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GUERRA À GUERRA

(WAR AGAINST THE WAR)

MAY 1972 - N°1

PORTUGUESE DESERTERS COMMITTEE



The just struggle for liberation in the colonies

is a war against the same enemies of the Portuguese people!

CDP = **Comité de Desertores Portugueses - Suécia**

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EDITORIAL

With this Bulletin, the publication of which the CDP can't assure to be regular our intentions are mainly the following:

1-To draw attention to the importance and amount of desertions, and to the problems the deserters have to face in exile.

2-To make propaganda of the revolutionary struggle of portuguese people.

3-To make propaganda of the just liberation struggle lead by the peoples in the colonies: Angola, Guiné and Moçambique.

Though Sweden is the country in Europe where deserters have less difficulties there has been some deserters and draft-dodgers sent away.

Besides, deserters and draft-dodgers still do not get political asylum in Sweden which they have right to. What they get is merely a work and staying permission but any other assurance.

We'll give an idea about the deserters' situation in other countries in Europe, because there live most of the portuguese boys who every year refuse to take part in the criminal colonial war lead by Caetano's Government.

Lately, groups have been built in France, Holland and England to help deserters. This is important because it enables the continuation of propaganda for desertion in the country. At present deserters have to look for refuge abroad, as the revolutionary organisations in the interior are not yet prepared to help their clandestine staying there.

The repression in Portugal has become harder since the summer of 1971. The emergency state declared by the end of 1971 is being used at present in a great scale. So it's natural that the amount of people looking for exile will increase. The facilities these people had previously in France are disappearing after the pact signed in Nov. 1971 between Portugal and France.

So it's expected that more and more deserters will try other countries: Holland, Belgian, Denmark, Sweden. In all this countries new structures need to be created to welcome them. We think that it would become helpful the existence of permanent collaboration between the several deserters Committees. The CDP is willing to discuss with other organisations the basis on which that collaboration should stand.

Here in Sweden the CDP appeals to all organisations which are willing to work with us.

The CDP has allways demanded political asylum for portuguese deserters because the desertion is a political attitude. If the swedish Government helps the liberation movements it should give political asylum to portuguese deserters.

When the CDP was created in May 1971 the following 3 points were established as work basis:

1-Formal support to all portuguese deserters, draft-dodgers and political refugees.

2-General propaganda and support to the revolutionary struggle in Portugal, to a greater isolation of the portuguese government.

3-Support to the liberation movements in the portuguese colonies.

4-Presently the CDP considers as liberation movements in the colonies: PAIGC, MPLA, FRELIMO.

The CDP is open to the collaboration of everybody interested in the problems which concern it, besides deserters.

We thank the people interested in working with us to contact:

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22005-Lund 5

Tel. 046/130246

040/68412

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The Bulletin is the product of the work of the Malmö/Lund section and is of its entire responsibility.

CAMARADA DESERTOR

Sem dúvida que a deserção tem aumentado nos últimos tempos. No entanto ainda há muitos jovens que não desertam devido à incerteza da situação que irão encontrar no estrangeiro.

Ultimamente estão a ser criadas, em diversos países da Europa, estruturas destinadas a auxiliar os desertores.

Se já desertaste informa os teus amigos sobre as organizações ou pessoas a que se poderão dirigir no estrangeiro.

Além do CDP na Suécia cujos endereços indicamos no editorial, pode-se ainda obter auxílio junto das pessoas cuja morada vem na página 4.

A DESERTER ACCUSES:

The Special Troops Are Real Murders

J.R.P., 26 year old, is a deserter who arrived to Sweden some days ago. He was a career sergeant in the Special Fusiliers at Vale do Zebro, near Setúbal. He served the colonial army during 8 years.

He fought in Guiné between June 1967 and May 1969. He deserted now just before he was to be sent to Guiné again.

CDP interviewed this deserter.

It was at Guiné that I realised what Colonialism is

Why have you deserted?

I joined the Navy as a volunteer. I was young and had no political consciousness, mainly because the information was very bad in Portugal.

In 1967 I sailed to Guiné. It was there that I realised how was the situation in the colonies. I met there a great discrimination against the black people. I saw how they live miserably and I saw the injustice they have to stand.

I intended to desert when I was there but the contact with the guerrilla was just impossible. Maybe the simple soldiers have more facilities. I tried several times to talk with black people to obtain information and contact PALOC but they always refused to answer me. Besides all the contact between black and white people is very difficult.

At the war zones all must be decimated!

How was conducted the fight in Guiné? When I arrived A. Schultz was the governor. His policy was the so called Peace Social Action with which they intended to allocate the africans by giving them a fair treatment.

After a short time Spínola arrived.

He began by dividing Guiné in two zones: The war zone and the peace zone. A period of time was given to the population to join the peace zones. Finished this period every one who was found by the troops at the war zones was killed without warning, no matter which sex or age they had. Special identity cards were distributed to the population and those

who were found without it were arrested and punished, may be killed.

In Bissau there were often searches at the tabancas (indigenous villages) and lots of people arrested.



**Special troops:
Only one mission - to kill**

It is necessary to distinguish the special troops from the regular troops.

The special troops (Fusiliers, Commando, Parachutists) are composed of volunteers.

They are specially prepared to kill.

I'll never forget the first lesson I had when I join the Navy. The officer started saying: "Fusilier, your mission will be one: to kill".

It is not necessary a big campaign of mentalization to justify the war.

People are there to learn how to kill well in Africa and nothing else.

The fusiliers who do the war for the second or third time are changed into authentic murders. There is a great difference between the man who is for the first time in Africa and the one who is already a veteran.

I could see real demonstrations of joy when the fusiliers welcome the news that they were being sent to one more operation. They shouted, they jumped, threw their caps in the air and they finished by getting drunk.

I saw men who were authentically thirsty of blood. I knew that there were fusiliers who stayed at the end of the co-

PORTUGUESE REFUGEES

france

Information taken from the brochure "Lutte"-a.1, published by the recently created "Comité de Soutien aux Desertours Portugais".

There are now in France about 800.000 portuguese workers. Many of them enter clandestinely. Since the begining of colonial war entered France about 70.000 people in military age.

After statistics of ONI 68.995 portuguese men entered in France in 1970 and among these 24.451 were aged between 17 and 24 years (people refusing war).

In November 1971 an agreement was done between France and Portugal which says, among other things, that the portuguese aged less than 21 years and having no passport are to be refused the entrance in France.

This measure reaches mainly boys who refuse the war and who have almost no possibility of getting a passport in Portugal.

Actually there are 182 portuguese with the status of refugee. But there are thousands of deserters and draft-dodgers living in France without passport, without any protection, submitted to adventures of the work market.

Anyway it's still easy to get staying permission for portuguese people who enter France clandestinely.

holland

Information taken from the brochure "Refugees" published by "O Salto".

Since the first months of 1971 have arrived an average of 20 to 30 refugees every month.

When a refugee arrives to Holland he goes to the Adviesbureau voor Portugezen-Amsterdam.

There are lots of bureaucratic difficulties in getting legalization. It is necessary a letter from the Adviesbureau to get a provisory staying permission.

The refugee has to go every week to the police (as here in Sweden). Usually the refugee has to wait from 6 to 8 months (sometimes 1 year or more) before he gets permission to stay.

Sometimes the police denies the staying permit for bureaucratic reasons as problems of dates or staying in other countries as France, Belgique, etc.

They get only 80 fl. when they arrive. Those who can't get work are condemned to

beg or starve.

It's very difficult to find lodgings. One is dependent on friends or has to sleep in the street.

It's very difficult to get work. Without a job the work permit is not renewed. So it becomes a vicious circle.

The chances of getting a job according to ones professional capacities or little vary level are almost null. There remain generally jobs like cleaning, manufacturing and so on.

After legalization the situation is still not clear. People are neither economic immigrants nor political refugees. Only a very small number of portuguese have got the status of refugee (after the Geneva Convention). On the other side 98% of refugees from the east get it!!!

As we do here in Sweden the portuguese in Holland also fight for the right to political asylum.

INFORMATION

Desertors can get help in Europe if they contact the following people:

FRANCE-P. Sorline

13, R. Pierre Nicole - Paris 13

HOLLAND-"Release" Gérard Mark

Spinozestraat, 9 (Ruter) Amsterdam

DANMARK- Erik Petersen

Grundtvigsvej, 22 - 8220-Viby - Aarhus

ENGLAND- "Anticolonialismo"

11, Basset Road - London W10

AS ARMAS QUE ROUBAMOS
SERVEEM PARA
A NOSSA
LIBERTACÃO



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Moçambique: **message of FRELIMO to the portuguese soldiers**

This message is addressed to the portuguese soldiers, those soldiers who came from far away, from other continent, invaded our country and are killing our people, burning our fields, violating our sisters.

Portuguese soldier, we want to tell you that what you are doing is wrong, cruel, criminal. Think: if we went out from our country, from Africa, and invaded your country in Europe, how would you feel? If we Moçambicans went and destroyed the fields that your parents and you have cultivated with great effort and affection, if we burned your houses, if we robbed your property, if we killed your children, violated your mother, your bride and your sisters, if we set up as owners of your country — would you remain cowardly impassive? Would you accept to be humiliated, beaten, robbed, chained without rebellion? You should take weapons and fight the invader.

Portuguese soldier, it is time to think. You are a man like us, you are not a criminal: Those who sent you to the war made you a criminal. The portuguese people, your people, is honest and hardworking, it is not a murderous people. We know that. Why do you come and kill our people? What we want is to live in peace, in our african land, as owners of our country. We have right to it. We fight you because, portuguese soldier, you prevent peace and progress in our country.

And what are you fighting for? You were told that you came to defend your country, but your country is Portugal, not Moçambique or Angola or Guiné. Each of these countries is a fatherland different of yours, with different peoples, different habits, traditions and one different history. Have you seen any Moçambican, Guinean or Angolan menace your really country, i.e., Portugal? No, you have not. It is the MDE and the officers that took you, brought you out of your job to Moçambique, to fight our people, that are menacing you.

STRUGGLE IN THE COLONIES

In fact, the only reason the governors of your country make war against us, is that they do not want to return the richness that they have been robbing from our people under a period of hundreds of years. May be you do not know, portuguese soldier, but the true is that Portugal is lead by a minority of 27 families. They control all the riches — in Portugal and in the colonies. They are the owners of the factories, the mines, the trade.

In fact, what do you win with the riches of Moçambique? Nothing, absolutely nothing. Have you ever got anything from our ore, our cultivations, our oil? No. The big capitalists are taking it. And they are not fighting — they stay in Lisbon or in Lourenço Marques, in safety, receiving the product of the exploitation, going to the Casinos, banquets, parties and send you to the jungle where death is waiting for you everywhere. Thousands of your comrades are already dead — at ambushes or by mines, without glory, only to defend the interests of the big capitalists.

Portuguese soldier, it is time for you to review your position. The colonialism is not going to live too long, it is condemned all over the world. Even the UN has decided that colonialism is a crime against humanity. Lots of countries criticize openly the portuguese government because of its colonial policy. There are lots of countries and international organisations that are supporting us, morally and materially. So the development of our struggle will be accelerated, and if you are taken in this process you will be killed by the guerrilla of FRELIMO, you will die for nothing without the glory of having died heroically. Our policy is to welcome as our brothers, as our allies, the portuguese soldiers that desert and thereby show that they oppose the colonial war against our people.

Portuguese soldier, it is possible, it is natural that you may have doubts and hesitate in taking this decisive step towards your freedom. We know that the portuguese officers tell the soldiers that we are terrorists, murders, and things like that.

We have never illtreated a soldier who has deserted, surrendered or has been taken prisoner. In a meeting with the people, some weeks ago, the chairman of FRELIMO said: "if someone of you ever illtreat a portuguese deserter or surrenderer it will be a crime as big as killing or illtreat one of our comrades, one of our brothers".

We have never defined the enemy through the colour of his skin, his origin or nationality. There are portuguese people working and fighting in our movement. And there are black people fighting in the side of the colonialists. The colour of the skin cannot be a principle to define the enemy.

This means that all your fear is absolutely unfounded. All portuguese soldiers who desert the colonial army, or surrender are welcome to PAELINO✱

Guiné: PAIGC communiqué

PAIGC communique on UN committee's visit to Guinea Bissau:

A special UN mission comprising representatives of three member countries-Ecuador, Sweden and Tunisia-visited the liberated territories in the southern part of our country from 1.st to 8.th April. The visit took place at the invitation of our national party executive and in compliance with a decision of the UN General Assembly. The mission was accompanied by 2 officials of the general secretariat, a Senegalese secretary and a Japanese photographer. During its visit the mission was received by some of the principal leaders of our party and our struggle.

The mission noted the situation in the country, met the people, took part in public meetings, visited schools and other social institutions, and inquired about the organization of the new life our people have been building while facing the bombs and terrorist attacks of the portuguese Colonialists.

Aware of the UN decision and of the date of the visit, the portuguese colonialists on 28.th March launched a powerful terrorist attack against the liberated territories in the southern part of the country, particularly the border areas. They used most of their regular and special troops, all their aircraft and helicopters, and other technical means. The attack was designed to obstruct the UN mission and foil the plan for the visit. The portuguese colonialists burned down several villages with napalm; destroyed 2 hospitals, a medical post and three schools



and killed 25 people, including 4 children, 13 women and 2 old men.

Opposing this criminal barbarism, our fighters inflicted heavy losses on the enemy and guaranteed the essential for the successful accomplishment of the UN mission. This important victory for our people, the United Nations and all anti-colonialist forces is yet another indisputable confirmation of the fact that our people, led by our party, are a sovereign people and the sole masters of their fate in the liberated parts of our country✱

Angola: interview with MPLA leader

Q:- Recently, MPLA opened up a new war front in the south-west of Angola, in the area of the Cunene River hydro-electric project, being constructed by the Portuguese and South Africans. Could you explain why the struggle has started here, and its significance?

A:- This area is on the border with Namibia and we started there in solidarity with our friends across the river who have made such an effective protest against the Vorster regime. The people on both sides of the river, which forms part of the border between our countries, are Ovambos and our struggle will reinforce theirs.

Our strategy is to develop the struggle in all parts of the country and when MPLA militants in the area were satisfied that the objective conditions were achieved, the battle began. Our people in this area were the last to surrender to the colonialist. They are fighting people, and their national consciousness is very strong. We have always felt that once they got started they would cause big problems for the Portuguese.

The sixth region is very important. The Cunene project is very similar to Cabinda in Mozambique in that it is being constructed to attract settlers and investments. It would also provide power for the mines in Namibia. We shall fight against its construction.

Q:- Can you outline the general situation of the struggle in Angola?

A:- In our political and military activities in the fronts the situation is good, because the moral of our people is high. We have the potential in material and equipment to increase our activities, to develop the struggle.

In addition while we intensify the struggle we increase the contradictions between Lisbon and the settlers. These contradictions have already shown themselves clearly. Internationally, support for our struggle is getting higher. This is important because it means that the Caetano regime is becoming increasingly isolated. Portugal cannot survive in isolation.

Q:- The districts of Maxixe and Cuando Cubango, which you call the third region, are reputed to constitute an MPLA stronghold. What is happening there?

A:- We control the Third Region, an area four times the size of Portugal. There are only small Portuguese barracks there now, but they are still a problem for us because they are used to launch attacks on the liberated villages. There are about 400,000 people in this region and about 100,000 of them live under direct MPLA administration.

Q:- You traditionally have difficulties in the north, in the first region, because of the Kinshasa Government's refusal to allow MPLA to cross what is now Zaire. Is this still the case?

A:- The problem of freedom of transit across Zaire is still the cause of difficulties in supplying our detachments in the First Region. Although it has not paralyzed our activities, our operations are necessarily limited.

Q:- Can you tell us about the progress of national reconstruction in the liberated areas of Angola?

A:- We are expanding our social reconstruction but one of the big problems we face is a very high rate of illiteracy. So only part of our struggle is waged with guns — part is fought with books in the battle against illiteracy. To develop our people's consciousness we are building more and more schools.

In the school year 1970-71 we had about 3000 students in all the regions.

Q:- What about the Medical Assistance Service?

A:- We are expanding our SAM and now we have medical post in all zones and sectors. We have increased the number of doctors to 7 and we have 120 nurses and first aid workers. Now we are trying to build hospitals inside as well as outside the country because, as a result of our attacks on Portuguese barracks and so on we need good hospitals to aid the freedom fighters.

Q:- Can you tell us about production and marketing in liberated areas?

A:- We are increasing and changing the pattern of production. Traditionally, our people produced crops like manioc and maize, just to feed themselves. Now we have collective farms as well as individual land holdings and the people are growing not just for themselves but for the freedom fighters and for those who are not able to work. For example there are old people who have lost their families in the war, and they are provided with food by the collective farms. In 1970 alone we established about 86 farms. We are increasing our people's shops, which is important because in the liberated areas the people have no towns to go to for clothes and so on. We use money — we exchange goods. The people come with manioc, tusk and skins, and we give them, say, clothes or soap.

Q:- Are there cultural changes taking place in the liberated areas?

A:- The colonialist stopped us from developing our own culture — even our language, our history. So now we have to expand the study of our history and our traditions.

We have our own books, Angolan history, Angolan geography for example, which we produce ourselves. We never had books about ourselves before. Those who managed to

REPRESSION

When the increasement of repression in Portugal came to the knowledge of the PDC, this decided by all means to denounce the criminal policies of the Portuguese government.

In that sense a press conference was held on the 4th of May in Stockholm. From the pamphlet that was distributed by the PDC at that conference we transcribe some parts in this article.

Even though the Portuguese people's fight for liberation from the clutches of fascism should be conducted by its own means in Portugal, it is also of great interest everything that can be done outside of Portugal in order to denounce the atrocities committed by the government of Marcelo Caetano.

Therefore it is our objective to denounce by all means the present upsurge of repression in Portugal.

After the overtaking of power by Marcelo Caetano, one could observe in Portugal a phase in which some illusions were created for some social classes. The repression was held back for a while, as to prepare itself for a stronger attack. In reality, that liberalization had, as a consequence, an increasement of the political activities: Agitation within the trade unions, strikes, and the creation of new left political groups in Portugal. Subjective conditions, more than objective were therefore created for an increasement of political activity.

The repudiation of the colonial war grew gradually. At the same time the working class struggle continued, resulting in a number of major and minor strikes. In the meantime the victories of the liberation movements in the colonies steadily increased, (which was denied by the fascist propaganda). In the summer of 1971 the repression counter-attacked with unusual violence, as a result of the above mentioned facts. According to the CNEPP+, communicate no. 12 issued on the 30th september 1971 the number of people arrested until august was higher than the number arrested in 1970. This counter-attack was already made according to the lines. A new special council was created to rule the activity of the repressive forces, (GNR+, PSP+, PIDE+). These repressive forces are well connected with the armed forces, (Army, Navy, Air Force).

At the end of 1971, finally a state of emergency was proclaimed, that still subsist. This state of emergency was approved by the national assembly without debate, considered unnecessary. But it was in 1972 that the upsurge took a real brutal way. The road-blocks and searches happen now more frequently, at any time. Everything is controlled: persons, cars, houses etc. Lisbon streets are filled with cops and all the cars passing certain areas are controlled without exception. Between the 12th of November 1971 and the 14th of April 1972 if we are to believe figures given by the fascist newspaper "Diário de Notícias" 33 searches and road-blocks took place, and 721 persons were arrested, at the same time that thousands of cars were controlled.

In what concern the methods used by the Portuguese government in the elaboration of political trials, hearings, jail conditions, sentences, security measures, etc, we will refer mainly the report made in December 1970 (NB-before the bill of the state of emergency was passed) by a Belgian lawyer, Mr. Alain Berreboom, that as a representative of "Ligue belge pour la defense des droits de l'homme" observed some political trials in Lisbon. "It is the PIDE-DGS that brings up charges. The accused can be kept detained under six months at the entire disposition of the PIDE. After this period the police can, without trial, prolong this detention using the special provisional security measure, (decree W.35042)!" "This first phase of the prosecution is kept secret!" "The accused can not communicate with his lawyers or neither is he informed of the charges against him. Often his family is left in the ignorance of his detention".

"The presence of guards is usual during the visit of the family. Often not even the lawyers can talk privately with their clients".

IN PORTUGAL

"The judges are appointed by the government... after a career in the Justice Department?"

"The sessions are by law, public, but it is forbidden to stand up. That makes it so that very few persons can attend the trials because most of the seats are occupied by PIDE agents in civilian clothes?"

All the foreign observers find that most of the sentences are light, (4 to 5 years). But we should not forget that these sentences can be, (and usually are) increased with the famous security measures.

The security measures were created by the decree no 37447 of the 13th of June 1945 and completed by decree no 40 550 of the 12th of March 1956. These decrees are certainly the most arbitrary rules of the whole legislative machine.

This way it is permitted to the PIDE to retain a convicted person, after his normal sentence is served, untill the moment that he will not be considered a danger for the state. the police itself decides the lenght of the security measures.

We can see from the case of João Baptista, an Angolan, sentenced in 1966 to 2 1/2 years of prison. His releasment on probation was refused because "he was a coloured individual, rude, with no instruction, that never showed the slightest repent or he would obtain from activities within a party, sooner the opposite, he seemed to maintain that deplorable idea of fighting for Angola's independence".

We can also see from the case of João Melo Fonseca, that through the security measures served 19 years and 4 months in jail, even though he was only sentenced to 9 years. To make things more funny he had to pay bail of 50,000 escudos (approx. 5,000 US dollars). A fact unknown by Mr. Berenboom is that in Portugal, of the period of pre-trial confinement only half is discounted from the sentence.

The tortures and hearings done by PIDE are authentic acts of barbarism. Under Salazar's government some revolutionary militants were simply murdered by PIDE. With Marcelo Caetano the repression has continued as before. Some cases of attempted suicide were recorded (Hortúcio Cecílio tried to commit suicide by swallowing the glass of his watch, Mota Barbosa tried to poison himself), cases of madness (José Natário Ramos had to be admitted into a mental hospital after three years of total isolation), and cases of chonical diseases due to the unhuman conditions of the prisons were also recorded.

Lately the most common form of torture has been the "statue", people are kept standing up, combined with sleepless nights and frequent beatings. We can give some examples: José Pedro Soares suffered 820 hours of interrogation and was kept 21 days and 21 nights without sleep. He was isolated from the 1st of July to the 17th of September 1971. João Freire: 9 days and 9 nights without sleep, he tried to commit suicide.

It is not only in Portugal that the repression is imposed on the people. In Angola, Guiné and Moz. the patriots are persecuted even harder. There exist real concentration camps for political prisoners such as the famous "Tarrafal" jail on the Isle of Sal in Cape Vert or camp of Saint Nicblau, near Moçamedes in Angola.

Because we consider that the war of liberation in the colonies is a just war against the enemies of the portuguese people, it is also with the people of the colonies that we express our solidarity.

Even though it can be sometimes difficult to obtain information about what is going on in Portugal it isn't today impossible to present concrete facts that can not leave any doubts. The press tries in a way to hide from the public the repression practiced by the government, but on the other side it has lately given a certain intentional relief to the searches and road-blocks done by the police. Why? We can only conclud that it is on purpose to create a climate of terror to frighten the people, to "dissuade" them from fighting and protesting.

The very past days we have received news saying that the wave of repression has increased even more. The portuguese government seems now decided to suffocate all forms of oppositional activities. After Easter the rate of imprisonments has grown to 20 to 30 persons daily. Some are released right away, but others are kept. The o-

perations of searching houses, surrounding of workers quarters and the assaults on student houses, etc, happen now daily. Everyday arrive news of the arrest of friends and relatives. The persons are arrested at random, blindly, in hope that more active and responsables will be caught.

The cultural societies are closed down because a law passed in Feb. 72 forbidding all kinds of educational and cultural activities not controlled by the government. The terror that is besieged on the population is an open attempt to paralyze all forms of organized opposition, specially the left wing organizations have been the main targets of these attacks.

But why, with such brutal means, attempt to suffocate all forms of resistance in Portugal. we feel that the attempts made by Marcelo Caetano to deceit the portuguese working class with false promises of liberalization didn't succeed. Against the beautiful speeches, there is a concrete reality that hasn't changed from Salazar's time. the extreme right had its hypothesis confirmed: here liberalization doesn't work. If they want to hold on, it will have to be with a whip in their hands.

At the same time the possibilities of a political crisis increase: 1)-At the begin of 1972 Norway, Denmark and Holland took in some way a position against the colonial war. The propaganda that presented the Swedish people as degenerated and a bunch of narcotic addicts begins to sound phony when also the Norwegians, Danish and the Dutch are also presented as such. 2)-The situation in the colonies gets worse day after day for the portuguese troops, specially in Guiné. 3)-The resistance inside the army has increased and desertion is bigger for every day.

Under such conditions the situation can become disastrous at any time. A minor or total defeat for the colonial army can provoke a very serious crisis. In these conditions it is absolutely necessary to suffocate all kinds of resistance if the crisis is to be dominated. The increase of repression is a sign of weakness. The silence that has always surrounded Portugal has been an advantage for the fascist regime. To denounce the repression and call the attention of the international public opinion about what is going on in Portugal is our duty.

FASCIST PROPAGANDA LIES

The portuguese bourgeoisie, as well as the bourgeoisie all over the world, uses all the means to spread among the workers all kind of wrong ideas which serve their own interests.

This is true specially about the colonial war. According to the fascist propaganda the african colonies have been "portuguese" for more than 500 years. In fact, until the end of the XIX century, the portuguese could only dominate some ports at the coast of Africa. They had fortresses made to protect the slaves' trade and the exploitation of the african richness.

The penetration to the interior was always very difficult because of the great resistance the african people offered. We must not forget that there has always been resistance since the portuguese arrived to Africa in the XVI century.

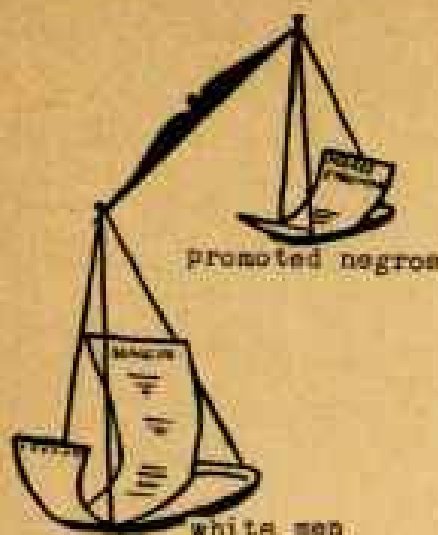
It was only in the beginning of the XX century that Portugal started controlling the colonial countries. And it has always been done with the connivence and the help of the european colonialist countries.

In 1885 the Berlin Conference took place and there England, France and Germany, together with Portugal divided the African Continent among themselves. England supported the portuguese demands because it was better for them that some territories belonged to Portugal rather than to Germany or France. This because of the dependance of Portugal on England.

It was only in 1885 that Portugal had its rights internationally recognized. But 19 years of campaigns were necessary to destroy the resistance of the african peoples.

In fact the so famous "lusitanian influence" in Africa had no more than 70 years. But 70 years of uncontrolled pillage, forced labour, authentic slavery.

RACISTS



We present here one transcription of "The portuguese strategic problem"(vol. XII of the strategic lessons in the High Commands Course-1966/67)by General Kaulza de Arriaga.

Kaulza de Arriaga has been for some years the Military Governor of Mozambique. He is one of the most responsible for the murders done in Moz. by the port. colonial army.

.....
 "If we go from the North to the South it seems that the latitude has some influence in the races,we can see that the races as far as we go southwards in latitude,get certain characteristics which, in relation with the actual parameters of modern life,are inferior.We can see the nordic peoples very much developed,able to have a very enlightened public opinion;afterwards come the latins-much less enlightened....;then come the Arabians much worse than us,and we finished in the blacks.

There is no doubt at all that the black race has inferior characteristics than the white one,as we,latin people,have certain characteristics that are inferior to those of the nordic peoples?

.....
 "If there were in Angola and Moz. 20 or 30 millions black people,the problem would be extremely serious.Fortunately those peoples are very few.I don't know if this is a result of the exportation we did to the Brasil;if it was that,thanks God for having done it?

.....
 "The portuguese white man is not racist,.....".The tribal situation of the

people is favourable to us because the tribes are worried with their problems--at least with the rivalries among them.....

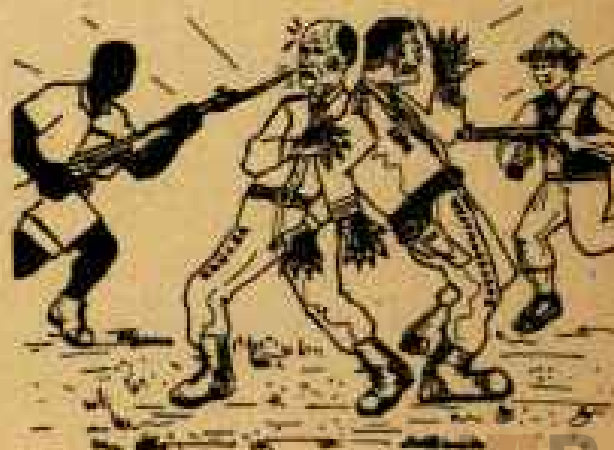
"We only will be able to keep a white rule in Angola and Moz.,which is a national objective, if the growth of white population(povoamento) is such that it follows and exceeds lightly the production of promoted negroes(negros evoluídos).Because if it happens the opposite,two things will surely happen:either we set up apartheid which will be terrible and which we will not support,or we will have black governments with the results we have already seen(dissemparment of the overseas provinces).

.....
 So the "multiracialidade"(multiraciality) has to be authentic and remain authentic even if we need to restrain lightly the promotion of the black people. And we have to convince this people that we are promoting them at an adequate rythm.

.....
 The subversion is mainly a war of intelligence.One has to be highly clever to do the subversion,it's not anyone who can do it.But the black people is not highly clever,on the contrary,of all the peoples in the world they are the least clever.

.....
 As you know the "povoamento" don't intend to balance the black demographic power; it intends to balance the amount of "negros evoluídos"(promoted blacks)because with the "tribal negroes" there is no problem if they grow in a great quantity. The problem is with the "negros evoluídos". As we, thanks god, have no possibility to promote all the negroes,it is possible almost sure,that we can settle there enough people to balance the "negros evoluídos".

→ 15



Resistance in the colonial army

Insubordination, refusal of the mass (of bad quality most of the times), protests against the hardness of military exercises, spreading of leaflets against colonial war are actions that come to join the desertion as a form of resistance to the colonial war.

Next we transcribe a short part of 2 clandestine publications addressed to the portuguese soldiers.

manifesto of the portuguese soldiers

THE PORTUGUESE SOLDIERS SHOULD FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF THEIR BLACK BROTHERS FROM THE COLONIES: TO FIGHT REVOLUCIONARLY AGAINST THE CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION.

Before we entered the military service we were workers. We were exploited by the boss, by the landowners and by the state; we worked as slaves the whole day, the bosses and their families became fatter and fatter with the profits they took from our work, and our reward was a salary which didn't allow us to live as human beings.

Whenever we fought against the exploitation the bourgeois sent the police and the Army against us, arresting and torturing our best comrades.

All this happens to maintain the exploitation on the workers and to live at our expense.

For centuries the people from the colonies have been miserably exploited and oppressed by the portuguese: at the beginning by the slave traders, later, in our days, by the capitalists, the bankers, the settlers, the Portuguese State, i.e., by the same bourgeoisie which exploits us here in Portugal.

When the revolutionary struggle started in the colonies the bourgeoisie saw themselves threatened and asked for help to the imperialist countries. So they sell the riches from the colonies and from our country to the foreign imperialists and make them increase the direct exploitation of the portuguese and african workers. As exchange the Government receives money and weapons to support the colonial war against the african workers in struggle for their liberation. Therefore the Colonial war is a Colonial-Imperialist war: both portuguese and foreign capitalists take profit from it.

To carry on this war they force us to enter the colonial imperialist army to murder our african brothers in struggle. They succeed in making the revolutionary workers from the colonies and from Portugal kill one another, while the bourgeoisie exploit and share the profits with the imperialists.

Soldiers: we must not take part in this criminal war.

We don't want to kill our african brothers who give us an example of revolutionary struggle.

We don't want to be killed by the bullets of our african comrades.

We don't want to emigrate from our homeland, we want to live in our land but freely without being obliged to do the war, without living exploited and hungry.

So, comrades, we must unite our bullets to those of our african comrades and turn them against those who deserve it, against those who exploit them and us, those who oppress them and us: the imperialists, the capitalists, the state and its bourgeois Army.

Published by "Armas do Povo"

repudiate clearly the colonial war

To fight against the colonial war and the colonialist exploitation is an ineluctable duty of the portuguese workers and specially of their vanguards. Any revolutionary work in Portugal at the present time, must stand on a clear and radical repudiation of the colonial war.

What does it mean? To repudiate clearly the colonial war means to do it unconditionally and without hesitations. Not to do it only by words but deeply, not to do it only for some of its effects but for all its consequences.

It means to understand it as an enterprise of exploitation and imperialism, serving the national exploiters and the international capitalism, and to say it to the masses without hesitation.

It means to fight openly against racism, chauvinism and neo-colonialism under any of their forms and specially when the vices reach the workers and proletariat.

It means to refuse any collaboration with the Colonial Army or with any group which directly or indirectly contribute to the shameful task of the colonial army.

→ 14

THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE IN PORTUGAL

To the popular masses Salazar's death didn't change the terrorist feature of the Portuguese bourgeoisie.

With Marcelo Caetano, pupil of the dictator Salazar, there is an intensification of the popular struggle against capitalism and colonial war.

In 1969, at Lisbon shipyard (LISNAV with 25% Swedish capital, 6 000 workers started during 3 days a great strike. Almada (a village near Lisbon), was militarily occupied by the army and the police. 400 workers were dismissed as punishment.

In 1970, 4.000 workers, at Barreiro industrial zone, demonstrated on the first of May. On the 3rd. of May new demonstrations as protest against the arrest of some workers. One member of FIDB was killed by the population. Fight between demonstrators and GNR. New arrests and closing of popular associations.

In June 1970 strike at Carris (Transport Company). Dozens of arrests.

In 1971 there were a lot of strikes all over Portugal, specially in the textile industry.

In 15 March 2.000 clerks demonstrated before the National Assembly. The police came with arms and dogs. Dozens of people were arrested and wounded.

The first of May in 1971 was again a journey of struggle. In Oporto demonstrators and policemen were wounded.

In September 1971 a young man was killed by the GNR at Praia da Panheira (near Barreiro). The people rebelled spontaneously. This place was also once more occupied by the repressive forces.

In December 1971 the women strike at Covilhã. Concentration in the centre of the town. The army came and people were arrested.

The trade-unions where the workers could elect some leaders were dissolved and the leaders arrested.

The students associations were closed or occupied by the police.

In January 1972 women strike in Braga, in the Grundig factory.

In March 1972 a demonstration at Oporto against increasing in prices. Fight between policemen and demonstrators. Dozens of people were wounded.

In February 1973, 1971 and 1972 demonstrations against the colonial war. All this is forbidden, so the police came as usual and dispersed the people with guns and dogs.



a deserter accuses....

lunas only because they wanted to kill the peaceful people we met. Usually they used a knife to kill the people, cutting their throats. I knew also that there were fusiliers who came out of the barracks just to go to the "tabancas" and get someone to kill.

There were some who collected ears and fingers of the people they killed. They consumed them in flasks with alcohol.

During the operation the objective was to destroy everything the troops found: men, women and children were killed, the villages were burned, the cattle was killed. This was the called cleanliness operation.

The aim was not to do prisoners. Only in cases in which there were important people to inquire, we made prisoners. Usually the people was to be killed. The interrogatories were done by people specially prepared.

I was never present at an interrogatory but I know that they do it by beating people in all the ways.

I heard that some prisoners didn't resist and died.

How do population react?

In the so called peace zones the population was afraid of troops as well as of the guerrilla mainly because they feared reprisals. But at the war zones we knew that the people was there because they agreed with the guerrilla. That is why they were there.

How many people in the portuguese troops do you think die everyday?

I can say that there was usually two or three death everyday sometimes 7 or 8. We can say that the information given by "Diário de Notícias" (which says that 50 or 60 people die, in average, each month in the 3 colonies) is far from being true.

repudiate the

COLONIAL WAR..

It means to carry on a persistent and conscientious agitation and propaganda against the war and its promoters - and fight clearly against them.

From the bulletin "Resistencia" published by MPAC (Popular Anti-colonial Resistance).

MPLA leader....

get to a school, a Portuguese school, were obliged to learn Portuguese geography, Portuguese history. So as well as fighting for military victories we are fighting for our lost culture.

Q:- Many countries and organizations offer freedom movements aid but stipulate that it must not be used to buy war materials. What do you think about this?

A:- When countries say that they are ready to help liberation movements with humanitarian aid we cannot understand why they say we cannot use the money to defend ourselves. Our people in the liberated areas are being bombed by the enemy so anything which helps them defend themselves against this is surely humanitarian aid. Clothes and medical supplies are important but the supply of arms and ammunition we consider one of the most vital types of humanitarian aid. And some of those who say they are ready to help us with what they call humanitarian aid are helping the Portuguese with planes and helicopters.

Q:- How many people are liberated and how large an area does MPLA control?

A:- The total area under our control is about 500 000 square kilometers, most of which is in the least inhabited parts of the country. The total population of the areas under our control or who came from these areas is about one million. This figure included people who fled from the difficulties of war in these areas and who now live in neighbouring countries.

(Interview given by Daniel Chipenda, member of the Executive Committee of MPLA to Sunday News (Tanzania) in March 72.)



FASCIST PROPAGANDA...

The colonialists also say that the people of Angola, Guiné and Moçambique are "portuguese" as the people in Portugal. But it is very well known that the overwhelming majority of the population in the colonies doesn't even talk portuguese and are illiterate. Besides, they have their own language and civilization distinct from the "occidental" one.

They also like to say to the workers that Portugal wouldn't survive without the colonies.

But who wins with the profits taken from the colonies? Surely it is not the workers who get those profits. It is the toiling classes who stand the war effort. That is true! The money spent with the war (almost 50% of the budget) is robbed daily from the portuguese and african workers. It's the sons of these workers who are forced to die in the colonial war.

The working classes whether live miserably in Portugal or have to emigrate.

Surely they say it's not their fault it's Portugal's which is a poor country without resources, etc.

But who is guilty for this situation? The bourgeoisie who exploits the workers together with the foreign capitalists.

They say that Portugal is poor but at the same time they say that they do not get help from the NATO countries.

It is funny!

The capitalist countries, at the same time as they defend their interests in the colonies get the doors open to their investments in Portugal.

The colonial war is a war which serves the interests of the portuguese bourgeoisie as well as of the foreign capitalists. But not a war to serve the interests of the portuguese people.

(Article translated from "Luta Operária", publication of the portuguese workers in Sweden) ●

THE BEST WAY OF BEING SOLIDARY WITH THE PEOPLES WHO FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM IN VIETNAM, AFRICA, PALESTINE, ETC. IS BY WORKING FOR THE REVOLUTION IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY.



Portuguese poster: "We are all portuguese"

racists

ludos".

.....
Surely this brings another problem: we must not be too much efficient in the promotion. We must promote them but without exaggeration.

.....
If the "family allowance" need to be high in the Metropole (Portugal) so that people can have lots of children, we can't do the same with the negroes, otherwise they will also get lots of children.

.....
About the quality of the population there is another fact that perturbed some of you, I mean: the positive strategic factor resulting from the fact that the great part of black population is still in the tribal situation. With perturbation or without it, with scandale or without it this factor his highly positiv.

.....
Another important problem is the demographic: first white growth and second limitation of the negro growth.

.....
Let's see the negro growth. Surely this is a very difficult problem, because we can't give the pile to every family, it's difficult, I don't even know if it will be morally accepted. So what we can do is not to promote very much the growth of the black people. ■

DESERTION: the position of CDP

Owing to the fact that it has been considered of great importance to define clearly the position of CDP towards desertion, it was decided to elaborate and publish the following text:

1) The desertion affects morally and materially the armed forces, the main support of the bourgeoisie, the class which exploits the working classes, either in Portugal or in the colonies;

2) In accordance with what is said above, the desertion is a support of the revolutionary struggle of the colonial peoples against the imperialist domination.

Concerning the military service, our position is as follows:

a) We consider not to be correct the simple refusal of accomplishment of military service, for two reasons: 1) Because training and military knowledge can be acquired inside the army, political agitation can be made and military material be confiscated. This material will probably be useful to the revolutionary movement; 2) Because this attitude can easily be taken for pacifism.

b) We consider that the correct place for the revolution is Portugal and not the exile. Owing to this, it is our opinion that one must try to stay in Portugal whenever it is possible.

c) In case one is obliged to fight directly the colonial peoples, by his participation in the colonial war, the most correct way to follow is the **DESERTION WITH ARMS**.

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