam, of Neo Lao Haksat, of the United Front of Kampuchea, of the DRV, who have come so far to give witness here to the fraternity of armed struggle that unites us, we want them to know that we are wholly at their side and that our blood ties will never fail them.

To the OAU we offer our warm greetings. Africa is our homeland, our battle has always been its battle. For the liberation of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, our brothers in Tanzania, Zambia, the People's Republic of the Congo, the Republic of Guinea and Senegal make daily sacrifices and accept suffering and grief; other brother peoples, such as Algeria, UAR and Tunisia, although far from us, have never hesitated to be at our side, supporting us with all their force. Because of this our victory is also theirs, just as our struggle has been theirs.

It is proper and necessary to reaffirm our support for the struggle of the Arab peoples against North American-Zionist aggression and for the liberation of the occupied territories and recognition of the national rights of the Palestine people.

In attacking the UAR and Syria, in expelling the Palestine people from their homeland, Israel acted not only as a racist force but it also confirmed its existence as an instrument and accomplice of imperialist aggression against all peoples.

The socialist camp, which has known how to carry high the internationalist banner in which Lenin trusted, is our most powerful base of support at the international level. It is its existence which, by demolishing the correlation of existing forces in imperialism's favor, has made possible our victorious battle. The socialist countries are our natural allies and it is correct that we, as representatives of the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, make that clear here.

We firmly support the struggle of the peoples of Latin America who, following the heroic example of Cuba, are disposed to make their continent a free continent.

The fight of the democratic forces and the working masses of the Western countries is precious to us. It is very stimulating to us to see the magnificent awakening of European youth on the side of the peoples and forces fighting for liberty.

We feel very encouraged by the fight of the Portuguese people against the colonial war and fascism. They have helped us powerfully to show our people the fraternal face of Portugal and it is correct to say that the Portuguese working class and its party have great merit in this, and always, in spite of the difficult repressive conditions, have been able to find the means to give us their support.