

The Publications Committee has also proposed (see *ASA Newsletter*, June 1974, p.2) that we launch a new series to be called the Basic Africana Library. The textbooks in this series will be geared to upper high school and lower college levels. They should be cross-disciplinary in structure, comparative in perspective, problem oriented, and written in simple yet precise language. They may be authored individually or jointly. The series is *not* intended as an outlet for advanced research completed, Ph.D. dissertations, or the collected papers of authors. As it is our intention to break into the High School and lower college market, the series must reflect the interests and levels of this constituency. The following titles are suggested to potential authors: The Group and Individual in African Societies; Ethnicity and Class; Producers and Consumers; Associations and Organizations; African Philosophies; Strategies and Perceptions of Change and Development; The Evolution of Dissent; Revolutionary Forces on the African Continent. Potential authors should write to the Executive Secretary if they wish to take up any of these topics.

The Publications Committee is fully aware of the financial and administrative responsibilities involved. Very tight controls over the production processes have been achieved and are designed to contain cost escalation and to use our permanent staff to best advantage.

The Publications Committee is open to criticism and suggestions from all members of the Association, without whose vigilance our efforts will not be rewarded.

—Peter C.W. Gutkind

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## NEWS NOTES

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

### COOPERATION BETWEEN MOZAMBIQUE AND EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

Mozambique and East Africa have agreed to co-operate in social and economic fields, the Prime Minister of the Frelimo-led transitional Government of Mozambique, **Ndugu Joaquim Chissano**, said in Dar es Salaam yesterday.

Speaking to newsmen at the airport just before he left for Lourenco Marques, Ndugu Chissano said that direct communication between his country and East Africa will be established "very soon."

The Premier, who arrived on Monday from Lourenco Marques for consultations with Frelimo headquarters and the Tanzania Government, also pointed out that East African Airways will be operating weekly flights to Mozambique, while the Mozambican Deta Airlines will operate similar flights to East Africa.

East African Airways will operate flights to Lourenco Marques every Saturday beginning November 2, while Deta Airlines will fly to Dar es Salaam every Monday beginning November 4. Ndugu Chissano did not elaborate on the other spheres of co-operation between his country and East Africa.

On his visit to Dar es Salaam, the Premier said that his delegation held consultations with the Frelimo Executive Committee on the current situation in Mozambique.

"We are equipped to take better decisions," Ndugu Chissano said, adding that the delegation had discussed many aspects of development in Mozambique needing political orientation. These include the economic and military fields, he said.

During his visit, he met President Nyerere and held talks with the Prime Minister, **Ndugu Rashidi Kawawa** and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, **Ndugu John Malecela**.

Mozambique's Minister for Transport and Communications, **Ndugu Eugenio Picolo**, who accompanied Ndugu Chissano, had "working" discussions with his Tanzanian counterpart, **Ndugu Job Lusinde**.

"We had the opportunity to change views and get the experiences in the various fields of Tanzanian development," Ndugu Chissano told newsmen.

On Mozambique's relations with South Africa, Ndugu Chissano said that no decision has been reached yet. He said that a joint commission of the Mozambican and Portuguese governments was currently studying the situation and a statement would be made.

Summing up his visit he said: "We came to gather courage for our work ahead. We feel very much encouraged." Although the visit was an unexpected one, he said, it was "very successful."

His delegation included a Frelimo army member, **Xavier Sulila**, a member of the Economic Commission, **Ndugu Joaquim Carvalho**, and the Secretary of State for Education, **Ndugu Craca Simbine**.

The visit was the first by Ndugu Chissano since Frelimo assumed power in Mozambique on September 20. [*Daily News* (Tanzania), 10/31/74]

### DISCOVERY OF NEW FOSSILS CAUSES CONTROVERSY

**Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Oct. 25 (Reuters)**—Anthropologists said today that they had found fossilized human remains three million to four million years old that, they predicted, would revolutionize thinking on the origins of man.

Members of a joint American-French-Ethiopian expedition held a news conference to show parts of jawbones discovered this month in the central region of Ethiopia, near the Awash River.

Preliminary dating indicates the fossils may be as much as 1.5 million years older than those discovered by the American Anthropologist Richard Leakey on the shores of Lake Rudolf in Kenya. These were said to be the oldest relics of humans.

The latest finds consist of a complete upper jaw with all the teeth in place, half of an upper jaw and half of a lower jaw, both with teeth.

The expedition was led by **Dr. Karl Johanson**, an anthropologist from Case Western Reserve University

and the Cleveland Museum of Natural History, and Dr. Maurice Taieb of the French Scientific Research Center.

A statement by the expedition said: "These specimens clearly exhibit traits which must be considered as indicative of the genus homo. Taken together they represent the most complete remains of this genus from anywhere in the world at a very ancient time. All previous theories of the origin of the lineage which leads to modern man must now be totally revised. We must throw out many existing theories and consider the possibility that man's origins go back to well over four million years."

The statement recalled that discoveries from Lake Rudolf and from Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania—where Mr. Leakey's father, the late Dr. Louis S.B. Leakey, the archaeologist, made historic fossil finds—had taken man's earliest remains back to over two million years. Two years ago Richard Leakey presented a manlike skull from Lake Rudolf that he said was 2.6 million years old.

The finds in Ethiopia are "perhaps the most provocative human fossils ever discovered on the African Continent," the statement said, adding, "It is certain that anthropologists from all over the world will meet these discoveries with extreme controversy and amazement."

It said the location of the finds suggested the "revolutionary postulate" that human origins lay outside Africa—Richard Leakey maintains that Africa was the cradle of humankind—but it conceded that this idea would be greeted with extreme skepticism... [excerpted from the *New York Times*, 10/26/74]

#### AMIN RENEWS THREAT OF EXPULSION

London, Nov. 3 (Reuters)—Uganda's President Idi Amin today renewed his threat to expel all Britons after claiming that the British press had started another propaganda campaign against himself and the country, according to Radio Uganda.

Amin made a similar threat in June, but lifted it after intervention by Kenya's President Jomo Kenyatta. [*Washington Post*, 11/4/74]

#### U.N. OFFERED A NEW HOME

Kampala—Uganda's President Idi Amin has suggested the United Nations headquarters be transferred from New York to Kampala, Radio Uganda said this week.

In a message to Algeria's President Houari Boumedienne, whose country is "chairman" of the UN General Assembly, General Amin alleged domination of the world body by imperialist powers and urged its transfer "in the interests of justice and equality." [*The Star* (Johannesburg), 11/9/74]

#### NEW OPPOSITION PARTY IN SENEGAL

With the recent creation of the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS), Senegal, which had been a de facto one-party state since 1966, has gone back to the multi-party system.

The Senegalese Head of State, Leopold Sedar Senghor, who is also the Secretary-General of the Senegalese Progressive Union (UPS) did not oppose the implementation of the multi-party system allowed under the law. Anyhow, he could hardly prevent the new party from coming into being for the move would have clashed with his repeated claims that he is a democrat.

The new Senegalese party was formed by a barrister, Abdoulaye Wade, who is its Secretary-General.

According to him, the PDS is "a socialist and a nationalist" party determined to place emphasis on co-operation between developing countries, especially between African and Arab states. Secretary-General Wade said he would like Senegal to become "a convinced advocate of African options instead of Europe's messenger in Africa as it is at the moment."

The full program of the new party will be set out during its inaugural congress early next year. Abdoulaye Wade, however, pointed out some of the points which are to represent the party's priorities. Although he made it clear that it was not an opposition party but a party willing to contribute to the country's political life and economic development by making specific proposals, some of the outlines of its projected program imply criticism of the present administration in Senegal.

For example, the PDS intends to put an end to what it sees as a monopolization of the political life in Senegal by the UPS. It insists that democracy must be restored in the country through the effective implementation of the multi-party system.

Consequently, the PDS must be represented in the National Assembly. However, it insists that this can only be possible if the present ballot system in Senegal is changed. It therefore advocates a replacement of the present system of national lists—which makes the establishment of the single party system easy in so far as it eliminates parliamentary opposition—by that of universal voting per constituency. Whether the Senegalese Government will agree on the need to such changes remains to be seen. If it did not, the PDS's margin of maneuver as its Secretary-General himself put it would be confined to narrow limits, as is the case for all political parties in other parts of Africa which, despite a legal existence, have no legislative participation.

Previous experiences in Senegal itself—when for instance the African party for independence was banned in 1960—show that under a presidential regime where the government and the pro-government political party maintain very close relations, opposition parties have a precarious and difficult life.

An illustration of this is that neither the government-owned television nor radio saw the founding of the PDS news-worthy. Moreover, the semi-official Dakar daily, *Le Soleil*, has already criticized the PDS and stated that its options were "not clear." The newspaper said the PDS program included nothing new as compared to that of the UPS. The UPS too, *Le Soleil* added, wants to establish a socialist regime through democratic means in Senegal.

In any case, it is the Senegalese people's attitude vis-a-vis the PDS which may have a decisive influence on the party's future. There are opponents to President Senghor's policies, but whether they will agree with the PDS options and participate in its activities or whether they will adopt a skeptical attitude, based on the belief that M. Senghor is not ready to go too far in allowing the existence of a legal opposition party with the implications such a fact involves, will be an important factor in Senegal's political future. [*Africa* (London), 11/74]

#### U.N.E.S.C.O. CHIEF

Amadou M'Bow, a farmer's son, has become the first African to head a United Nations agency. M'Bow, 53, was inaugurated yesterday as the new director general of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization—UNESCO. He has been UNESCO's deputy director general for education since 1970. He called his election "a step toward eliminating the prejudices which have for so long marred world history and as proof of a

willingness to base international cooperation on more just grounds." [Washington Star-News, 11/16/74]

### ZAMBIA TERMINATES AMAX CONTRACTS

Zambia, one of the world's main copper producers, announced it had reached agreement in principle on ending the management and sales contracts of American Metal Climax. [Washington Post, 11/16/74]

### OIL BOOM AIDS NIGERIA SURPLUS

Lagos, Nigeria (AP)—The oil boom has helped push Nigeria's foreign trade surplus to \$3.6 billion for the first half of 1974, Nigeria's central bank announced.

This figure represents a ten-fold increase over the surplus recorded during the same period of 1973.

Traditional agricultural export commodities, however, suffered a serious decline of 35.6 per cent as a result of the drought which affected most of the northern states, said the bank.

It said this was more than offset by the increase in world prices of these commodities, which was 79 per cent higher than during the same period of 1973.

Nigeria's foreign exchange reserves stood at nearly \$2.5 billion, nearly three times the level for December 1973. [The Sun, 11/10/74]

### DUBE ABDUCTED

Ethan Dube, a cadre of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), was recently abducted from his temporary residence in Francistown, Botswana. On October 13, three white men and one Black broke into the house and knocked him down with an iron bar. Dube was then carried off—dead or unconscious—to a waiting car. The vehicle was later found abandoned and splattered with blood near the Rhodesian border 70 miles north.

There is no question that the abduction was the work of the Rhodesian regime in its efforts to counter the advance of the Zimbabwe Liberation struggle. Botswana borders Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, and Zambia, but has—due to its near complete dependence on South Africa—prohibited freedom fighters to operate from its territory. Nevertheless, incidents of a similar nature have taken place in the past, and ZAPU now strongly urges the Botswana Government to put an end to such raids and demand the immediate return of Ethan Dube. [Press release from the LSM Information Center, Richmond, B.C. November 1974.]

### TO KEEP PRETORIA IN

Nothing would be gained either for the cause of world peace and security or for the effectiveness of the United Nations by expelling the white Government of South Africa from the U.N. On the contrary, the chances for a peaceful evolution to self-determination and majority rule in both South Africa and Namibia (South-West Africa) will be greater if the Pretoria Government remains in the organization of which it is an original member.

South Africa's continued control over Namibia has been illegal since the U.N. General Assembly in 1966 terminated Pretoria's League of Nations mandate over the territory. But for all the rhetoric at Turtle Bay, no state or any combination of member states is going to try to oust South Africa from Namibia by force.

The best way to bring about South Africa's exodus from the territory is to keep pressure on Pretoria to validate the recent pledge of its Foreign Minister that "all options are open" for Namibia, including full independence if its people should so decide "in the exercise of their right to self-determination." No one will expect miracles but it is somewhat encouraging that South Africa's stance on Namibia is changing.

As for the situation inside its own borders, Pretoria's racial apartheid is abhorrent. But expulsion from the U.N. not only would fail to hasten eradication of apartheid or the coming of majority rule; it would be dubious legality under the Charter. There is much hypocrisy in the loud advocacy of expulsion by nations whose practice of racial and tribal persecution is fully as obnoxious as South African apartheid.

In an organization whose aim has rightly been the achievement of universality, expulsion of a member would set a dangerous precedent—as indeed did the ouster of Taiwan. Any such resolution should be rejected in the Security Council, or vetoed by the United States if necessary. [New York Times, 10/25/74]

### LETTER TO THE "NEW YORK TIMES" FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA (New York)

To the Editor:

Your editorial "To Keep Pretoria In" (NYT, Oct. 25) suggests that "nothing would be gained . . . by expelling the white Government of South Africa from the U.N." but the chances for peaceful change in South Africa and Namibia "will be greater" if the white minority regime remains.

The Times argument "that South Africa's stance on Namibia is changing" is the same as that used by U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim in his "dialogue" with Prime Minister Vorster begun two years ago. In fact, however, the United States formally voted in the Security Council last year to discontinue these talks because of their abysmal failure in hastening self-determination for Namibians.

Citing the hypocrisy of nations "whose practice of racial and tribal persecution is fully as obnoxious as South African apartheid" voting for expulsion contains dubious logic, if accurate observation. This argument concerns the U.N. for inaction in one area of injustice because it cannot address all others at the same moment. It does nothing to further moral action in this or any other case.

South Africa has only made even the current empty gestures of "reform" that the Times cites (vague promises about the future of Namibia or modifications in labor and sports apartheid) in response to threats of strong rebuke by the world community and growing black pressure internally.

Ultimately, it is the black majority in both South Africa and Namibia which will be the determining factor in bringing about change in those countries. Expulsion of the white minority government from the United Nations speaks directly to that voice-less majority and suggests international solidarity with their just struggle for human dignity. Such action hastens both the pace and the peaceful possibilities of majority rule.

(signed) William Booth

South Africa and several key black African states have been making a major new effort to reach a peaceful accommodation and to avoid the looming conflict in southern Africa, according to U.S. diplomatic sources.

This behind-the-scenes effort is continuing despite the appearance of conflict created Tuesday by the African-led vote to suspend South Africa from the U.N. General Assembly.

At the same time, top American policy-planners are considering proposals for the U.S. government to press South Africa to abandon its military support for white-ruled Rhodesia and to get out of Namibia (Southwest Africa), these sources indicate.

Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs **Donald Easum** is in South Africa right now, discussing these issues with officials of the Pretoria government, and it appears that the United States may play an important role in forthcoming diplomatic maneuvers between South Africa and black African nations.

A process that could lead to a lasting accommodation has been under way for several months, with secret contacts between South Africa and the black African states of Zambia and Tanzania, according to these U.S. sources. Other key black African nations such as Zaire and Nigeria are said to be supporting the current effort.

Its success depends largely on South Africa's willingness to abandon its military support for the white government in Rhodesia, to give the territory of Namibia its independence and to make substantial changes in its policy of apartheid, or racial separation. But there are already signs that Pretoria is ready to take these steps in return for acceptance in black Africa and an end to black African states' support for the armed struggle proposed by nationalist groups seeking the destruction of the white South African state.

South Africa has indicated that it will strike into neighboring states to wipe out nationalist guerrilla bases if it is attacked—a step that could easily drag all of southern and part of eastern Africa into a costly, long war . . .

The collapse of Portuguese colonial Africa has forced South African leaders to put forward by years a timetable for policy changes. Many of these leaders are said to have realized for some time that such changes would become inevitable once Portugal withdrew from the continent.

The secret diplomacy under way between South African and black African leaders came into the open late last month with speeches by South Africa's Prime Minister **John Vorster**; its ambassador to the United Nations, **R.F. Botha**; and the president of Zambia, **Kenneth Kaunda**.

Stating that southern Africa had come to a crossroads, Vorster said Oct. 23 that both his nation and its black neighbors had to choose "between peace on the one hand or an escalation of strife on the other."

Proposing "the way of peace" and the "normalizing of relations" between South and black Africa, he said the people of Namibia would be allowed to determine their own fate and urged all outside powers to exercise their influence in Rhodesia to find a "durable, just and honorable solution" to the guerrilla war and the dispute over the former British colony's illegal status as a break-away independent nation.

Vorster's speech was followed a day later by Ambassador Botha's statement before the United Nations Security Council that his government would no longer condone discrimination based on race or color, the principal internationally deplored effect of South Africa's

apartheid policy.

"Discrimination based solely on the color of a man's skin cannot be defended and we shall do everything in our power to move away from discrimination based on race or color," said Botha, pointing to what he called an end of apartheid in South African sports as evidence of his government's good intentions.

Two days later, Zambian President Kaunda hailed Vorster's speech as the "voice of reason for which Africa and the rest of the world have been waiting." He added, "If the South African government is ready to follow the way of peace . . . then all I can say is that Africa, in accordance with the principles laid down in the Manifesto on Southern Africa, stands ready to help create conditions for peaceful change."

That manifesto, issued in Lusaka, Zambia, by thirteen Central and East African states in April 1969, first laid down the bases for an accommodation between South and black Africa. The declaration recognized the right of whites to live in southern Africa as well as the existence of white South Africa as an "independent, sovereign state and a member of the United Nations" but stipulated that to be accepted by black Africa, South Africa abandon its apartheid policy and practices.

American diplomats in a position to know say that the speeches by Vorster and Kaunda were more or less "orchestrated" and represent the first public manifestation of the secret accommodation effort.

According to these sources, Tanzanian President **Julius Nyerere** is also quietly exercising his influence with the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, which is scheduled to take full power in June, advising its leaders to make their peace with South Africa and not allow Mozambique to become a base for South African nationalist movements' guerrilla activities.

At the same time, Frelimo leaders widely regarded as either pro-Chinese or pro-Soviet are said to have recently asked the United States for several hundred million dollars' worth of economic aid to help balance their foreign alliances and give the new nation a non-aligned posture.

Previously, South African leaders were almost totally indifferent to outside criticism and pressure. But the end of Portuguese colonial rule and the attempt last month in the Security Council to oust South Africa from the United Nations have made Western support far more important to Pretoria. This in turn is making South Africa more responsive to outside pressures from key Western nations like the United States, France, and Britain—the three Security Council members that vetoed the proposal to expel South Africa from the world body.

That proposal was separate from Tuesday's action expelling South Africa from this General Assembly session.

Just last week Vorster asked for a six-month grace period in which to bring about major changes in South Africa's policies. "If South Africa is given that chance, they [black Africa] will be surprised at where the country will stand in six to twelve months," he said in thanking the three Western countries for their Security Council veto.

The U.S. government is thus pushing on a door that is already opening wide. But the decision to pressure South Africa to implement rapid changes nonetheless would give the United States' racial and foreign policies a new public image in black Africa.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Easum, who is on a five-week tour of southern and eastern Africa . . . has already signaled the changing attitude in American policy toward the continent.

A few days ago he said Washington was counting on seeing changes in South Africa's policy toward Rhodesia

and Namibia as well as in apartheid, and said he would discuss these issues with South African leaders. U.N. resolutions on Rhodesia and Namibia "should be promptly implemented," he said.

The U.S. government would appear to have its own reasons for wanting to make South Africa acceptable to black Africa. Among other things, this would enable the U.S. Navy to use South African ports now off-limits to its ships. Since 1967, no U.S. warships have used that country's naval facilities because of a military embargo instituted as a show of Washington's disapproval of South African racial policies.

The South Africans have been campaigning for a year now to get the United States interested in using its ports as part of NATO's overall defense of the West's oil lanes to the Persian Gulf and as part of the American Navy's counteroffensive to the Soviet naval buildup in the Indian Ocean.

South Africa's Vice Adm. James Jones was scheduled to visit Washington this week as a guest of a U.S. congressman in this connection until he called off the trip Tuesday without explanation. [David B. Ottaway, *Washington Post*, 11/14/74]

### NEW ARRESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In October, Zinzie, the 13-year-old daughter of Nelson Mandela, the President of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa who is imprisoned for life on Robben Island, cabled the UN Secretary General. The apartheid regime in South Africa had taken into its notorious prisons the only parent that its system of justice has allowed her to know: her mother, Winnie Mandela. Zinzie was appealing for world pressure to have her mother released from gaol where she is serving a six-month term.

Winnie Mandela's imprisonment is only another episode in the life she has been forced to lead during the past eleven years. Since 1963, when she was placed under house arrest for two years, she has been the victim incessant police harassment; tortured in prison for months on end; subjected to two major political trials; and involved in incidents which led to fear for her safety and that of her children—in 1971, for instance, a gunman was found in her yard. And during all this time she has been under strict and constant police surveillance; by all accounts, she has been virtually a prisoner of the South African police, and in and out of the courts . . .

Today she is imprisoned for contravening a banning order. Her imprisonment, which comes in the midst of a period of fresh repression in South Africa and the arrest of 50 activists of the South African Students Organization and the Black People's Convention, may not be the last . . . [excerpted from *AFRICA* (London), 11/74]

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Security police at John Vorster Square have arrested the secretary general of the Black People's Convention, Mr. Zethulele Cindi, on charges under the Terrorism Act. [*The Star* (Johannesburg), 11/9/74]

Johannesburg— The leaders of eight of the nine African homelands in South Africa have decided not to seek independence at present in order to avoid possible forfeiture of their right to a full share of the country's wealth.

At the same time, the homeland leaders repeated their unanimous commitment to black unity and solidarity and an eventual federal link-up of all homelands.

The decisions were announced at the end of a conference here attended by the homeland leaders.

The only homeland that did not opt for postponing independence was Transkei, which said it will ask for independence within five years.

The other leaders said that one reason for their decision was the belief that by declaring independence they would "forfeit our right to a full share in the wealth of South Africa as a whole." [*The Washington Post*, 11/17/74]

### NEW CODE AFFECTS PRESS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Capetown— Prime Minister John Vorster has driven a wedge down the middle of the opposition press in South Africa on the crucial issue of press freedom.

Half the opposition newspapers have accepted a revised code of conduct which holds the threat of a £6,000 fine over any newspaper that does not exercise "due care and responsibility" in reporting race affairs.

The other half of the opposition editors is horrified by the new code. In the words of the *Rand Daily Mail*, "they believe the wording of the new code is so dangerously vague and all-embracing as to seriously limit the freedoms left to the press."

The revised code puts "teeth" into the voluntary code adopted by the South African press in 1962. The major change is to add the £6,000 fine to the Press Council's powers of reprimand and to introduce a provision which reads:

"Insofar as both news and comment are concerned, it is further accepted that the standards applying to South African publications exact from them due care and responsibility concerning matters which can have the effect of stirring up feelings of hostility between different racial, ethnic, religious, or cultural groups, or which can affect the safety of the country and its peoples."

The objections to the provision are: It has been inserted under the duress of Vorster's threats; it creates a new "offense" found nowhere in South African law and of application to no other section of the population or individual except the press: the Press Council, a non-judicial body consisting of a retired judge and two former journalists, will have the burden of deciding what is likely to have the effect of stirring up feelings of hostility—with no definition or case law to guide them; and reporting of race affairs will be "like walking blindfold through a minefield" because even a factual report condemning conditions in a black township might be construed as inciting black hostility to whites.

The point has been made that, with Angola and Mozambique on the way to independence and Rhodesia's position becoming shakier, Vorster's race problems are mounting and he will become increasingly allergic to race "incitement." Critics of the new code insist that the code should be seen in this general race context . . .

Representatives of newspaper management drafted

the new code in private, and the individual managements then consulted their editors—although some editors say they were presented with an accomplished fact.

The South African Society of Journalists was not consulted at all, on the ground that it was “unrepresentative.” Two of its major branches have almost unanimously rejected the new code. The society believes Vorster panicked the newspaper managers into drawing up a new code and into “doing his dirty work for him.” [*Los Angeles Times*, 10/18/74]

#### N.Y. TIMES PERMITTED TO PRINT SOUTH AFRICAN WANT-ADS

A State Supreme Court justice yesterday voided an order by the city's Commission on Human Rights barring *The New York Times* from running classified advertisements for employment in racially segregated South Africa.

Justice Nathaniel T. Helman ruled in a ten-page decision that no discrimination statute was violated by the newspaper. The commission's order, effective on July 22, upheld a complaint filed in October 1972, charging that the practice was racially discriminating against blacks.

Justice Helman's decision will be studied to determine whether an appeal will be filed, according to a spokesman for the commission.

“It is significant that none of the advertisements make any reference to race,” the court ruled, “and that the *Times* can hardly be charged from the language of the advertisements themselves with evincing an intent, directly or indirectly, to participate in a program of discrimination.

“For the commission to enter every foreign area where patterns of discrimination appear, by imposing restraints on the solicitations of employees based in the United States through the medium of fair advertising, involves an assumption of jurisdiction which was certainly never contemplated by the legislative body which created the commission.” [*New York Times*, 10/30/74]

#### SIMONSTOWN BASE

South Africa announced plans to triple the size of its Simonstown naval base. The move comes at a time when Britain's Labor government is considering a halt in using the base on the Cape sea route. [*Washington Post*, 11/8/74]

#### SOUTH AFRICAN MINES PAY MORE TO GET LOCAL LABOR

**Cape Town, Oct. 21**— After violent clashes between gold mine security forces and 1,000 striking African miners from Mozambique, the Chamber of Mines in South Africa today took determined action to diminish its reliance on foreign labor.

Minimum starting wages are to be increased by a third, and a campaign to recruit more local African labor is to be launched.

The minimum wage for a new recruit is to go up from 1.20 rand to 1.60 rand, giving a minimum cash wage of 41.60 rand a month. The miners also receive free food and accommodation. The new starting rate for underground recruits will now be three times what it was before May of last year.

At present more than half of the 500,000 of the

Africans employed in the gold mining industry are recruited from neighboring independent black states. However, the Malawi Government recently imposed restrictions on recruitment and there has been a sharp fall in recruitment in Lesotho after violence at the mines. Continued recruitment from Mozambique is also uncertain.

At a mine in Germiston (near Johannesburg) today, 1,000 Shangaan mine-workers from Mozambique again refused to go underground. Yesterday the miners, who were said to be in an angry mood, marched on the administration building and two men were bitten by guard dogs. The mine security force used tear gas to disperse the strikers.

The mine's manager said he did not know why the strikers were refusing to work, as officials had not been able to communicate with them. The Shangaans had refused to select 20 representatives to put their case, saying that they wanted officials to speak to the whole group.

South Africa's gold mines have been plagued with unrest during the past year, and 58 miners have died violently. [Michael Knipe, *Times* (U.K.), 10/22/74]

#### MOZAMBIQUE DISMANTLES DAM PROJECT SECURITY

**Salisbury, Oct. 7**— The steel ring around the Cabora Bassa dam project is being dismantled. Troops are moving out, and hundreds of landmines are being removed from the area as a major side effect of the legitimate takeover of Mozambique by Frelimo.

For five years this vast dam's construction site on the Zambezi River in rugged northern Mozambique was threatened as Frelimo forces infiltrated deeper into the territory and made many attempts to sabotage the multi-million pound hydro-electric project. . . .

Political fortunes changed and all that is now in the past. Today, Portuguese soldiers are busy removing hundreds of their mines while Frelimo groups are digging up the mines which they in turn laid on access roads.

For over a month now there have been no attacks in the area, and work on the project is going according to plan. The dam is due to be sealed in November, and before the end of the year initial tests will be made to send out power drawn from its huge turbines. So far there is every indication that the original plan to sell most of the power to South Africa will remain.

Meanwhile, black workers at the dam site were given a shock when Frelimo officials told them recently that their demands for higher wages would go unheeded as they were already among the highest paid workers in Mozambique.

A South African working on the project told a reporter from the *Argus Africa News Service*: “I would not have said it a year ago, but Frelimo has done a lot for this project. They seem to know exactly what they want and how to get it.”

The Frelimo policy for the territory as a whole is being made clear: there are going to be no quick benefits and easy living for workers under the new authorities. New cars, huge salaries and big houses are out. Rather, the Frelimo politicians are preaching a spartan socialist policy reminiscent of Communist China, with repeated calls for hard work and sacrifice.

**Mr. Joaquim Chissano**, the Prime Minister of Mozambique's transitional government, said at the weekend: “Reconstruction of Mozambique can be carried out only by the conquest of power by the people and by following Frelimo guidelines.”

He urged the people to work hard in helping his

government in its enormous task of rebuilding Mozambique so that it could become a prosperous, happy, and great country. [*Times* (U.K.), 10/8/74]

### MONEY TROUBLES ENDANGER CABORA BASSA

**Johannesburg, Oct. 31**— The huge Cabora Bassa hydroelectric project in Mozambique is facing credit difficulties on a scale which could endanger the whole scheme.

According to the Lourenco Marques newspaper *Noticias*, supply companies have threatened to withdraw credit facilities unless Zamco, the international consortium building the dam, pays outstanding debts. Some supply firms are facing bankruptcy.

To add to the difficulties, suppliers from Portugal now are selling their products on a cash only basis to Mozambique exporters. Zamco has not been able to pay its suppliers because it is itself awaiting payment of about £790,000 from the Mozambique Government for part of the work already done. [*Times* (U.K.), 11/1/74]

### TEACHER CRISIS AT LOURENCO MARQUES UNIVERSITY

**AFP Interfric News Survey, Oct. 8**— The University of Lourenco Marques is fast emptying of academic staff and, according to the Rector, **Professor Correia Neves**, replacements will have to be sought from "other countries," if they cannot be obtained from Portugal. He did not say which countries he had in mind. The exodus, which began with the April coup d'état in Lisbon, is now reaching crisis proportions, and Professor Neves said in a press interview that some courses were in danger of disappearing if some of the members of the academic staff on holiday in Portugal during the current recess did not return. He blamed the present crisis on "the vices of the former Caetano regime," and said it could not be "comfortably blamed on the troubled political situation we live in at the moment." The current problems would only disappear with the full introduction of a democratic university system, he said. The 1970 enrollment figures show that 83.5 percent of all students at the university were white—in spite of the former regime's intention expressed at the time of the establishment of the university that it was to be a showpiece of Portugal's concern for the education of its African citizens. [*Facts & Reports* (Amsterdam), 11/9/74]

### WHITES IN MOZAMBIQUE QUEUE FOR VISAS FOR SOUTH AFRICA AFTER NIGHT OF VIOLENCE IN WHICH 49 DIED

**Lourenco Marques, Oct. 22**— Portuguese and African nationalist troops toured the wreckage-strewn streets of the Mozambique capital today appealing for calm after a night of racial violence in which at least 49 people were killed.

Shops, offices, and restaurants were open, but the bloodstained pavements, wrecked cars, and smouldering suburban homes reflected the ravages of the night's clashes.

The main hospital, packed with casualties, said 33 whites and 15 blacks were killed. One body was so badly burnt and mutilated that it was impossible to distinguish its race.

Over 150 people have died in racial clashes here since Portugal's agreement last month to grant independence

to Mozambique next June.

There were varying versions of the incident that started last night's bloodshed. One blamed it on a gunfight between off-duty Portuguese soldiers and troops of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), who emerged from the jungles last month after a 10-year fight for independence. A Portuguese soldier pushed an African boy who was wearing a shirt decorated with the Frelimo flag. Frelimo troops intervened, and an argument started, with a white civilian urging both sides to calm down.

Shots rang out, and nine people were found dead, two of them Frelimo soldiers and seven passers-by.

Another account said the Portuguese were men from the Special Forces who had been trained in anti-guerrilla jungle warfare and used in operations against Frelimo in the last stages of the colonial war.

They had been demobilized and were waiting for repatriation to Portugal. According to this version of the story, they began shooting indiscriminately on Sunday when they cleared the city's main beach of bathers by firing their automatic weapons into the air.

Yesterday a group of about 40 of them attacked four Frelimo troops outside a crowded café. The Portuguese seized the guns carried by the Frelimo soldiers and left in an open lorry shouting, "Let's go and get our guns and give these men a lesson."

About 30 minutes later, while the streets were crowded with rush hour traffic, they returned and launched an attack with machineguns and grenades on Frelimo troops guarding the office of the daily newspaper *Noticias*. The Frelimo troops knelt on the pavement and fired back, killing at least four of the Portuguese.

When regular Portuguese troops arrived at the scene in armored cars, the attackers had dispersed.

The Portuguese commandos were later withdrawn to a ship preparing to leave for Portugal, but violence flared up among civilians. Crowds of angry Africans emerged from the shanty towns on the city outskirts looking for whites. A 64-year-old Roman Catholic priest, **Father Joao Romano Alves**, was beaten to death at his mission.

Throughout the night blacks and whites exchanged sporadic fire, but by dawn the rioting had stopped.

**Dr. Joaquim Paulino**, the Minister of Health, said he believed "the situation is under control."

Portuguese and Frelimo troops, linked once again in a peacekeeping role, were touring the suburbs, urging residents to keep calm. But many whites who stayed in the city during last month's mass exodus to South Africa have now apparently had enough. A long queue of whites waiting to get visas formed outside the South African Consulate.

In Lisbon, the Portuguese Government kept silent about the Mozambique violence, and most morning newspapers played down the incidents. Portugal has a high commissioner here and three ministers in the Frelimo-led transitional Government. [*Times* (U.K.), 10/23/74]

### COMMANDOS GO BACK

Two units of white Portuguese commandos who refused to accept the cease-fire and hand-over of power to guerrillas against whom they had fought a bitter bush war for more than 10 years were on their way by air and sea to Lisbon yesterday.

The 240 men of 2043 and 2045 companies of White commandos, calling themselves the Justiceiros (men of Justice) fought a pitched battle with Frelimo troops in

the main shopping center of Lourenço Marques on Monday.

It provoked racial violence which left at least 50 dead and twice as many wounded.

According to military sources in Lourenço Marques, the commandos will be placed under military restraint when they arrive in Lisbon. Portuguese authorities, knowing the tough reputation of the units, refused requests for them to be repatriated from Mozambique two months ago, the sources said. [*Daily Telegraph* (U.K.), 10/24/74, abridged]

#### FOUR NEW MEMBERS OF LISBON JUNTA NAMED

Lisbon, Oct. 16— President Costa Gomes of Portugal left Lisbon today for New York, where he will speak before the United Nations General Assembly. He will also confer with President Ford in Washington. He is the first Portuguese president ever to speak before the United Nations, and the first ever to be received in the White House.

Permission for the President to leave Portugal was officially given by the Council of State at a meeting yesterday. The Junta of National Salvation has chosen one of its original members, Admiral Pinheiro de Azevedo, to fulfil the President's duties during his absence.

The Council of State has approved the nomination of the four new members of the junta to replace General Spinola and three other outgoing generals. They are Brigadier Carlos Fabino, the last governor of former Portuguese Guinea; Lieutenant-Colonel Fisher Lopes Pires, Colonel Pinheiro Freire, and Lieutenant Colonel Mendes Dias.

The Council also approved the appointment of Captain Silvano Pereira to substitute for Admiral Rosa Coutinho, who is absent as head of the ruling junta of Angola. [*Times* (U.K.), 10/17/74]

#### RACIAL HATRED ON INCREASE IN ANGOLA

When the Portuguese junta replaced Governor Marques by Admiral Rose Coutinho, who is less conservative, there was a clear break between the official administration and a major part of the white population. Of the police, 80 percent is not loyal to Coutinho, as against 30 percent of the Army. Unlike the Mozambican press, the press in Angola is completely on the side of the reaction. While in Portugal the leaders and members of the disbanded secret police are in jail or are wanted, in Angola all of them are still free. Many even continue their activities illegally. In the Sao Nicolau concentration camp, from which all political prisoners had been released, now 600 Africans are jailed again, 200 of them because of "clandestine activities for the M.P.L.A." [*Facts & Reports* (Amsterdam), 11/9/74; excerpt from *Der Gelderlander* (Holland), 9/25/74]

#### WESTERN POWERS DEFEND STAKES IN ANGOLA

Last week the bitter 13-year-old war which African nationalists have been fighting in the Portuguese colony of Angola appeared to be drawing to a close. The last of the three freedom movements to halt military operations, the Zaire-based Front for the Liberation of Angola

(FNLA), declared a ceasefire, and the way is now open, in theory at least, for independence negotiations with Portugal.

In fact, the ceasefire marks the start of what could be an even more bitter struggle as a wide array of political and financial interests race to secure the resources of what is potentially one of Africa's richest countries. And all the indications are that the Americans—with major defense and oil interests in the area—are still well in the lead.

Despite upheavals in U.S. policy in Southern Africa resulting from this year's two Lisbon coups, these interests are still apparently well-protected by Portugal's new regime. The nationalist leaders now poised for places at the negotiating table are the ones which America would find most acceptable. Spinola's maneuvers which put them there are still being continued a fortnight after his downfall.

Unlike most other colonies, Angola is moving towards independence without the security of either a politically stable "mother country" or a strong nationalist leadership commanding widespread support. Until the mid-sixties it had been an economic backwater, even by Africa's modest standards. Five times the size of Britain but with only a tenth the population, its chief products were maize and fishmeal, with moderate exports of coffee and iron.

In 1966, however, this changed dramatically. America's giant Gulf Oil Corporation struck oil in Cabinda—an Angolan enclave between Zaire and Congo-Brazzaville. Production is now running at 150,000 barrels a day, already enough to help give Angola one of the world's largest per capita trade surpluses. Gulf's target for Cabinda is 300,000 barrels—one-sixth Britain's oil consumption—which at current prices could yield Angola an income of £400 million a year.

Further down the Angolan coast, other companies are eager to repeat Gulf's success. Shortly before Caetano fell, a flurry of concessions were awarded to consortia backed by companies such as Petrofina (Belgian), Occidental (American), Esso (American), and Total (French). But oil is not the only source of wealth. The Angolan economy, starved of investment capital and regularly exporting skilled labor to South Africa, is still largely undeveloped. Yet it is starting to yield up a dazzling array of minerals, including gold, diamonds, manganese, and copper. Its iron deposits are among the most important in the world.

"No one knows how rich that country is going to be," said one African economist last week. "But we know it is going to be very rich indeed. Possibly the richest country in the continent per head of its population after South Africa."

American interest in this wealth needs no emphasis. So great was it that in February 1970, when Angola was still firmly under Portugal's thumb, the United States Government began a subtle shift in its policies towards southern Africa. Henry Kissinger prepared for President Nixon a typically "realistic" set of secret policy options designed to foster American interests—hopefully without overtly alienating black African opinion. Kissinger's chief assumption was that white rule would continue for the foreseeable future. It was a classic miscalculation.

The chosen option (nicknamed Tar Baby) stated baldly that the U.S. should "Maintain public opposition to racial repression but relax political isolation and economic restrictions on the white states." The U.S. Government would at the same time "take diplomatic steps to convince the black states of the area that their current liberation and majority rule aspirations in the south are not attainable by violence and that their only



hope for a peaceful and prosperous future lies in closer relations with white-dominated states."

The report, which has only recently been leaked through the U.S. press, included caveats: "Many black states, led by Zambia and Tanzania, probably would charge us with subordinating our professed ideals to material interests." But it none the less formed the basis of a relaxation by the U.S. of its former offensive against white southern Africa.

The April coup severely undermined the Portuguese section of this strategy. Kissinger's report had stated that "the biggest U.S. interest in the area is in Angola," and relied on continued Portuguese supremacy. The State Department now performed a breathtaking about-turn, including a recognition that the flamboyant President **Spínola** would be as loyal an ally of American interests as **Caetano** had been before him.

In the weeks following the coup, stories abounded in Lisbon of nattily-dressed CIA men checking into suites at the Sheraton Hotel (even insisting on carrying their own luggage to their rooms). The Americans desperately needed the "right guys" to emerge as leaders from the Angolan liberation movements. Reports from Zaire claimed that their efforts to secure them extended to covert "charitable" backing of particular groups. Lisbon negotiators frequently spoke in private of "the American solution to Angolan independence."

Angola's independence movement was split into three factions. It was impractical to attempt a rapid hand-over to a locally-elected or even self-appointed government. The colony was a political vacuum: but this suited **Spínola's** own hope that independence for Angola—with its immense long-term economic importance to Portugal—would be a more controlled and drawn-out process than the headlong rush forced on him in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. Accordingly, he went about seeking out the available political talent in the country with great care. . . .

**Spínola** . . . sought out **Neto** first of all after coming to power—regarding him as the most entrenched and implacable nationalist. But his overtures, which included frantic trips by his foreign minister, **Mario Soares**, to pin **Neto** down in Brussels, Copenhagen, and Geneva, proved fruitless. **Neto** simply replied, "We shall fight on and deal heavier blows to the enemy."

**Mobutu**, however, did not miss his cue. He promptly expressed the hope that **Roberto** would negotiate with the Lisbon junta, and **Roberto** himself looked forward to a "frank and sincere" dialogue. Both **Mobutu** and **Roberto** have strong American sympathies. **Mobutu's** extent further than merely staging American title fights. Since 1962, he has received \$376 million in loans and nearly \$50 million in military aid. Reports of his ambition to form a confederation of Angola, Cabinda, and Zaire after the April coup in Lisbon persist despite public denials.

**Roberto's** stance with regard to America has been more variable—as should befit an African nationalist leader. In the early days, he admits, his movement "fell within the sphere of influence of the U.S.A.—as did the Kinshasa Government (**Mobutu**)." But just one month before the Lisbon coup he was openly threatening the U.S. with "reprisals" if they continued to support the Portuguese in Angola.

It has always been the case, however, that **Roberto** has refused to carry the fight into Angola's weakest—and richest—area: the Cabinda enclave. Even when he threatened a massive mobilization of his forces just before the April 25 coup the aim was, apparently, confined to a concentrated offensive along Angola's long northern frontier.

The **Mobutu/Roberto** team attained new significance when they were joined by another nationalist leader. A bearded ex-Benfica footballer called **Daniel Chipenda**, who had been one of **Neto's** MPLA field commanders, set up his own breakaway group after a row with his chief. **Chipenda** is an ardent nationalist with no ideological commitment and is therefore acceptable to **Mobutu**—and to the Americans. **Mobutu** lost little time in welcoming **Chipenda** to the fold, offering him base facilities in Zaire. And he further added to the sphere of influence a new group (**FLEC**) fighting for the liberation of the oil-rich Cabinda enclave itself.

**Spínola**, seeing **Neto** increasingly squeezed out of the picture, was presented with a new opportunity: bringing together the formidable combination of **Roberto** and **Savimbi**—which **Neto** would find hard to break. On September 15 he arranged for the two to meet in complete secrecy in a de luxe guesthouse on the island of Sal, part of Portugal's Cape Verde Islands off the West Coast of Africa. **Mobutu** was also there—to effect the introduction. **Spínola** presented them with his proposed independence plans at what was clearly intended to be one of the most momentous gatherings in Angola's history.

**Spínola's** plan was for a 12-man provisional government, composed of two representatives from each of the three liberation groups and six from tribal chiefs and various white minority groups in the capital, Luanda. The scheme had one overwhelming attraction to all present. Since **Chipenda** and another MPLA defector, **Pinto de Andrade**, could claim to represent that organization, **Agostinho Neto** could be excluded altogether—and with him the whole Nyerere/communist axis. Four days after the meeting, **Roberto** gave an interview to the Luanda weekly *Notícia*, saying that **Chipenda** and **Andrade** had agreed to a common front with his FNLA and that **Neto** had dissented. The plan appeared firm.

There is some evidence that the left in Portugal disliked this turn of events. **Spínola's** Socialist foreign Minister, **Soares**, had not been informed of the secret Sal meeting, and it was significant that on September 22, **Spínola** issued a remarkable statement to the effect that he would take personal control of all dealings over Angolan independence. The Americans must have been delighted.

Six days later, on the eve of **Spínola's** fall in Lisbon, **Mobutu** traveled to Dar es Salaam to put the plan to **Nyerere** and **President Kaunda** of Zambia. **Nyerere** promptly cabled **Neto** to come at once to Dar to defend their mutual interests in Angola.

In the event, **Mobutu** hardly even got a chance to speak. As the meeting assembled in the State House, news came through of the failure of the pro-**Spínola** rally in Lisbon. The following week, **Nyerere's** Tanzanian *Daily News* reported **Spínola's** removal, proclaiming it as a great victory for African freedom. A large picture showed **Nyerere** with his arms around **Neto** and the Mozambique left-wing leader, **Samora Machel**. A story announced that the meeting—originally intended to seal the shutting out of left-wing forces in Angola—had been to discuss the liberation of Angola and had been enhanced by the arrival of the MPLA leader, **Dr. Neto**.

Despite this reverse, however, the original American-approved **Spínola** strategy remains remarkably intact. Just ten days ago, **General Fontes Pereira de Melo**, together with **Colonel Firmino Miguel**—an ardent **Spínola** man who was recently dismissed as defense minister—arrived in Kinshasa for talks with **Mobutu** as representatives of the new junta. The official communiqué said that **Mobutu** had been "in continuous contact with the highest authorities of the new Portugal

since April 25, and even after General Spínola's resignation." When Roberto announced his ceasefire on Tuesday from Kinshasa, both Melo and Miguel were present. The Portuguese governor's offices in Luanda applauded the news of the ceasefire and remarked that the "true results of the Kinshasa talks are starting to emerge." He added that everything now favored the opening of official missions by the various liberation movements in Luanda—with the exception of the MPLA and "in particular its Agostinho Neto faction."

Nobody will be more pleased by this outcome than the western oil executives who are beginning to see the prospect of huge profits from Angola. So long as MPLA had a chance of becoming the dominant liberation movement, the oil companies had good reason to be worried. In February MPLA had warned them that when Angola became independent, "all these companies will be chased from our national territory and all their equipment and assets seized."

Spínola's elaborate courtship with Mobutu, Roberto, and Savimbi has made Angola safe for capitalism—for the moment. And the new Lisbon junta has not allowed its more left-wing domestic policies to stand in the way of the "spirit of Sal." But whether Nyerere, Kaunda, and other radical African leaders will let the situation rest remains to be seen. [*Sunday Times* (U.K.), 10/20/74]

#### AMERICAN EVACUEES

**Luanda, Angola**— The Gulf Oil Co. evacuated more than 100 of its American staff dependents to Johannesburg, South Africa.

Gulf's main operation here is in Cabinda, a Portuguese colony north of Angola and 250 miles from Luanda. Last week 48 persons were killed and more than 100 injured in and around Luanda in shooting between three rival African independence movements. [*Washington Post*, 11/16/74]

#### MPLA OFFICE FOR LUANDA

**Luanda**— The MPLA guerrilla movement has now opened an office here as the result of a ceasefire agreement this week which officially puts an end to thirteen years of war.

The ceasefire was signed in eastern Angola 70 km from the Zambian border by an Angolan Government delegation and by **Dr. Agostinho Neto**, leader of the MPLA.

The other two rebel movements which have been attacking Angola, the UNITA led by **Dr. Jonas Savimbi**, and the FNLA led by **Holden Roberto**, have already agreed to stop the shooting.

The signing of the ceasefire by the MPLA was delayed because the movement is split into three factions.

This week's signing means that Portugal has officially recognized **Dr. Neto** as the true MPLA leader and not the opposing factions.

And although their office opened only on Friday, the MPLA have wasted no time in flexing their political muscles here by organizing two strikes this week—one of which crippled the port for some time. [*Star Weekly* (S.A.), 10/26/74, abridged]

**Lisbon, Nov. 10**— At least 25 persons were killed and 65 injured this weekend in violence in the Angolan capital of Luanda, the Portuguese news agency Lusitania reported here.

In a dispatch from Luanda, the agency said there were 25 confirmed deaths, and the eventual toll would probably be higher.

The report did not make clear who was involved in the violence.

It said the deaths were reported by residents of Luanda, who could hear shots and grenade explosions all day today.

Radio broadcasts appealed for doctors and blood donors earlier today after shooting broke out in the suburb of Rangel.

The violence followed the recent arrival in the Angolan capital of delegations of the three main Angolan independence movements, which have been fighting for freedom from Portugal for the past fourteen years.

The new violence came only three days after a riot which reportedly left 50 dead or injured. The violence has been fueled by growing uneasiness among the whites here, according to the newspaper *Provincia de Angola*. [*Washington Post*, 11/11/74]

#### DEATH IN ETHIOPIA

Ethiopia's new military rulers, who have promised reforms to relieve their country's feudal poverty and oppression, unexpectedly executed 60 former military and civilian leaders last week.

The sudden mayhem has raised what are for now unanswered questions about the kind of government the new leaders want, and about how much help they can expect from other nations in improving the quality of their citizens' lives.

The executions were called an "act of justice" by the Provisional Military Administrative Committee, which rules the nation. Among those who died was **Lieut. Gen. Aman Andom**, the committee's leader until a week before.

It is believed that shooting began when he resisted an attempt by other soldiers on the committee to have him arrested for refusing to send troops to quell guerilla activities in Eritrea, a northern province; Gen. Aman was an Eritrean. It is not known whether Gen. Aman was killed or committed suicide rather than be captured, but after his death, the committee apparently decided to execute the other victims in order to minimize reaction. He was said to be popular with ordinary Ethiopians, who remained generally quiet.

Other nations, however, condemned the killings and also reports, apparently unfounded, that the committee planned to execute former Emperor **Haile Selassie**. A grandson of the emperor was said to be negotiating with the Eritrean dissidents in an effort to challenge the junta; disaffection in the northern province seemed not to have been diminished when **Brig. Gen. Tafari Banti**, a close friend of Gen. Aman, replaced him.

When the committee of soldiers took over Ethiopia in late summer, they were described as largely idealistic, committed to constitutional reform, education for ordinary Ethiopians, and an end to the oppressive rule of an absolute monarch. It is still not certain what they want or how they mean to achieve it. [*New York Times*, 12/1/74]

## LETTER FROM THE ANGOLA COMITÉ

Amsterdam, Holland  
20 November 1974

The developments in Portugal and its colonies, so fiercely desired by all Southern Africa Groups, seem to proceed well, with the exception of Angola. For Portugal too there are indications that the new government (the third since the coup of April 25, 1974) wants to pursue a real progressive policy. It is clear that these developments are of course not cheered by enterprises and powers which have great interests in Portugal and its colonies.

Notably the American government and its intelligence service CIA want nothing to do with the new political line in Portugal and the coming of the power of the liberation movements in its colonies. For these movements want nothing to do with a neo-colonial "solution". Clear indications for the American concern are the recently signalized "scouting activities" of the CIA in Portugal and the suspicious attitude of the U.S.A. towards Portugal in the Nuclear Planning Group of the NATO [see four articles which follow—Ed.].

It recently became known that Secretary of State Kissinger dismissed the American Ambassador in Lisbon, to have him replaced by a more "reliable" person. It seems to us that we as Southern Africa Groups have to have a closer attention for these threatening developments. The events in Chile should in this respect be an important lesson for us.

We would like to ask you to keep us informed about new developments or indications about the role of the CIA in Portugal. The Angola Committee is trying at the moment to get more insight in the role of the U.S.A. in the Portuguese and African political developments. As soon as we have a good overall picture of this matter, we want to mobilize public opinion and press, in order to call the attention of the political parties, our government and the public opinion to this dangerous affair.

(signed) Ernst Schade  
Angola Comité  
Da Costastraat 88  
Amsterdam 1014

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Lisbon, Oct. 27 (WP)— Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, apparently skeptical of reports from the U.S. Embassy here that minimized the possibility of a Communist take-over in Portugal, sent high-level intelligence and diplomatic experts to this country to make independent evaluations.

Informed sources said that Mr. Kissinger dispatched Lt. Gen. Vernon Walters, deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, to Lisbon in August for a personal appraisal. The general, who speaks excellent Portuguese and is considered a specialist on Portugal, was in Lisbon Aug. 9-12 for meetings with high officials and senior U.S. Embassy staffers.

The CIA would not comment on the persistent reports of Gen. Walter's visit, refusing even to confirm that it took place. A CIA spokesman said that the agency never comments on the travels of its top personnel.

Two weeks ago, Mr. Kissinger sent a four-man State Department mission to Lisbon for another independent assessment of Portugal's future course, the sources said. The group, headed by Alan Lukens, director of the department's Iberian section, included Robert Ryan, a department monetary expert, and Michael Samuels, an

authority on Portugal's African colonies. The identity of the fourth mission member was not disclosed.

The pro-Soviet Portuguese Communist Party has become an important factor in Portugal since the rightist pro-U.S. dictatorship which ruled Portugal for 48 years was deposed in April. The young military officers who have been running the country since then have given the Communists a cabinet post and full participation in the country's new military-controlled government. Much of the strength and popularity of the Communists derives from their cohesion in their long underground fight against the dictatorship, which had outlawed the party.

While nothing could be learned of Gen. Walters's report to Mr. Kissinger, sources said that the Lukens group diverged from the embassy's appraisal. The extent of the differences was not disclosed, but sources said that the embassy's reporting had grown more cautious as a result.

The sources said that Mr. Kissinger and others in Washington feared that Portugal would be the first country to go Communist in what was called "a Southern Europe domino theory," also involving Spain, Italy, and Greece. This fear apparently has been fed by pessimistic intelligence assessments, press reports stressing the power of the left in Portugal, and the anxieties of multinational companies with interests in Portugal and its African colonies.

Washington seems to fear that the emergence of the Portuguese Communists following the fall of the dictatorship will be duplicated in neighboring Spain, the last pro-American rightist government in Western Europe.

Since his visit to Portugal, Gen. Walters has also been in Spain for secret talks with high Spanish officials, the sources said. The CIA deputy director's latest visit reportedly took place two weeks ago when he had a briefing on Portugal with senior Spanish military and civilian authorities.

Spanish and U.S. officials are known to be concerned by the potential for Communist infiltration from Portugal, which has a long and hard-to-guard border with Spain. The Communist party has been banned in Spain since the end of the Civil War in 1939, but it has remained a major clandestine political force in industrial urban centers and the backbone of opposition to Generalissimo Francisco Franco.

Another recent visitor to Spain was William Colby, the CIA's director, but sources said that he merely stopped in Madrid on his way East. One source, however, pointed out that visits to the Iberian peninsula by high U.S. intelligence officials could become more frequent because the Mediterranean has risen in U.S. priorities. [Miguel Acoca, *International Herald Tribune*, 10/28/74]

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The U.S. ambassador to Portugal has been fired and will be replaced by Frank C. Carlucci, a career diplomat close to the White House, according to diplomatic sources in Lisbon.

In Washington, an informed source confirmed that Carlucci has been selected for the post, although the appointment has not been announced.

The report, carried by the Associated Press, follows several weeks of speculation that the present ambassador, Stuart Nash Scott, would be replaced because Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger doubted the accuracy of his reports minimizing the likelihood of a Communist takeover in Portugal.

Informed sources said that Kissinger had sent Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters, deputy director of the Central

Intelligence Agency, to Lisbon to make a first-hand evaluation in August. In mid-October a four-man State Department team also traveled to Portugal, and sources said that they had been dispatched to make another independent evaluation.

The pro-Soviet Communist Party, banned during Portugal's 48-year rightist dictatorship, holds a Cabinet post in the military-controlled government that took power following the April 25 coup in Lisbon. The party has since become an important political factor in the country.

Carlucci, 44, currently serving as under secretary of health, education, and welfare, is a much-decorated career foreign service officer who held posts in South Africa, the Congo, Zanzibar, and Brazil.

In 1971 he was assigned to the Bureau of the Budget, and in January of last year to HEW.

Scott, 67, took up his post only last January. He is a former law partner of the late Thomas E. Dewey.

Sources in Lisbon said Scott had been informed of his dismissal two weeks ago and had not been told of the reason for the abrupt action.

Kissinger is said to be concerned about a possible "Southern Europe domino theory" involving, besides Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Greece, and to fear that the emergence of the Portuguese Communist Party will be duplicated in neighboring Spain, Western Europe's last remaining rightist pro-American regime, when Generalissimo Francisco Franco, aging and in ill health, dies.

High-ranking officers in Portugal's revolutionary military movement have repeatedly claimed that more than 100 CIA agents are trying to create "another Chile" in Portugal.

Spanish and U.S. officials are known to be concerned about the possibility of Communist infiltration of Spain across the long and hard-to-guard border it shares with Portugal. Although the Communist Party has been banned in Spain since the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939, it has remained a major clandestine political force in industrial centers and the backbone of anti-Franco opposition. [*Washington Post*, 11/6/74]

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**Brussels, Oct. 30**— American concern about Communist participation in the Portuguese Government has led to the postponement of a top-level meeting of NATO's Nuclear Planning Group. The meeting, which was to have discussed highly sensitive issues, including targeting of strategic and tactical weapons, was due to have been held in Rome on November 7 and 8.

Under an agreement worked out between America, its other NATO allies, and the Caetano regime, Portugal was given a seat on the NPG on a rotating basis. The new system should have started with the Rome session.

But as far as the U.S. is concerned, the April coup d'état puts an entirely new complexion on the agreement. Ever since the formation of an all-party coalition government in Lisbon, Dr. Kissinger, both publicly and privately, has warned NATO countries of the dangers of sharing top secret information with what in his view had become an unreliable member of the Alliance.

However, in spite of strong pressure, Lisbon insisted on keeping to the original deal made with Caetano. The Government accused the United States of treating it like a second-class ally. The only way out of the dilemma, according to reliable sources here, was an agreement to postpone the Rome meeting.

In a desperate attempt to cover up the controversy, a NATO spokesman was charged today to say only that

"the pressure of current business has led Ministers to conclude that it would be preferable to defer the discussions on current issues until they meet in Brussels for NATO Ministerial meetings." NATO Foreign and Defense Ministers are due to hold their regular biennial session here in December.

The fact remains, however, that the Rome meeting of the Nuclear Planning Group, which consists of Defense Ministers from eleven allied countries, with the U.S., Britain, West Germany, and Italy its four permanent members, was arranged several months ago. NATO diplomats refuse to specify the nature of the "current business" preventing their Ministers from attending.

It is clear, however, that some allied governments, including Britain and West Germany, share Washington's concern about the dangers of classified NATO material reaching Moscow via members of the Portuguese coalition and notably through **Alvato Cunhal**, the Minister without Portfolio and chief of the Portuguese Communist Party. [*Guardian* (U.K.), 10/31/74]

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**Lisbon, Oct. 20**— President **Francisco da Costa Gomes** stressed the importance today of Portugal's ties with the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

In his remarks at the airport, General Costa Gomes, who replaced **General Spínola**, stressed Portugal's membership in NATO.

"We have a geostrategic position that obliges us to make a choice," he said. He added that the choice of staying with NATO corresponded to "the wishes of the Portuguese people."

He said the talks were "extraordinarily important" for Portugal because they had opened the door to negotiations "in which both countries are interested, especially us, since the help that we will be able to get from great country [the United States] will be of the kind that we desire."

The Portuguese have asked for aid in exchange for a five-year renewal of a United States lease on the Lajes Air Base in the Azores. [*New York Times*, 10/21/74]

## KINSHASA HOST TO ALI VICTORY

**Kinshasa, Zaire, Oct. 30**— At 4:44 this morning, in a prize ring pitched in a large soccer stadium, **Muhammad Ali** reduced big **George Foreman** to a groping clod, knocked him out and retook the heavyweight title.

He brought Foreman down with triple left-right-left smashes to the jaw, leaving referee **Zack Clayton** to count out the fallen champion in 2:58 of the eighth round.

Ali dared to slug with Foreman against all predictions except his own, won every round going into the eighth, beat Foreman to the punch at his choosing and ended the fight in a sudden outburst of possum play. . . .

Throughout the bout, Ali taunted Foreman, who seemed to become more befuddled as the fight progressed and seemed absolutely frustrated in the final two rounds before Ali scored the dramatic knockout.

"I told you I was the greatest of all time," said Ali. "Never again say I'm going to be defeated. Never again make me an underdog until I'm 50 years of age. All you suckers bow. Now you have to recognize me as the scholar of boxing."

The victory made Ali only the second man ever to win back the heavyweight title—and the first to win it back after having never lost it in the ring. The first

fighter to regain the title was Floyd Patterson.

It also made Ali, who has called himself the people's champion ever since he was stripped of the title, one of the kings of the world of sport, and it seems certain to insure his place at or near the top of boxing history.

And it also probably prolonged the career of Ali, who fought his first professional fight exactly 14 years before his pre-dawn bout in Africa.

Ali had said just before the fight he had a \$10 million guarantee from an unnamed source "when I knock out George Foreman."

"I lost the fight, but I was not beaten," said a chastened Foreman in his dressing room. He said Ali earned the title and deserved the respect it carried. [Shirley Povich, *Washington Post*, 10/30/74]

#### KLEINDIENST SERVING ALGERIA AS LOBBYIST

Washington— The government of Algeria has employed former Atty. Gen. Richard G. Kleindienst as a \$120,000-a-year representative to look after that nation's interests in the United States.

Kleindienst, 51, now a lawyer in private practice here since his resignation in April, 1973, is serving as legal counsel for business circles, congressional relations, and relations with the various official government bodies in Washington and the rest of the United States, according to documents on file in the Department of Justice Foreign Agents Registration Unit.

Kleindienst confirmed the nature of his duties when questioned by reporters.

Algeria has not maintained diplomatic relations with the United States since the 1967 Arab-Israel war.

Kleindienst, who was paid \$60,000 a year as attorney general, now is entitled to a \$24,000 yearly expense account in addition to his salary. In a report filed for the first half of 1974, Kleindienst said he spent \$6,226.

The money went mostly for expenses in connection with the visit to the United States of Belaid Abdesselam, Algerian minister of industry and energy in December 1974, and the visit to the United States and the United Nations of Algerian President Houari Boumedienne in April 1974.

A Republican, Kleindienst was 1964 presidential campaign manager for Sen. Barry Goldwater. He praised what he pointed out is a Socialist country, asserting among other things that it had 75 percent of its children in school and a balanced budget.

Kleindienst said that he represented Algerian interests jointly with former Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford.

Clifford, through an aide, acknowledged that his law firm here, Clifford, Warncke, Glass, McIlwain & Finney, was retained five years ago by the Algerian government. [Robert Gruenberg, *Los Angeles Times*, 11/2/74]

#### NIGERIA: POVERTY PERSISTS DESPITE NEW WEALTH

Nigeria today is a classic case of a country that has suddenly struck it rich—and yet at the same time finds itself still poor.

"This nation will have more money—\$10 billion to \$12 billion for its oil this year alone—than it can spend," explains a Western source. "But with 80 million largely poverty-stricken people, it really needs four times that much to catch up."

The basic trouble here is that plans and programs for improving Nigeria's lot simply cannot keep pace with the

enormous needs of such a large and diverse underdeveloped nation.

"There's not enough expertise among middle-echelon Nigerian Government officials to get things done," a long-time Lagos resident says. "The top people are good, but the next layer is terribly thin still."

Another factor slowing implementation of Nigeria's new projects is a seeming government reluctance to get things started—or finished. The large number of major decisions take an unusually long time to be handed down.

This slowness contributes to the undercurrent of public unrest. "We don't see enough tangible results yet from the oil money for the average Nigerian," a Nigerian informant said. "I mean in the form of schools, houses, roads, sewage, water. Yet we hear frequent suggestions that government and military officials are lining their pockets."

Thus today's Nigerian paradox. It features tremendous economic growth and huge mineral resources, some still untapped. Yet side by side with this is slow development.

Some Nigerians as well as foreigners think the country badly needs more, not fewer, expatriate managers to help get things moving more efficiently. But the tempo of the nation and the directives of its leaders are strongly in favor of increased self-reliance.

As elsewhere in black Africa, the preference is to employ as many Nigerians and as few foreigners as possible. This is one reaction to generations of colonial control.

Another paradox is that this basically agricultural country no longer is self-sufficient in food. It has to import increasing quantities of edibles to feed its soaring population.

Nigeria's three main crops are peanuts, cocoa, and palm oil. Last year was disastrous for peanuts but this year the prospects are good. Production of all three crops has slowed in recent years while the national spotlight turned to the oil bonanza.

An estimated 70 percent of Nigerians earn their living from agriculture, and if that segment of the economy is not in good shape, neither is the nation.

The vast majority of Nigerians are self-employed, depending less on wages than the abundance of crops. In rural areas, many are not living on a money economy at all, but deal more in terms of cattle and grain. [Henry S. Hayward, *Christian Science Monitor*, 10/29/74]

#### FRELIMO TELLS SWAZIS: YOU WILL BE FIRST

Mbabane— The Mozambique transitional government has given Swaziland the assurance that the kingdom's export goods will have first preference at all times in Lourenco Marques port.

Frelimo Prime Minister Joaquim Chissano gave this assurance to the Minister of Industry, Mines, and Tourism, Mr. Sishayi Nxumalo, in Lourenco Marques.

This promise comes at a time when big industrialists are worried about the future of Lourenco Marques harbor and Swaziland's rich exports of citrus, iron ore, sugar, and pulp.

Mr. Nxumalo, speaking in Mbabane last week, revealed that he had also had frank discussions with the Mozambique Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet on a variety of matters affecting Swaziland.

[*Star Weekly* (S.A.), 10/5/74]