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## 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.*

**NAIROBI:** Black African students are stepping up their activity considerably these days.

In West Africa in recent weeks, restive university pupils have been making the headlines with varying degrees of what their governments regard as disorderly demonstrations, marches, or strikes. Nigeria, Dahomey, and Niger each have encountered serious trouble of this type.

In East Africa, meanwhile, Kenyan and Tanzanian students demonstrated against the recent visit of British Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home, but the pattern was different. No direct confrontation with the respective governments was involved.

Farther north, the Sudan closed down Khartoum University until further notice, because of continuing disorders. Efforts to restore peace on the Khartoum campus were described as having failed.

Thus six widely separated African nations have found students in the limelight, for a variety of reasons.

Perhaps the most serious manifestation was in Nigeria, where five of that nation's six universities were shut down by police after disorders commenced early in February. Trouble started when authorities banned a student march in Ibadan in memory of a student shot by police three years ago during a demonstration against catering facilities.

Disaffection quickly spread to Lagos University as well. Then students at Ife and Ahmadu Bello Universities boycotted their classes and joined the movement. So did Benin University soon afterward.

Over 90 Ibadan students were arrested, and Lagos students responded by holding five policemen hostage for the release of their scholastic colleagues.

Considerable damage to property was reported, but the police denied using anything more persuasive than batons and tear gas to disperse the crowds.

A threatening deadlock between students and authorities was broken when vice-chancellors of the affected universities sent an appeal for mercy for the arrested students to Nigeria's head of state, Gen. Yakubu Gowon.

Police then were ordered to release 99 students in custody to the vice-chancellors, who assumed responsibility for their good conduct. But the government warned this was the last time such outbreaks of lawlessness would go unpunished.

In nearby Dahomey, students first went on strike at Poro-Novo, demanding payment of increased grants and protesting against the shortage of teachers and equipment. Then a technical school in the capital city, Cotonou, was closed down for two weeks following

reports of violence, indiscipline, and vandalism.

The Niger student crisis was solved when a compromise was worked out between government officials and student representatives, and students returned to their classes.

Students in Niamey had demanded three meals a day, transport to and from school, and in increased allowance. The government conceded on all three points.

But President Hamani Diori warned that although the authorities would listen to genuine student grievances, imported ideologies were not adaptable to Niger's circumstances.

In Kenya, demonstrating Nairobi University students said the money used to entertain the British Foreign Minister should have been donated instead to freedom fighters against white regimes in southern Africa. Education Minister Taita Towett condemned the students for demonstrating against Sir Alec. Later, the students protested against Mr. Towett's criticism.

The demonstration against Sir Alec by Tanzanian students at Dar es Salaam was similar to the critical receptions they have accorded to other visitors. The students have been verbally hostile to anyone whose views on Rhodesia, South Africa, and the Portuguese colonies were not so strong as their own.

[Henry S. Hayward, *Christian Science Monitor*, 3/7/74]

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The U.S. government has taken action against a Swiss company involved in the sanctions-breaking sale of three American Boeing jets to Rhodesia last year, according to State Department sources.

The company has lost one license, making it extremely difficult to buy planes or spare parts from U.S. companies in the future, and may be barred altogether from American markets.

The sale of the three used Boeing 720 airliners and of spare parts for the aircraft, amounts to about \$3 million. That makes it one of the largest violations involving an American concern of the economic sanctions the United Nations imposed against the breakaway British colony. The deal has served to fuel criticism here and abroad of the U.S. government's ambiguous attitude toward Rhodesia.

The purchase of the Boeings was heralded as a great coup in Rhodesia, which has been slowly but steadily widening the holes in the sanctions system established a few years after the country unilaterally declared its

independence from Britain in 1965.

The United States has generally enforced the sanctions, the first mandatory ones ever decreed by the UN Security Council against a nation. But Congress passed an amendment in 1972 specifically allowing American companies to import a number of strategic minerals, most notably chrome, from Rhodesia.

A move is now underway in Congress to get the amendment reversed. The Senate in December voted to repeal the measure, which carries the name of its original sponsor, Sen. Harry Byrd (Ind.-Va.), but the House has yet to act on the controversial measure.

A State Department official explained that the Swiss company, Jet Aviation, had been deprived of its "station license," a kind of certificate of legitimacy and good standing, and linked the decision to the Boeing affair.

[David Ottaway, *Washington Post*, 1/25/74]

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The President has sent to the Senate for confirmation the nomination of Donald Easum to be Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. The present incumbent, David D. Newsom, has been confirmed as the new U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia. He leaves for the Far East in mid-January, after spending more than four years heading the Africa Bureau.

Easum is presently the Ambassador to Upper Volta, where he has been a strong advocate of U.S. assistance to the drought-stricken nations of that region. He served as political officer in Dakar in 1962-65 and as Deputy Chief of Mission in Niger before his present assignment. Journalist Bruce Oudes, who served with Easum in Dakar, calls him a "superb choice." Oudes predicts that Easum will want to avoid, if possible, a veto on the Guinea-Bissau question in the United Nations. He will be interested in the "realities of Africa," i.e., the oil interests, the longer-term prospects for trade and investment and the relationship of southern African issues to the questions of the Middle East. Easum holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of Wisconsin.

[*Southern Africa*, 2/74]

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WASHINGTON: Mr. David Newsom has departed for the American Embassy in Indonesia and his successor as head of the Africa Bureau of the State Department, Mr. Donald Easum, is quietly briefing himself for the job while he awaits Senate confirmation.

And all of a sudden a brand new phrase is floating along the corridors of the State Department. South Africa, it is whispered, is in the grip of a new "wave of repression."

This phrase, it may safely be assumed, will be one of the first to hit the eye of Mr. Easum when he settles down to read the briefing papers put before him by his lesser officials.

The timing is perfect. Mr. Newsom was saying only six weeks ago that Black Africa really cares less about apartheid than about its own economic troubles and that, in any event, South Africa seems to have within itself the "dynamics" for peaceful resolution of its racial problems.

But Mr. Newsom is now safely out of the way. His deputy, Mr. Robert Smith—a sane and intelligent voice of moderation these past years—is also off to a foreign embassy. Their team of officials must scramble for new positions—and new attitudes—if they are to survive the departure of their patrons.

This, then, is the time to shape Mr. Easum's prejudices, to lock him into positions from which it will later prove awkward to extricate himself. It is the moment the anti-South African "hawks" have been waiting for.

The "wave of repression" may have escaped the attention of many South Africans. With multiracial sport taking hold and Bantustan leaders publicly challenging the ruling orthodoxies, and Chief Buthelezi going off to Addis Ababa to address the Organization of American States, it might well be easy to come to the opposite conclusion.

But the proponents of the "wave of repression" theory do have their evidence. The South African Government last year banned some 70 people, as against only 14 in 1972. This proves that there has been a wave of repression—doesn't it?

Of course the number of hangings last year declined, but this may have been an aberration. The number of pass law arrests?—officials here do not know whether they increased or declined. The number of visas refused to American visitors?—there seems to be no firm figure but the number was low, perhaps exceptionally low.

One can have fun with this game by suggesting that, since bannings are a result of a perceived need by the South African Government to suppress activities which it finds objectionable, an increase in bannings betokens a "wave of resistance." But American officials are awfully impatient of such flippancy in serious matters.

[*Cape Argus (S.A.)*, 2/14/74]

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Harlem Congressman, Charles Rangel, Democrat from the 19th C.D., has been elected the new Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus. He succeeds Congressman Louis Stokes and will hold the position for the next two years. Other officers elected to the non-partisan coalition of Black Representatives in Congress are Mrs. Yvonne Burke (D-Calif.) Vice Chairperson; Walter Fauntroy (D-D.C.) Secretary; and Andrew Young (D-Ga.) Treasurer.

[*N.Y. Amsterdam News*, 1/26/74]

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NEW YORK: What is the Sixth Pan-African Congress?

- A conference?
- An organization?
- A movement?

Pick any of the three and you'd be right. The Sixth Pan-African Congress is all three—and more. In fact, the conference, still some four months off (June 3-13) has already been tabbed by some as the most significant gathering in modern African history, and there is much to support this claim.

Some 800 delegates from more than 37 African, Latin-American and Caribbean states are expected to attend the meeting in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, including as many as 80 delegates from black communities in North America.

This makes the Sixth Pan-African Congress, if only by sheer numbers, the most inclusive and wide-reaching movement of its kind.

Anti-imperialism was the focal point of each previous congress. It is still a fiery issue, but a less direct one now for most Africans than during the long night of European colonialism.

Gone are many of the old guard: Padmore, Nkrumah, DuBois. But, new times bring new issues, new ideas, and new voices to raise and debate them.

One such new voice belongs to Courtland Cox, an American who serves as the international secretary-general of the congress.

According to Cox, who earned his political spurs with SNCC on the dusty violent roads of Lowndes County, Alabama, in the 1960s, the theme of the current Congress is: "Where do we go from here?"

Strong emphasis, he added, would be placed on self-help. "The congress will affirm to all who struggle that the only principle upon which Africa and African peoples can base their future is the concept of self-reliance," he states.

What will be the major criteria for selecting American delegates?

According to Dr. James Turner, chairman of the North American region, a potential delegate must be able to prove "long term" commitment to the struggle.

Among the already firm goals of the congress are:

An African science and technology center, based at an African university; a black skills bank which would coordinate and mobilize manpower in science and technology.

An African Information Center, based on the continent of Africa, with branches throughout the world.

[*Washington Afro*, 2/26/74]

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**KAMPALA:** Presidents Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, and Idi Amin of Uganda are expected to meet soon for the first time in three years, to review problems facing the three-state East African Community.

The authority has not met since Amin took power in Uganda in a coup that toppled former President Milton Obote.

[*Washington Post*, 3/2/74]

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**NAIROBI, KENYA**—Gen. Sangoule Lamizana, president of the landlocked West African nation of Upper Volta, said Saturday that the army takeover there was aimed at saving the country from a catastrophe threatened by contending politicians.

Lamizana announced Friday that the small, 1,750-man army had ordered suspension of the constitution, dissolution of parliament and an 8 p.m.-to-6:30 a.m. curfew. He also promised to form a "government of national renewal" to include civilians and military men.

The curfew remained in force Saturday, army units patrolled the capital of Ouagadougou, there were no reported incidents and everyone seemed to be taking the coup in stride.

Pierce Bullen, deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Ouagadougou, said by phone:

"As far as I can tell there has been no violence. Everything is very quiet."

The 58-year-old Lamizana, an army major general, has headed a constitutional civilian government since 1970. He remains in power under military rule and called in foreign ambassadors Saturday to explain the reasons for the army takeover.

"Refusing to follow in the path of one or another of the rival political factions and seeing national unity gravely threatened, the armed forces decided not to wait for an impossible situation to arise which would prove insoluble," Lamizana told the ambassadors.

"The essential object of the army action is to secure the greatest good for the greatest number and protection of the national interest in all fields."

He assured the ambassadors that Upper Volta will honor its standing international commitments.

Reports indicated that the crisis was triggered by a conflict between Prime Minister Gerard Kango Ouedraogo and the president of the National Assembly, which already had led to the resignations of Foreign Minister Joseph Konambo and Health Minister Ali Barrau and growing pressure on Lamizana himself.

The coup made Upper Volta the 16th nation in independent black Africa to come under military control.

Under the 1970 constitution, Lamizana had been gradually phasing out the military role in the nation's government. He had promised that the government would be all civilian by the end of his term of office in 1975.

There were reports earlier that some of his junior officers didn't like the trend, and recently that Lamizana himself may have had second thoughts about it.

Friday's was the first military coup in independent black Africa since Rwanda's last July. Upper Volta, with 5 million people, is one of the most populous of French-speaking African nations. The coup brought to 140 million the number of black Africa's 230 million people to be ruled by the military.

[*Dial Torgerson, Los Angeles Times*, 2/10/74]

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Despite the deliberate slaughter of thousands of tribal rivals by the Burundi government, the Nixon Administration has quietly started normalizing relations with the central African state.

The thaw coincides with the discovery of vast nickel deposits in Burundi, worth an estimated \$14 billion.

Until this past January, the U.S. pursued a policy of "minimal relations" with Burundi. But since the nickel strike, agents representing U.S. corporations have swarmed into the tiny nation, and overnight the repressive Burundi government has become a courted friend.

The administration's sudden change of attitude toward Burundi is spelled out in classified State Department documents, which we have seen.

A recent State Department memorandum to the White House, written by top official Thomas Pickering,

now ambassador to Jordan, argued that "normalization" of official relations would provide "opportunities for American corporations that are interested in exploiting the major new mineral discovery."

American businessmen also smell oil in Burundi. As Pickering put it, the resumption of U.S. aid and cultural programs might also earn "concessions for American companies who believe there may be hydrocarbon deposits (oil) on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika."

"In view of the foregoing," concluded Pickering, "the Department requests NSC (National Security Council) concurrence in the normalization of relations with Burundi."

The White House responded in a secret memo, dated January 29, 1974, from Maj. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, who is Henry Kissinger's chief deputy in the White House: "President Nixon has authorized Department of State to begin the normalization of relations . . ."

The new Burundi policy, which some State Department insiders irreverently refer to as "nickel politics," restores official U.S. blessings to a government which, over the past two years, has engaged in mass genocide on a scale the world has not seen since Adolf Hitler tried to wipe out the Jews during World War II.

Beginning in early May of 1972, the ruling Tutsi tribe undertook the systematic slaughter of their ethnic rivals, the Hutus, who outnumber the tall statuesque Tutsis by more than six to one.

By late 1973, over 200,000 Hutus were dead; another 100,000 had been driven into exile.

Last June, we reported that the State Department had engaged in diplomatic dawdling while the blood flowed. Instead of issuing a public protest, the U.S. chose "quiet diplomatic pressure," which failed utterly to alleviate the carnage.

In an airmail to Washington, dated March 20, 1973, American ambassador to Burundi Robert L. Yost reported that "a very high degree of antagonism and suspicion continues between the Hutu and Tutsi communities."

Yost assured Washington, however, that the Tutsi rulers had decided "not to proceed further with organized killin." This was a change, Yost claimed, which was due in part to "the strong disapproval of the U.S. government of the events of last year." (The "events" is a term which frequently turns up in the Burundi papers and is apparently a diplomatic euphemism for the genocide.)

Yost recommended resuming normal relations. He bolstered his argument in a confidential "action paper" which he filed from Burundi on January 11, 1974. Among the new "U.S. policy objectives" he listed was this one:

"To promote viable U.S. investment. This has assumed particular importance with the appearance of a UN survey report indicating the possible presence in Burundi of one of the world's major nickel deposits."

General Scowcroft cautioned us against publishing excerpts from the incriminating documents. "This is sensitive material," he said, affecting U.S. relations with Burundi. However, we believe the public is entitled to know that the U.S. for the sake of corporate concessions is courting a nation guilty of genocide.

Scowcroft said he saw nothing wrong with promoting U.S. corporate interests. "That is a function of our embassies overseas," he said.

The general also contended: "I think your emphasis

on the nickel is not correct. The thrust of the policy change is that, at the time of the fratricide, we cut back our relations. We continued that for quite some time. Then the embassy reported that Burundi had gotten the message and that our policy had had the appropriate effect."

Footnote: A full report on the effect of "nickel politics" on U.S. policy toward Burundi will be published in the April issue of *Progressive* magazine. The author, Roger Morris, a former Kissinger aide, is rapidly becoming the Ralph Nader of foreign affairs. As a program director for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Morris recently co-authored "Disaster in the Desert," an investigative report which described how the U.S. and UN have bungled food relief to the drought-stricken countries of Western Africa.

[Jack Anderson, *Washington Post*, 3/14/74]

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NEW YORK—A coalition of ten national religious organizations announced today they are filing an unprecedented 22 stockholder resolutions with an equal number of major American corporations investing in white-ruled Africa.

Represented in the Church Project on U.S. Investments in Southern Africa are boards of eight Protestant denominations, a Roman Catholic priests' order, and the National Council of Churches. The denominations include the United Methodist Church, the United Presbyterian Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the American Baptist Churches, the United Church of Christ, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the Reformed Church in America. Also participating are the Unitarian-Universalist Association and the Roman Catholic Atonement Friars. The ten organizations in the project represent stock portfolios valued at approximately \$700 million. The value of the stock held in the 22 companies by the churches which filed these resolutions is over \$17 million.

Speaking for the coalition at a press conference today, Dr. Sterling Cary, the first black president of the National Council of Churches, said that six of the churches, representing approximately \$7.3 million worth of stock in the company, are requesting Exxon to withdraw from exploration activities offshore Guinea-Bissau, on Africa's west coast. Guinea-Bissau is Africa's newest independent state, recognized so far by 71 nations around the world (not including the U.S.). Exxon continues to hold a concession for oil exploration there with Portugal. Dr. Cary likened Guinea-Bissau's declaration of independence to that of the American nation in 1776.

Gulf Oil received a resolution requesting a full disclosure of the facts behinds its "new Kuwait in Angola" reported last month. Gulf has been the target of protest and boycott activities because of its massive tax payments to the Portuguese in Angola totalling \$61 million in 1972.

Three, and possibly four, oil companies involved in exploration offshore Namibia are being asked to cease those operations immediately. Namibia is a colony illegally occupied by South Africa and ruled in accordance with the South Africa racist apartheid system. Dr. Cary stated that Getty, Standard Oil of California, Phillips Petroleum and Continental Oil are all "flouting"

official U.S. policy for Namibia discouraging investment in the disputed territory.

In 1973, participants in the Church Project filed resolutions with 11 companies asking that they issue comprehensive reports to their shareholders on company operations in South Africa. Over half of the companies voluntarily agreed to the request and the resolutions were then withdrawn.

This year, two companies which rejected the church disclosure request last year are receiving new resolutions calling for the establishment of a broad-based committee by the board of directors to study the full implications of their South African investments. The two are IBM and General Electric.

Nine other companies with investments in South Africa will receive a revised South African "disclosure" resolution for the first time. International Harvester has voluntarily agreed to the resolution. Dr. Cary noted the church coalition expects that "others will follow suit."

Father Michael Daniel, Superior General of the Atonement Friars, noted that the participation of his order in the coalition's activities represented but "the tip of the iceberg" for Roman Catholic involvement in the movement by churches for greater corporate social responsibility.

Dr. Cary noted progress in a campaign begun by the National Council and the Church Project to halt a series of loans by American and European banks to the South African government. The loans, totalling \$210 million, were revealed in secret documents obtained by the Corporate Information Center in July. He noted that the City National Bank of Detroit agreed to make no future loans to South Africa while the Merchants National Bank of Indianapolis extricated itself from its loan and pledged not to issue future loans. Central National Bank in Chicago has reported a similar policy. An ecumenical group organized by the Presbyterian Church in Detroit met with the Chairman of City National Bank to halt its South Africa loans while the Indianapolis bank was approached by the president of the Christian Church (Disciples), a major depositor in the bank.

[Bruno Kroker, Press release, Church Project on United States Investments in Southern Africa, N.Y., N.Y.]

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There could hardly be a greater instance of Nationalist crassness than the refusal of visas to two eminent American scholars, Professor Gwendolen Carter and Professor Thomas Karis. Both have written extensively on South Africa and other areas of the continent, and Dr. Carter in particular rightly enjoys a worldwide reputation for her expertise. In their writings they may well have commented critically on apartheid—but so what? That is their function as objective academics. Is the Government so afraid of what honest eyes might see that it dare not allow any but the most acquiescent to enter the country for study purposes?

There is another aspect: Professors Carter and Karis have for many years played key roles in helping to ensure the preservation of South African historical documentation—a vital job in which most local scholars have only recently begun to show an interest. For their efforts the two Americans deserve honour and thanks—not the miserable shutting out inflicted on them.

[*Rand Daily Mail (S.A.)*, 1/14/74]

The successful venture by Dr. Connie Mulder, Minister of Information and of the Interior, into the delicate field of international diplomacy may be the forerunner of important changes in the Departments of Foreign Affairs and Information.

Circles close to the Department of Information confidently predict that Dr. Eschel Rhoodie, the present Secretary for Information, will soon become the new Secretary for Foreign Affairs, succeeding Mr. Brand Fourie, who will be given another important job.

Mr. Les de Villiers, the present No. 3 in Information, who master-minded Dr. Mulder's successful American trip, is tipped to succeed Dr. Rhoodie.

Otherwise, the job could go to Dr. Rhoodie's brother and deputy, Mr. Denys Rhoodie.

There has been growing feeling in Information as well as certain political circles that South Africa's diplomatic offensive abroad was not ineffective.

Moreover, there is also considerable dissatisfaction in the Department of Information because of the "secondary" status of officials when representing South Africa overseas.

They have few of the diplomatic privileges accorded to Foreign Affairs officials when on overseas duty.

This leads to friction and inter-departmental rivalry.

Also, it is thought, much more can be done with a direct and unorthodox approach, as was proved by Dr. Mulder's visit.

In the past year, the possibility of strengthening South Africa's diplomatic efforts by the greater use of the Department of Information and its officials has been discussed at top level.

Dr. Mulder's visit might hasten certain changes in the set-up between Foreign Affairs and Information. In most countries the two departments fall under the same ministry. Dr. Mulder might take over the responsibilities of Foreign Affairs as well in a Cabinet reshuffle after the election.

This would make it easier to appoint Dr. Rhoodie as Secretary for Foreign Affairs. It is known that Dr. Rhoodie enjoys the confidence of the Prime Minister, who values his opinions and advice.

In his talks dealing with the United States-South African relationship, Dr. Mulder stressed the following points:

- The rapid changes in South Africa in recent years, the liberalisation of racial policies as a result of separate development and further changes in the near future.
- The strategic importance of the Cape sea route to the West now that the Suez Canal is to be re-opened.
- The dangerous position arising from Russian penetration into the Indian Ocean and the Chinese presence in East Africa.

No other South African political leader has had such a wide range of discussions with so many people of influence and position in America. They included:

Mr. Gerald Ford, the Vice-President; Mr. Hugh Scott, leader of the Republican Party in the Senate; Mr. Bob Griffin, his deputy; Republican Senator John Towers; Democratic Senator Mike Gravel; Mr. Tim O'Neill, leader of the Democratic Party in the House of Representatives; Mr. Thomas Morgan, chairman of the influential Foreign Affairs Committee in the House of Representatives; Mr. Ronald Reagan, Governor of California and a possible Republican presidential candidate in 1976; Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, of the *New York Times*;

and Mr. Tom Bradley, the Black Mayor of Los Angeles.

Dr. Mulder's four-day stay in Washington was packed with five substantial interviews each day, apart from meetings at social gatherings and informal occasions.

In Pasadena, California, he addressed a private meeting of 80 selected people of all shades of political opinion, and including Blacks.

The meeting was arranged by Professor Ed Munger, of the American Council for Foreign Affairs.

Dr. Mulder made a great impact on a highly critical audience, which was impressed by his frankness.

In Miami, Dr. Mulder also had informal discussions with politicians of both parties.

A feature of all these discussions was that they were frank, to the point and with no holds barred.

Praise for the Mulder triumph is due to senior information officials in Pretoria and America. The trip was the brainchild of Dr. Eschel Rhoodie and Mr. Les de Villiers, Secretary and Deputy Secretary for Information.

Mr. De Villiers, who was head of the Information office in New York, planned the tour.

All the arrangements were made in six weeks before Dr. Mulder was scheduled to attend a conference of South African information officers in America.

Due to personal contacts built up painstakingly over the year, all these top-level appointments could be arranged outside the normal diplomatic official channels.

That is how the Ford meeting was laid on. It was the second time that Dr. Mulder had met an American Vice-President in two years.

However, this meeting was much more successful than the earlier talks with former Vice-President Spiro Agnew, whose knowledge and understanding of South African affairs were minimal.

This time the meeting was arranged before Dr. Mulder left Pretoria. Mr. Ford was sent in advance an agenda of topics to be discussed.

This meant that he could be fully briefed. As a result the talks were meaningful and of great value to both sides.

Dr. Mulder reported back this week to the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, and Dr. Hilgard Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

It is certain that South Africa's information activities will be intensified due to the success of these meetings with leaders of American opinion and policies.

[J. H. P. Serfontein, *Sunday Times (S.A.)*, 2/3/74]

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At least one aspect of the recent visit to the United States of South African Information Minister Cornelius Mulder has serious implications for world peace.

Dr. Mulder's two week visit appeared innocent enough on the surface, but his January 24th meeting at the Pentagon with Vice Admiral Ray Peet, a senior official of the Defense Department, could be far from innocent in light of future United States adherence to the United Nations embargo on armaments for South Africa.

Admiral Peet's responsibilities include serving as liaison between foreign buyers and United States producers and exporters of military hardware. He arranges and assists in the sales of military equipment and arranges financing and credit for such transactions.

Dr. Mulder is a member of the South African State Security Council which corresponds to the National Security Council in this country. He has been mentioned as the next prime minister of South Africa. While in this country he met with Vice President Ford and with Members of Congress of both parties.

It is important to note that the long and bitter involvement of the United States in Vietnam began "innocently" with the Departments to representatives of the South Vietnamese government. The internal situation in South Africa today is certainly as volatile and potentially explosive as was Vietnam in the 1950s.

If any commitments or arrangements are being made for the United States to support the white minority government and system of apartheid in South Africa, the people of this country have a right to know about it immediately.

[Larold K. Schulz, *Washington Post*, 3/10/74]

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The most damning indictment of the Riotous Assemblies Bill came this week from a defender of it.

The Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr. Kruger, introducing the measure in Parliament, left no doubt whatsoever that this arrogant, meddlesome, autocratic, and jittery Government is against protest, period.

The Bill has very little to do with curbing riots, and avoiding mayhem, and a great deal to do with shutting people up. Mr. Kruger gave the game away in his speech.

He complained that people often attended a gathering just because it was not illegal, which makes it clear that the Government is not going to put up with even such a basic democratic right as listening to dissident views.

And he justified the need for more sweeping powers by explaining that a remembrance service at 4 p.m. could become a silent protest at 4:30 p.m. So even *silent* protest is more than this Government can tolerate now?

Perhaps the most chilling thing of all, though, is to discover that the Government has come so far along the road to totalitarianism, so close to being a police state, that Mr. Kruger obviously cannot see anything wrong with the "reasons" he vouchsafes for the new legislation.

There is no sign of any awareness whatsoever that he is trampling upon a basic right.

We are left with the alarming thought that his Government—neurotically possessed by power-lust and self-induced fear—no longer knows nor cares what democracy is.

No one should be surprised at that.

It has been practising for totalitarianism for a quarter of a century. Steady and continuous erosion of the Rule of Law has brought us to the donga of dead freedoms that we see now.

An article on Page Nine today reveals exactly how great has been Nationalist deprivations into individual liberty.

The Government has restricted our right to speak, to meet, to hear all views. Through censorship it has barred us from the world of new ideas. It has introduced detention, house arrest, banishment, all without trial. It has extended hugely the number of forbidden topics. It has substituted Ministerial decree for judicial judgement.

It hires informers to spy on its citizens. It punishes without giving reasons. It uses commissions to conduct secret investigations into its people. It has given to its

policemen and its faceless official authority that once belonged to the courts.

And its naked lust for still more power will not be satiated until it can order and control the movement—and the minds—of every last one of us. Be warned.

[*Rand Daily Mail (S.A.)*, 2/23/74]

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CAPETOWN—Legislation that appears intended to suppress all opposition was laid before the South African Parliament today by Prime Minister John Vorster's Government. The government has a firm majority in parliament. Part of the legislation is in the form of a new bill, under which any organization considered by the national president to be engaged in politics with aid from abroad can be declared an "affected organization." It could then be forbidden to bring in or receive funds from abroad under pain of harsh penalties—a fine as large as 20,000 rand (\$30,000) or 10 years imprisonment or both.

In addition, the government proposed changes in the riotous assemblies act that would give blanket authority to magistrates to ban even lawful meetings.

The proposed amendments would also give any policeman above the rank of warrant officer the power to bar the public from any place where he believed a prohibited gathering might occur and the power to use force, including firearms, to break up such a gathering.

The "affected organizations bill" appears to be aimed at various anti-apartheid organizations not primarily involved in politics, such as the Christian Institute, the National Union of South African Students, and several black social organizations that rely on funds from abroad and have irritated the Government.

Although the central issue is whether the president considers that "politics is being engaged in," the bill does not define the term "politics."

The bill says that if the president is satisfied that "politics is being engaged in by and through an organization with the aid of, or in cooperation with, or under the influence of an organization or a person abroad," he will have the power to declare the organization involved an "affected organization."

This can be done without notice to the organization by proclamation in the Government paper. The president can take this action after the Minister of Justice has considered a "factual report" on the organization concerned by a committee of three magistrates appointed by the Minister, one of whom must be a chief magistrate.

Before this, however, the Minister would be given blanket powers by the new bill to investigate a suspect organization.

The bill provides that any person who hinders, resists or obstructs the investigation of a suspect organization would be subject to a maximum penalty of a 600 rand fine and a year's imprisonment.

An officer appointed to investigate a suspect organization would have the power to enter premises at will, demand and seize any documents or question any person.

The legislation to revise the Riotous Assemblies Act would remove the term "public gathering" from the act, which restricts gatherings of 12 or more people, and supply the term "any gathering."

The new measures also contain a sharp curtailment of press freedom. Any person who without the consent of the Minister of Justice disseminates the speech of any person banned from attending a gathering would be liable to a year's imprisonment without the option of a fine. Dissemination for purposes of court procedure are exempt from this provision.

[*New York Times*, 2/20/74]

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PRETORIA—Prime Minister John Vorster had discussions today with the black leaders of South Africa's eight tribal "homelands"—the first time that such an official meeting had taken place between blacks and whites in this country.

The meeting, held behind closed doors, was the most advanced form of official dialogue ever in South Africa, where apartheid—official separation of the races—is law.

The discussions were on the Government's plan for separate development of the black homelands, leading eventually to independence from white South Africa.

After the all-day meeting, the black leaders and Mr. Vorster issued a statement saying that no leader of a homeland had demanded independence from South Africa at this time. It added that the discussions had been about land, the pay differences between blacks and whites and other matters.

Mr. Vorster promised to look into the question of pay, the statement said, and he told the African delegates that he thought it necessary to narrow the pay gap.

He also told the meeting, the statement continued, that he would help the leaders of the homelands investigate the amount of income tax going toward development in their areas.

Leading the black delegation today was Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei, homeland of the four million member Xhosa tribe, which has the most constitutionally developed of the eight Bantustans.

The Transkei had its own Legislative Assembly in 1963 and now has its own elected Parliament. It is thought here highly unlikely that within the next five years the Transkei will ask for, and be granted, independence from South Africa.

But all the Bantustans are demanding more land as a prerequisite to independence. All but one—the smallest, a territory of 177 square miles for the South Sotho tribe—are fragmented black territories among larger white areas. They require more land—from white South Africa—to consolidate into single units.

They are also asking for more aid to develop their lands and a speedier program of economic assistance to be able to support their people. At present most of South Africa's 16 million blacks work outside their tribal homes in white industrial cities, the only places where employment is available to them.

The Government's homelands policy is to create job opportunities in the Bantustans, but it is a slow business and is not yet extensive.

After the meeting, Prof. Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of the Gazankulu homeland of the Shangaan tribe, said the homeland leaders and Mr. Vorster had been "brutally frank with each other." He asserted that the discussions had been dialogue, not monologue on Mr. Vorster's part.

[*New York Times*, 3/7/74]

CAPTOWN—The ruling political party in the all-black enclave of Transkei has voted unanimously to ask for independence from White South Africa within the next five years. The party imposed the condition, however, that Transkei receive all the land promised to it by that time and that its rights to other areas it claims should not be prejudiced.

Speaking at the opening of the party's congress yesterday, Chief Kaizer Matanzima, the leader of the ruling Transkei National Independence party, said that if the congress decided it wanted independence at this stage, a referendum would be held. The Transkei leaders would also consult with the leaders of the neighboring black enclave of Ciskei on whether they would wish to join their Xhosa kinsmen.

Chief Matanzima pointed out that John Vorster, the South African Prime Minister, had said "in no uncertain terms" that he would not increase the amount of land earmarked for the Transkei. In the circumstances, he said, the congress would have to decide whether independence should be requested at this stage. In the past, Chief Matanzima has said independence would not be requested until the territorial demands were settled satisfactorily.

Of the four million Xhosa—who outnumber the entire white population of the republic—just over half actually live in either Transkei or Ciskei. Many have lived all their lives in townships in white areas. However, Mr. Vorster envisages all of them as having constitutional rights in the tribal enclaves rather than in white South Africa.

There is intense controversy in the republic over whether Transkei and the other designated but fragmented black territories could ever be independently viable or how effective such independence could be.

Most South Africans regard the territories set aside for the blacks inextricably tied to the republic economically. Few South Africans, whether they support the Government or oppose it, believe that even an apparently independent tribal enclave would be allowed to pursue any policy that would threaten the security of white South Africans.

One aspect that could cause trouble came up when the white Government's Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, M. C. Botha, warned leaders of black enclaves to treat the prospect of foreign financial aid with circumspection.

He said that some countries had learned the hard way about the dangers of donations that supposedly had no strings attached. There would have to be co-ordination of loans by the South African treasury, he said.

Whatever the complications, however, an officially independent black enclave would be regarded by the Government as a major triumph for its policy of apartheid—separate development of the races.

[*New York Times*, 3/14/74]

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NAIROBI—Among the remote coral islands in the middle of the Indian Ocean the British and Americans are building a communications base.

It is on Diego Garcia, the principal island in a group called the Chagos Archipelago, situated almost on the equator.

Many Britons and Americans believe the base is

necessary to "balance" the strong Russian presence in the Indian Ocean. American opposition has recently developed, however, to the U.S. Defense Department's budgeting of \$29 million for the base.

A member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), said he will introduce an amendment barring spending of the money. He charged that the base would only stimulate a Soviet naval threat in the area.

Also, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) proposed American-Soviet negotiations to prevent a naval arms race in the Indian Ocean.

The British are concerned about the security of their vital communications in the area, particularly the movements of oil tankers which at present sail from the Persian Gulf around South Africa's Cape to Britain. Even though the Suez Canal may be opened, many tankers are so large that they will still have to go round the Cape.

To set up this base, originally intended for the Americans only, Britain actually created a new crown colony in the sea, an ironic footnote to the policy of decolonization.

Since independence came to all the countries on the Indian Ocean littoral, the Royal Navy has been denied proper bases. The United States never had any, and has never before been particularly interested in the area.

Britain has minor forward "eyes" in the Seychelles Islands (where there is an RAF station), in Mauritius, where there is a small Royal Navy station, and far to the south where Britain and South Africa share the old naval base at Simonstown.

Britain and America decided it was vitally necessary to have an island base so small and underpopulated that it was unlikely to become "independent," where they could set up any kind of installations they needed. So far they have ignored protests from India and Ceylon, who are concerned that the Indian Ocean might become an area of East-West rivalry and confrontation.

Toward the end of 1965, Britain discreetly acquired its brand-new colony, named, with the minimum of romance, the British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT).

This colony is a handful of islands with a total population of 1,500 Creoles of Mauritian and Seychelles extraction.

It consists of a coral archipelago, Chagos, and three small coral islands, Alabra, Farquhar, and Desroches.

The Chagos Archipelago was purchased from Mauritius, of which it was a dependency, for about £2.5 million (\$5.5 million). The deal was part of the terms for Mauritius independence. Aldabra, Farquhar, and Desroches were dependencies of the Seychelles, which got about £500,000 for the deal, and a step forward to independence.

The territory is administered from the Seychelles by a British commissioner, who is also Governor of the Seychelles.

Britain created the BIOT for purely military reasons. An agreement was signed with the United States to make the islands available as bases, anchorages, fueling stations, and communications centers in a joint defense arrangement. The U.S. was also interested in having a new space tracking station.

Aldabra was at first found attractive, but the powerful "bird lobby" in Britain opposed its use on the grounds that the unique bird life on the island would be disturbed.



The defense experts, however, had always had their eyes on Diego Garcia, situated precisely in the center of the Indian Ocean, a perfect strategic distance for observing all routes Soviet ships might take into the Indian Ocean from the Far East.

Diego Garcia is named after the Portuguese explorer who discovered the island. It is more than 1,000 miles from anywhere, shaped like a horseshoe round a deep lagoon big enough to take a fleet. With a land area of about 11 square miles, it is protected by a coral reef giving access to the lagoon through two channels.

As might be imagined, Diego Garcia attracts few visitors. A boat occasionally calls from Mauritius with supplies. A weather station sends reports by radio to Port Louis in Mauritius, until recently the islanders' only contact with the wide world.

[*Christian Science Monitor*, 3/12/74]

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MOSCOW—The Soviet press, which has mounted a major campaign against American plans to expand naval facilities on the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, charged today that this step would sharpen “the threat to the independence” of countries in that region.

An authoritative commentary in Pravda—signed “observer” and thus signaling high-level authorship and approval—accused Washington of ignoring the desires of India and other nations to make the Indian Ocean a “zone of peace” without foreign bases.

The Pravda commentary, following articles in the military newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* and other newspapers, scoffed at Pentagon arguments that the base was needed to counteract a Soviet threat.

It also criticized Peking for “repeating imperialist concoctions about the Soviet Navy in the Indian Ocean and thereby justifying the creation by the Pentagon of a big military base on Diego Garcia island.”

The intensity of the Soviet articles suggested acute Kremlin sensitivity over American plans to spend \$29-million to improve the harbor, extend the airstrip, and develop fuel storage facilities on the British-ruled island 1,000 miles south of India.

In its commentary today, Pravda sharply attacked Washington for having sent the carrier *Enterprise* to a station about 500 miles off the coast of India during the 1971 Indian-Pakistani war, called it an example of gunboat diplomacy and “muscle-flexing.”

“The legitimate question arises,” Pravda said, “Why do Washington and London disregard the will of peoples and strive to build up their presence in that part of the globe? Nobody, of course, will be deluded by the clumsy arguments about the mythical Soviet threat.”

“It is absolutely clear,” Pravda said, “that the plans to intensify the American military presence in the Indian Ocean are not a response to a Soviet ‘menace’ but are the result of the Pentagon’s intention to create for itself a military stronghold with far-reaching aims in this strategically important part of the globe.”

[*New York Times*, 2/28/74]

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JAKARTA—Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Rush today defended British-American plans for a naval base in the Indian Ocean, declaring the region should not be left for the Soviet navy to monopolize.

“I do not think that the Indian Ocean should be a one-power ocean,” the American diplomat declared. “We do not think the Indian Ocean is where only the Russian presence exists.” The American diplomat spoke to newsmen after meetings with President Suharto and Foreign Minister Adam Malik.

[*Washington Post*, 3/5/74]

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The recent U.S. decision to establish a naval and air base in the Indian Ocean on Diego Garcia island represents an escalation of American military presence in southern Asia at a time when we are committed to a partial withdrawal from that area. The American public and the Congress should insist on a full explanation and justification for this surprising and little publicized turn of events.

Diego Garcia has for several years been an Anglo-American communications base, and even as such aroused the fears of countries in the area—India and Sri Lanka in particular. With the decision to spend nearly thirty million dollars transforming the island into an apparent staging center for American attack forces we have provoked criticisms from Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, as well as Sri Lanka and India.

The Soviet Union has no military installations in the Indian Ocean, although its naval presence there has increased along with its commercial shipping. The Russians will predictably put pressure on India to grant them base rights, however, when the American escalation takes place. Are we not, thus, provoking an arms race in a hitherto non-strategic area, at a time of supposed detente and of arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union?

The U.S. should try to maintain the Indian Ocean as a quasi-power vacuum, until regional states are able to control their own waters and air spaces. Let us accept India’s suggestion to avoid a power build-up and challenge the Soviet Union to agree.

[Charles H. Heimsath, *Washington Post*, 3/9/74]

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Britain has notified the United States that its new government will re-examine plans for expanded American naval and air facilities on the British-owned island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, a State Department spokesman said yesterday.

Both American and British spokesmen disputed a British press report indicating that Prime Minister Harold Wilson’s Labor government is critical of the project. The base project is under criticism in Congress and in the Indian Ocean area.

State Department spokesman George S. Vest said, “At this stage we have not had anything other than a preliminary notification that this matter is being reviewed.” Vest said “it is perfectly natural” for the new British government to “wish to review all foreign policy issues.”

“We would hope,” said Vest, that within the next

several weeks the present British government "will reaffirm the previous understanding" with the Conservative government.

In Canberra, Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam said yesterday that his country will oppose plans to enlarge the American base on Diego Garcia.

"We do not believe it helps the Indian Ocean littoral states for there to be great power rivalry in the Indian Ocean," said Whitlam. "We would hope there would be agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to restrict their buildup."

[Washington Post, 3/20/74]

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LOURENCO MARQUES—Growing official concern at the penetration of Frelimo terrorists into the "White heartland" of Mozambique has been admitted by a top public official in the Beira region.

The admission comes as a public crisis of confidence is developing in the ability of Portugal's 60,000-man Army to counter guerilla infiltration from the north.

Addressing a recent meeting of the Beira District Council, Col. Sousa Teles, district governor, said that Frelimo forces were attacking six or seven *aldeamentos* (resettlement villages) each night.

The attacks, he pointed out, were designed to dissuade tribes people from leaving their bush homes where they could be useful to the insurgents.

In the Beira district, he added, about 146,000 villagers had been moved into *aldeamentos* in the last six months of last year.

Col. Teles claimed that cholera had claimed 1,500 lives in Frelimo-controlled areas in the Beira region during recent months.

It was learned yesterday that since the beginning of this year, Frelimo has made 19 attacks on the railway line from the post of Beira to Malawi. Most of the attacks have been in the area of Inhaminga, a junction town 100 miles north of Beira.

The feeling in Mozambique is that there is a Frelimo "front line" from Beira through the Vila Pery central district to the Rhodesian frontier. The general attitude is: "If we cannot hold them here we cannot hold them anywhere."

[Bruce Loudon, *Daily Telegram* (U.K.), 2/11/74]

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Colonel Sousa Telles, the district governor of Beira, has been posted from Mozambique suddenly, according to reports reaching Salisbury today.

It seems that he has been dismissed for supporting Beira residents who had protested against Portuguese troops living in Beira while Frelimo guerilla activity was continuing in the interior.

[Times, (U.K.), 3/7/74]

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A political and military crisis in Portugal's African territory of Mozambique has prompted the Government in Lisbon to take steps towards an "African solution."

The Prime Minister, Dr. Marcello Caetano, has given

discreet backing to a new grouping of predominantly African Nationalists in Mozambique. This "third force," as it is termed, is a loose association of about 300 people drawn from the professional classes.

They have quietly been given permission by the Portuguese Government to form a pressure group in Mozambique this spring under the name of Grupo Unido De Mocambique (GUM). This will, in effect, be a political party pressing for independence.

Observers in Lisbon also feel it likely that the Portuguese Governor of Mozambique, Pimentel dos Santos, will be replaced by a more imaginative administrator attuned to the need to create a predominantly African Government in the colony.

As part of this program, it is understood that the voters roll, in Mozambique, at present a meagre 150,000 out of 8.2 million people, will be significantly expanded.

The urgency of these measures has been forced upon Dr. Caetano and his new Overseas Minister, Dr. Balthazar Rebello de Souza, by the deteriorating military situation and a violent political backlash that has built up among the 230,000 white Portuguese in Mozambique. At the start of the year, Frelimo, the Nationalist African guerrilla group, launched a new offensive, which has now firmly placed guerrilla units astride the vital road and rail links from the Indian Ocean port of Beira west to Rhodesia and north to Zambia and Malawi.

Frelimo has changed tactics and is now concentrating on attacking white-owned farms around the key towns of Vila Pery and Vila da Manica, close to the Rhodesian border. Three white Portuguese have died, several more have been injured, and a number of farms have been destroyed in what is known as the "white heartland" of Mozambique.

Using Russian-made grenade-launchers and machine guns, Frelimo has also twice attacked a Portuguese military base at Inhaminga, 90 miles north of Beira on the road to Malawi. Road and rail links have been mined and traffic attacked, halting all-night passenger trains north of Beira.

The appearance of Frelimo in considerable strength so far South, and its logistic implications, has meant a dramatic new phase in what until last summer has been a hit-and-run war confined mainly to remote areas in the Tet district and in the North-east. Although the situation has worsened considerably for the 60,000 Portuguese troops in Mozambique, it is by no means untenable. It remains to be seen whether Frelimo can sustain the offensive.

But in political terms, the damage has already been done. The exodus of white settlers has increased, and those who have remained have fortified their farms in remote areas. More significantly, angry mobs of whites demonstrated last month against their army for three days running in Beira. At one stage the crowds were driven back from the homes of army officers only after military police had fired over their heads.

The crowds called for the resignation of the two top men in Portugal's army, General Francisco Costa Gomes and General Antonio de Spínola. Spínola was a particularly ironic target for the crowd's banter, since he returned only last September to a hero's reception in Portugal after five years as Governor of Guinea.

The anxieties of the white minority in Mozambique have been reflected in Lisbon, where the ultra-right wing, including the President, Admiral Tomas, have long been deeply suspicious of Dr. Caetano's policy of greater

autonomy for the African territories. The suspicions of the Right were increased after a press conference given in Lisbon last month by Johanna Simiao, an African teacher who is expected to emerge as a leading member of GUM.

Miss Simiao, a former member of the now defunct African Independent Group in Mozambique, COREMO, bluntly said that Mozambique was for the Mozambiquans. The fact that the Government allowed her to say so openly and publicly in Lisbon brought an unprecedented and thinly-veiled attack on the Prime Minister and his Overseas Minister from a right-wing deputy in the National Assembly.

But Dr. Caetano, who is ever sensitive to pressure from the Right, seems likely to press on, however cautiously, with plans that can only lead to a predominantly African Government in Mozambique. There are two reasons why the Prime Minister now seems to have decided that he can and must take the risk of a rapid political Africanization.

First, while there are senior officers in the army who do not like the way things are going, the bulk of the middle ranks are largely behind Spinoia. Basically, the army would not mind leaving Mozambique provided it did so with honour and was not made out to be the scapegoat for Portugal's disengagement. Secondly, one of the most intelligent and influential Portuguese figures in Mozambique travelled to Lisbon last week specifically to tell Dr. Caetano that the country would disintegrate unless solid African political institutions were created.

It should be said that while there is a majority of coloured deputies in the Mozambique Assembly, power still rests firmly in the hands of the Governor and his staff. The reasons for changing this were put to the Prime Minister by Gorge Jardim, who, apart from being an entrepreneur in Beira, is also celebrated for his close contacts with President Kaunda in Zambia and President Banda in Malawi.

Jardim, who is in his late fifties, is held responsible for Kaunda's startling change of attitude to the Portuguese presence in Mozambique. The previous hard line was softened when the President made a speech in December urging that the Portuguese should be given time to resolve their own problems in Mozambique. The point now being made to Dr. Caetano is that there is little time left to do so. Hence the moves in Lisbon to create an African political infrastructure in the East African colony.

Dr. Caetano is a cautious pragmatist who has never favoured liberalization within Portugal. But the logic of his policies for the African territories has always led observers to believe that he favours their eventual independence within some commonwealth arrangement with Portugal.

There is a great deal less enthusiasm for the inclusion of Angola in this arrangement, but the Government does seem to be prepared to grasp the nettle in relation to Mozambique and Guinea.

[James MacManus, *Guardian* (U.K.), 2/14/74]

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Frelimo yesterday condemned the formation of a new political party in Mozambique as an "imperialist maneuver."

Purpose of its formation, says Frelimo, is to win

back world support for the colonial regime.

A spokesman in Lusaka said: "Portugal is being pressured by our struggle and therefore has found it necessary to organize a group of people and claim to represent our rights for independence. We are not interested in this party."

Mentioned as the moving spirit behind the new party, Unido de Mozambique, was a white Portuguese, Mr. Jorge Jardim, a wealthy businessman with interests in Mozambique, Rhodesia and Malawi.

He is the former Portuguese counsel to Malawi and is reported to be close to President Kamuzu Banda.

The Frelimo spokesman said Mr. Jardim was "nothing but the spokesman for the white people."

He was very rich and there was no reason why such a person could represent the rights of the black people of Mozambique.

"If he wants to fight for majority rule why doesn't he join us? Frelimo is the only genuine liberation movement in Mozambique."

Unido de Mozambique appears to have the support of the Portuguese leader, Marcello Caetano. Mr. Jardim is said to be among his close confidantes.

[*Times of Zambia*, 2/18/74]

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LOURENCO MARQUES—Portugal's 60,000-strong army in Mozambique is being reinforced by 10,000 battle-ried troops in an attempt to secure the vital central areas from terrorist encroachment.

Most of the reinforcements are being airlifted from Angola, Portugal's West African province, where the anti-terrorist war is comparatively quiet.

The new units are being deployed along the narrow "neck" of Mozambique between Umtali and Beira where Frelimo, the Mozambique Liberation Front, launched a new offensive at the start of the year.

Military authorities believe Frelimo's main aim is to isolate the port of Beira by repeated attacks on its two main rail links, the line to Umtali in Rhodesia and the trans-Zambesi railway to Malawi.

[*Daily Telegraph* (U.K.), 3/19/74]

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GUINEA-BISSAU—The Portuguese general whose book on the future of Portugal in Africa sparked the current political crisis in Lisbon met secretly at least three times with the leader of the 11-year old guerrilla rebellion here, according to a well-placed source.

A high-ranking Portuguese military man in Bissau claimed that Gen. Antonio de Spinoia, the military governor here until mid-1973, held a series of meetings with the late Amilcar Cabral, leader of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC).

Spinoia was dismissed as Portuguese deputy chief of staff last week, ostensibly because his best-selling book, *Portugal and the Future*, contended that there is no military solution to Portugal's problem in its rebellion-torn African territories.

Cabral was assassinated outside his headquarters in Conakry, capital of the neighboring independent republic of Guinea in January 1973.

Last year, after Cabral's death, the rebels declared the territory independent, renaming it Guinea-Bissau.

According to the source, who claims he was present, the private talks were arranged by President Leopold Senghor of Senegal.

The source said he could not discuss details but indicated Cabral was offered the leadership of Portuguese Guinea if the insurrection was ended and the territory was kept within a Portuguese "commonwealth."

The two sides officially deny having had any direct contacts.

The negotiations, apparently held inside Senegal, ended either because agreement could not be reached or because of Cabral's assassination.

According to one version, Spinola was unable to convince Lisbon to accept the deal he had privately sought to arrange.

Another explanation, favored by the course here, is that Cabral was murdered by PAIGC dissidents opposed to such a compromise.

The rebels claim that Cabral was murdered by Portuguese agents who infiltrated the PAIGC.

The source in Bissau stressed, as do most Portuguese officials, that Lisbon deeply respected Cabral, despite the war, and felt "cooperation" with him might some day be possible.

"He understood us," said one official. "He was one of us. If we killed him it was very stupid because we could communicate with him."

Cabral, a Lisbon-trained agronomist from the Cape Verde Islands, grew up under Portuguese rule and often referred to the need for cooperation with the Portuguese after independence because of cultural and economic links.

Portuguese officials in Bissau claim that since Cabral's death the war has intensified and the rebels appear to be "more rigid." Several officials in Bissau said they strongly believe Sekou Touré, the militant Marxist leader of Guinea, virtually took over the PAIGC movement after Cabral's death.

Portuguese Guinea is one of the poorest territories in the world and has almost no known natural resources.

Portugal's wars in Portuguese Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique eat up more than 40 percent of the national budget of about \$1.3 billion. Unlike the richer Angola and Mozambique, there is no European settler community in Portuguese Guinea.

More than 1,700 Portuguese have been killed here since the war began in earnest in 1963. Morale among the army's lower ranks is low. But the lingering struggle has come to assume a symbolic importance that outweighs Portuguese Guinea's intrinsic value.

[Larry Hinzerling, *Washington Post*, 3/20/74]

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LISBON—The possibility of a major military uprising led by young officers weary of Portugal's African colonial wars was so strong last weekend that President Americo Thomaz took refuge in heavily fortified underground bunkers at the defense headquarters on Lisbon's outskirts.

The president, a former admiral and architect of the war policies challenged by senior as well as junior officers, was the target of the aborted officers revolt, according to informed sources.

The revolt was unsuccessful, at least in part, because an armored detachment based at Santarem, 30 miles northeast of Lisbon, failed to join the rebel column of 300 men, which moved in trucks on the capital from an infantry base at Caldas de Rainha.

It was unclear why the armored unit withdrew, but its defection doomed the revolt, according to analysts.

President Thomaz appears to have been aware of the incipient rebellion for at least 10 days before it erupted on Saturday. Thomaz in fact appeared to have precipitated the uprising by forcing Premier Marcello Gaetano to fire the deputy chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, Gen. Antonio de Spinola, last Friday, because of Spinola's new book attacking the government's African wars.

The president, the sources said, also forced the premier to dismiss the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, Gen. Francisco Costa Gomes. Other senior victims of the purge were the navy's representative on the joint chiefs, Adm. Tiemo Bagulho, and Lt. Gen. Amaro Romano, commandant of the Lisbon Military Academy, where dissident officers met to plot.

Both Spinola and Costa Gomes have remained aloof from the rebels, and have continued to go to work.

It is expected that the new joint chiefs head, Gen. Joaquim Luz Cunha, a rightist supporter of Thomaz who is to return soon from the war-torn African territory of Mozambique, will continue the purge of the military. So far at least 33 officers and more than 180 enlisted men have been jailed.

Among them is Lt. Col. Carlos Fabiao, who was arrested 10 days before the Lisbon march "because of anti-government activities" in northern Portugal.

Fabiao last December denounced what he called a right-wing plot to "kill" Prime Minister Caetano and Generals Spinola and Costa Gomes. He said the generals were targets because they questioned the government's colonial wars and advocated major domestic policy changes. Portugal has been a dictatorship for more than 40 years.

[Miguel Acoca, *Washington Post*, 3/20/74]

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Portugal is reported to have rushed troop reinforcements to the enclave of Cabinda, north of Angola, in readiness for a major guerrilla offensive against American-owned oil installations in the area.

Oil from Cabinda, which is a small densely-forested territory between the republics of Congo and Zaire, has been an important factor in Portugal's ability to continue its war efforts in Africa in spite of an Arab boycott.

The exploitation of the huge offshore oil reserve in Cabinda has so far proceeded without much obstruction from the traditional guerrilla groups in the area, the orthodox Communist MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

The group operates from the Congo and has recently been increasing attacks on Portuguese troops in Cabinda. MPLA guerrillas were reported to have wiped out a 36-man Portuguese patrol on February 23. The Portuguese unit was apparently making towards the town of Mikonji in northeast Cabinda, which was partially evacuated last October after an MPLA attack.

But now a new and potentially more serious threat appears to have emerged from Holden Roberto's rival

FLNA guerrilla group, which is reportedly preparing a widescale infiltration and sabotage in Cabinda, thereby taking the initiative from the MPLA, who recently announced they were concentrating on Cabinda.

Roberto, a Protestant and anti-Communist who was born in Angola, has recently reactivated the FLNA (Angola National Liberation Front) from his headquarters in Kinshasha, Zaire's capital. With the tacit support of President Mobutu, he has been training and equipping troops at Kinkuzu, a guerrilla base just north of the Angola border.

Until recently, the FLNA had largely been quiescent except for occasional minelaying and ambushes against Portuguese troops in northern Angola.

But the sudden importance of Cabinda's offshore oil field and a temporary pact with the MPLA guerrillas seems to have given Holden Roberto a new impetus. The pact with MPLA seems to have broken down, but this will be little comfort to the Portuguese military commanders who are already heavily engaged against guerrilla offensives in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

The threat from FLNA, whose strength was estimated by the Portuguese at 6,200 guerrillas, reflects the increasing hostility of President Mobutu to Portugal's African possessions. Last autumn the President ordered the removal of white Portuguese from Zaire's borders with Angola and Cabinda for "security reasons." The move was widely interpreted as a preparation for a fresh round of guerrilla attacks against Angola.

Cabinda, which is about half the size of Northern Ireland, produced eight million tons of crude oil last year, more than Portugal's total consumption. The bulk went to Canada, America, and Japan, with Portugal only fourth on the list of customers. The reason is that Cabinda oil has a high wax and sulphur content and is largely unsuitable for Portuguese refineries.

The oil concession is in the hands of Cabinda Gulf Oil, a subsidiary of the United States Gulf Oil Company, which has been prospecting the shallow seas off Cabinda since 1957. Gulf Oil's contract stipulates that Portugal can take up to half the oil produced or 100 per cent in an emergency.

When Portuguese cooperation with the American airlift to Israel brought about the Arab boycott, Lisbon and Washington reached an arrangement. This was that America would continue to take heavy crude oil from Canada and would in return supply Portugal with what she needed in light crude oil.

As it happens, much of the oil that Portugal now gets is "leaked" from the Middle East in spite of the embargo, but Cabinda remains vital, particularly since the military efforts in Africa require huge quantities of petroleum.

The Gulf Oil Company is now increasing production from off-shore fields that are estimated to hold up to 300 million tons of oil. Extensive harbour and transport facilities are being completed to make further expansion possible. Gulf executives have always been cautious about the African reaction to such developments and not just because such installations as a 600-acre complex of oil tanks 10 miles from Cabinda are vulnerable to sabotage.

Gulf has an even bigger stake in Nigeria than in Cabinda and the company is well aware that a secret report was presented to a conference of the Organization for African Unity in June 1962, urging that Gulf be forced to choose between Angola and Nigeria.

Until now both the Portuguese and the oil company have counted on President Mobutu's silent support for the oil operation in Cabinda. It was thought that the President would be reluctant to encourage attacks upon the oil installation because Zaire also has important and vulnerable installations on the Atlantic coast south of Cabinda.

There has been a big off-shore oil find there which is capable of supplying all Zaire's needs and there are also the ports of Matadi and Banana. Any war in Cabinda could spill over and engulf such installations.

But Cabinda's strategic importance appears to have removed such doubts from President Mobutu's mind, although it is likely that the FNLA will make selective attacks in Cabinda rather than indulge in any wholesale invasion.

The appearance of Portuguese reinforcements may have delayed such attacks, but few observers now doubt that the weight of the Angolan guerrilla movements will shortly be thrown against Cabinda.

[James MacManus, *Guardian* (U.K.), 3/7/74]

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PARIS—A magazine published here has accused Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko of a conspiracy, involving American government help, to set up a "puppet" regime for the Portuguese territory of Angola. In an article by-lined Aquino de Braganca, the fortnightly *Afrique-Asie* suggests that, with President Mobutu's help, an "operetta style war of liberation" might be fought in the Angolan territory, led by the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA) leader Holden Roberto. De Braganca explained that the conspiracy was "to impose" Mr. Roberto "as the head of a colonial-type state," and said he looked upon armed action (against Portuguese forces) as being "a profitable action destined to impose himself as the sole negotiator of independence." Thousands of Angolans had been conscripted in Zaire, the writer continued, and these were on the point of being used by the Front with the object of setting up a "puppet state." An operation by the Front in Angola would be very serious if it took place, *Afrique-Asie* said. It suggested that Mr. Roberto's "bogus war of liberation" would be helped by African indecision and American caution. With the help of President Mobutu, Mr. Roberto would manage to bring the Portuguese to the negotiating table. "What could come out of this, other than dummy independence of the neo-colonial type?" *Afrique-Asie* asked, adding that it would clearly be the work of "all the imperialists and their American allies."

[Agence France Presse, *Facts & Reports* (Holland), 1/19/74]

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KINSHASA—A delegation of top FNLA leaders is at present touring Zaire's Shaba region, meeting Angolan exiles and urging them to join the "liberation struggle" against Portuguese rule in their country. The five-man FNLA Central Committee delegation is led by the Angolan Revolutionary Government-in-Exile's (GRAE) Information Officer Carlos Cambranso. The tour was aimed at "preparing Angolan exiles for the just liberation struggle" which the FNLA had been carrying on

since 1961, FLNA sources said.

[Agence France Presse, *Facts & Reports (Holland)*, 1/19/74]

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ADDIS ABABA—Almost every day university students gather at the Jolly Bar to discuss revolution, socialism, and sweeping reform. A few hundred yards away, on the grounds of the Grand Palace, peasants in homespun white cotton wait to present petitions and express loyalty to “Our Lord”—Emperor Haile Selassie I.

Both groups seem out of touch with the times.

After several weeks of unusual political turmoil, the 81-year-old Haile Selassie is no longer the unquestionably absolute ruler. The peasants of this East African nation once came to honor. But the traditional and sometimes cruelly archaic Ethiopia still represented by the throne is less impotent than the students seem to think.

What has made the recent political turmoil unusual is that this time it did not turn on a merely violent overthrow of a personality, as it almost always did in the old kingdom.

Instead, an army mutiny that erupted late in February, and other unusual popular outbursts against authority, without any doubt irrevocably weakened old institutions, including the throne.

First, civilian riots in February forced the Emperor to cut back increases in gasoline and fuel prices and to promise other concessions. Then, with bewildering rapidity, the very structure of his once-unquestioned authority began to crumble.

Threatening to disobey orders, army units in Addis Ababa demanded and got an armywide pay increase. Almost immediately, others in the northern city of Asmara mutinied, saying the raise was insufficient. The Emperor pleaded that the nation could not afford new expenditures and asked for military obedience. He was ignored, and the rest of the army supported the mutineers.

Spokesmen of some army units expanded the demands to include the dismissal of the appointed Cabinet. When Haile Selassie gave in, accepting the resignation of his counselors and allowing a second military pay increase, the effect was electric. Almost all politically conscious Ethiopians began to ask—and to hope—for even greater change.

A week after the army mutiny the Emperor promised in a broadcast to make new constitutional reforms, aimed at more democracy and greater rights, within six months. Because the speech was vaguely worded, and because many people did not understand the issues involved, it met with a poor reception from many Ethiopians.

Nonetheless, it seemed to mean that a bloodless transformation of great magnitude had started, and it was difficult to believe that the momentum of change could be stopped.

Just what sort of Ethiopia will emerge is far from clear. This country of perhaps 26 million people on the horn of East Africa has always been one of the most opaque of societies, and even in the past it was difficult enough to guess how it worked.

“The easiest guess is that the army will simply take over,” a diplomatic source said.

Urban Ethiopians, at least, suddenly realize that the Emperor's absolute authority had been suspended and probably broken.

Until constitutional reforms are actually carried out, the new Premier, Endalkachew Makonnen and his Cabinet face a delicate political problem: Technically, they are still servants of the Emperor, but they must respond to new pressure groups, such as the labor union movement, which staged Ethiopia's first general strike and won important concessions. Especially must the ministers respond to the army.

Whether the Premier can last long enough to lead an orderly transition from absolutism to a form of democracy may depend more on skill than on goodwill, because there is little of that in evidence. Each pressure group seems eager to push harder for demands that the country's limited resources could barely meet.

[Charles Mohr, *New York Times*, 3/21/74]

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ADDIS ABABA—Fifteen people were reported dead today in a peasant revolt in southern Ethiopia and in clashes between students and policemen as the nation faced continuing unrest.

Police sources said that 10 people had been hacked to death with knives and spears and another shot near Meki, 80 miles from Addis Ababa, when peasants tried to seize land that they asserted was their own and that had been granted to non-local landlords.

Another four were killed and several wounded when policemen clashed with students in the town of Arba Minch, 355 miles south of the capital.

Policemen said that the bodies of three of those killed near Meki had been cut into pieces and then thrown down wells.

The new troubles in the south were the latest manifestation of unrest since dissension in the armed forces forced the resignation of his Emperor Haile Selassie's Government last month.

Police reports linked the present troubles to inflammatory leaflets calling for land to be returned to the peasants.

Crops, farm machinery and buildings were reportedly destroyed in the peasant rising.

Two of those arrested, the police said, had confessed that their aim was to kill the landlords, destroy the crops, and seize the land.

In Addis Ababa today, the Defense Minister, Lieut. Gen. Abiye Abebe, warned that there were still dissident elements in the armed forces who were working clandestinely to plunge the country into civil war.

In the city center about 4,000 workers from the municipality demonstrated outside the headquarters of the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions and sent in a delegation with a list of demands that they had sent to Premier Endalkachew Makonnen. These called for the removal of certain senior municipal officials, the right to form their own union, increased pay and better working conditions.

In the northern city of Asmara, air force pilots went back to work at their base today after threatening to resign if the Government did not release some of their colleagues who had been arrested.

The pilots sent a letter yesterday to the Defense Minister in Addis Ababa protesting that they had been

discredited in broadcasts over government radio stations.

Reliable sources said that the Government had agreed to free two of the four pilots arrested and this had apparently satisfied the protesting pilots.

Journalists at Asmara's government radio station have gone on strike, saying they will not go back to work until the police and armed forces apologize for violently forcing them to issue communiques.

Meanwhile, United States and Ethiopian officials are anxiously waiting for news from the guerrillas who seized the three Americans and two Canadian mineral prospectors earlier this week when their helicopter was forced down during a storm in the province of Eritrea.

The prospectors worked for Tenneco, an American oil company that has a license to prospect for minerals in Ethiopia.

The guerrillas are reportedly members of the so-called Eritrean Liberation Front, which seeks independence for the province.

[*New York Times*, 3/31/74]

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ADDIS ABABA—Parts of Ethiopia which for years have been ravaged by drought are now suffering floods.

Torrential rain has been falling for several days in the Wollo and Danakyls region northeast of the capital, even in places where no rain had fallen for six years.

Several thousand people are now without shelter, and many crops, including cotton (the main product of the region) have been spoiled.

Other damage includes the disappearance of several bridges on the route between Dessie, the chief town of Wollo, and the Red Sea port of Assab, which has effectively paralyzed much of the relief effort.

People have taken refuge on high ground and helicopters are being used to save them.

Herds were swept away and drowned, thousands of homes destroyed and roads cut, wiping out many of the gains that had been made in recent months.

In the words of one drought official: "No water is a disaster. Too much is a catastrophe."

[*Washington Post*, 3/24/74]

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United Nations-FAO director general Dr. Addeke H. Boerma said in Lagos, Nigeria, last week that the famine in West Africa is worse this year than last; and at the same time help has fallen well below what's needed.

Meanwhile experts at a Rockefeller Foundation-sponsored two-day conference held here last week, said nature and man had combined to work for the starvation of peoples.

The five-year drought which had brought famine to African nations from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, was the result of the downward shift of the monsoon rains. Because of the lack of food for man and beast, the populations of those areas were migrating downward in search of food.

The shift of the monsoon rains had also brought poor harvest to India, but in the case of Africa, it was extending the Sahara desert at the rate of 30 miles a year.

These conditions have been worsened, the Rockefeller scientists stated, by the oil embargo which has cut down

the production of fertilizer.

The threatening famine might kill as many as 20 million people this year, the scientists stated. Last year, FAO warned that six million Africans would die from hunger if adequate help did not come.

Last week, Dr. Boerma said some 500,000 tons of grain and 60,000 tons of protein food were needed for the afflicted African states. However, to date the FAO had commitments for only 300,000 tons of grain; and there had been no pledges towards the \$15 million needed to get the food there in time, the FAO officials stated.

[*N. Y. Amsterdam News*, 2/9/74]

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As the sun-scorched Sahel again struggles to cope with drought and famine, the Nixon administration has been stung by strong criticism of its relief efforts.

American aid officials express dismay and disappointment in the wake of a study that sweepingly accuses the United States and the United Nations of neglect, inertia, and bureaucratic failures that contributed to the loss of more than 100,000 lives in West Africa last year. The study was prepared by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

"We feel we accomplished a major goal in preventing mass starvation," comments an official of the Agency for International Development (AID) ardently. "The estimates were that anywhere from 6 million to 10 million people were facing death."

"Constructive criticism could have been useful and helpful," says another AID official. "But the report is often inaccurate and simplistic in its proposal of how to deal with the problem."

The concern is that the study will now divert the attention of the administration and the Congress from the main problem because time will have to be spent answering charges.

Even as the study is debated, attention is again focused on the chronically parched region known as Sahel and UN officials and private relief organizations are calling for world help. A six-year scarcity of rain has depleted food stocks and once more threatens starvation of thousands of the 25 million people inhabiting the six-nation region, as well as widespread loss of cattle.

Disaster relief is the priority concern of world donors. The UN estimates that at least 550,000 tons of food grains will be needed through September 1974.

According to AID officials, the U.S. already has committed 250,000 tons of food, most of which will be delivered this spring. Donations from other nations, they add, should be sufficient to meet the "minimum essential need."

"The problem now," says an official, "is transportation—getting the food there on time. We're not on top of the emergency yet, but we're at least two months earlier than last year."

Under strong pressure from black and church communities, Congress has appropriated \$25 million for emergency relief and has appropriated, but not authorized, another \$50 million for a recovery program.

Entitled "Disaster in the Desert," the Carnegie study is based on interviews with American and UN officials, academic experts, private relief agencies and journalists.

Among other criticisms, it says that neither AID nor

the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) had contingency plans ready, despite evidence of impending disaster since 1968; that nomadic peoples were discriminated against; that children perished because of lack of a measles immunization campaign.

It also charges that American shipments sometimes consisted of coarse sorghum, which was indigestible and only fit for "cattle feed." AID officials counter that all the food grain provided is sorghum, which in this country is used largely as animal feed but is one of the two major crops grown in West Africa.

Occasional bad reaction to the grain occurred, say the officials, in nomad camps where inadequate milk supplies forced higher sorghum consumption.

The figure of 100,000 losses also is disputed. Officials say it is a maximum extrapolation of statistical figures based on a small sampling made by Atlanta's Center for Disease Control.

AID acknowledges that the Sahel relief effort has not been a "model operation." But the agency denies that the problems involved constituted "an administrative and bureaucratic disaster," as is alleged, or that Washington has not responded with humanitarian concern to Sahel's plight.

The 66-page report calls for a new system of international relief to tackle the complex and continuing problem of drought in the sub-Saharan region. This, says AID, seems to deal simplistically with the problem, which involves the varied interests of many governments, relief organizations, and bilateral donors.

[Charlotte Salkowski, *Christian Science Monitor*, 3/7/74]

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DAKAR—Of the 60 countries which now have diplomatic links with Prince Norodom Sihanouk's Cambodian government in exile, 30 are African, according to Sihanouk's minister of education and youth, Chan Youran.

[*Washington Post*, 3/25/74]

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President Amin went on British television on Wednesday to say he would send Britons bananas if they began to feel hungry as a result of the economic crisis in the country.

President Amin told the BBC Britain was in a state of "chaos" and said, "actually I am not against the British at all."

"I am prepared to help them," he pledged.

The President said: "Now is the time for Africa to control the imperialists, and if they come to Uganda they must kneel down to us."

[*East African Standard*, 1/4/74]

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To the occasionally attentive world, Ugandan President Idi Amin is a comic opera figure; he has, among other things, told Israeli Premier Golda Meir to "tuck up your knickers" and offered President Nixon "condolences" on his Watergate troubles. To Uganda's

10 million people he is a ruthless and erratic leader. According to both European and other African sources, 90,000 Ugandans have been killed during General Amin's regime.

The latest bloodletting began a week ago after dissident troops apparently attempted a coup, General Amin is a member of the Kakwa tribe; the rebels were members of the Lugbara tribe, which like the general, had supported the overthrow of President Milton Obote in 1971. Since then, however, they have become fearful that the general had turned against them. Several leading members of their tribe originally promoted to high posts by General Amin had been dismissed or killed.

About 10 days ago, Brig. Charles Arrube, the Army Chief of Staff and a Kakwa, but friendly towards the Lugbaras, disappeared. When the Lugbaras tried to see the President to discover what had happened to the brigadier, they were refused a meeting. Tempers rose and shooting broke out in Kampala, the capital. Within hours, the rebels were crushed and reliable Uganda sources reported that General Amin had begun systematic killings of officers involved in the uprising. The Government made no mention of the purge, but did announce that Brigadier Arrube had tried to commit suicide and had died in a Kampala hospital.

[*New York Times*, 3/31/74]

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LISBON—Talks between Portugal and the United States are expected to recommence soon in connection with the base in Lajes, in the Azores Islands, a spokesman for the U.S. Secretary of State announced in Washington. He recalled that talks opened last autumn and were adjourned until the new year after a number of sessions. The date for the resumption of talks was not set. "Although the existing agreement expires next month," the spokesman said, "the situation is neither urgent nor critical. Negotiations will continue as soon as a date is set." At the same time, Dr. Joao Hall Themido, Portuguese ambassador in Washington, has maintained contact with U.S. Undersecretary of State William Porter regarding renegotiation of the agreement for the use of the Lajes airbase by the United States. Porter heads the U.S. delegation in the talks.

In Lisbon, meanwhile, a Portuguese Foreign Ministry spokesman clarified that, in terms of the agreement signed on December 9, 1971, the use of facilities on the Lajes base by U.S. forces was authorized by the Portuguese government for a period of five years beginning February 3, 1969, termingating, therefore, February 2. Either party can propose, six months before the agreement terminates, new talks on the extension of such facilities beyond that period, and the result should not be regarded as negative at least for six months after the end of that period. The U.S. Government has proposed, in fact, that the talks should be held within the mentioned period. If no agreement is reached by February 2, talks may still continue during the next six months.

[*Facts & Reports (Holland)*, 3/16/74]

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DAKAR—Seven bauxite-producing countries ended a nine-day meeting in Conakry, Guinea, yesterday with generally moderate agreements that included setting up a permanent organization.

The seven, said to account for 63 percent of the world's annual production of 65 million tons of bauxite, agreed to an accord that does not call for an embargo or for an immediate price increase. There had been speculation that the producer countries might attempt an embargo of bauxite similar to the Arab oil producers' embargo of petroleum.

Bauxite is the raw material from which aluminum is extracted.

Delegates representing Guinea, Australia, Guyana, Jamaica, Sierra Leone, Surinam, and Yugoslavia approved an accord that sets an international association of bauxite producers. A secretariat is to be set up in Jamaica, with a Jamaican, not yet named, as its head.

A major point in the accord is a provision calling for the bauxite-producers to become producers of aluminum in order to increase their incomes. Guinea's President Sekou Toure had told the delegates that such a move would increase profits 15 times.

[*New York Times*, 3/10/74]

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Twenty countries outside the West African drought zone are threatened by poor harvests and food shortages, UN officials reported Friday.

The world organization, still smarting from criticism that the West African drought passed almost unnoticed for four years before an international alert was sounded, issued the warning as an obvious effort to protect itself in the event of new crisis elsewhere.

Dr. A. H. Boerma, director of the Food and Agriculture Organization, who defended his agency Thursday against charges of bungling in West Africa, said in a statement then that "at this moment FAO has warning of poor harvests and food shortages in 20 countries in addition to the Sahelian Zone (sub-Sahara)." But he did not name the countries.

The list, as reported unofficially Friday, was headed by Ethiopia, where starvation has already occurred and international aid is under way. The largest nation in the group was India, followed by Indonesia and Pakistan. Middle Eastern states on the danger list were Egypt, Jordan, Syria, the Yemen Arab Republic, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and Iraq.

African nations threatened were Algeria, Dahomey, Guinea, Kenya, Nigeria, Somalia, and Tanzania. Three South American states were listed: Bolivia, Chile, and Guyana.

Boerma reacted strongly to a report by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Sunday that accused the FAO and the U.S. Agency for International Development of failing to develop contingency plans. The Report, "Disaster in the Desert," alleged that 100,000 had died in the Sahel, the southern edge of the Sahara Desert which stretches across seven West African nations. These lives could have been saved by contingency planning, two Carnegie investigators asserted.

"Developing contingency plans to meet large-scale food shortages and related problems resulting from natural disasters in countries all over the world is an almost impossible task," the FAO head said. "Without

adequate resources to implement contingency plans, such plans are merely academic exercises."

[Don Shannon, *Los Angeles Times*, 3/9/74]

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LAGOS—Nigeria, normally the world's largest exporter of peanuts, will not ship out any peanuts this year, and she will export a minimum of peanut oil and cake.

The peanut harvest in the country's drought-stricken northern regions is expected to be less than 300,000 tons this season. Last year 800,000 tons were produced, with some 200,000 tons exported and 340,000 tons processed into oil and peanut cake.

The country's northern region is just south of that string of French-speaking countries in the sub-Saharan Sahel region that has been virtually prostrated by drought. The shortage of rains has also cut down on the peanut, cocoa, and coffee crops of other coastal countries, including Cameroon, Dahomey, Togo, Ghana, and the Ivory Coast.

While Nigeria is bolstered by a booming oil economy and can be expected to adjust readily to this setback, the other West African nations rely almost entirely on agriculture.

In Nigeria, the Northern States Marketing Board reported recently that it had bought only 21,000 tons of peanuts from local farmers as of mid-January. Last year the board purchased 366,000 tons of peanuts from the same farmers.

"The farmers are afraid," an agricultural source here said, "to get rid of a crop they may be forced to eat to stay alive . . . and also they are reluctant to sell seeds they intend to plant next summer."

There is talk that Nigeria may have to import food for next summer's plantings.

Another reason for the lack of sales to marketing boards is that some of the crop is being smuggled into the food-short nations of Chad and Niger, where it can be sold at higher prices than the \$143.70 a ton that the marketing boards pay.

Nigeria now has nine oil-processing mills; four new ones were set up in the nation's efforts to raise the peanut harvest to a million tons a year. It now appears that most of these mills will have to close down, sources here fear.

Nigeria's cocoa crop for this year is expected to drop to some 236,000 tons, another casualty of the short rainfall. Nigeria is the world's second largest producer of cocoa, after Ghana.

Although coffee is not a major agricultural crop here, this year's production was similarly affected by shortage of rainfall. Some 3,250 tons of coffee were harvested this year compared with 4,000 tons last year.

[Thomas A. Johnson, *New York Times*, 2/18/74]

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