Dear Friend of Mozambique:

FRELIMO WILL HEAD A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT TAKING OFFICE SEPTEMBER 25th, AND MOZAMBIQUE WILL BECOME INDEPENDENT ON JUNE 25th! This welcome news, marking the end of over 500 years of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique, was announced on September 6 after months of intensive behind-the-scenes negotiations. Both the September and June dates have special meaning for FRELIMO and the Mozambican people, the former being the tenth anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle and the latter being the thirteenth anniversary of FRELIMO's founding.

The change in Portuguese policy since President Spinola's earlier statement that "self-determination is not independence" is the result of his succumbing to pressure from the progressive Armed Forces Movement which put him in power in the April 25th coup. By July 24th, Lisbon had finally acknowledged the right of the colonies to independence (see NYT article of July 25th). On August 26, an agreement was signed in Algiers "granting" independence to Guinea-Bissau (more accurately, acknowledging Guinea-Bissau's already won independence, previously recognized by over ninety nations) (see NYT article of August 27th).

News and Notes again consists of selected news clippings. Of particular concern are the reports of right-wing and mercenary activities in Mozambique and southern Africa, led by such infamous reactionaries as Michael Hoare, who led a mercenary army in the Congo in the early 60's, and Jorge Jardim, a wealthy Mozambican businessman (see Wash. Post articles of July 29th and August 19th). Dissident rightist activity within Mozambique has grown into a small-scale rebellion in the days since the agreement was signed (see NYT article of Sept. 9th). Also of note is the August 29th New York Times article describing Spinola's consolidation of power within...
Portugal, which, given his preference for a semi-autonomous and not independent Mozambique, could hinder the transition to independence.

One CFM announcement: We are now distributing our twenty-five minute film-strip/tape show on Mozambique which is called "Our Dream Has the Size of Freedom." This presentation is intended for audiences having little or no previous knowledge of Mozambique, and was prepared with school groups in mind in particular. Among other advantages, the film-strip discusses events since the April 25th coup in Portugal, including the possibility of near independence. It is accompanied by a study guide. The cost of "Our Dream Has the Size of Freedom" is $20. We will consider discounts for those who can't afford this cost.

In solidarity with the people of Mozambique,

Committee for a Free Mozambique

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Please send me ____ copies of the filmstrip/tape show, "Our Dream Has the Size of Freedom."

Name__________________________

Address____________________________________________

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$20.00 per copy
Portuguese Guinea Wins Independence

Pact Signed in Algiers Takes Effect Sept. 10

ALGIERS, Aug. 26--Portugal today began the dissolution of her colonial empire in Africa with the signing of an agreement granting independence to Portuguese Guinea on Sept. 10.

The accord, signed here with the guerrilla movement of the West African territory, formally ended more than 11 years of fighting. However, a de facto cease-fire has existed in Portuguese Guinea since shortly after the military coup in Lisbon that toppled the authoritarian Government of Premier Marcello Caetano on April 25. 

With the agreement, which was worked out here and in London, beginning last May, the Portuguese Government of President António de Spinola pledged to remove all troops from the territory by Oct. 31. A troop airlift has already begun.

The accord contained an unexpected date—a provision for a referendum to be held at some unspecified time on the future of the Cape Verde Islands, which have been administered as part of Portuguese Guinea.

The guerrilla movement, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, had demanded that Portugal renounce sovereignty over the islands at the same time and that they be part of the new republic of Guinea-Bissau. But Portugal refused, largely because the islands, 300 to 400 miles off West Africa, are considered of strategic value to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to which she belongs.

The solution, a referendum, opened the way to the agreement signed today in the People's Palace.

The agreement to end five centuries of colonial rule in Portuguese Guinea is the first of three steps to dissolution of the rebellious African empire. However, difficult negotiations are still ahead with the nationalists of the West African territory of Angola and the East African territory of Mozambique.

Last Sept. 24, the guerrilla movement of Portuguese Guinea proclaimed the republic of Guinea-Bissau in a liberated part of the Portuguese territory, and more than 100 countries have recognized it.

The First president of the republic is Luis Cabral, brother of Amilcar Cabral, founder and leader of the independence movement, who was assassinated early in 1973.

The signing of the agreement took place here today in the presence of the Algerian Government, headed by President Houari Boumédiène, who is reported to have played a role in bringing the two sides together. Also on hand were the diplomatic corps and the representatives of the various liberation movements that have fought for independence for decades.

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Independence for Portuguese Guinea

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their headquarters here.

Foreign Minister Mario Soares signed for Portugal, and Pedro Pires, the deputy defense minister of the Guinea-Bissau government, signed for the guerrilla movement.

After the signing, Major Pires and Mr. Soares started a handshake that turned into a warm embrace, to wild applause.

The agreement says that after Portugal recognizes the territory's independence, the two countries will "establish and develop relations of active cooperation, notably in the economic, financial, cultural, and technical fields, on a basis of equality, reciprocity of interests and harmonious relations between the citizens of both republics."

After the signing, both delegations were received by President Boumédiène in a downstairs salon of the People's Palace. Algeria being a Moslem country, the guests were served nonalcoholic drinks.

Portuguese Guinea, the smallest and poorest of the three Portuguese possessions in Africa, is situated between Guinea and Senegal and has about 100 miles of Atlantic coast. It has a population of about 500,000 people. The country has little industry.
Military Rule Is Discussed for Mozambique

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Foreign Service

LISBON, July 28 — Three members of Portugal's ruling Armed Forces Movement spent the weekend in talks with local military leaders on the formation of a junta to govern this unsettled East African territory.

They arrived on Saturday, the same day Portugal's president, Gen. Antonio de Spinola, announced in Lisbon that his government was ready to grant independence to "the overseas territories considered ready for this development, namely Guinea, Angola and Mozambique."

Two days earlier, the six-week-old provisional civilian government in Mozambique of Vasco Soares de Melo resigned unexpectedly, primarily to make way for a military junta to deal with the growing problem of rightist terrorism throughout the territory.

In Lourenco Marques, the capital of Mozambique, grenades and homemade bombs have been thrown at police stations, cafes and the offices of leftist political groups on recent nights.

Although there have been no deaths and only a few minor injuries reported as a result of these attacks, the capital has been on edge for days, and authorities have expressed growing concern at believed to be the work of Portuguese right-wing extremists opposed to Lisbon's policy of self-determination.

Similar incidents in Angola have set off shootings and violence that has led to the death there so far of 54 persons and 200 others.

There are about 500,000 whites living in Angola, compared to about 200,000 here in Mozambique. Precisely who is behind the terrorism remains unclear, although tracts signed by a group calling itself Armed Mozambique Actions have been found at the site of several bombings.

Perhaps the No. 1 suspect of local Portuguese authorities is Jorge Jardim, a leading Mozambique businessman who may be the bomb-throwing in Lourenco Marques and other smaller Portuguese cities like Beira or not, it is clear that some group is out to foment trouble and attempting to infiltrate arms, ammunition and apparently even white mercenaries into Mozambique.

On July 19, police in Lourenco Marques intercepted a jeep filled with arms and explosives. The driver was identified as Jean-Pierre Rene, a former mercenary in the Belgian Congo.

Right-wing Portuguese have formed an organization, known as Fico ("I stay" in Portuguese), which has denied any involvement in the terrorism and said that it supports a multiracial 'independent Mozambique with guarantees for whites wishing to remain here.
Specter of Congo Hangs Over Mozambique

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Foreign Service

LOURENCO MARQUES, Mozambique—The specter of an internal Congo hangs ominously over Mozambique, which is now living through the final days of Portuguese colonial rule.

Almost nightly, a bomb or grenade goes off here in the capital of in some other city, the work of a clandestine right-wing Portuguese group.

The British-born former leader of the white mercenary army in the Congo (now called Zaire) Col. Mike Hoare, has begun recruiting mercenaries to fight in Mozambique. At the same time, the Portuguese army has practically collapsed, and the black nationalists: Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) has little power in almost half of the country.

Portuguese big-business interests are apparently backing an effort to organize a black African command that sought for Portuguese into a force capable of standing up to Frelimo.

There are nearly 40,000 Africans in the Portuguese army, compared to an estimated 10,000 Frelimo guerrillas in the country and perhaps an equal number across the border in Tanzania.

Portuguese officials are in contact in many areas, and the two forces are growing toward normal cooperation.

The circumstances of colonization here are unique and contain the potential for disaster. Unlike former French and British colonies in Africa, Mozambique had no nationwide nationalist political party to prepare the country for independence. Indeed, Portugal prohibited politics of any kind and the consequences are now too apparent.

The overwhelming impression a visitor gets in Lourenco Marques, one of the cities and back-country towns, is that of an enormous vacuum of power. In the capital, it is almost impossible to find an authority, civilian or military, who knows what is happening.

The civilian government set up here after the April 25 coup in Lisbon has crumbled, and Lisbon is now trying to organize some kind of provisional regime, with Frelimo representatives included, to maintain a semblance of law and order through independence.

As colonial Mozambique crumbles, Portuguese and Africans seem to be fulfilling the worst racist fantasies they have long harbored about each other.

In the countryside, rowdy elements claiming to be nationalist guerillias but loudly disowned by Frelimo are raiding Portuguese farms and holding up whites and blacks alike. Rarely is the Portuguese army on Frelimo around to stop them.

In Nampula, a small northern town, I watched as a truck with three unfurled white banners driven by a black African suburb, the town was almost nonexistent.

The incident was soon in all the newspapers and on the radio, and the next week the whites on white farms and farmers.

Only in the zones where Frelimo has established its control, in the northern districts of Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete, does some form of order seem to prevail.

Twice the size of California and stretching out along the Indian Ocean for 1,700 miles, Mozambique is loosely connected by roads, rails and airports. The Portuguese kept it together mainly through a ruthless and repressive secret police that was dismantled after the coup in Lisbon.

Now, the Portuguese settlers here fully realize that their fate is being determined in faraway Lisbon and in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, where Frelimo has its headquarters.

In the meantime, a multitude of African and Portuguese political groups has scoured up, each seeking to shape the outcome to suit its own interests and all anxious to prevent single-party rule under Frelimo.

The outcome seems fairly certain. But for the moment, Frelimo's road to power is crowded with fellow travelers, false friends and outright opponents.

There are Portuguese socialists and Communists calling themselves democrats. Portugal's conservatives operating now under the guise of "social democrats," and die-hard colonialists grouped within an organization called "Fico," which means "I am staying" in Portuguese.

The newspapers are filled with bulletins, communiques and proclamations stating their support of or veiled opposition to Frelimo.

Africans proclaiming their faith in a multiracial, independent Mozambique but opposing Frelimo hegemony are less visible and vocal but nonetheless at work. The most active of these groups is Frecom (Mozambique Commonwealth Front) led by a firebrand woman by the name of Joana Simiao, who travels to Europe and the Middle East to seek support. She is seeking primarily to organize the 3 million Makua of northern Mozambique, who sided with the Portuguese during the long war.

Not surprisingly, it is Frelimo that seems to have Frelimo worried most. The nationalist radio station in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, broadcasts scathing denunciations of Simiao, calling her a "prostitute," a Portuguese stooge" and "a CIA agent."

Despite the appearance of feverish political activity, there does not appear to be more than a handful of activists and a mimeograph machine behind most of these organizations.

"It's like adding zero plus zero plus zero," commented one Portuguese observer. "The only group that really counts is Frelimo."

After more than 40 years of dictatorship, neither Portuguese nor Africans seem to have much idea about the art of politics.

There is the state that forbade all politics to the Portuguese, and the state that rooted out Frelimo cells and sympathizers in the towns and cities. Before April 25, it was one sentence punishable by an indeterminate jail sentence even to listen to Frelimo broadcasts from Tanzania.

More than 2,000 Africans were found in prisons throughout Mozambique after the coup in Lisbon, and they have now been released.

It is with the help of these former political prisoners and such groups as the Association of Black Mozambicans here in the capital that Frelimo is now struggling to fill the political vacuum in the towns and cities.

Dissolved nine years ago, the association was once again active, carrying on propaganda and organizational activities on behalf of Frelimo among the 800,000 Africans living in Lourenco Marques.

Interviewed at the association's headquarters in Xipamane, an African suburb, they admitted frankly that Frelimo's organization in the capital was nonexistent until recently.

"We're just starting all over again," said one, pointing to the bare walls and rooms stripped by the Portuguese police years ago.

They said organization of the African population behind Frelimo was proceeding quickly, with committee and block leaders being appointed to explain Frelimo's goals and programs for an independent Mozambique.

"Are you ready for independence?" the association's leaders were asked.

"We're confident we can take over government of this country, with the help of both Africans and Portuguese," one of them replied.
Spinola Side Wins Military Struggle

By Miguel Acoca
Special to The Washington Post

LISBON, Aug. 28—President Antonio de Spinola won control of the Portuguese armed forces today in a major victory over the young officers who ousted the dictatorship last April and brought him to office.

The struggle for power put Spinola and his chairman of the joint chiefs, Gen. Francisco Costa Gomes, on one side and the captains and majors of the Armed Forces Movement's Coordinating Committee on the other.

Progressives on the committee pressed ideas on rapid decolonization in Africa and cooperation with Communists and Socialists that Spinola and moderate officers opposed.

Spinola's victory was confirmed by announcement of a decree giving Gen. Costa Gomes complete control of the armed forces, granting him status equivalent to that of premier, and placing the overall military establishment under Spinola—who is both provisional president and chairman of the ruling military junta. Costa Gomes is junta vice chairman.

One of the losers, a ranking progressive of the Coordinating Committee, said the struggle was so heated that violence threatened over the weekend as officers who participated in the April military revolt split into Spinolist and progressive factions.

"The danger of an open clash is over," said the officer. "It was hard going, but we have reached a compromise."

Also at issue, besides control of the military services, was the election of Armed Forces Movement members to replace, in the Council of State, officers who became ministers, in a Cabinet crisis last month. Finally in question were political activities of such progressive members of the coordinating committee as Maj. Victor Alves, minister without portfolio and acting deputy premier, and Maj. Ernesto Melo Antunes, a Marxist who was slated to become head of the military junta in Mozambique.

Melo Antunes suffered the brunt of the Spinolist attack, which effectively canceled his nomination to go to Mozambique as head of the government that will negotiate independence with Fretilin, the leftist Mozambique Liberation Front. He was blackballed because of his political views, according to associates.

Until this weekend, the military struggle had been between Spinola and younger officers like Col. Vasco de Gaules, the premier imposed on Spinola, and Alves and Melo Antunes, Cabinet ministers since last month's crisis.

Now that armed forces chief Costa Gomes—who was involved in a number of aborted conspiracies against the ousted dictatorship—has thrown his weight behind Spinola, the balance of power has changed in favor of the provisional president and his Gaullist concept of his role and of Portugal's future.

Senior civilian officials who watched the power struggle between Costa Gomes and the progressives were appalled by its intensity.

"It was like the days before the uprising against the dictatorship," said a worried technocrat who spent years abroad in exile. "I hope the fight is over and that we'll now settle down to nation-building and to an election that will be free and democratic."

The clash came when Costa Gomes, to demonstrate that he had wide backing among the officers in the April uprising, signed a letter aimed at trimming the power of the Armed Forces Movement's Coordinating Committee.

His signature at the top of the list made it easy to collect at least 700 other signatures, roughly half of the movement's membership.

One of the main points of the letter, which was widely circulated in Lisbon and shown to the military attaches of a number of embassies here, was that the committee had to stop politicking among officers and soldiers.

The letter also deplored the committee's demands for a major purge of officers who risen through the ranks under the dictatorship and charged that the committee was trying to usurp the role of spokesmen for the movement to promote views not necessarily expressed in the movement's program to create a democracy and end the colonial war.

It also accused the committee of organizing "clandestine meetings to criticize high officials." As officers took sides, they held separate meetings. Gen. Spinola took the side of Costa Gomes. He was said to feel that his role as provisional president lacked meaningful power because he was not really commander-in-chief of the armed forces, which until today's decree were under the premier and defense minister.

Throughout most of the fighting, Spinola remained aloof, taking the waters at a vacation spa 150 miles from Lisbon.

GEN. COSTA GOMES

... winning generals in Portuguese struggle

PRESIDENT SPINOLA

...
Mozambique Rebels Sign Peace Pact With Portugal

LUSAKA, Zambia, Sept. 7 (Reuters) — Portugal's African territory of Mozambique is to become an independent state next June, and a government formed by the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique will take power shortly, under an agreement signed here today.

A ceasefire ending the 10-year guerrilla war between the Liberation Front, commonly known as Frelimo, and Portuguese forces was to take effect at midnight (6 P.M., New York Time).

The agreement was signed here by Samora Machel, the bearded, 40-year-old leader of occupying the main radio stations of the East African territory.

The new nation's independence day — June 25, 1975 — will mark the 18th anniversary of the founding of the Liberation Front.

While blacks in Mozambique were rejoicing, groups of whites in Lourenço Marques, the capital, kept up their protests against the arrangements being worked out here.

Kenneth D. Kaunda, the President of Zambia, who had representatives of the two sides to hold their negotiations here, pre- sided at the signing ceremony. He broke down and wept when address- ing the two delegations afterward.

Under the agreement, which came after three months of hard negotiations, a high commissioner for Mozambique will be appointed by the Portuguese President, Gen. António de Spinola, and a transitional government and joint military commission will be established by agreement between the Liberation Front and the Portuguese Government.

The transitional government's premier will be appointed by the Liberation Front.

The transitional administra- tion will have nine cabinet ministers, none of whom will be from the Portuguese forces, and it was believed that responsibility for these posts would remain in Por- tuese hands during the transition period.

Portugal will appoint three of the ministers and Frelimo will name the other six.

The joint military commis- sion will be made up equally of representatives from the Por- tuese armed forces and the Liberation Front; its main task will be to carry out the cease- fire.

The Liberation Front's armed forces will come under the direction of the premier, according to the agreement.

The transitional government is to set up a police corps, but until such a corps becomes operational the present police forces will continue to function.

Defense of Mozambique's ter- ritorial integrity will be a joint responsibility of Portugal and the Liberation Front, the agree- ment said.

In what appeared to be an allusion to the huge Cabora Bassa Dam, being built in Mozam- bique largely with South African funds, the agreement stated that Frelimo was prepared to accept responsibility for financial obli- gations.

The agreement reaffirmed Frelimo's declared policy of non-discrimination.

The Government in Lisbon today ordered her Portuguese forces to move against dissident rightists who have seized key points in Mozambique to move against dissident rightists who have seized key points in Lourenço Marques and are challenging Mozambique's indepen- dence agreement with Portugal.

Outside the Mozambique capital, two whites and an African were killed when black stoned supporters of the dis- sident movement as they drove in a column of vehicles on the road to the airport.

This was the first loss of life reported since the insurrection started yesterday with the seizure of a radio station and the freeing of former secret policemen from jail.

The white backlash against the independence agreement signed yesterday in Lusaka, Zambia, by Portugal and the liberation movement in Mozambique brought an angry re- action from front leaders, who were still in the Zambian capital.

A Lusaka statement by the Liberation Front, known as Frelimo, said it would smash the right-wing rebellion with the help of the Portuguese Army.

Such cooperation is provided for in the Lusaka pact, which will have provisional government immediately, to be headed by Frelimo, and full independ- ence for Mozambique next June.

In Lisbon, however, the Por- tuese Prime Minister, Col. Vasco dos Santos Goncalves, said his Government had for the present not sought any help from Frelimo in restoring order.

Colonel Goncalves said he did not consider that there was any question of a coup d'état in Mozambique "but rather a des- troyed by a minority which does not understand the historic processes and the ways of the future."

Meanwhile, members of the Movement for a Free Mozam- bique, the white rightist group, broadcast repeated demands for immediate independence — without any "sellout" to Frelimo — and said that they planned a new gov- ernment representing all the territory's ethnic groups.

Policemen and Portuguese troops stood by at the radio stations in Lisbon, the post office and the airport control tower, but they made no move to expel the rightists from these strategic points.

Portuguese officials dismissed dissident claims to be in control elsewhere in the huge territory of Mozambique, which is eight times the size of Portugal.

The Government in Lisbon said the situation outside Lourenço Marques was perfectly calm and that the police and troops remained loyal.
September 25th — Day of Solidarity with the People of Mozambique

Ten years ago, in September, 1964, the Mozambican people, led by FRELIMO, took up arms against 500 years of Portuguese colonialism. The success of their struggle has led to the promise of political independence from Portugal in June, 1975. On this day of celebration of the anniversary of the armed struggle, we reaffirm our solidarity with the people of Mozambique for the continuing struggle to create a new, free Mozambican society.