

NEWS NOTES

This section of the Newsletter features articles culled from various periodicals which make their way into our office. We welcome suggestions or contributions from members.

UNITED NATIONS (AP)—The United Nations General Assembly has moved against world economic problems in a mood of sharp division between the United States and third-world countries.

The 135-member assembly adopted a third-world proposal for emergency aid to poor countries hard hit by high food and fuel prices after a U.S. \$4 billion plan was shunted aside by a full membership committee earlier in the day.

The assembly also endorsed nationalization principles unacceptable to the United States and some other industrialized countries and then unexpectedly adjourned until today.

The already lengthened assembly session was scheduled to wind up last night, but the delegates decided to meet again after a long round of speeches threatened to run past midnight.

The program adopted calls for a 12-month emergency relief plan for nations suffering most from rising costs of necessary imports, and establishment of a long-term development aid fund to begin in January.

In a speech to the assembly, U.S. Ambassador **John A. Scali** expressed reservations about the approved plan, declaring: "The needs of the poor will not be met by empty promises."

[*Washington Star-News*, 5/3/74]

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LAGOS—Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation, has a population of 79.7 million, according to the results of a census taken last November.

The tabulations of figures shows that two-thirds of the country's population lives in the country's predominately Moslem six northern states.

The last census in 1963, which put the total at 56 million, resulted in the northern states gaining the biggest allocation of seats in the national assembly. This was bitterly disputed by other areas and led to a chain of political unrest, including a military takeover in 1966 and a breakaway attempt by the Ibo tribe in Biafra in 1967.

[*Washington Post*, 5/9/74]

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RHODESIA

Last week, according to the BBC, the government forcibly moved another 255 villagers 400 miles away from their homes in the war zone. Rhodesia's Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs says the villagers have all been "actively connected" with guerrilla actions. 187 of those moved were children.

In the past, the government has argued that villagers voluntarily moved to the fortified camps, but it has strictly controlled coming and going and has restricted visits from friends and/or relatives. Mr. Allan Savory, a member of the Rhodesian Parliament, says he has seen people being "moved by force in wire cages."

The latest moves are apparently a response to stepped up guerrilla action in the area. The Zimbabwe African National Union claims to have killed 55 Rhodesian soldiers during eight encounters since January.

[*Africa News*, 4/18/74]

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NEW YORK—Immigrants to the United States from the Cape Verde Islands have formed a political organization to lobby with U.S. and Portuguese officials on a number of issues.

Still under Portuguese colonial domination, the Cape Verde Islands are located some 490 km. off the coast of Guinea-Bissau. Over 200 thousand Cape Verdeans have immigrated to the United States. At present, more Cape Verdeans live in southeastern New England than on the islands themselves.

The newly-formed Cape Verdean American Federation will pressure the Portuguese Government to act on the severe drought and famine which currently afflicts the islands.

[*Daily News (Tanzania)*, 4/4/74]

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CAPE TOWN—A blistering row is threatening to break out between the South African Government and **Chief Gatsha Buthelezi**, the chief minister of the Zulu homeland Kwazulu, who is the most forthright and outspoken of South Africa's black leaders.

In fact, Chief Buthelezi has apparently become more forthright and outspoken than the government finds comfortable. The result, he now alleges, was a government plot to supplant him by financing a rival political party called the Spear of Shaka in his homeland. (Shaka was a fabled Zulu king.)

Now white opposition politicians, led by the Progressive Party's **Colin Eglin**, are demanding an explanation from **Prime Minister John Vorster**, and the whole affair could blow up when the white Parliament meets later this year.

Chief Buthelezi says that the top secret Bureau for State Security, headed by **Gen. Hendrik van den Bergh**, a confidant of Mr. Vorster's, was involved in the plot, and deposited a large sum of money in the Spear's account in Durban.

When the Zulu chief made this allegation at a meeting of the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly last week, the leader of the poorly supported Spear of Shaka, **Chief Charles Hlengwa**, sat in silence. Speaker after speaker attacked him, including the young paramount chief of the Zulus, **Chief Goodwill Zwelithini**.

Soon afterward, Chief Hlengwa and his handful of followers left the council without even daring to put the motion of no-confidence that they had planned.

In an interview later, Chief Hlengwa denied that he had received any money from the Bureau of State

Security and asserted that most of his party's money came from "anonymous whites."

But another member of the party's executive said that the Bureau of State Security paid about \$8,000 into the Spear's bank account in three installments, and that Chief Hlengwa met senior government officials in Pretoria early last December.

Chief Hlengwa at first denied that he had been anywhere near Pretoria "since 1965," but when pressed further, admitted he had been in Pretoria in December but "only on private business."

Finally, confronted with the name of a government official who drove him from Pretoria to Johannesburg during his trip, Chief Hlengwa admitted he had been to see a government official at the Union Buildings, which is the administrative seat of the South African Government.

The Bureau of State Security denies all knowledge of the whole affair.

[Humphrey Tyler, *Christian Science Monitor*, 5/14/74]

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LISBON—Mozambique's governor-general, **Senhor Manuel Pimentel dos Santos**, met worried European transport drivers in Lourenço Marques yesterday to discuss security problems following the killing of three drivers by terrorists.

Senhor Pimentel dos Santos' meeting with about 100 White drivers is an indication of the profound psychological impact that the killings have had on the 250,000 Europeans and on many Africans in Mozambique.

One of the biggest security operations ever mounted by the Portuguese forces is going on in the Beira district, where the drivers were killed.

[Bruce Loudon, *Daily Telegraph* (U.K.), 4/25/74]

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Five new towns are to be built along the route followed by power transmission lines between the Cabora Bassa Dam in Mozambique and South Africa, the South African Press Association has reported.

More than six million rand—about 48 million/— would be made available soon to build the towns, which would serve as bases for maintenance personnel as well as security forces protecting the lines.

Quoting a spokesman for the Zambezi Valley Authority, the report added that the towns would be established along an 880-kilometre route between Songo and Malvernia, near the Transvaal border with Mozambique.

Power is due to start flowing along the lines when turbine testing at the giant dam starts early next year. The project has been the target by African nationalist militants operating in Mozambique.

[*Daily News* (Tanzania), 4/2/74]

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Following is the text of the proclamation issued by "The Movement of the Armed Forces," the military junta which claimed to have seized power in Portugal:

"Considering that after 13 years of fighting overseas, the present political system has been unable to define an overseas policy leading to peace between Portuguese of all races and creeds;

"Considering the growing climate of total detachment of the Portuguese in relation to political responsibilities which they owe as citizens, the growing development of a situation of constant appeals to duty with a parallel denial of rights;

"Considering the necessity to clean up the institutions, eliminating from our system of life the illegal acts which the abuse of power has legalized;

"Considering, finally, the duty of the armed forces and the defense of the nation, signifying also the civic liberty of its citizens:

"The movement of the armed forces, which has just achieved the most important civic mission in recent years, proclaims to the nation its intention to complete a program of salvation for the country and the restitution to the Portuguese people of the civil liberties of which they have been deprived.

"To effect this, the Government will be handed over to a junta of national salvation which will carry out the lines of the armed forces movement plan, whose details will later be given to the nation.

"As soon as possible, there will be general elections for a constituent national assembly, whose powers, by its representation and free election, will permit the nation to choose freely its own form of social and political life.

"In the certainty that the nation is with us, supporting our aims, and will accept with good grace the military government which will have to be in power in this phase of transition, the movement of the armed forces calls for calm and patriotism from all Portuguese and expects the country will support the powers instituted for its benefit.

"In this way we know we will have honored the past in respect of policies assumed before the nation and others, and we are fully conscious of having complied with the sacred duty of restoring to the nation its legitimate and legal powers."

[*Financial Times* (U.K.), 4/26/74]

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LISBON—A new centre party is emerging in Portugal as the political power base for the military junta which came to power last week. **General Spínola**, the leader of the seven-man junta, is known to favor a party of the Social Democrat type to hold the political center against the strong tides of political extremism that are beginning to flow here.

A number of young technocrats and liberal-conservatives are now forming such a party with the General's tacit approval and with a political manifesto that is strikingly similar to the junta's declared policies.

Although the first legal May Day demonstration for 48 years gave the junta an encouraging national vote of confidence, the mood of euphoria is now ebbing and people await the formation of a provisional government.

General Spínola's strategy is evidently to split the extreme left-wing, reassure big business interests, and hope that a moderate liberal group in the center can attract popular support with a reforming domestic program and a fairly conservative policy towards Portuguese Africa.

General Spínola has already moved towards the first objective by promising the recently returned Communist Party leader, **Senor Alvaro Cunhal**, that his party alone will be allowed to operate on the extreme Left, provided that such groups as the Maoist MRPP (Proletarian Revolutionary Movement) are "controlled" by the Communists.

This skilful offer has delighted the Communist Party, which now sees a chance of building up the kind of support enjoyed by its counterpart in France. But of course it will incur the odium of other left-wing groups, particularly if, as now seems likely, the new regime places some sort of ban on extremist left-wing activities. The move also means that General Spínola is likely to honor his pledge of an offer of a ministerial post for the Communists in the provisional Government.

While the junta is muddying the waters on the Left, it is also taking good care to placate the big banking interests, who have been thoroughly alarmed by the huge wage demands emanating from the embryonic trade unions.

General Spínola has twice met **Senhor Antonio Champalimaud**, the head of a large industrial group which until recently listed the General as a director. The Champalimaud organization, which holds huge interests in the economies of Angola and Mozambique, has been given a simple message by the military government: that if prices are kept down, particularly in the crucial steel making industry, the companies' profits will not be affected.

The message has also reached other big barons of the Portuguese business world and for the moment at least it seems that they are satisfied, although plainly the situation will change if the unions now being formed back wage claims with strikes.

However, it is in the center that the most urgent political activity is now taking place around an economic ginger group called "Sedes." Most of its members are young technocrats who favor a more equitable distribution of wealth in Portugal and a phased withdrawal from the country's territories in Africa.

Circling around this organization are such politicians as **Professor Veiga Simao**, the former Education Minister, and **Professor Miller Guerra**, a psychiatrist and a former Liberal deputy in the Portuguese Parliament who resigned in disgust at the Government's refusal to reform. Such men are more akin to the English Bow Group than Germany's Social Democrats, but they and their friends are now working hard to put together a party from which the bulk of a provisional Government can successfully be drawn.

The key point in the economic thinking of these men is that a political solution in Portuguese Africa would leave Portugal with huge markets for her cheap manufactured goods, in return for substantial concessions on the import of coffee, sugar, and petrochemical products.

The unquantifiable factor is the reaction of Portugal's 8.3 million population to this political activity. An eminent civil servant said here today: "This is all like a dream. I find it hard to identify my own country."

The question is whether the Portuguese people, particularly outside Lisbon, will identify their own interests with a reformist center party that is clearly being encouraged by the junta.

[James McManus, *Guardian* (U.K.), 5/3/74]

SALISBURY—Agents of the disbanded Portuguese General Directorate of Security (DGS), who played a key role in counter-insurgency in Portugal and its African territories, have been given their new roles in Africa within the military structure, according to reports reaching here from Beira in Mozambique.

These say that the agents have been told to continue to coordinate intelligence reports, control hundreds of paid black informers, direct the efficient *Flecha* (arrow) troops and interrogate prisoners.

But it is understood that other functions of the DGS, such as the surveillance of politically suspect civilians, telephone tapping and checking on students have been stopped.

[*Times* (U.K.), 4/30/74]

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ANGOLA—Political activity here has been revived in the wake of the Portuguese military takeover in Lisbon but still remains under the surface a week after General Spínola took over.

Political sources say that at least four political groups composed of both blacks and whites may emerge, although they are still hesitant.

The only activity so far has been a series of closed meetings and the first open comment by any political group was by the "civic Democratic Commission," which yesterday released a manifesto calling for radical constitutional changes in Angola.

The commission, which says it is not a political party but a civic movement, also called for the release of political prisoners, the closure of detention camps, and the appointment of a representative of the junta to the Angolan capital.

Observers say the whites here support the idea of federation for Angola with Portugal and Mozambique which, they say, will be supported by moderate black Angolans. There is talk of a unilateral action if the idea of a settlement is rejected.

[*Guardian* (U.K.), 5/3/74]

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LISBON—The ruling military junta appealed today for a cease-fire in Portugal's African territories.

Gen. Francisco da Costa Gomes, a leading member of the junta and chief of the joint defense staff, promised that the guerrilla forces that have been fighting for 13 years would be able to participate in free political activity leading to a referendum on the territories' future at an unspecified date. Eventual independence was not specifically excluded.

The general spoke at a news conference here shortly after his return from Angola, the largest and richest of the three Portuguese possessions. He had asked the rebels there yesterday to lay down their arms and today he said that Portugal was asking for a cease-fire in Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea as well . . .

He is understood to have gone to Angola because the authorities there were not cooperating with the junta in establishing bases for democratic life. Resistance to such change was swept away by his dismissal of all the top military commanders and other high authorities and their replacement by persons who support the junta.

"I knew before I went that reactionaries and other forces adverse to the revolution had aroused public opinion in Angola by attributing to the junta of National Salvation defeatist intentions of immediate and unconditional abandonment," the general said.

General Costa Gomes thus indicated clearly that Portugal was not now prepared to hand over the territories to the rebels. He played down the influence of the insurgents, saying it did not extend over much territory, and emphasized the process of free debate, which he said the junta was trying to establish in Portuguese life.

Most leftist forces here are in favor of negotiation with the rebels leading to independence as a way of ending the wars immediately. To resist this pressure, the junta has been saying that it should not have responsibility for such a decision, which should be left to the country as a whole through the democratic institutions that will be established in the next year . . .

In addition to a proposal for integration of the rebel movements into normal political life, today's appeal by General Costa Gomes contained an offer of amnesty for imprisoned members of the rebel forces. All political opponents of the former regime in Portugal have now been freed except for members of the rebel movements. Pending an agreement with them, spokesmen here have been stressing that war is continuing and that normal troop rotations are proceeding.

General Costa Gomes said this was the first time that the junta had addressed itself officially to the rebel movements. It is thought, however, that some contacts have already been made.

Mario Soares, the head of the Socialist party, has just concluded a tour of European capitals to rally support for the new Portuguese Government, and it is believed that he may have had conversations with rebel leaders now in Europe.

General Costa Gomes said he hoped that the new Portuguese policy in Africa would win the "moral support" of the country's allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Under the old Government, Portugal found herself isolated diplomatically as a result of her intransigent policy on her overseas territories.

[Henry Ginger, *New York Times*, 5/7/74]

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LOURENCO MARQUES—Following the overthrow of the dictatorship in Lisbon, the 500,000 Portuguese and, to a lesser extent, the 16 million African inhabitants of the three African territories have enthusiastically plunged into forming political groups. At least 53 have emerged.

Political parties are still banned, so for now the new organizations are called associations. Few of them are likely to have much impact.

Their manifestos often are naive. Numbers and racial breakdowns of membership are in doubt. One, Free Men, was conceived as a joke in a bar here by a non-Portuguese European farmer.

The Democratic Movement of Mozambique calls for an end to prostitution, the closure of brothels and social rehabilitation of prostitutes.

Another new group is the Union for Peace for the people of Mozambique, whose leader,

Lazaro Nkavandame, is a former Frelimo central committee member and Makonde tribal chief, and who defected to the Portuguese soon after the Front's president, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, was assassinated. He is wanted for questioning by Tanzanian police in connection with the murder, which is believed to have been instigated by Portugal's secret police.

Only two of the new associations are generally taken seriously. The first, and potentially most important, is the Independent Front for Western Continuity (FICO, or, "I stay" in Portuguese).

FICO is reminiscent of the Keep-Algeria-French Secret Army Organization. It draws its support from white settlers who have fought in the African wars and are determined to fight on to perpetuate white supremacy. More than 5,000 whites attended its first rally a week ago, out of some 220,000 whites—and 8.5 million blacks—in Mozambique.

The second association is the United Group of Mozambique, with a Colored lawyer, Maximo Dias, 33, as its president; an African, Joanna Simiao, as vice president; and a European as treasurer.

While the other new groups accept the call by Lisbon's military junta for a cease-fire, Mrs. Simiao says, "We want a cease-fire, but under Frelimo's conditions. We want independence, but Frelimo is the most important element." She referred to the Mozambique Liberation Front, the black guerrilla army fighting the Portuguese army for independence.

Mrs. Simiao believes the United Group's role is to divide the whites and prevent a unilateral declaration of independence by them.

Most whites find black rule almost inconceivable, and believe that what they face is a takeover by Communist-inspired terrorists.

Few in this city—still securely remote from the war in the north—seem to understand that whatever has changed in metropolitan Portugal since the military took power, little has changed in the colonies.

They argue that if Frelimo does not participate in Mozambique's current politics the guerrillas will lose an opportunity. Yet when asked what has changed to persuade Frelimo to stop fighting, they are at a loss.

Near the important port of Beira, Frelimo this week killed six passengers in a luxury express bus. Witnesses said the bus was first hit by a bazooka shell and then raked with machine gun fire.

North of Beira, a train was mined and 10 cars destroyed. Near the Malawi frontier another train was blown up. A 78-year-old European saw-mill manager died when his car was ambushed.

Most of the incidents occurred where the Portuguese claimed they had driven out guerrillas.

The most recent Portuguese casualty figures, even if they minimize the position, give an indication of the scale of the war. From December to March, 429 soldiers are listed as killed and wounded in 1,749 incidents involving Frelimo guerrillas.

Mozambique's new governor and commander of the 65,000-man army is General Silvino Marques. His deputy is expected to be Gen. Orlando Barbosa, who was a leading official of the ultra-conservative Portuguese Legion—abolished by the junta. Both men are right-wingers. Such appointments were probably designed to allay settler fears.

Given social and economic injustices, it is not hard to imagine that African resentments go deep. It is to

Frelimo—and not the rash of new political groups—that the majority of Africans will look for a new order. Portugal will have to take it seriously into account to fulfill its promise to end the war.

[David Martin, *Washington Post*, 5/12/74]

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LISBON—Mario Soares, foreign minister of Portugal's new provisional government, flew today to Dakar, Senegal, to confer with leaders of the liberation movement of Portuguese Guinea.

The Socialist leader left aboard a plane sent by Senegalese President Leopold Senghor. The departure came two hours after President Antonio de Spínola installed his new 15-man civilian cabinet.

Soares' sudden departure could mean that military efforts to reach an agreement with African guerrillas were already advanced. Soares met often with liberation leaders during his exile in Paris.

In an interview last night Gen. Francisco da Costa Gomes, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, raised the possibility that he had paved the way for talks with Frelimo, the black African guerrilla movement fighting for independence in Mozambique.

"I think that in a short time we'll have contact with the liberation movement in Mozambique," said the general, who spent last weekend on an inspection tour of Mozambique.

The general apparently will be in charge of cease-fire talks with Frelimo, whose forces threaten to overwhelm the southern panhandle of the African colony. Costa Gomes said that while there he had conferred informally with "people who are in touch with Frelimo." He refused to go into detail.

Spokesmen for the young officers who deposed the 48-year-old dictatorship last month have said that among priorities of the Cabinet is to find a political solution to the 13-year colonial war in Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea.

The civilian ministers, however, will be tightly reined by the military junta, which will be expanded to include seven young officers, and by the Council of State, which will embrace the junta, according to an edict made public today. The council will be composed of 13 military officers and seven civilians to be chosen by Spínola, who will preside over its deliberations.

The edict—issued by Spínola and the junta—not only spelled out the broad powers of the junta and the council until the 1975 elections, but clearly stated that the provisional government is bound by the program of the armed forces movement, whose young members staged the April 25 uprising.

The edict also said that the electoral law, under which free elections are to be held no later than April 31, 1975, will be made known by Nov. 15.

Sources in the movement's powerful coordinating committee said one reason that Communist Alvaro Cunhal was named minister without portfolio was the "possibility" that he would ask the Soviet Union, which supports Frelimo, to help halt the colonial war.

During today's ceremony, Spínola again repeated that he favors self-determination for the colonies. He did not allude to independence. The leftists in the Cabinet, including Foreign Minister Soares, head of the Socialist Party, say independence is the only way out of

the war which has become a political, military, economic and moral nightmare for this nation of 9.2 million people.

It was not clear how this difference will be bridged, but Spínola, in his inaugural address yesterday, promised to abide by the vote of the people in mainland Portugal and in Africa.

[Miguel Acoca, *Washington Post*, 5/17/74]

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LISBON—President Antonio de Spínola today presided over a meeting of the military junta in which the new Government's efforts to end fighting in Africa were reported reviewed.

It is widely believed here that the week-old provisional Government has established contact with the major insurgent movements in Angola and Mozambique after last Friday's preliminary accord with the rebels of Portuguese Guinea.

Under that agreement, talks between the Portuguese government and the African party for the independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands are slated to begin in London on Saturday.

Foreign Minister Mario Soares is scheduled to attend the opening of the conference, which is officially aimed at a cease-fire in the 11-year-old guerrilla war in Portugal's smallest possession on the African continent.

It is expected here that the London talks will also map the road toward full independence of the territory, which is inhabited by 600,000 blacks and 20,000 whites, mainly in its capital, Bissau. More than 80 countries have already recognized the rebel leadership of Guinea-Bissau, which is what the insurgents call those portions of Portuguese Guinea that they control, as the government of a sovereign nation.

The London talks between the Portuguese Government and the Guinean Independence party will also have to define the status of the strategically important Cape Verde Islands. The archipelago off Africa's bulge is said by the Independence Party to be part of Guinea-Bissau. In 1972, a United Nations report said that guerrilla-controlled Guinea-Bissau took up at least two-thirds of the territory of Portuguese Guinea.

In Lisbon, the official formula for the future of the Cape Verde Islands is "self-determination"—that is, it should be up to the islanders to say, in a referendum, whether they want to belong to an independent Guinea-Bissau, set up a new nation of their own, or retain ties with Portugal.

Discussions of the fate of the Cape Verde Islands are followed with great interest in South Africa. The Portuguese-controlled archipelago is a vital link in the South African air route to Europe.

Since Black African nations do not allow South African aircraft to fly over their territories, South African Airways has for years routed its flights to and from Europe around the African continent, using the international airports of Luanda, Angola and the Cape Verde Islands for refueling and support.

Mr. Soares stated earlier this week that the new Portuguese Government intended to deal directly with the major independence groups in Angola and Mozambique.

A qualified source said today: "The new Government is fully prepared to accept black majority rule in all our overseas territories in Africa."

Ambassador Stuart N. Scott of the United States today handed a goodwill message from President Nixon to Premier Adelino da Palma Carlos.

Ambassador Scott said afterward that he had told the Premier that the United States "completely supports the democratic efforts that his Government is making, and wishes him every success and offers every cooperation."

[Paul Hoffman, *New York Times*, 5/23/74]

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DAR ES SALAAM—Samora Machel, leader of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), assured Mozambique's whites in a radio interview that his organization would not expel them after independence.

Frelimo wants Mozambicans of all colors to work together in liberty, Machel said on Radio Tanzania. But, he said, the independence of Mozambique was not negotiable. Only the methods of achieving independence could be negotiated, he said.

In Kinshasa, capital of Zaire, the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA) was quoted by Agence France-Presse as announcing that it is prepared to open talks with Portuguese authorities.

The liberation movement said in a communiqué that it "notes with interest the efforts by the new Portuguese government team on the question of emancipation of the African colonies. Considering this evolution, the FNLA reaffirms its willingness to accept . . . a frank and sincere dialogue with the Portuguese leaders."

The FNLA said it ignored the Portuguese junta's earlier appeal to lay down its arms because it "was merely a request for surrender," and "the real intentions of the Portuguese on Angolan self-determination and independence" were not clear.

[*Washington Post*, 5/20/74]

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LONDON—The first formal talks aimed at reducing or even ending Portugal's status as a colonial power in Africa began this evening at a quiet hotel here.

Portugal's Foreign Minister, **Mario Soares**, sat down late with a delegation from the independence movement in Portuguese Guinea, the smallest and poorest of the three Portuguese African territories.

The Guineans were led by **Pedro Pires**, a member of the ruling executive of the independence movement, whose guerrilla fighters control a considerable amount of territory in Guinea, an area they call Guinea-Bissau.

The fact that neither of the two top leaders of the movement, **Aristides Pereira** and **Luis Cabral**, was present gave rise to speculation that the Guineans wished to strike a note of caution at the meeting.

[Richard Eder, *New York Times* (excerpted), 5/26/74]

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When Portugal's military junta announces a new, democratic provisional government within the course of the next 10 days, it is almost certain to choose its leader, **Gen. Antonio de Spínola**, as provisional president. The booted general with his riding crop and monocle has

come a long way from earlier days spent fighting for Franco in the Spanish Civil War, observing for Portugal on the Nazi side of the Stalingrad front during World War II, and moving slowly upward with Portuguese Army ranks under the autocratic rule of stern **Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar**.

"General de Spínola was and is a fascist," crisply says a leading Lisbon editor who spent years trying to outwit Dr. Salazar's censorship and that of the late dictator's successor, the now overthrown **Dr. Marcello Caetano**.

But **Mario Soares**, socialist leader returned from four years of exile in Paris, disagrees. "Boots, monocle, riding crop—you know I'm allergic to that sort of thing," he told a recent visitor. "When I went to see the general after my return I expected to find an inflexible military mind."

Mr. Soares says he found instead a man of great charm and understanding, free of dogma, open to new ideas. Other Portuguese who have recently seen the general have come away with much the same impression.

It was Africa, most observers are agreed, that made General de Spínola the man he is today—although his image remains contradictory. The general was another aging officer in the Portuguese Army when he volunteered for service in Angola in 1961 and there quickly established his leadership capabilities.

Still not even a full colonel then (he was already 51), he reached this grade two years later and was promoted general in 1964. In 1968 he was appointed governor-general and commander-in-chief of Portuguese Guinea, a small territory heavily infested by African guerrillas led by **Amílcar Cabral**.

In continental Portugal, the general's detractors used to say he was a brave horseman who fell frequently. His juniors would enjoy watching him, after a tumble, scrambling for monocle and mount at the same time.

But in the steamy jungles of Guinea the general was in his element. He was here, there, everywhere, helicoptering in on units deep in the bush, drumming up African civilian support for various civic improvement projects, evolving and putting into practice his ideas about a multiracial society.

The general's critics call his efforts a glorified form of pacification similar to that practiced by the U.S. Army in Vietnam. But younger officers idolized him. Here, at last, was a leader who was not deskbound, who was incorruptible, who had original ideas and was not afraid to try them out.

In 1973, General de Spínola was given a hero's welcome on his return to Portugal. He was named deputy chief of staff of the armed forces and awarded the nation's highest decoration.

[Takashi Oka, *Christian Science Monitor*, 5/10/74]

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SALISBURY—Anxiety is spreading among Rhodesia's white population about the effects of the revolt in Portugal.

Mr. Ian Smith's only statement on the situation—described today by the *Rhodesia Herald* as "two sentences, two platitudes"—has done nothing to reassure the whites that their fears of the country being isolated from the rest of the continent are unfounded.

The situation, it is felt, will weaken the ties between

Rhodesia and South Africa because, should Mozambique be granted independence, or even a high degree of local autonomy, Rhodesia would become even more of an embarrassment than she is at present to her southern neighbor.

One source said: "If a black or predominantly black Government were elected in Mozambique, it is highly possible that Mr. Vorster would withdraw his country's defense forces from Rhodesia and establish a purely defensive line behind the Limpopo, declining to become involved in any anti-guerrilla operations in which Rhodesia might be engaged.

"South Africa's interests in Lourenço Marques and Cabora Bassa would dictate her attitude."

Dr. Ahrn Palley, former Independent MP who fought a lone battle against Mr. Smith's Government for five years after UDI until new constituency boundaries forced him to quit politics, told me he thought General Spínola's most important mission in Africa would be "transition without bloodshed."

If that were his object, Rhodesia would have to accept that there was going to be black government in Lourenço Marques—"be it in six months or five years' time," he said.

"Gradually the General will phase down the military presence. This will land us in Rhodesia in the soup—unless the Rhodesian Government is able quickly to come to terms with its African population."

Sir Roy Welensky, former Federal Prime Minister, said that any departure from the present policy in Mozambique would have wide-ranging repercussions in Rhodesia and the rest of Southern Africa.

"If the Portuguese authorities can come to terms with Frelimo regarding the shape government is to take, what would the attitude be towards Rhodesia on transport?" he asked. "The principal ports of entry to Rhodesia are Beira and Lourenço Marques, and they are of great importance."

Sir Roy pointed out that Rhodesia and Mozambique shared some 700 miles of border.

"It is no secret that some of the terrorist incursions have been mounted in Mozambique, even though the Portuguese authorities are doing their best to destroy them," he said. "It is obvious that any change on the part of the Portuguese authorities in this field could greatly embarrass Rhodesia as well as South Africa."

"I have been aware of the changing moods in Portugal, and I share General Spínola's view that the struggle against terrorism cannot be won on the battlefield alone. I do not fear the future if he can introduce the federal system he advocates, which will mean ultimate limited self-government for Portuguese African territories; this will become a fact of life and other African States will have to live with it, but I am sure it will be introduced by a gradual process."

[John Martin, *Observer* (U.K.), 4/28/74]

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BEIRA—Thousands of angry white settlers massed outside the governor's palace last night to protest to Portugal's chief of staff about peace terms offered to African guerrillas.

There were cries of "Arms, Arms" and "Down with Frelimo" as Gen. Francisco da Costa Gomes arrived from the military headquarters of Nampula where he

told troops the Lisbon junta offered the guerrillas a brotherly embrace. He described the Frelimo nationalist movement as gallant adversaries.

The demonstration followed two days of unrest in Beira which erupted into violence when a crowd of Africans overturned a car belonging to whites.

In Lisbon, rightist opposition to the military junta headed by Gen. Antonio de Spínola surfaced for the first time since the junta's seizure of power April 25.

It came in the form of a communiqué from an anonymous group which said it was made up of lawyers. The statement described the junta as illegal.

The communiqué called exiled former President Americo Thomaz the sole legal leader of Portugal.

The lawyers called on all "civilized countries" to restore the rule of legality that has been violated" and accused the junta of "arbitrarily seizing power" and illegally suspending the constitution.

[*Washington Post*, 5/13/74]

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WASHINGTON—The top military chiefs of the United States and South Africa have been meeting quietly in Washington. Many believe that they have been brought together by common concern about the effects on security in the Indian Ocean of the recent coup in Portugal.

The coup has raised questions about the future of Portuguese territories in Africa, particularly Mozambique, which occupies a long strategic position along the western shore of the ocean.

The top South African military man is Adm. Hugo Biermer, chief of staff of South Africa's armed forces. He has been visiting here with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and with the Acting Secretary of the Navy J. William Middendorf II, and some members of Congress.

The visit here at this time is causing attention not just because of its timing—just after the coup d'état in Portugal—but also its circumstances: the admiral arrived on a tourist visa ostensibly for purely private nonofficial calls.

An official of the State Department's Africa Bureau said that it had advised against giving the South African chief of staff a visa to visit Washington at this time—just after the coup in Portugal, with all its repercussions in Africa—but that a tourist visa had been authorized at a higher level, "very likely by the Secretary of State."

The official noted that the South African admiral had evidently overstepped the terms of his visa in making calls on U.S. officials and legislators.

Speculation in diplomatic circles is that the South African insisted on coming to Washington because South Africa is extremely worried about the future of Mozambique after the Portuguese coup.

If Mozambique, from which African terrorists are said to operate, were to be given some form of autonomy or independence, South Africa would be threatened. Already, it is reported, South Africans are arming white farmers on northeastern Transvaal against incursions from the dense bush country on the Mozambique side of the border.

The South Africans, it is thought, are eager to interest the United States in joint moves to head off the danger to themselves and to Rhodesia they sense from Mozambique.

The United States maintains diplomatic relations with South Africa, but for the past 10 years (since the Kennedy administration) has maintained an embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa. The embargo was imposed after the Sharpsville massacre in which about 70 blacks were killed in a political demonstration.

Admiral Biermann's trip follows another "private" visit to the U.S. in January by South African Minister of Information Dr. Cornelius P. Mulder, whose calls included Vice-Adm. Ray Peet, deputy assistant secretary of defense and director of the Defense Security Assistance Agency dealing with military sales and aid.

Dr. Mulder also called on Vice President Ford, whose office says he got the appointment because he said he wanted to talk to the Vice President about a new process for converting coal into gas, and with some members of Congress.

South African newspapers have since then been calling Dr. Mulder's talks in this country as the most important talks between South Africa and the U.S. in several decades.

Some diplomats regard the Mulder visit, which took place at a time when South Africa was already concerned about black guerrilla activities from Mozambique, as a preparation for Admiral Biermann's present calls here.

The South African Embassy said Thursday that Admiral Biermann was invited to Washington privately by the United States Strategic Institute, but the institute said that all arrangements for the admiral's trip had been taken over by the Embassy.

A spokesman for the Institute said Adm. John S. McCain Jr., former U.S. Commander in Chief in the Pacific, had brought Admiral Biermann in informally for a visit with the institute's board of directors, but that the institute had canceled plans for a dinner for the admiral.

Mr. Middendorf's press spokesman said that Admiral Biermann's visit had been arranged by a mutual friend whom they knew in the Netherlands at the time Mr. Middendorf was U.S. Ambassador to the Netherlands. The spokesman said the admiral's visit lasted only a few minutes.

[Dana Adams Schmidt, *Christian Science Monitor*, 5/10/74]

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Still another oil state is moving to acquire majority control of petroleum companies operating on its soil.

Nigeria, according to an Associated Press dispatch from Lagos, announced it has agreed in principle to take a 55% stake in the Nigerian operations of Gulf Oil Corp., Mobil Oil Corp., Agip S.p.A. of Italy, the Elf Group of France and a joint venture of the Royal Dutch-Shell Group and British Petroleum Co.

A Mobil Spokesman in New York said, though, that the 55% figure would be accepted by the company only if an entire participation package could be negotiated. This participation package, among other points, would have to set compensation terms, and detail how much of the oil accruing to the central African nation could be purchased back by the companies and for how much. Mobil, of late, has been producing about 245,000 barrels of crude a day in Nigeria.

In Pittsburgh, a Gulf spokesman confirmed the Mobil understanding. Gulf has been producing under 400,000 barrels a day.

Nigeria's announcement seemed to indicate that the government was scrapping an earlier participation agreement with Shell-BP, which produces the biggest share of Nigeria's 2.3 million barrels of crude oil a day. Under that plan, Nigeria was to get an immediate 35% of the Shell-BP interest and the stake was to move to 51% by 1982.

Nigeria already holds a 33½% participation in Agip's operations in the country and it has a 35% interest in Elf's business.

The country previously didn't hold any share in the operations of either Gulf or Mobil.

Nigeria said its participation in the companies will be retroactive to April 1. It wasn't immediately clear how the accord would affect operations of other oil companies operating in Nigeria.

Phillips Petroleum Co., for one, said in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, that it holds a one-third interest in the Agip properties in which Nigeria already owns a one-third share. "We have held discussions concerning the Nigerian government's interest in increasing its ownership," a Phillips spokesman said.

In taking 55%, Nigeria seemed to be settling for somewhat less than some other oil-producing countries. Last week, Kuwait's parliament endorsed a participation accord that gave the Persian Gulf state a 60% interest in a joint venture of Gulf and British Petroleum for \$112 million. Qatar also has taken a 60% share of oil companies operating there.

[*Wall Street Journal*, 5/20/74]

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RHODESIA

Big cash rewards will be offered by the Government from today for information leading to the death or capture of terrorists and for the handing over of weapons and explosives.

Nearly 900,000 leaflets are being distributed throughout Rhodesia, with the heaviest concentrations in the north-east border areas.

Ten thousand posters have also been printed, offering the same rewards. They guarantee that information will be kept secret.

Anybody who is not a civil servant or a member of security forces on duty can qualify for the payments. And so can terrorists themselves.

The money will be paid in cash, post office account, bank savings account or building society and its source will remain confidential.

A significant aspect is that the rewards are guaranteed minimums. Previous rewards were "up to" certain amounts.

On offer are:

- Not less than \$5,000 for information leading to the death or capture of a senior terrorist leader;
- Not less than \$2,500 for a terrorist group leader;
- Not less than \$1,000 for any trained terrorist;
- Not less than \$500 for each anti-vehicle mine or heavy weapon of war;
- Not less than \$300 for each full box of small arms ammunition, grenades, anti-personnel mines, or for each light personnel weapon.

Other substantial rewards are to be paid for information leading to the arrest of anybody voluntarily housing, feeding or associating with or helping terrorists

Mr. De Kock added during an interview that the

distribution of the leaflets and posters would be nation-wide.

The leaflets and posters are printed in English, Shona, and Ndebele

[*Rhodesia Herald*, 4/17/74]

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UNITED NATIONS—China and Tanzania have complained about a United Nations report that indicated that Peking has a military base on Tanzanian territory.

In response, Secretary General Waldheim has ordered three independent experts who drafted the study to review it and make the "necessary corrections."

The report at issue is a study on the great powers' military presence in the Indian Ocean made by Dr. Frank Barnby, director of the International Peace Research Institute in Stockholm; a retired Iranian admiral, Shams Safavi; and K. Subrahmanyam, Director of the Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses in New Delhi.

United States officials were reportedly chagrined by the study's emphasis on American installations and the relatively lighter treatment of the Soviet Union's involvement, but no United States objections have been made officially.

The report concluded that plans to build up United States military facilities on Britain's Indian Ocean Island of Diego Garcia would trigger a Soviet effort to obtain a similar facility and spur a big-power military rivalry in the area.

Tanzania's formal protest to Mr. Waldheim objected that the map showing a Chinese base in Tanzanian territory on the island of Zanzibar was "totally false and without foundation."

Tanzania and China both directed their protests also against sections in the report that mentioned Peking's alleged supply of arms and military equipment in the area and facilities said to have been constructed there.

"China has no bases in the Indian Ocean nor does it deploy any of its naval units there," the report said, but added: "China has transferred naval equipment to Tanzania, Pakistan and Sri Lanka"—formerly Cylon—and also said:

"There have been speculative reports about Chinese satellite-tracking facilities in Tanzania and about a Chinese missile-tracking ship and a missile-recovery ship in the Indian Ocean."

In complaining about the study, Salim Ahmed Salim, Tanzania's chief delegate, pointedly noted that it was his government together with Sri Lanka that pressed for a General Assembly inquiry into big-power rivalries in the Indian Ocean.

Tanzania has made it clear that she is totally opposed to foreign military bases and will never permit any part of her territory to be used for such purposes, Mr. Salim wrote to the Secretary General. He said also that the three authors of the report had based their study on "malicious conjectures and false assumptions" without checking with the member governments concerned.

China's complaint was made verbally during a meeting yesterday with Mr. Waldheim.

[*New York Times*, 5/19/74]

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The expulsion from Mozambique of the Bishop of Nampula and 11 missionary priests is unlikely to silence the dissent of the clergy of that diocese, many of whom have already pledged themselves to continue their criticism of Portuguese policies.

The full text of the statement presented by the bishop, Mgr. Manuel Vieira Pinto, to the Mozambique Bishops' Conference, has now become available.

In it the entire body of Verona Fathers of the diocese, speaking "with their bishop," announce certain changes of missionary policy. A preamble to the document from the secretariat of the diocese associates "a large number" of non-Verona missionaries with it.

The document's outspoken denunciation of Portuguese policy, and of the alleged collusion in this policy of the remainder of the Mozambique hierarchy, may in fact have less long-term effect than the "new orientations" that have been decided upon in the Nampula diocese.

In essence, the diocese appears to have chosen to opt out of the missionary statute which controls missionary work in Mozambique, and which has often been attacked for sacrificing the church's independence in return for financial and political privileges.

In future, the diocese will refuse to accept the financial subsidies which are due under the statute. It will hand over to the state the Church's primary schools, on the ground that the required programs of education "alienate the people from their true and authentic values." In its "evangelization and catechesis (teaching)" the diocese will "attempt to discern the signs of the times."

The document quotes at length various official statements of Roman Catholic teaching on social justice, and contrasts them, point by point, with the situation in Mozambique and the attitude of the Mozambique bishops.

The signatories—34 Verona priests, and 19 brothers and 41 sisters of the same religious order—state that they are not prepared to take part "in the complicity of this Church" which collaborates in maintaining a situation "contrary to the Gospel of Christ."

[Clifford Longley, *Times* (U.K.), 4/17/74]

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SALISBURY—Military call-ups for men between the ages of 25 and 35 have begun, the Rhodesian Defense Ministry announced today, as part of plans to increase the size of the armed forces.

[*Washington Post*, 4/4/74]

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One of the three wives Ugandan President Idi Amin divorced last month has been arrested for being found in possession of 15 rounds of submachine gun ammunition of the type used in highway robberies, according to a Ugandan police statement. The statement said that Kay Adroa was undergoing interrogation. Another of his former wives was arrested and fined recently for hawking without a license.

[*Boston Globe*, 5/22/74]

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WHOM TO CONTACT ABOUT DROUGHT RELIEF

Agency for International Development. Office of Public Information. Department of State. Washington, D.C. 20523. Telephone: 202-632-8332.

American National Red Cross. 17th and D Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Telephone: 202-737-8300.

CARE. 660 First Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Catholic Relief Services. 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001. Telephone: 212-594-9300.

Church World Services. 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations. Sahelian Zone Trust Funds. 1325 C Street Southwest, Washington, D.C. 20437. Telephone (New York): 212-754-1234, ext. 3474.

General Conference Seventh Day Adventists. (Attn.: R. M. Reinhard). 6840 Eastern Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20012. Telephone: 202-723-0800, ext. 205.

Lutheran World Federation. 315 Park Avenue South, Suite 1910, New York, N.Y. 10010. Telephone: 212-677-3950.

Mennonite Central Committee. 21 South Twelfth Street, Akron, Pa. 17501. Telephone: 717-859-1151.

Project Relief, Inc. P.O. Box 01455. 355 Westminster Street, Providence, R.I. 02901. Telephone: 404-751-9300.

Oxfam America. 474 Centre St., Newton, Mass. 02158.

Save the Children Federation. 49 Boston Post Road, Norwalk, CT 06852. Telephone: 203-847-4524.

The Research Liaison Committee has begun the preparation of a directory of collections of African art and artifacts in the United States. We welcome the addresses of individuals, museums, and universities who possess such collections so that we may ask them to fill out our questionnaire.

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