

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.

ELISOFON COLLECTION ON DISPLAY

WASHINGTON—The Museum of African Art has mounted a major exhibition called "Tribute to Africa," which is also a tribute to **Eliot Elisofon**, the photographer and Africanist who was one of its benefactors.

The show, which opened to the public last weekend, displays about 150 of the approximately 600 works of traditional African sculpture that Elisofon bequeathed to the museum at his death in April, 1973, at the age of 61.

It includes about 40 large reproductions of the color photographs for which Elisofon was best known as a staff member of *Life* magazine, to which he contributed 28 cover stories between 1942 and the time it ceased publication.

One of the earliest serious collectors of African art in this country, he is credited with being an important influence in establishment of the museum by its founder and director, **Warren Robbins**.

Elisofon was a founding trustee of the museum which Mr. Robbins established 10 years ago as a private institution that has drawn major federal and foundation support.

The collection of traditional sculpture that Elisofon gave the museum includes a broad representation of works from the cultures of West and Central Africa, with special emphasis on the sculpture of the Congo River basin and of the Bambara people of Mali.

Hundreds of his color slides have been transferred to three films, visitor-activated, which are being shown in a small theater especially constructed for the show, and in two other gallery locations.

One is an overall view of the African continent and its people and animals, including shots of modern cities. Another is devoted to portraits of tribal leaders, matriarchs, judges and others.

The third focuses on housing and architecture, from huts in the forest to the modern buildings of Africa's cities.

The Samuel H. Kress Foundation has awarded the museum a \$46,000 grant to help develop the archives and make them accessible to scholars, teachers and publishers.

In accord with Elisofon's wishes, sets of photographs will also be distributed to five other African art study centers in which he had a special interest: Harvard's Peabody Museum, the Museum of Primitive Art in New York City, the University of California at Los Angeles, the University of Indiana and the British Museum. [*The Sun*, 6/6/74]

DATELINE FOR BLACK FESTIVAL

All countries wishing to participate in the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture in Lagos next year should pay their registration fees by December, the Festival Committee has decided. A communiqué

issued at the end of a meeting of the International Committee said entries for all events and exhibitions and requests for transport and accommodation should also be received at the Lagos Secretariat by December 31.

The committee also decided to mount publicity campaigns at a number of world events between June and March 1975, to stimulate interests in the festival. About 20 delegates from Europe, America, Australia and Africa attended the Lagos meeting. Members visited the Nigerian National Arts Theatre, now under construction and the festival village.

The committee decided to add religious exhibitions to the list of festival events. There will also be an exhibition on royalty, traditional rulers and chieftaincy affairs.

Some 71 countries and international organizations have declared their intention to take part in the festival. Chief **Anthony Enahoro**, the festival's president, and Federal Information and Labour Commissioner, told the committee that 14 participating countries had paid up their registration fees fully or partly. Chief Enahoro said the festival will definitely open on November 22, 1975, and 25,000 performers are expected to attend.

A 8,979,640 naira contract for the construction of roads leading to the National Arts Theatre has been awarded by the Federal government. [*West Africa*, 6/3/74]

PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS REJECTS RACISM

DAR ES SALAAM, Tanzania—Leaders of Tanzania, Guinea, and Mozambique last week rejected Black racism as well as white racism in the development of Africa, and pointed out that the struggle is against all human oppression on this continent.

In opening the Pan African Congress here at the University of Dar es Salaam, President **Julius Nyerere** said, "Let us make it quite clear that we oppose racial thinking. However, as long as Black people anywhere continue to be oppressed on grounds of color, Black people everywhere will stand together."

Greeting some 400 official representatives, including 70 from North America, at this Sixth Pan African Congress, President Nyerere praised Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Sylvester Williams, and George Padmore for their pioneering work in laying the foundation of Pan Africanism in the early 1900s.

Former tribal chiefs such as Jomo Kenyatta, now President of Kenya, and the late Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana were also praised for their efforts in developing the concept of Pan Africanism years ago.

Historian **Lerone Bennett** of *Ebony* responded for the North American delegation, pledging the resources of Black America to the peoples of Africa.

Prof. James Turner, director of African studies at Cornell University, was chairman of the North American delegation which included representation from the U.S., Canada, and the Caribbean.

President Sékou Touré of the Republic of Guinea and

Vice President Marcelino Dos Santos of Frelimo returned to the anti-racism theme in their statements.

In a taped message, President Toure denounced "Negritude," declaring that Fidel Castro of Cuba demonstrates more "Blackness" than many Africans in his humane approach to solving problems in his country.

Vice President Santos told the delegates that the struggle in South Africa is not "Black Power vs. White Power," but the "Power of the Exploiter vs. People Power." [Lawrence A. Still, *N.Y. Amsterdam News*, 7/6/74]

PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS ENDS WITH NO PLANS TO IMPLEMENT POLICIES

DAR ES SALAAM, Tanzania—Although the 600 delegates from all over the world who attended the eight-day Sixth Pan African Congress here were in general agreement as to the most urgent needs of the African people, little progress was made in establishing mechanisms to implement policies of Pan Africanism.

As the Congress closed, no provisions had been made for the establishment of a permanent Pan African Secretariat to continue to promote Pan Africanism under the auspices of the Organization of African States as proposed by President Julius Nyerere.

Nor was approval given for setting up a Pan African Science and Technology Center to aid in the development of Africa as recommended by Dr. Neville Perker of Howard University.

And the Congress also failed to establish a Pan African Information and Communications Center to help promote the interest of Africans and people of African descent in Pan Africanism.

Further, the Congress did not set a date for its next meeting, or agree to meet in either Guyana or Jamaica which extended invitations. The previous Congress met in 1945 in Manchester, England.

The U.S. delegation included few well known supporters of Pan Africanism such as C. L. R. James, historian of Trinidad, and activist Stokely Carmichael who failed to attend because they disagreed with the delegate selection process.

And no American delegate was a government official. This put the group at a decided disadvantage in dealing with African Ambassadors, United National spokesmen, and heads of state.

Other problems cited by Americans were the lack of sophistication and expertise in dealing with international forums, language barriers which reduced the effectiveness of their lobbying, and the emotional rhetoric of such speakers as Owusu Sadaukai and Imamu Baraka rather than documented position papers on African conditions.

Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Africa, and the House District Committee, was scheduled to attend, but sent regrets. Other American elected officials avoided the Congress reportedly because of the anti-U.S. position of many of the delegates.

Even Beverly Carter, black U.S. Ambassador to Tanzania, said he was not invited and did not participate in any other sessions or social affairs after the opening ceremony.

Conflict existed in other North American delegations as non-government representatives competed with government officials, especially in the West Indies, for Congress seats, with the government delegation usually winning.

While there were differences in delegation effectiveness and in ideology regarding class and color, with class rather than race prevailing, there was general agreement regarding the most urgent needs of the African people.

These were: (1) To end foreign domination in Africa; (2) to rid the continent of neo-colonial regimes in independent Africa; (3) to liquidate foreign military bases; (4) to consolidate and unify the peoples of Africa, those of African descent, and all peoples on the continent; (5) to solicit political and material aid for the liberation movements in Africa and other areas; (6) to define revolutionary Pan Africanism as a basic strategy of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, anti-neo-colonialism, and anti-racism in the struggle to promote equality, democracy, and a socialist society; and (7) to exclude all racial, tribal, ethnic and religious considerations in the development of a Pan Africanism which will enhance the cause of all oppressed peoples of the world. [Lawrence A. Still and Hodari Ali, *N.Y. Amsterdam News*, 7/20/74]

SUGAR ACT LEGISLATION DEFEATED

WASHINGTON—"Mr. Chairman, the purpose of this amendment is clear," said Congressman Parren Mitchell last week as he addressed the House of Representatives. "It seeks to terminate the South African sugar quota."

"During the timespan 1962-73, we have subsidized a regime which is perhaps the most blatantly racist on the face of the globe It is time for us to terminate this incestuous relationship."

The amendment, which would have blocked South Africa's sugar quota of 62,000 tons, was defeated 238 to 149. Hours later, however, the entire Sugar Act legislation was unexpectedly defeated 209 to 175, ending 40 years of government subsidies and import quotas in the sugar industry.

"Again the Congress has acted to protect racism," said Mitchell after the vote on South Africa's sugar quota. "The U.S. has a tremendous corporate investment in South Africa which is the reason that the Congress is favorably disposed toward that racist and repressive country."

Congressmen would have preferred an address by the less-blunt Congressman Charles Diggs, D-Mich., who originally was scheduled to introduce the amendment. Diggs, however, handed the assignment to Mitchell so that he could attend the Anglo-American Parliamentary Meeting on Africa, which met last week in Torquay, England.

Diggs, the senior black member of Congress, was criticized in several black congressional offices for missing the Sugar Act debate. The sources felt that his leadership as the chairman of the House Sub-committee on Africa was necessary to pass the amendment eliminating South Africa's sugar quota.

Another factor in the defeat of the amendment, according to an informed source, was that three white members of Congress did not honor earlier commitments that they would make speeches in support of the amendment. Benjamin Rosenthal, D-N.Y., left prior to the amendment debate, and Ray Madden, D-Ind., did not show up at all.

Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo., put a statement into the Congressional Record, the daily journal of House-Senate proceedings, but declined to make a speech. As a result, the only statements made in support of the amendment came from Congressmen Andrew Young, D-Ga., and Ralph Metcalf, D-Ill., both black.

Mitchell, a 52-year-old former university professor from Maryland's Seventh Congressional District, told the House that the U.S. had subsidized the racist government of South Africa "to the tune of \$33 million . . . the difference between the world market price and the amount of the U.S. sugar subsidy to the Union of South Africa."

He said that the U.S. economic involvement in Africa is "perceived by the world as an integral part of U.S. foreign policy, a part firmly allied with the white minorities of southern Africa."

"Opponents to this amendment will argue that we have no right to interfere with the internal problems of any sovereign nation," said Mitchell.

"More than 390 members of this House voted to voice our opposition to the Soviet policies in the emigration of those of the Jewish faith. Was this interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign body?"

Some observers see the defeat of the Sugar Act legislation as a "setback" since several pro-labor amendments which passed the House would have raised wage rates and added insurance protection for sugar workers.

In addition, South Africa is now free to sell sugar to the U.S. without the quota restrictions of the previous sugar acts and, as a result of her technological superiority to Africa and Third World countries, is likely to boost her American sales. [John W. Lewis, Jr., *The Afro-American*, 6/11-15/74]

TOP O.A.U. POSTS FILLED

MOGADISHU, Somalia, June 13 (Agence France-Presse) — Luis Cabral, leader of the self-proclaimed independent country of Guinea-Bissau, was elected a deputy chairman of the Organization of African Unity today.

Mr. Cabral, whose movement declared independence in a "liberated area" of Portuguese Guinea last September, was one of eight vice chairmen chosen today.

His foreign minister, Victor Maria, had been chosen deputy chairman of the organization's Council of Ministers, which met here just before the current session of leaders and heads of state.

President Mohammed Siad Barre of Somalia was formally elected chairman of the group, an association of 42 black and Arab African countries. He replaces Gen. Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria, in line with the organization's tradition that the leader of the country where the summit meeting is held is named to lead the O.A.U. for the next year.

President Barre met privately during the day with Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia to discuss their long-standing territorial dispute.

They had first spent more than two hours at a session of the eight-member good-offices committee set up a year ago to help the countries settle their differences over a desert region now part of Ethiopia, where natural gas has been found. Somalia has asserted that the region rightfully belongs to her.

Conference sources said the committee had found itself incapable of moving the two toward a settlement.

Speaking at a public session today, Samora Machel, leader of the Mozambique Liberation Front, said he rejected any idea of a referendum in Mozambique. [*New York Times*, 7/14/74]

AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE DISCUSS INDEPENDENCE FOR PORTUGAL'S FORMER COLONIES

MOGADISHU, Somalia, June 15 — Meeting in this torrid and genuinely revolutionary socialist capital, the leaders of Africa's 41 independent states might have been expected to indulge in some rhetorical boasting over Portugal's capitulation to the pressures for liberation into which the Organization of African Unity has put so much money, weapons and effort over the past 10 years.

But the mood has been quite different—subdued hopefulness about the great victories that might possibly sweep the "unfinished African revolution" right up against South Africa's borders, and realistic caution about the difficulties in the way of achieving an effective and orderly transfer of power.

The African Heads of State at the closing session today set Portugal three conditions for proof of sincere desire to come to terms.

First, the immediate recognition of the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau under a PAIGC Government.

Secondly, a forthright declaration of Portuguese intention to grant full independence to all former Portuguese colonies. In other words, the Portuguese promise of self-determination must be changed to an offer of full independence.

Thirdly, a Portuguese undertaking that it will negotiate terms for independence only with the liberation groups that are formally recognized by the OAU.

This last demand is likely to prove the most difficult for the Portuguese to accept.

Portugal's Foreign Minister, Dr. Mario Soares, has been invited to come at once for talks with the OAU Secretary-General, either at headquarters in Addis Ababa or here, about possible ways of co-operation to arrange an orderly transfer of power which will minimize the risk of spreading disorder.

Some African leaders still strongly suspect that the Lisbon junta will try to get their own safe black men elected to lead the new independent States after they have first successfully disarmed the liberation movements through a cease-fire. But most of them are more seriously concerned about the mechanics of replacing Lisbon's four centuries of colonial rule by fully representative interim Governments. They see no serious difficulties in the way of the smallest of the three Portuguese colonies — Guinea-Bissau — getting its independence quite quickly.

They are fairly confident about Mozambique, where, they feel, Frelimo is in a position to take the first step towards assuming power immediately, even though it might take a year, or possibly even two (but no more) before Lisbon finally relinquishes full power.

The real headache remains Angola, the largest, richest and most complex politically of the three territories. Not only are there three rival liberation movements from Angola represented at the conference here, but the most radical of them — the MPLA — is now split into three different parts and its titular leader, Dr. Agostinho Neto, did not even come here.

The OAU leaders are insisting that before any serious negotiations can begin with the Portuguese over Angola it is necessary to bring some order into the confused ranks of the guerrillas.

If these Angolan rivalries make it hard even to begin

the negotiations about independence, how much harder is it likely to be to achieve an orderly transition to independence? [Colin Legum, *Observer* (British), 6/16/74]

OAU TO PREPARE FOR CONFRONTATION

The 42-member nations of the OAU have been called on to place armed units at the organization's disposal to meet any confrontation with South Africa.

The call came from Somali president, General Mohammed Siad Barre, who said the new prospects for independence in Portugal's African territories meant that "the noose is closing around the neck of the white minority regimes in southern Africa."

The Somali leader — later elected as the new OAU chairman — said if the new Portuguese government were to win the goodwill of Africa it must translate its undertaking to recognize and grant the right of self-determination to its African territories immediately into action by giving full, unconditional independence. [*Times of Zambia*, 6/14/74]

RIVALRIES THWART AFRICAN SUMMIT

MOGADISHU, Somalia, June 16—Africa's presidents headed home today after a bitter wrangle over filling a bureaucratic post split the continent into pro-Arab and Black African camps.

Many in the Organization of African Unity saw the election of William Eteki of Cameroon as secretary general as a check on the growing influence of oil-rich North Africa and fellow members of the Arab League. Somali Foreign Minister Omar Arteh, a defeated candidate, had strong Arab backing.

Despite last-minute protestations of African brotherhood, observers pictured the OAU as deeply divided, with its secretariat in Addis Ababa torn by regional feuds and nearly powerless to meet problems of continental development. "So much for African unity," an East African delegate commented.

The OAU summit failed in 20 secret ballots to decide between Arteh and Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga. Old divisions between Arab and African states and between French and English-speaking countries opened up. Somalia's Arteh could get no more than 25 of the 28 votes necessary, and Zambia's Mwaanga could get no more than 21. Zambia is a member of the British-led Commonwealth.

Eventually, Arteh withdrew in favor of Eteki, who was elected unanimously to end the stalemate.

Eteki, 43, although little known internationally, has a reputation in Africa as a shrewd and cultured politician. He studied in France, and for a time was Cameroon's education minister before becoming the closest adviser to the president.

Cameroon's unique position among African countries undoubtedly was a factor in Eteki's election. It is the only state that was colonized recently by both the British and French, who split the country in two. This made Eteki's candidacy more palatable to countries of both backgrounds. His predecessor in the job was also a Cameroonian, who resigned for personal reasons.

Bloc chauvinism was also evident when some African

countries indicated unhappiness with the increasing influence inside the OAU of the Arab League. This worked to the disadvantage of Arteh, whose candidacy was seen as another step toward the "Arabization" of the OAU.

The OAU said it was ready for discussions with the Arab League on joint economic development. But some African Christian states differ with the Arabs on religious grounds. Others fear economic domination by the oil producers. Still others, like Zaire and Nigeria, see the Arabs as rivals for political influence on the continent.

States such as Kenya and Uganda complained that the \$200 million the Arabs offered to make up for increased oil prices fell far short of the needs of Africa's fragile economies. Some said they wanted more in return for backing the Arabs by breaking relations with Israel last year.

In other areas, however, the heads of state were able to agree on resolutions:

- They are ready for diplomatic relations with Portugal if Lisbon recognizes the state of Guinea-Bissau and negotiates with guerrilla leaders for total independence of Mozambique and Angola.

- The OAU will set up a committee to study ways of meeting possible future drought emergencies.

- An eight-member committee should continue efforts to ease a dispute between Ethiopia and Somalia over control of the Ogaden Desert.

- Economic sanctions against white minority-ruled southern Africa should be intensified.

Tanzanian Foreign Minister John Malecela said after the conference that African countries will continue to support liberation movements in Portuguese African territories and will refuse to establish diplomatic relations with Portugal until the territories are granted full independence.

UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, who also attended the summit, said in Nairobi, Kenya, today that the United Nations is in contact with Portuguese government officials regarding the independence issue.

"The United Nations is committed to self-determination and independence for all colonized peoples," he said.

Significantly, however, discussion of the Portuguese question resulted in appeals and almost instructions to the liberation movements, but virtually no constructive plan for African diplomatic action to create pressure on Portugal to come to immediate terms with the demand for independence in the three African colonies.

Sudanese President Jaafar Nimeri, speaking toward the end of the conference, called for a new approach to the OAU Charter.

When the Charter was written in 1963, Nimeri said, it was "a mirror of our fears and differences—not many wanted more. Our individual sovereignties were too brittle to tamper with, too precious to be pooled."

He suggested strongly that times have changed. [*Washington Post*, 6/17/74]

BAN ON FRENCH ARMS SUPPLIES TO SOUTH AFRICA?

J'BURG, S.A., May 31 (AFP)—French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's announcement yesterday of a possible revision of France's arms sales policy has struck observers here as a barely-veiled warning to South

Africa. For the past decade, France has been South Africa's main supplier of up-to-date strategic weapons, in spite of the United Nations 1964 embargo on arms deals with Pretoria. "French arms ban looms," wrote the opposition *Rand Daily Mail* today, over a front-page leading article. The paper drew a strong parallel between President Giscard d'Estaing's statement yesterday, and the recent decision by British Premier Harold Wilson to halt deliveries of Wasp helicopters to South Africa, even though the original order dated back to before the embargo. The daily recalled Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's election campaign promise that, once President, he would "restrain the sale of arms to foreign countries, especially South Africa." Mr. Giscard d'Estaing had also stated that France would support the right of all peoples in the world to self-determination, the *Mail* pointed out. There was little doubt that France's new foreign policy would be "unfavorable to South Africa," the daily said, adding that President Giscard d'Estaing had apparently opted in favor of the African liberation movements, and for the establishment of black majority governments in Angola and Mozambique. The *Rand Daily Mail* predicted that France's "former sympathies towards South Africa" would soon end, and that this would go along with measures against Rhodesia. The paper cited the possible closure of Rhodesian tourist offices, and a ban on French firms to trade with Rhodesia. [*Facts & Reports* (Amsterdam), 6/8/74]

SECRETARY-GENERAL FOR AFRICAN AND MALAGASY AFFAIRS DISMISSED

French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing announced to a cabinet meeting that the secretariat-general for African and Malagasy affairs is to be dissolved.

The secretary-general, Jacques Foccart, was dismissed by Giscard d'Estaing last Thursday. Foccart was also the chief of the Gaullist Party's police and intelligence services, known as "the parallel police."

Under Charles de Gaulle and his successor, Georges Pompidou, France's relations with its former African colonies were handled by the president, to whom Foccart reported directly. [*Washington Post*, 6/6/74]

MILITARY ISSUES STERN MANIFESTO FOR ETHIOPIA

ADDIS ABABA, July 9—The Ethiopian military issued its first formal policy statement of the current political crisis today, pledging once again its loyalty to Emperor Haile Selassie but making it clear that it intends to oversee the implementation of major reforms in the country.

In a 13-point statement, the Armed Forces Committee, the secretive coordinating body behind the military reform movement here, said that its objective was to accomplish "lasting changes without any bloodshed. The culture and history of Ethiopia are unique and so is the nature and course of this military movement," it said.

One of its priorities, the committee's statement said, was to see to it that the new constitution now being drafted was implemented on a "priority basis"—a step that promises to give Ethiopia a modern British-style parliamentary democracy under a monarchy. Haile Selassie has wielded virtually absolute power for more

than half a century.

Parliament met today for the first time in its special summer session ordered by the emperor at the military's request to consider the draft of the new constitution.

Meanwhile, eight more Ethiopians on the military's wanted list handed themselves over today, including Col. Solomon Kidire—the nation's top security chief—and Kassa Wolde Marian, former agricultural minister. This brings to 21 the number of Ethiopians who have surrendered in the past two days out of a current total of 28 on its list.

In their statement, the military reformers clearly indicated that they are not about to dissolve their committee and that they will continue to press the government of Prime Minister Endalkachew Makonnen to carry out the changes they want to see made.

"The coordinating committee believes that close cooperation between the council of ministers and [it] is proper and essential to enable the committee to present proposals and to ensure their implementation. The committee will therefore maintain its contact and cooperation with the council of ministers," the statement said.

Ethiopia thus apparently will continue to have a kind of dual government, one military and the other civilian, for the foreseeable future.

But the military reformers also pledged to insure the smooth functioning of the Endalkachew government by removing all obstacles, whether "inside or outside" the cabinet.

Other than implementation of the new constitution, the statement gave little information about the precise reforms the military want to see carried out.

In its statement, the military appealed to all governments and agencies presently providing relief to the drought-stricken areas of the country to "redouble their efforts" and not to hesitate in their humanitarian assistance because of the present military movement.

The committee also reassured foreign tourists intending to visit Ethiopia that the "door is still open" for them to visit the country "at any time without anxiety." The government has become increasingly concerned about the effects of the current political turmoil on tourism.

At the same time, the military asked all friendly governments planning to provide Ethiopia with aid to honor their commitments, "for this military movement is a movement dedicated to national development and progress."

The military is currently rounding up present and former ministers, officers, police officials, provincial governors and imperial advisers it has accused of corruption, abuse of authority or blocking reforms. There are still seven persons at large, including Ras (Duke) Mesfin Sileshi, powerful aristocrat and former ally of the emperor, and Brig. Gen. Mulugeta Wolde Yohannes, commander of the police emergency force.

Altogether, the military has so far arrested, or called for the surrender by Friday, of 46 persons since the present crisis began almost two weeks ago. Another 25 ministers and officials from the previous civilian government that fell in February are also in military custody, so that some 71 persons are in jail or wanted on charges of corruption or abuse of authority.

They are all scheduled to stand trial before a 15-man commission of inquiry set up to investigate corruption and maladministration. [David B. Ottaway, *Washington Post*, 7/10/74]

PAIGC CONFERS WITH SOARES: ROUND 1

After five days of hard bargaining at the London conference on the future of Guinea-Bissau, it looks as if the basis for an agreement has been found, with the African nationalists setting aside their claim to the Cape Verde Islands for the time being, pending a plebiscite, in return for immediate diplomatic recognition of their PAIGC administration as the legal Government of the territory.

For the Africans, who have been conducting a guerrilla war for the past 13 years, this deal has the advantage that the present unofficial ceasefire would be confirmed and followed by the immediate start of the withdrawal of the Portuguese armed forces from the territory.

Conceivably the deal will also include an economic section in which Lisbon will be pledged to a development program on a considerable scale, to assist the new African administration not only with personnel but with capital aid. Here the argument is that Portugal has been spending something like £50 million a year on the fruitless war, and, now that she is to be relieved of that burden, can well afford such a financial gesture.

Because of the importance of the bargain which is now ready for approval, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Mario Soares, who flew to Lisbon on Tuesday, is staying there for an extra day. This is taken at the London conference to be a hopeful sign, indicating that President Spínola wants to push the issue through Cabinet and get broad-based approval for the whole plan.

It is significant that when Dr. Soares took the plane to Lisbon he was accompanied by Colonel Joao de Almeida Bruno, the officer who represents the powerful armed forces movement which directed the April coup and holds the real power in Portugal.

As it happens, he is also a military expert on the situation in Guinea. It is thought that the return of the prisoners of war held by the PAIGC is another element in the complex package that is due for signature in London perhaps as soon as tomorrow night.

As to the Cape Verde Islands, the apparent concession by the PAIGC is not without its advantages to the African nationalists. The Cape Verdeans, who have formed the core of the PAIGC on the mainland from the beginning (including such men as the Cabral brothers) have always been under some suspicion among their African brothers as "brown settlers" (outsiders) who were perhaps trying to use a nationalist movement and a jungle war for their own purposes. [Patrick Keatley and Antonio de Figueiredo, *Guardian*, 5/30/74]

DEMONSTRATIONS ON THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

O SECULO, Portugal, May 21—Hundreds of persons demonstrated yesterday in the afternoon at the Portela airport, protesting the fact that Portuguese troops are still being sent to the colonies and especially to the Cape Verde Islands where lately great agitation has taken place. According to a communiqué issued by the demonstrators two days before, during the night, in the city of Praia fights broke out between elements of the population and the military police. It is known that there were at least ten wounded, amongst them Major Valdez

Santos, military commander of Sotavento. Some of the underlined words yesterday were "Long Live the PAIGC!", "Unity Guinea-Cape Verde!" The communiqué gives the following explanation: "Since the 25th of April the population of Cape Verde has shown its support to its legitimate representative, the PAIGC, remembering Amílcar Cabral and demanding the independence of Guinea and Cape Verde as a sole country. The provisional Government speaks only about the independence for Guinea, trying to divide two peoples united by their history and their struggle." After condemning the methods employed by the provisional government, the text points out: "We demand from the workers and students from the colonies in Portugal, from the workers, soldiers, sailors, and remaining Portuguese population a firm position with regard to the immediate return of the soldiers and immediate and unconditional independence for the colonies." Para-troopers kept the demonstrators at a distance. Those holding placards shouted: "Unconditional and immediate independence for the colonies!" "Not one more soldier to the colonies!" "The brother peoples of the colonies will win!" Meanwhile the passengers of the Bissau-Lisbon flight arrived. One declared that, in Sao Vicente, "there are every day demonstrations with the participation of the overwhelming majority of the local population (30 thousand persons)." Last Saturday, according to the same source, a gigantic meeting took place on the Square of Estrela. The manifestants tried to take down the Portuguese flags and to substitute for them those of the PAIGC. The Military Police warned that, in this case, they would shoot indiscriminately, thus preventing the people from realizing their aims. In both Sao Vicente and Cidade da Praia the population demands the immediate retreat of the Portuguese troops. [*Facts & Reports* (Amsterdam), 6/8/74]

GUERRILLA DEMANDS CAUSE PORTUGAL TO RECONSIDER AFRICAN POLICIES

The Portuguese Government is reappraising its policies towards its three African territories following the preliminary round of talks between Dr. Soares, the Foreign Minister, and Mr. Samora Machel, the president of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), in Lusaka last week.

The Portuguese decision to postpone the second round of the ceasefire talks with the Guinea-Bissau nationalist organization, PAIGC, is believed to be to allow the Portuguese Cabinet time to assess nationalist demands. The talks were to have been resumed in London on Saturday. However, according to a spokesman for the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Mogadishu, where an African summit meeting begins on Wednesday, the talks will now be transferred to Algiers.

The postponement of the talks with the PAIGC was announced in Lisbon soon after the return of Dr. Soares from Lusaka. A communiqué issued after a three-hour Cabinet meeting, during which Dr. Soares briefed fellow ministers and President Spínola on the outcome of his meeting with the Frelimo leader, said the postponement was by mutual agreement but did not give any reason.

However, it seems evident that demands by both the PAIGC and Frelimo that the Portuguese should recognize their right to independence as part of an over-all

ceasefire agreement has forced the Portuguese to rethink their policies towards Africa.

Initially, the Portuguese had hoped to restrict their first rounds of talks with the guerrilla organizations to arranging a ceasefire. When this had been achieved the Portuguese proposed to offer the territories self-determination by means of a referendum to be followed by independence. However, Mr. Machel made it clear at the end of the Lusaka meeting that a ceasefire agreement would depend on an overall political solution covering all aspects of Mozambique's future.

At the beginning of last month there was a meeting between Frelimo, PAIGC, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the liberation committee of the OAU to discuss a common position in the talks with Portugal. It now seems clear that Frelimo and PAIGC have tactically linked their separate negotiations. Success in Portugal's talks with the PAIGC would ease the way to reaching an agreement with Frelimo. On the other hand, failure in one set of talks could jeopardize both.

It is widely felt in Lisbon that the PAIGC, which is already recognized as the government of Guinea-Bissau by 84 countries, and Frelimo will emerge as the ruling parties in their respective territories. However, the government believes that the people in these territories should be allowed to decide their future in a referendum. In Angola, where there is no dominant guerrilla organization, the need to hold a referendum is seen as being even more important.

In an interview published in the newspaper *Provincia de Angola* yesterday, Dr. Soares said Angola would be Portugal's most difficult decolonization problem because of its riches and because the three nationalist movements were split. He added that movement towards African self-government in all three territories had to be made in stages in order to guarantee peace, security and democracy to people of all races and ethnic groups.

The results of Portugal's current policy reappraisal will become evident during the talks with the PAIGC later this week. Negotiations with Frelimo are due to resume in Lusaka early in July at a date to be arranged once the outcome of the meeting with PAIGC is known.

The decision to hold this week's meeting in Algiers rather than London is significant in view of the role Algeria has played in the talks so far. The PAIGC delegation had a meeting with President Boumedienne before being flown to London in his private aircraft to start talks with the Portuguese. The delegation was put up in London at the Algerians' expense and they kept in touch through the Algerian embassy with the organization's secretary-general, Mr. Aristides Pereira, who remained behind in Algiers.

The direction of Portuguese thinking on Africa is expected to become clear on Tuesday when President Spinola is due to make a major speech when he swears in new governors for Angola and Mozambique. [Nicholas Ashford, *Times* (U.K.), 6/10/74]

MPLA RESPONDS TO CHARGES OF DISUNITY

When Frelimo leader Mr. Samora Machel and Portuguese Foreign Minister Dr. Mario Soares were meeting in Lusaka to discuss the freedom of Mozambique, we

received this open letter from the Angolan movement, MPLA.

When the leaders of Zambia, Zaire, Congo and Tanzania, the OAU and indeed the world at large are working hard and looking forward to the unification of the liberation movements in Angola and the independence of that country, the MPLA Lusaka office wrote this letter we now publish in full which only serves to enhance disunity in Angola at a time when they should unite and start talking to the Portuguese like PAIGC and Frelimo.

In the Times of Zambia of May 30, you carried an article headed "Angola's Success Depends on Unity."

The MPLA information and propaganda department is bound to comment on that article because it contains a series of incorrect statements, errors of analysis and unfounded statements that will leave the readers of this newspaper, seeking information and guidance, quite misinformed.

Further, the article is a great injustice to those who for 13 years have given their strength, sweat, blood and many times their lives, so that the ideal of liberty might triumph in Angola. This applies not only to the militants but also the leaders of MPLA, who have at their head, Comrade Neto, the president.

On May 28 we made reference to the recognition of UNITA by the OAU. We do not wish to return to this subject again, if only because it is not for us, but for the OAU, to give the correct version.

In so far as UNITA's existence within Angola is concerned, this is another matter. To "exist within Angola" itself means nothing. There are many organizations which exist in Angola but fighting organizations are few.

Until the time of the coup that brought General Spínola to power, UNITA collaborated actively with the colonial Portuguese army. It is for this reason that MPLA, vanguard of the Angolan people in arms since 1961, cannot accept unity with an agent of the enemy.

As far as the split caused by Daniel Chipenda in MPLA is concerned, it is untrue to say that "to make matters worse the two tribal factions, one which supported MPLA leader Dr. Neto and the other his deputy, Mr. Daniel Chipenda, took arms to settle their differences."

Firstly, it is necessary to make it clear that there are now two factions; on one hand there exists MPLA, not only on the eastern front, but throughout the whole of Angola, and on the other hand, a small dissident tribal group led by Daniel Chipenda.

The differences which exist were not resolved with arms. On the part of MPLA, the Zambian authorities can confirm that there was never any attempt to solve the problem in any violent way, as we realized that the great majority of the elements forming this group had been taken in by impossible promises that could not be satisfied. Because of this, many of them rejoined the ranks of MPLA.

Daniel Chipenda has never been a "deputy" president of MPLA, but only a member of the executive, like several others. But since June 1973, he has been no more than a suspended militant.

Once again we wish to make it clear, especially since the *Times of Zambia* was not prepared to publish our statement of May 28, that MPLA has signed no unity agreement with UNITA or FNLA. We know nothing of the "Lusaka declaration of unity" that is mentioned.

But we think that it is useful to make it clear that our

position has always been in favor of unity. As we said on May 28: "Yesterday, as today and always, we are for true unity, the only efficient means by which the true independence of Angola can be achieved."

However, the unity which is referred to will by no means be an instrument by which we will achieve our objective, which is the true independence of Angola.

Referring to the open insinuation that the president of MPLA, Dr. Neto, dreams of being the president of Angola, we vigorously repudiate this, as we also vehemently deny that "in their day dreams, they have used innocent and dedicated fighters' lives."

This is not the case in MPLA. The struggle itself, as the case of Daniel Chipenda proves, eliminates individuals who become leaders without having the appropriate stature to be such.

No, the MPLA fighter is not a springboard to power for anyone at all; he knows why he is fighting. —*Department of Information and Propaganda, MPLA.* [*Times of Zambia*, 6/13/74]

NEW PORTUGUESE CABINET— MODERATE LEFT

Charged by President António de Spínola with enforcing greater "social and civic discipline," Portugal's new, military-dominated Government has taken office against a background of continued unrest at home and stepped-up violence in the nation's African colonies.

Heading the regime is Col. Vasco dos Santos Gonçalves, the Premier. President Spínola, in introducing the new Cabinet, referred to Colonel Gonçalves as "the brain" behind the April 25 coup that toppled Portugal's 50-year-old dictatorship, headed in its final days by Premier Marcello Caetano.

The general tone of the Cabinet is moderately left. Its major task will be to deal with the country's 30 percent inflation rate and general business depression. And it will have to try to reconcile the problems in Africa.

Seven key posts in the new government, almost half the total, went to military men. But the Communist party's secretary general, Alvaro Cunhal, will stay on as a Minister Without Portfolio; he loses control of the Labor Ministry. And the Socialist leader, Mario Soares, who has been in charge of negotiating with rebel leaders from Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, remains as Foreign Minister.

In Mozambique, African guerrillas last week blew up a section of the Tete railway line which links Beira, the colony's main port, with the giant Cabora Bassa Dam which the Portuguese are rushing to completion. Since June 26, the line has been sabotaged three times, seriously delaying work on the dam.

In Angola, the shooting of a white taxi driver in the capital, Luanda, two weeks ago, touched off riots that left seven people dead. Last week new demonstrations were broken up by troops and in the ensuing melee, 20 more people were reported dead. [*New York Times*, 7/21/74]

CAETANO WILL HEAD BRAZIL LAW INSTITUTE

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 3—Marcello Caetano, the

exiled Portuguese premier, will head the Institute of Comparative Law at Gama Filho University, the university announced.

Mr. Caetano, whose government was overthrown by the military in April, first was exiled to the Portuguese island of Madeira and then permitted to reside in Brazil. Also in Brazil is Adm. Americo Thomas, the ousted president of Portugal. [*International Herald Tribune*, 6/4/74]

JOANA SIMEAO EXPELLED FROM GUMO

DIARIO DE NOTICIAS, Portugal, June 13—Joana Simeao has been dismissed as vice-chairman of GUMO by Dr. Maximo Dias. She was accused of having been an informer of the PIDE-DGS under the former regime. She now has established a new political organization, the Congresso Nacional Africano de Moçambique. [*Facts & Reports* (Amsterdam), 6/22/74]

AFRICA AND THE CRITICAL CHOICES FOR AMERICA

I was shocked to read in a recent nationally distributed press release an announcement by former Governor Nelson Rockefeller of the names of "several scholars and authorities who will serve on panels examining International Affairs for the Commission on Critical Choices for America." Under the supervision of Mrs. Henry Kissinger, five panels have been created to look into the problems of Asia, Western Europe, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Latin America. Where, may I ask, is the panel which will undertake to study the increasingly serious problems of Africa, or is Africa not a vital and crucial part of the world?

I have never ceased to marvel at the attitude of many of our American leaders, who, at this crucial stage in international relations, still continue to overlook the second largest continent in the world—a continent, moreover, which poses some of the most critical problems for international politics.

Any appraisal of choices for American policy which excludes the serious international problems involving Africa is, to say the least, unrealistic. One cannot help construing this as yet another example of America subsuming Africa and African problems within the colonialist context of Western Europe, and unfortunately, such an interpretation has too often been substantiated by American policy toward Africa.

The growing political and economic importance of Africa dictates the need for a significant reappraisal of our foreign policy priorities. How can one turn aside from the problems of apartheid, the stirring of independence in the Portuguese territories, the flagrant flaunting of United Nations authority in Namibia and Rhodesia, the subtleties of China's roles in East Africa, the crushing and devastating problems of famine, the Sahelian drought, etc. . . . ? Yet, apparently, Mr. Rockefeller and Mrs. Kissinger intend to do so.

One may suggest, further, that for neo-colonialist reasons the economic importance of Africa to the rest of the world has often been downgraded. But it is easily demonstrated that Africa's economic importance to the rest of the world is greater than has often been made

out. For example, of eight of the major strategic minerals in world trade, Africa produces over 37% of the total world output based on figures for 1968-69. For two of these minerals, Africa's output is 64% and 71% respectively of world production. These figures will gain added significance when the unfolding situation in Southern Africa reaches its inevitable resolution, with African majorities controlling their own affairs.

For these reasons it is incomprehensible that a commission which claims to deal with America's critical choices can overlook what is clearly one of the most crucial areas confronting American policy for the next decades.—*Franklin H. Williams, President, Phelps Stokes Fund. [Washington Post, 7/7/74]*

NEW U.N. YEARBOOK, 25th EDITION, IS OUT

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., June 30—The United States led the world in the production of automobiles and tractors, in the publication of books and the consumption of energy, according to the *United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1973*, which was published today.

The yearbook, a 4-pound 12-ounce compilation of statistical information, is widely regarded as the most authoritative source of international data, and the 9,000 copies published annually are usually grabbed up quickly by governments, libraries, and companies. [*New York Times, 7/1/74*]

PORTUGAL STARTS TO FREE COLONIES

President Spínola, in a televised broadcast to the Portuguese nation, announced yesterday that decolonization of Portugal's African territories had begun "from this moment." He has promulgated a decree recognizing the right of the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique to "take into their own hands their own destinies."

He described this as "immediate recognition of their right to independence," but did not specify when or how independence would be achieved.

The president abandoned his military uniform for the occasion and sat at his desk as a benign civilian, his famous monocle replaced by half-moon reading glasses. The decision, he said, was "faithful" to the program of the Armed Forces' Movement and was "a victory over ourselves, over our errors and over our contradictions."

The announcement comes appropriately in time for tomorrow's expected arrival of **Dr. Kurt Waldheim**, the first UN secretary-general ever to visit Portugal.

The new decree replaces a law of 1933 which declared that all the overseas territories were part of metropolitan Portugal. **President Spínola** said he hoped Portugal in future would remain united with the new nations in a "co-existence without preconceptions"—a phrase taken to mean some kind of Portuguese-speaking commonwealth. [*Jose Shercliff, Sunday Times (London), 7/28/74*]

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