

committee for a FREE MOZAMBIQUE



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"...The way to solve the problem is clear: recognition of the Mozambiquan people's right to independence. If however, the objective of the coup d'etat is to find new formulae to perpetuate the oppression of our people, then the Portuguese leaders are warned they will face our firm determination...Just as Caetano's era clearly proves that liberal fascism does not exist, it must also be understood there is no such thing as democratic colonialism..."

**Excerpt of Statement by FRELIMO Executive Committee
Dar Es Salaam, April 29, 1974**

There has been much speculation about independence for Mozambique and Angola, and recognition of Guinea-Bissau. But General Spinoza soon made clear that while the junta is prepared to allow "self determination", independence would mean a failure for their new policy. It is within this framework the upheaval of the coup d'etat should be viewed. As outlined in the most recent issue of News & Notes, and reinforced by statements of the currently ruling junta in Portugal, the split in the Portuguese ruling class focuses on a disagreement over the most efficient means of maintaining exploitative economic control. Salazar, and his Caetano regime heirs, had compelled Portugal not only to spend up to 45% of its annual budget on the colonial wars, but to do so within an essentially mercantile economy. The backwardness of the Portuguese economy left Portugal outside the mainstream of international capitalism and meant the real profits from the colonies were being extracted by non-Portuguese companies. It appears that the two major Portuguese conglomerates, the Companhia Uniao Fabril (CUF) and Champalimaud, worried about the economic drain caused by the war and the adverse affect it has on investment, are closely aligned to the new junta. Both companies have large investments in Africa and CUF is reported to control 10% of Portugal's total corporate capital.

The untenable nature of the Salazar/Caetano rigidity has been exposed ever more blatantly by the military, political, and human triumphs of the liberation movements in each colony, and by the increasing legal and humanitarian isolation of Portugal from the international community. The speed with which the "captains movement", originally organized around superficial salary and promotion demands, was moving towards a revolutionary analysis of Portuguese society was another, and perhaps compelling, indicator of the need for moderate change now to pre-empt the possibility of radical change. Certainly one of the short-term effects of the coup has been to divert the underground Portuguese left, however briefly, into peaceful cooperation with Spinoia and the "democratic colonialists." But as FRELIMO'S statement so clearly reminds us, this too, is ultimately an untenable position, for it fosters the kind of double-talk already quoted from Spinoia, that "self determination is not independence":

Within hours of the coup, the multi-racial Group for the Union of Mozambique, GUM, whose spokeswoman had been granted a Lisbon press conference in March by the Caetano regime, released the text of a cable of support which they had sent General Spinoia. Their program calls for "autonomy" with links to Lisbon, and the aid of Portuguese troops in the fight for stability and against Communism. It is precisely this new kind of colonialism with which Nixon might justify increased and open aid to Portuguese oppression, and and it is precisely because of the myriad of new possibilities for exploitation and oppression that we must increase our support for FRELIMO and their just struggle for a liberated Mozambique.

Continued Support for FRELIMO

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PORTUGUESE JUNTA OPPOSES FREEING THE AFRICAN LANDS

General Spínola States That Self-Determination Does Not Mean Independence

A WARNING TO LEFTISTS

Military Says It Might Have to Use Force to Prevent

Anarchy in Country

April 28, 1974

By HENRY GINIGER

Special to The New York Times

LISBON, April 27—The military junta now ruling Portugal after a coup two days ago made it clear today that it was not prepared to end the wars in the African territories by granting independence.

Gen. António de Spínola, the head of the junta, told a meeting of newspaper editors that "self-determination should not be confused with independence."

The statement appeared to indicate the possibility of future conflict between the junta and leftist forces in metropolitan Portugal, but an open break may not come for some time.

Leftists Parade

Already General Spínola was showing signs of alarm at some of the activities of the left as it gave vent to feelings that had been contained by almost a half century of dictatorship. He warned that he might have to use force to prevent anarchy in the country.

Yesterday a mob sacked the offices of the right-wing newspaper Epoca. Last night young leftists paraded with banners calling for the end of capitalism and the war against black African rebels and sprayed revolutionary slogans on monuments and sidewalks. Military and police forces avoided confrontation with the crowds by staying out of sight.

[United Press International reported that troops had fired shots into the air Saturday to disperse an unruly crowd that reportedly attacked some suspected members of the secret police.]

Leftists Urge Independence

Over the long range a confrontation was in prospect over African policy. General Spínola's reference to self-determination involved his proposals to offer Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique and Angola equal status with metropolitan Portugal in a federation. Under his proposal the peoples in the African areas would be allowed to express freely their allegiance to this new Portuguese community through a referendum, but the general said that they were not yet ready for such a vote.

The proposals are contained in a book by General Spínola that was published in February. In it the general first made public his disagreement with the policies of the Government of Premier Marcello Caetano and said that the African war was unwinnable by military means and that a political solution was needed.

But the particular solution he advocates is regarded by most

in the leftist opposition as inadequate, and they have instead sought the opening of negotiations with black rebels in Africa that would lead to independence.

The liberals and leftists were so happy with the sudden overthrow of the Government in Lisbon that no issue was being made of the differences on Africa. The main opposition group here issued a proclamation hailing the armed forces movement and the widened prospects "for both the immediate exercise and the conquest of democratic freedoms."

Tomorrow the left is scheduled to recover one of its principal leaders when Mario Soares, the 49-year-old secretary general of the formerly outlawed Socialist party, is expected to return here after five years of exile in Paris.

PORTUGAL PARTIES SPLIT WITH JUNTA ON AFRICA POLICY

NYT April 20, 1974

Center-Left Urges Spínola to Start Negotiations on Self-Determination

By HENRY GINIGER

Special to The New York Times

LISBON, April 29—The major Portuguese parties of the left and center differed today with the nation's new leader, Gen. António de Spínola, over his long-range program of keeping the African territories tied to Portugal.

Leaders of the Portuguese Democratic Movement, an organization of Socialists, Communists and Christian Democrats, said after an hour-and-a-half meeting with the general that they wanted an immediate end to the fighting in Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique and Angola. They also called for the opening of negotiations with the rebel movements there for self-determination and independence.

Though the political groups that were suddenly liberated by the coup d'état of last Thursday thus appeared headed for conflict with the new military leaders, the meeting today was described as cordial.

General's Plan Repeated

Leaders of the Democratic Movement, an outgrowth of a coalition of forces that had sought unsuccessfully to contest elections for the 150-seat National Assembly last October, said the general had accepted the broad outlines of a program of political action.

This, they said, included acceleration of a purge of "fascists" from Government and of the formation of a provisional government, which General Spínola announced a few days ago would be formed within three weeks.

The parties, anxious to enjoy power after the toppling of a dictatorial form of government instituted 46 years ago, said the general had agreed to form the provisional administration quickly. A member of the seven-man junta, probably General Spínola himself, will head it, they said, and military men will occupy defense posts, but civilians will occupy all others.

General Spínola, who precipitated the overturn here by publishing a book in February that declared the wars in Africa to

be unwinnable by military means, repeated in his meeting with the representatives of the Democratic Movement his program of a federation of equal states.

He told them that the African peoples were not yet prepared for self-determination and that this would take time. He agreed self-determination would have to be achieved, but made it clear he would act so that the voters would choose to remain within the Portuguese orbit.

He said that would mean a success for Portuguese policies. If the Africans voted for independence, this would signify failure.

The political leaders said they could not agree that preparation was needed for self-determination. The African peoples they said, are ready now.

Mario Soares, the secretary general of the Socialist party, who returned to Portugal yesterday from a five-year exile, said today in an interview that he was concerned that a separatist movement might be started by the white populations in the territories.

He said he would shortly go to London to talk to Prime Minister Wilson, and perhaps to Bonn to talk to Chancellor Willy Brandt about support for the Portuguese government about to be formed.

Atmosphere Friendly

He said the support of "friendly countries" was important in discouraging secession by whites in Africa.

Mr. Soares said independence had to come to the African territories but "it must be done in an orderly way."

Rebels in Portuguese Guinea Oppose Spinola's Plan

By **THOMAS A. JOHNSON**
Special to The New York Times

LAGOS, Nigeria, April 30— African guerrilla leaders in Portuguese Guinea, or Guinea-Bissau as they call it, regard Gen. António de Spínola's "solution" for the colonial wars as totally unacceptable.

This correspondent recently spent 10 days with the rebels in Guinea-Bissau. While the trip took place before the coup in Lisbon that brought General Spínola to power, there was considerable talk about him among the rebels. It centered around his proposal for a federation of the African colonies with Portugal as set forth in his book, "Portugal and the Future."

The inescapable conclusion was that the rebels regarded General Spínola as potentially a more difficult enemy than the regime of Premier Marcello Caetano.

Fears Seem Confirmed

Africans in this capital who are familiar with the struggle in Guinea-Bissau say that recent reports from Lisbon seem to confirm the rebels' fears. General Spínola has been quoted as having said that he has no intention of granting independence to the African territories.

General Spínola conceded in his book that it was not possible to defeat the guerrilla armies by military means alone. But during his five-year tenure as governor general of Portuguese Guinea, he took a number of initiatives that won a grudging respect from even his African foes. Thus they felt that in many ways, the less "enlightened" policies of the Lisbon old guard might have been easier to combat.

Joaquim Baro, a guerrilla fighter with the African Party for the Liberation of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde

(P.A.I.G.C.) told me that General Spínola "could be charming, convincing and inspiring among his own men and among Africans."

Spínola Visits Recalled

Mr. Baro, who served under General Spínola as an officer in the Portuguese Army 10 years ago, said the general would sometimes fly into a village "in one of our liberated zones, and while his troops fanned out to protect him, he would meet in a mud hut with village elders."

"He would pour a flask of brandy into a calabash," Mr. Baro recalled, "and drink with the Africans and tell them, 'Look, I am here with you. I am here because I am your friend. Where is the P.A.I.G.C.? They are in Paris or Moscow. But I am here. I am your friend.'"

Mr. Baro said such acts could be "disconcerting" to the rural people the rebels were attempting to organize.

Before retiring in 1973 as governor, General Spínola publicly advocated "a Guinea administered fundamentally by its own sons within a Portuguese community."

Promises to Africans

With promises of "a greater autonomy" as well as good salaries, the general recruited a black African army to fight alongside the Portuguese. And his successors in Portuguese Guinea recently were quoted in the press as having said: "We know we have not done right by the Africans, but that is history. From now on, we will do right."

A part of the new Portuguese image in the regions that they still hold is the People's Congress, an amalgam of more than 500 local African and religious leaders who meet periodically with Portuguese officials.

Through the congress, com-

munity groups can seek assistance for such programs as well-digging, road building, health centers and the like.

Africans opposed to Portuguese rule have noted, however, that the People's Congress was set up only after the African party's extensive system of schools, stores and hospitals was begun. And they note that while Portugal has ruled its territories for centuries, the territories have been used solely for the commercial benefits of Portugal and they are among Africa's most underdeveloped regions.

Stress on Differences

Yet another Spínola policy that Africans admit has had some effect has been the emphasizing of ethnic and tribal differences within the area.

Among other things, this has kept many of the Moslem cattle-raising Fula tribesmen from joining with the Balant tribesmen who are farmers in opposing the Portuguese.

"Spínola has an ability to confuse things," said Mrs. Carmen Pereira, a member of the African party's executive committee during a discussion with guerrilla leaders of the Spínola proposals for a federation of the African territories with Portugal. Mrs. Pereira stressed that since the Africa party's declaration of independence last September it would deal with Portugal only as one sovereign nation with another.

And Luis Cabral, president of the council that the rebels have set up to administer the territory they hold said in an interview with me, "Spínola talks a lot and he has been known to make a lot of promises. But we know that the only language he listens to comes

from the guns of our forces hitting him and hitting him and hitting him again."

NYT April 30, '74

U.S. SEES NO CHANGE IN PORTUGUESE TIES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 29— The State Department said today that an exchange of notes between the United States and Portugal's new military government "marks the continuation of relations without interruption" between the two countries.

Paul J. Hare, a department spokesman, said Ambassador João Hall Themido delivered a note on Saturday announcing establishment of the junta and setting out the new government's policies.

This morning Mr. Themido was given the United States reply by Wells Stabler, acting Assistant Secretary of State for Europe.

Asked whether the change of government in Lisbon would affect United States policy toward Africa, Mr. Hare replied:

"With regard to Portuguese territories we have consistently stated that we believe the right of self-determination should be the governing principle of all people."

U.N. Agency to Give Food to African Insurgents

By ERIC PACE

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, April 26 —The World Food Program, an arm of the United Nations, has decided to make food aid available to "peoples in the liberated areas in the colonial territories of Africa and their national liberation movements," it was announced here today.

The decision was not directly connected with the coup d'état in Portugal, according to United Nations officials in Rome, where the decision was made, but it was made with Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea in mind.

Portugal refers to the three areas as Portuguese African territories, although critics have been calling them colonies, and the Food and Agriculture Organization, a co-sponsor of the World Food Program, last year recognized the Republic of Guinea-Bissau that has been proclaimed by insurgents in Portuguese Guinea.

There was no immediate comment from Portugal's United Nations delegation regarding the decision, which was taken by a vote of the World Food Program's governing council at the Food and Agriculture Organization's world headquarters in Rome.

The United States is one of

the 24 countries with seats on the council, called the Inter-Governmental Committee, but United States diplomats here and in Washington said this afternoon that they had had no word about the details of the vote. Word had been sent to Rome earlier that the United States was opposed to aiding the insurgent groups.

Some details of the debate were made public in an F.A.O. communiqué released here today, which said the Organization of African Unity had requested "that the question of food aid to freedom fighters in Africa be considered by the W.F.P. governing body."

"During the debate on Wednesday and Thursday, in which most of the members of the committee present took

part, full support to the humanitarian needs of the affected peoples was expressed," it continued, although "some members held that there were legal constraints in existing W.F.P. regulations which prevented liberated territories being treated on a par with the member countries of the F.A.O. and the United Nations who are entitled to receive aid."

The World Food Program, which is co-sponsored also by the United Nations, is a 10-year-old organization that has been aiding hunger-stricken areas in India and Bangladesh. It also provides food that is disbursed in lieu of wages to workers on road-building and irrigation projects and the like.

The organization has never sent aid directly to African in-

surgent groups in the past, although as of Jan. 1 it had provided \$8.3-million worth of food to 125,215 refugees who had fled from the three Portuguese territories into adjoining countries—through which the aid was channeled.

Decision Is Hailed

Departing from past practice the World Food Program committee decided, as the communiqué put it, "to bend but not break the rules" and "to invite" the F.A.O. to "begin immediately through the Organization of African Unity an interim program of aid on an emergency or quasi-emergency basis to 'peoples in the liberated areas in the colonial territories of Africa and their national liberation movements.'"

S. Africa's Link to Portugal

By EDMUND MARCO

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa's immediate recognition of the new military junta in Portugal was motivated partly by Pretoria's hope that the changeover will lead to a southern African regional grouping with the same economic and strategic interests.

At least this is the opinion current in circles close to the South African government.

It is presumed in these circles that the political solution envisaged in Angola and Mozambique by the new Portuguese regime will be implemented by giving them more autonomy.

These circles hope that a total Portuguese disengagement from its African territories—meaning direct negotiations with African liberation movements—will be avoided, for the logical out-

come could only be capitulation by Portugal.

The head of the ruling Nationalist Party information services in the Transvaal, A. M. Van Schoor, commented in a radio interview that if self-determination were granted to Angola and Mozambique, then sooner or later these territories would demand "total independence with very close links with Lisbon, and for obvious reasons, in view of our community of interests in this area, with the rest of Southern Africa."

Pik Botha, a National Party member of parliament and international jurist, agreed with Van Schoor and said that a kind of southern African commonwealth would be in line with Pretoria's aspirations.

Both commentators stressed the fact that Premier

John Vorster's whole policy rested on forming a "power bloc" of southern African independent nations which would comprise South Africa, Rhodesia, plus the black-governed Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and one day the Bantustans in South Africa.

It is clear that Malawi must be included in this bloc.

There has been a feeling for a long time in Pretoria that the strong centralist governments in Lisbon had been an obstacle rather than an encouragement to forming such a "power bloc."

There is therefore little doubt that Pretoria will gladly seize any offer of direct cooperation from the Lisbon junta representatives in Angola and Mozambique, and later cooperating with the governments formed by a constitutional reorganization of Portuguese Africa.

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

New York Post May 1, 1974