



cfm news & notes

JULY 1974 #26

Information is ammunition for your struggle. A fighter without ammunition is not a fighter. And for you, a fighter without information cannot speak.

Samora M. Machel, President of FRELIMO
to CFM delegation, Dar es Salaam, 8/71.

On the 25th day of May, one month after the coup which toppled the fascist government of Marcello Caetano, negotiations began in London between the Portuguese government and the PAIGC of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The talks, which included a second round in Algiers, failed to produce an agreement between the two parties. The PAIGC position, which called for Portugal's recognition of Guinea-Bissau (84 nations have already recognized the new republic) as well as the right to independence for the people of Angola and Mozambique, went far beyond what Lisbon was willing to accept.

On June 5th, FRELIMO President Samora Machel and Portuguese Foreign Minister Mario Soares began two days of talks in Lusaka, Zambia. Again, Lisbon's refusal to accept the right to independence led to an inconclusive ending.

Although there is considerable support for the independence of the African colonies within Portugal's political and military leadership, the hardline position represented by provisional President Antonio de Spínola prevails. Spínola continues to view real independence as an undesirable "option", a last resort. His four stage program of decolonization (see June 12 New York Times clipping) --which is an implicit rejection of the demands of the liberation movements for immediate independence-- is geared toward winning some degree of international support for Lisbon's position. It is also apparently aimed at quieting discontent among the Portuguese settler population. By making gestures of "good faith" and vague promises of self determination to the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau, Spínola is trying to deflect attention from the just demands of the liberation movements.

In Portugal, the euphoria which marked the early post-coup period has begun to evaporate. Under the guise of "protecting our newly won freedoms", the Portuguese government has begun a selective crackdown on the left, including the reinstatement of media censorship and the arrest of a newspaper editor who is a vocal opponent of the colonial wars. The new restrictions are aimed at curbing the long unmet wage demands of Portuguese workers and expressions of popular sentiment for the immediate independence of the African colonies.

The following telegram, which CFM received from FRELIMO re-emphasizes FRELIMO'S position: that total independence is the undeniable right of the people of Mozambique, and that FRELIMO will not be swayed by Spino-la's campaign of false promises and veiled threats.

(June 5, 1974, Dar es Salaam)

WISH INFORM YOU STOP REQUESTED BY PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT DISCUSS QUOTE COLONIAL
PROBLEM UNQUOTE FRELIMO ACCEPTED MEET PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT DELEGATION LUSAKA
STOP PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL HEADS FRELIMO DELEGATION STOP NEVERTHELESS FRELIMO
POSITION UNCHANGED STOP NO POSSIBILITY NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE RECOGNITION OUR
RIGHT INDEPENDENCE. MARCELINO DOS SANTOS, VICE PRESIDENT.

Continued Support for FRELIMO

Name _____

Address _____

Amount Enclosed _____

NEWS FLASH: New York Times, Thurs, June 20

General Spino-la and President Nixon met in the Azores on June 19 on Nixon's way back from his Middle East tour. After this meeting General Spino-la announced Nixon's support for his solution to ending the fighting in Africa.

Lisbon Imposes Curbs on News Media

Special to The New York Times

LISBON, June 15—Greater restraints over Portugal's news media were being instituted today as high Government sources made it clear that the free-wheeling and somewhat anarchic days that followed the military coup of April 25 are over and that an effort to instill discipline is under way.

After a long Cabinet session, the Government decided last night to bring the country's partly private television system under complete official control and management. At the same time regulations providing for military supervision of the press were being put into force pending promulgation of a new press law in the next few weeks.

The country's two television channels had been run by a private company under a concession from the Government, which owned 51 per cent of the shares and which under the old regime had heavily censored broadcasts.

Last Monday a satiric program that attacked the Roman Catholic Church for its close collaboration with the former dictatorship was suddenly cut off. Officials explained their action by saying that people's sensibilities were offended by the program.

Now, a commission of seven members of the armed forces will supervise the press. It will have powers to levy fines for disclosure of military secrets as well as for statements offending the Portuguese chief of state or foreign chiefs of state and diplomats. The commission's decisions can be appealed to a court.

The first major sign of a tougher attitude toward dissidence came last week, when the 29-year-old extreme leftist editor of a weekly newspaper, Luis Saldanha Sanches, was arrested for advocating desertion by Portuguese troops stationed in the African colonies of Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique. Mr. Sanches is being detained in a military barracks and will presumably be tried by a military tribunal. Raul Rego, the Socialist Min-

ister of Information and himself a newspaper publisher, asserted in an interview today that there would be no return to the old regime's system of prior censorship. But he said that some restraints were in order since "after all, the country is still at war."

Another casualty list was published yesterday, as was an announcement from Algiers of a sudden breakdown of cease-fire talks between Portugal and representatives of the guerrilla rebels in Portuguese Guinea.

Mario Soares, the Socialist Foreign Minister, acknowledged "difficulties" in the talks when he returned to Lisbon today, but he tried to put the best possible face on events by recalling the long and difficult Vietnam negotiations.

"We shall arrive at peace," he asserted. "I don't know exactly when, but we shall get there."

Other informed sources said that the talks in Algiers had gone very badly and indicated that a "confrontation" may take place between Mr. Soares and President António de Spínola over the Portuguese negotiating position.

In a speech last Tuesday, the President continued to insist on self-determination by which the population in each of the territories would democratically decide their political future at an unspecified date. The Guinean liberation movement, like those in Angola and Mozambique, wants immediate Portuguese recognition of independence in a pact. General Spínola would like a federation of autonomous states but has acknowledged that self-determination could also lead to independence.

Leftists inside and outside the Government have become increasingly restive over the continuation of the war. The Socialists are reported to have considered withdrawing their ministers, including Mr. Soares, unless there is a more flexible negotiating position. The Foreign Minister conferred with the President this afternoon.

The Communists, who have two Ministers in the Government, have much the same attitude toward the war as the Socialists. But they have refrained from taking any public positions that would estrange them from the armed forces and General Spínola, who made them the only Communist party in the West to share national power.

New York Times 7 JUNE

Government in Lisbon Showing Strains

By RICHARD EDER

Special to The New York Times

LISBON, June 6—A week of political barnstorming around Portugal by the provisional President, Gen. António de Spínola, has strengthened the impression that the military structures underpinning the new Government are undergoing some considerable internal strains.

General Spínola, other senior officers and some of the younger officers who took part in the coup seem joined in a common concern that the country's new freedom is getting out of hand and that Communists and other extreme leftist groups are making too much headway.

On the other hand, a number of leading members of the Military Movement, the group of 300 or so young officers who carried out the coup, are worried that General Spínola, a man of conservative views, is building up his own power and that of the regular military hierarchy in such a way as to put an end to the Military Movement influence.

There are reports that Movement officers have held one or more large meetings in the last few days to discuss the situation. Although there has been no way to verify this officially, two officers who are in touch with leading members of the Movement provided independent confirmation today.

One officer described the subject of the meeting as "the concern that Spínola is behaving like a President instead of like a provisional President." There is no evidence so far that the meetings have gone beyond the discussion stage, however.

General Spínola's own activities are considerably less ambiguous. During the first weeks after the coup, despite intensive activity, he remained out of the public eye. But in the last week he has visited four cities around the country conferring with the local military commands and addressing enormous crowds.

The theme of these speeches is that the army will not permit the new freedom won in the April 25 coup to be exploited by extremists or by ambitious political groups.

General Spínola also reported today that he had received a number of menacing letters, apparently from extremists, some threatening his life.

Communists in Cabinet

Although General Spínola named two Communist party leaders to the Cabinet, and although the party has helped the Government damp down labor agitation, General Spínola is reportedly concerned by the organizing energy shown by the party and by other far-left groups.

If it is not clear that the Movement officers would take action to oppose General Spínola at this stage, it is also not clear that General Spínola would try to break up the Movement.

Despite suspicions and differences of opinion, there still seems to be a common determination to realize the main goal of the coup: the establishment of a constitutional democracy.

In African policy, a number of leaders of the Movement believe that Portugal has little choice but to agree to independence in all three territories—Guinea, Mozambique and Angola—and that the only real goal of negotiations is get the best possible terms for white settlers and to maintain economic and cultural ties with Portugal.

General Spínola and some other senior officers, on the other hand, want a referendum to be held in each of the territories. They believe that while in Mozambique the vote would probably go for independence, in Guinea and—most important—in Angola, some form of limited autonomy with ties to Portugal might win out.

Lisbon Opens Peace Talks With Mozambique Rebels

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

LUSAKA, Zambia, June 5—Portugal and the principal liberation movement in Mozambique opened preliminary peace talks here today in an atmosphere of emotional reconciliation.

But Portugal's Foreign Minister, Mario Soares, emphasized after his five-hour session with Samora Machel, president of Frelimo, the Mozambique Liberation Front, that although the meeting was cordial the problem of winding up nearly 500 years of rule by Portugal over her East African possession was complex.

"Samora Machel is a great leader," Mr. Soares said in an interview in his hotel suite, "and a very tough one."

The Portuguese minister, a Socialist, said that the talks, which were arranged by President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia, were exploratory and preliminary, and intended to allow each side to know more precisely the position of the order. Mr. Soares said that he had had a clear idea of the position of the Liberation Front, and that the meeting had not brought him any surprises.

He said the conference would continue through tomorrow and possibly into Friday, but that he intended to be in London Saturday for the resumption of the cease-fire negotiations with the liberation movement of the Portuguese.

Attitude Made Clear

Mr. Soares made clear Portugal's attitude from the moment of his arrival here this morning. The minister said that he came here as an anticolonialist and antifascist.

His first meeting with Mr. Machel, staged for dramatic effect by President Kaunda, was made even more dramatic by a spontaneous gesture by Mr. Soares.

The Zambian leader ushered his Portuguese guest into the elegant ballroom of State House, the former British colonial governor's residence, where peacocks still grace the lawn. Then a side door was flung open and the Frelimo delegation, led by Mr. Machel in a business suit, his arms raised in a victory gesture, strode in to applause from Zambian officials.

Instead of waiting on his side of the green-covered conference table, as protocol would have it, the Portuguese minister swept around to the Frelimo side and embraced the guerrilla leader in Portuguese fashion, the two men pounding each other on the back.

"This was natural," Mr. Soares said tonight. "We are

not enemies. In fact, we two have enemies that are common to us both."

In a formal speech that followed, the Portuguese minister saluted "our Frelimo comrades" and expressed his "admiration for the courageous manner in which they have always conducted their struggle for what they consider—as I do—their freedom."

"I am here," Mr. Soares continued, "on behalf of the Portuguese Government to initiate the first moves to liquidate together by dialogue in friendship, freedom and peace, the past of colonial domination and to usher in a new chapter of decolonization."

Mr. Soares said the struggle for democracy carried on within Portugal that culminated in the April coup against the Government of Dr. Marcello Caetano had been complemented by Frelimo's fight against Portuguese colonialism. "We were and are objectively allies," he declared.

In his address, which like Mr. Soares's was delivered in Portuguese, Mr. Machel declared that Frelimo was not fighting against the Portuguese people or against whites. The enemy, he said, is Portuguese colonialism and fascism.

"We extend the hand of friendship to the Portuguese delegation and tell them that they are welcome on the African continent," the guerrilla leader said.

The public ceremony over, the delegations went separately to lunch and then opened their talks behind closed doors and without any Zambians present. No interpreters are needed since even among themselves the Frelimo leaders speak in Portuguese, the common language of the many tribes of Mozambique.

Mr. Soares said he would not discuss any aspect of the substance of the talks, since this would only harm the cause of ending the war. Asked whether, in negotiating with Frelimo, Portugal recognized the liberation front as the true representative of the people of Mozambique, the minister refused to comment, but then said:

"This is no more than realism. To end a war you have to deal with those who are making war."

Mr. Soares is accompanied by only two other Portuguese to face the nine-member Frelimo delegation. They are Maj. Othello Rodrigues de Carvalho, whom he introduced to Mr. Machel as "leader of the armed forces movement"—the group of middle-rank officers who staged the coup—and his ministry aide, Dr. Manuel Sa Machado, a diplomat.

Mozambique Talks Adjourn

Special to The New York Times

LUSAKA, Zambia, June 6—The first negotiations between Portugal and Frelimo, the Mozambique Liberation Front, adjourned abruptly today without a cease-fire but with an agreement "in principle" to resume talks next month.

"The Portuguese Government was prepared to negotiate a cease-fire," said Foreign Minister Mario Soares before boarding a commercial plane for the return journey. "But we understand that the Frelimo delegation makes a cease-fire conditional on a general political agreement."

"In our point of view, the most important action is an immediate stop to the sacrifice of human lives on one side or the other," Mr. Soares said.

The Frelimo delegation, headed by the front's president, Samora Machel, lives closeted in State House, the splendid residence of the colonial governor when Zambia was Northern Rhodesia, and was not available for comment.

GUARDIAN JUNE 5

FOUR POINT PROGRAM

The PAIGC demands at the London talks can be summed up in four points:

1. Recognition by Portugal of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and of the rights of the people of the Cape Verde Islands to self-determination and independence.

(This formulation recognizes that there is a difference between Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. For Guinea-Bissau, Portugal simply has to follow the example of nearly 90 other countries and recognize it as a sovereign state. For the Cape Verde Islands, where there is no armed struggle, the principle of self-determination for their independent future can be accepted. But their right to independence must be accepted in principle.)

2. Recognition of these same rights for the people of the other African colonies.

3. An immediate start of negotiations between Portugal and Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front) and the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

4. The regrouping of Portuguese troops in Guinea-Bissau as a preliminary to their withdrawal and an end to all Portuguese military activities and acts of aggression.

NEW YORK TIMES JUNE 6

Portugal's President Warns on Anarchy

By PAUL HOFMANN
Special to The New York Times

LISBON, May 29—President António de Spínola appealed today to "choose between democratic freedom and anarchy."

Addressing an enthusiastic crowd in Oporto, the country's second city, the 64-year-old head of state warned: "It is not by way of anarchy, economic chaos, disorder and unemployment that we build the Portugal of the future."

General de Spínola, with a clear allusion to the present strikes, put the Portuguese on their guard that economic disruption was playing into the hands of "reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries."

The President closed his brief speech, amid wild cheers, by assuring the nation that "the armed forces will be firm in defending freedom." General de Spínola's address was broadcast throughout the country.

In Lisbon, the Communist party in a stern declaration condemned the strikes, which are paralyzing essential services, and cautioned the nation against chaos in language similar to that used by the President.

The party leadership denounced "adventurist groups that indulge in left-wing phraseology to bring about a confrontation between the people and the police."

The statement said the strike weapon "must be used with care," and urged workers to "unmask demagogues and adventurers" who were pushing the country toward anarchy.

The parallel warnings by the chief of state and the Commu-

Asserts Wave of Strikes May Pose a Danger to New-Found Freedom

nist party, generally considered Portugal's best organized political force, came as the strike wave seemed to crest.

Lisbon was without street cars and buses for the third day and without bread for the second day. The bakers' strike, which started yesterday and is causing particular hardship to poor people, spread to southern Portugal.

Bakery workers demand higher pay—they earn \$3 a night—and their employers say they are willing to grant substantial increases if the Government allows them to raise the price of bread. A small roll now costs 4 cents.

Communist Leads Effort

The Government and members of the military junta, which keeps supervising the activities of the civilian department chiefs, have during the last few days been almost permanently in session to grapple with the labor conflicts.

A Communist, Labor Minister Avelino A. Pacheco Gonçalves, is in the forefront of attempts to settle the strikes. He is assisted by the party's secretary general, Alvaro Cunhal, who is a Minister without Portfolio in charge of labor matters.

The Government today succeeded in halting a threatened shutdown of gasoline stations by announcing that it would use military forces to reopen closed stations and have their operators pay for the expenditure and possible damages.

Motorists nevertheless were

hoarding fuel, fearing that supplies might become scarce.

State Officials Dismissed

LISBON, May 29 (UPI)—The Government dismissed the management of five state-run companies today and ordered an immediate review of wage increases given to subway workers in Lisbon last week.

The Cabinet said that it had acted to avoid economic imbalances created by disproportionately high wage increases.

A statement said that the Cabinet had "decided to dismiss with immediate effect all members" of the metropolitan subway administration.

The Cabinet also decided to replace the financial and administrative officials of Portugal's post office, telephone company, general savings banks commission and the agency controlling the fishing industry.

GUARDIAN JUNE 5

Angola bans rallies Tear gas in Lisbon

The Portuguese government last week brought out water cannon and tear gas against demonstrators for African independence in Lisbon and banned demonstrations in Angola.

Several thousand Africans gathered May 26 in front of the governor's palace in Luanda, capital of Angola, carrying posters and shouting slogans demanding immediate independence. The rally was prompted by the visit of Portuguese colonial minister Antonio de Almeida Santos and followed a similar demonstration earlier during Almeida Santos' visit in Lourenco Marques, capital of Mozambique.

After the Luanda rally, according to a New York Times report, a few hundred Africans "roamed" through the streets, making allegedly insulting and threatening remarks to some whites and banged on cars.

A smaller number of whites then staged a counter-demonstration, chanting "Marcello," first name of fascist Premier Caetano, ousted by the April 25 coup in Lisbon.

The next morning, the junta's top officer in Angola announced a ban on all street demonstrations.

In Lisbon, also on May 26, government cavalry troops and armored cars used tear gas and water cannon to break up a demonstration by about 2000 Africans and Portuguese demanding an immediate end to the colonial wars and the freedom of a prisoner of war. After a march through the streets, the demonstrators assembled at a military hospital in western Lisbon to protest the continuing detention of Cuban army captain Pedro Rodriguez Peralta, who was captured in Guinea-Bissau in 1969.

PORTUGAL'S CHIEF WILL VISIT AFRICA

Spinola Planning Trip Soon to Mozambique and Angola —Soares Flies to Zambia

By RICHARD EDER
Special to The New York Times

LISBON, June 4—Gen. António de Spínola, provisional President of the new Portuguese Government, will visit Mozambique and Angola shortly, it was announced here today.

General Spínola's visit appears intended to shore up the confidence of white settlers in these African territories at a time when Lisbon has begun to negotiate possible forms of disengagement with the major black resistance movements.

Today's announcement, made by António de Almeida Santos, Minister for Overseas Territories, came a few hours after Foreign Minister Mario Soares flew to Zambia to begin negotiations for a cease-fire in Mozambique.

Mr. Soares will meet Samora Machel, leader of Frelimo, the main Mozambiquan independence movement, in Lusaka, Zambia's capital, tomorrow. The trip was scheduled suddenly at the request of Mr. Machel.

Mr. Machel's call for an immediate meeting took the Portuguese Government somewhat by surprise. It had been thought here that negotiations with the Mozambiquan resistance, which are expected to be long and difficult, would not begin until some agreements had been reached on Guinea.

Few Results Expected

The expectation, however, is that tomorrow's talks will at most involve a probe of Portuguese attitudes by the Frelimo leaders to determine whether at this stage they can afford to set up full-scale negotiations for a cease-fire.

There has been considerable pressure on the resistance movements in Portuguese Africa by other African leaders—notably President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia—to encourage and cooperate with the new Portuguese policy tending toward disengagement in Africa.

In Mozambique the two sides seem to be fairly far apart, with the Portuguese offering a referendum to determine whether the majority wants independence, and Frelimo taking the position that independence must be recognized without condition.

Although there has been no official confirmation, it is expected that Mr. Soares will return to London at the end of this week to resume talks with the Guinean leaders.

According to reliable official sources here, a cease-fire agreement is near completion. To reach it, both sides have had to agree to postpone decisions on several important matters on which they differ.

Islands an Issue

It has been decided, for example, to leave the future of the Cape Verde Islands to later discussion. The Guinean representatives take the position that mainland Guinea and the islands—which the Portuguese have administered as a single unit—must remain united in independence. The Portuguese want to treat the future of the two territories separately.

It has also been tentatively agreed to keep unresolved the question of whether Portugal will recognize Guinea as an independent territory—as the Guineans are demanding—or whether a referendum will be held first.

LISBON INDICATES SELF-RULE POLICY

Spinola Says African Areas Can Vote on Future When Democracy Prevails

By MARVINE HOWE
Special to The New York Times

LISBON, June 11—Portugal's provisional President offered today to let the nation's African territories decide their own future once "a climate of freedom" and democratic institutions are established there.

The President, Gen. António de Spínola, also insisted on the "perfect functioning" of these institutions.

In a major policy statement on the colonial question in the wake of the ouster of the authoritarian regime of Premier Marcello Caetano on April 25, General Spínola said the people of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea would be given various political solutions to choose from—"federation, confederation, community or the mere existence of totally independent states."

Speaking at a ceremony at which new governors were sworn for Angola and Mozambique, General Spínola described the focal point of his policy as self-determination, in which the right to political independence is implicit. But he rejected the demands for immediate independence put forward by African nationalists fighting in the territories.

'In the Modern World'

"In the modern world," he declared, "true political independence exists only when it results from a genuine self-determination, and there can be self-determination only in a climate of freedom and perfect functioning of democratic institutions."

However, the general did use the word "independence"; previously he had spoken of self-determination.

In his statement he announced a program of decolonization in four stages — restoration of peace, accelerated reconstruction and development, the establishment of broad democratic organizations and popular consultation to determine the ultimate political solution.

Mario Soares, the Socialist who is Foreign Minister and who has begun cease-fire talks with the main black nationalist movements, refrained from commenting on the speech and said he would discuss it with his party leaders.

The Labor Minister, Avelino António Pacheco Gonçalves, a Communist, gave tacit approval to General Spínola's declaration, saying that the broad principles had been agreed to by the parties in the Provisional Government.

Some military officers present were critical of the speech, partly because it did not include a timetable.

Potential Cost Deplored

"We carried out the revolution in Portugal because we wanted to get out of Africa," one commented, "but Spínola's program could take generations, and neither we nor the Africans want to wait."

Another criticism involved the cost of reconstruction and development when Portugal needs to finance economic development at home.

The chief weakness of the Spínola program, according to younger military men, is that it will probably not be accepted by the African nationalists.

For one thing, the Provisional President indirectly questioned whether the nationalist movements, which have been fighting for independence for 13 years, were representative. He also insisted that all sectors of the overseas population have their say.

An important part of his speech was aimed at reassuring the blacks who fought with the Portuguese Army and those who were neutral as well as the European population that all would have an equal voice with the nationalists.

"We will not abandon them in the cowardly search for an easy way out or in a demagogic search for popularity," General Spínola declared.

In lieu of a timetable, he expressed the hope that decolonization would take place "rapidly without haste." He stressed that the speed would depend on "the broad participation of the different forces present."