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## Anti-Regime Tract in Portugal Drawing Support from Military

The anti-regime document released last week by dissident members of the Armed Forces Movement appears to be drawing widespread support from military units throughout Portugal.

The decision of the ruling three-man directorate to suspend the nine original signers from the Revolutionary Council may cause more of the military to support the document.

A communique on the suspensions, issued last night by the internal security forces, says that those officers holding purely political posts were ordered to report to their general staffs for reassignment. Those holding military positions, namely the commanders of two of Portugal's three military regions, will retain

their commands.

General Orel de Carvalho, chief of the security forces, has publicly denounced the dissidents' document, but is reportedly waiting to see how much support the document gets before finally committing himself. The security forces' communique is being interpreted as an indication of Carvalho's support for the dissidents.

Army units, according to press reports, met yesterday to decide how to react to the suspension of the nine.

The original signers had requested that military personnel make their position known by today. Final assessment of support may be delayed beyond today's deadline, since circulation of the document has been slowed in part because pro-Goncalves supporters have threatened to take legal action against those who circulate the document.

Press reports indicate that Information Minister Jessaio has ordered that no mention of the document be made in the mass media.

President Costa Gomes reportedly agrees with most of the document, but does not approve of the timing or the way it was presented. He told [redacted] on Saturday that the new Goncalves government will have a "short life" since it is no more than a transitional government, designed to give the military more time to set up a viable government machinery.

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### Impact of Fighting in Angola

## White, Black Refugee Problems

The fighting in Angola has created a refugee problem of staggering proportions that will have serious, long-term social and economic effects on the territory.

The refugees are moving in a number of different directions. Whites from the interior are crowding into Luanda, where they are waiting to get out of Angola. Blacks are fleeing Luanda and other major towns for the comparative safety of the countryside. Blacks who left Angola during the insurgency against the Portuguese are now streaming back into the territory.

For all intents and purposes, the transitional government has faded away. This leaves the refugee problem in the hands of

Portugal, international relief organizations, and the churches—none of which is capable of carrying the burden.

Lisbon recently announced that it will airlift 270,000 whites from Angola before the end of October. Portuguese capabilities, however, are clearly not up to the task. On paper, the plan looks feasible, but Lisbon does not have adequate ground support to process the people and to keep the planes in the air. Fuel shortages forced Lisbon to cancel three evacuation flights last week. The evacuation is averaging 1,200 persons a day, instead of the 3,000 planned.

Many whites in Angola suspect that authorities in Lisbon are deliberately

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**Angolan Black Refugee Problem to Last for Long Time to Come***From Page 1*

holding back on the airlift because they fear a massive influx of refugees would aggravate Portugal's touchy economic and political situation. Some whites are seeking alternate ways out of the country; several thousand have organized convoys to South West Africa, where the South African government is setting up temporary facilities to receive them.

in Luanda believes it unrealistic to expect any significant number of whites to change their minds and not leave. They are panic-stricken over the increasing savagery of the fighting and over reports that whites have been massacred in some areas.

**Unsettled Blacks**

We have no way of telling just how many blacks have fled Luanda and other urban areas, but the movement is unquestionably large. Portuguese military officials estimate that at least 15,000 blacks fled to northern Angola following the pitched battle in mid-July between the National Front and the Popular Movement in Luanda. During July, social service agencies in Luanda processed some 26,000 blacks who wished to leave the city.

The largest group of black refugees is the 200,000 who have returned to northern Angola from Zaire since the transitional government was established last January. They were drawn back by the prospect of independence and the lure of their traditional lands, from which they had fled when the insurgency broke out in the early 1960s.

These particular refugees were encouraged to return by the National Front, which expected to capitalize on tribal ties

to win their support in the national election called for by the independence accords with Portugal. Some of these refugees have resettled on their own lands; others have taken jobs on coffee plantations. Most, however, are simply squatting. Food, clothing, and housing for them are increasingly scarce.

**Paying the Bill**

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Angola recently estimated that a proper refugee relief program for

the territory's uprooted blacks would cost as much as \$50 million. No one connected with the refugee problem—and especially no one in Lisbon—knows where that much money might come from.

At present, the UN, the Red Cross, and the Catholic and Baptist churches are helping on an ad hoc basis. They have been unable to come up with comprehensive programs because of the lack of funds and the unsettled conditions in the countryside. Even when some funds are available, supplies are not.

The transitional government still has responsibility for coordinating the refugee relief program. Most government officials, however, have left and the few who remain are incompetent or corrupt.

**Economic Dislocation**

The black refugee problem will be with Angola for a long time to come.

estimates that people in need of relief are likely to reach a peak of some 500,000.

Serious economic and social dislocation is certain. In northern Angola, blacks reclaiming their lands will parcel out the large plantations built up over the years by departing whites. The Bakongo of northern Angola are extremely individualistic, and will not be able to adjust to the large-scale corporate agriculture that has been the basis for the area's past prosperity.

In the past, migrant laborers were imported from poorer southern areas of the territory when the Bakongo refused to work on the large plantations. As jobs in the north disappear, these southern laborers will be forced into unemployment.

Many of the whites who are leaving Angola will take with them much-needed technical expertise. Even if a political solution were suddenly to be found for Angola, no significant number of technically trained whites would have enough confidence in a new government to return.

The only potentially positive side effect of Angola's refugee problem is that the white departure may eventually open up large numbers of semi-skilled and unskilled jobs for blacks. Under the colonial regime, such jobs as stevedoring and construction work were restricted to whites to encourage emigration from Portugal, where labor surpluses were severe.

For these jobs to become available, however, Angola's economy will have to recover. Recovery, in turn, depends on an end to the fighting and a politically functioning state. Angola is not likely to see either of these any time soon.

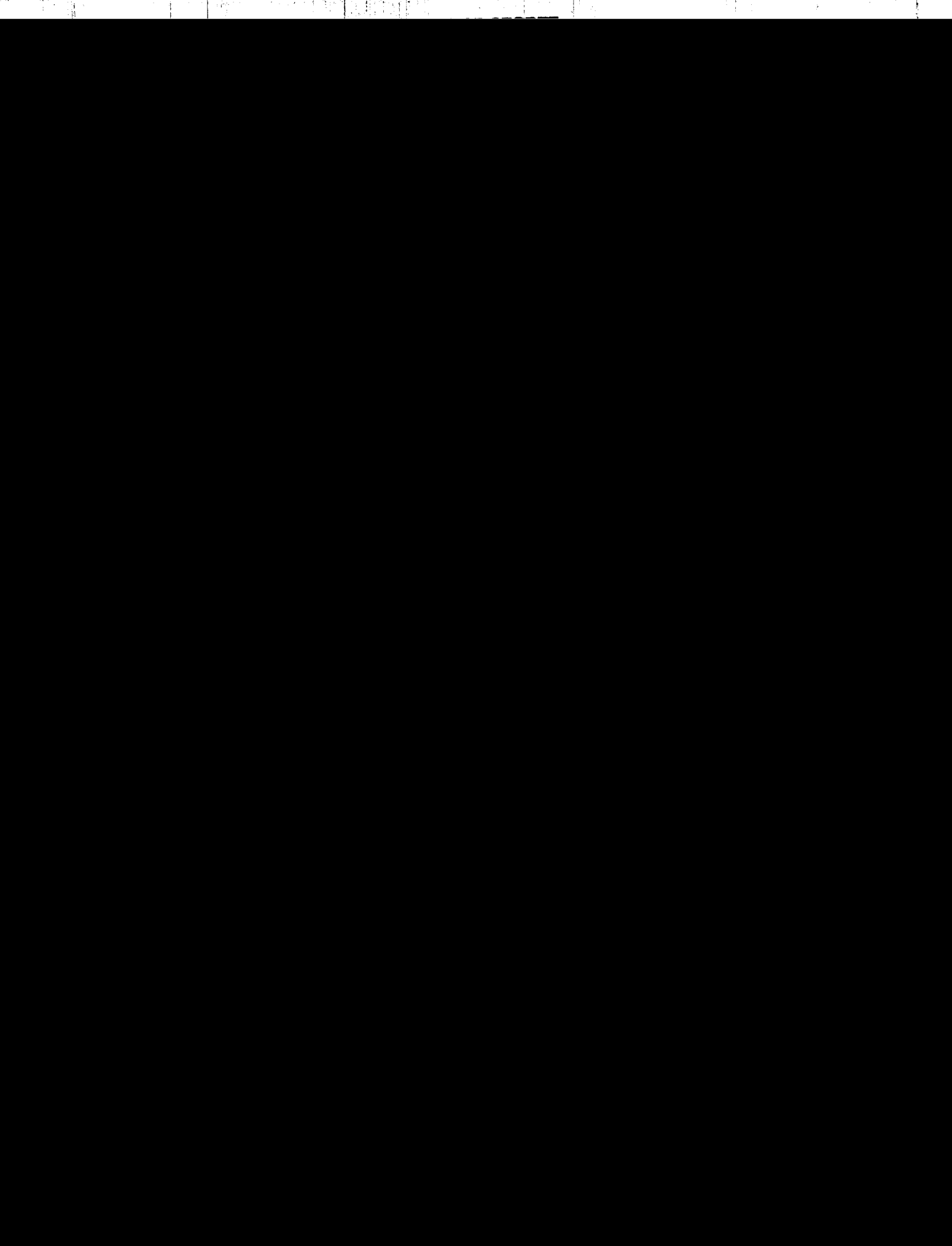
**Angolan Capital Quiet Yesterday**

Luanda was quiet yesterday following a new round of fighting earlier in the weekend between the Popular Movement and the National Front. Fighting broke out early Saturday morning when Movement troops attacked several offices and residences of Front officials attached to the territory's now virtually defunct transitional government.

The Portuguese military commander for the territory, who is currently acting as High Commissioner, told on Friday that he will press for removal from the city of all troops in ex-

cess of the 450 allowed each group under previous agreements. This plan has been tried before with no success, and it seems highly unlikely that the military commander will be able to enforce it this time.

Some National Front forces reportedly pulled out of Luanda yesterday, but others are stubbornly hanging on with the expectation that Front leaders are preparing a major advance on the city. Popular Movement forces in Luanda will be unwilling to give up the advantage they now hold by withdrawing the bulk of their troops.



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## Portuguese Military . . .

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Costa Gomes said he intends to initiate meetings this week with political party leaders to discuss the formation of a more broadly based government.

The dissidents continue to hope that Goncalves will resign peacefully. If he refuses, however, they believe he will have to resort to repressive tactics to stay in office.

The Socialists, meanwhile, are completely behind Antunes' efforts to diminish Communist influence in Portugal. In a conversation with Ambassador Carlucci, Soares and leading party member Zenha were both optimistic about the chances for forcing Goncalves out of office. They cautioned, however, that any move by Azorean separatists or by conservative Spicchi forces would upset the momentum they now perceive to be in favor of anti-Communist forces.

