

Molly

To: Executive Board of ACOA
from: George Houser
Re: A report on my 17th trip to Africa

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

September, 1973

For six weeks this summer, (June 15 - July 26) I travelled in Africa. About a week of this time was spent in the Republic of Guinea and inside Guinea-Bissau with P.A.I.G.C. (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde). In addition I had more than two weeks in Tanzania and a week or more in Zambia, and Zaire with a couple of days in Liberia. I met with leaders of almost all of the liberation movements including those of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola and South Africa. I also talked with governmental leaders particularly in Zambia and Tanzania, and with the new Secretary General of the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity. I was particularly glad I had an opportunity to visit some of the nation-building projects of the P.A.I.G.C. and of FRELIMO. There are many impressions, new facts, and interpretations which grow out of an intensive period such as this. Only a small part of what I have gathered can be put in a report of this sort. Part of the purpose of this trip was to up-date material for the book I am writing which hopefully will be completed by the end of 1973.

In this report I should like to concentrate especially on the PAIGC and the situation in Guinea-Bissau. A personal reason for this concentration is that I saw more of PAIGC activities than I have on other occasions when I have visited the Republic of Guinea where the movement has its external headquarters. I was fortunate to be able to go inside Guinea-Bissau and to gain a clear impression of the strength and efficiency of the movement which is now really operating effectively as a government for the majority of the people in that country. Another reason for concentrating on Guinea-Bissau in this report is that this has been a critical year there. Amilcar Cabral, who was the founder and the inspired leader of the PAIGC, was cruelly assassinated on January 20th of this year. The obvious question to ask is what has been the effect of the loss of this leader to the PAIGC and to their struggle for freedom. Furthermore this year is critical in that it had been announced well in advance that during 1973 the PAIGC would proclaim the existence of their state. They do not call it a declaration of independence because they are already operating as an independent entity, but they are proclaiming their independence as a fact this year. Those who have been following the liberation struggle in Africa, particularly in Guinea-Bissau, have been asking whether or not the loss of Cabral might delay this important proclamation. Let me therefore concentrate most of my report on this part of the continent.

GUINEA - BISSAU

I arrived in Conakry, the capital of the Republic of Guinea on Friday evening of June 15th. I was met by representatives of the PAIGC at the airport. Early next morning I was picked up at the hotel where I was staying and taken the five miles from the center of Conakry to the PAIGC headquarters to meet with Aristides Pereira, one of the six original members of the PAIGC in 1956 when it was founded in Bissau, the capital of the Portuguese colony. Pereira had been a civil servant working in the telecommunications system of the colony then. He had been one of that small group which, working very carefully underground, had planned and executed the historic strike of the dock workers at the Pidjiguiti docks in August, 1959. Portuguese police troops violently broke the strike with the loss

of 50 African lives and the wounding of more than a hundred others. In a sense the PAIGC was really born out of this strike. The whole strategy of the movement changed as it was decided, under Cabral's leadership, to shift their focus from the urban to the rural areas and work among the peasants. Pereira escaped from Bissau in 1960 and, taking several months by a circuitous route, joined Amilcar Cabral in their newly established external headquarters in Conakry in early 1961. Ever since that time Pereira, along with Luis Cabral, the brother of Amilcar, has been one of the top three leaders of the movement.

On the same night Amilcar was shot as he alighted from a car at about 11:00 p.m., returning to his home at the headquarters of the PAIGC after attending a diplomatic reception, Pereira was captured. There had been ten or more other leaders of the PAIGC also captured who were put in custody at the prison near the headquarters. But Pereira, now that Amilcar was dead, was the main prize of those who had plotted with the Portuguese to try to bring the PAIGC and its liberation struggle to ruin. Pereira, as he told me carefully in our long discussion, was hustled to a small boat of the PAIGC on the Atlantic sea shore not far from the headquarters, with the intent of taking him to Bissau and turning him over to the Portuguese authorities. His arms were tied very tightly behind him and he was placed in a very awkward position for the several hours he was held captive. Blood circulation was cut off in his arms and the thongs made deep wounds. He showed me the scars and said that he was just now recovering his strength. From January to May he had been under medical care and Luis Cabral had been handling the administrative responsibilities for the movement. Pereira owes his freedom and probably his life to the fact that, just before reaching Bissau waters his boat was intercepted by a small vessel from the navy of the Republic of Guinea. His abductors were then taken into custody by those manning the Guinea boat.

Those who actually carried out the plot were from Guinea-Bissau. There is not space here to recount the events which led up to this tragedy. Suffice it to say that the evidence which has come from the 40-odd who were captured is that the pay-off for them was that they were to receive high positions in a regime in Guinea-Bissau which would be friendly to the Portuguese. The price which the Portuguese asked was the elimination of the main leaders of the PAIGC, and the political abandonment of the Cape Verde Islands.

In spite of the unsuccessful end of the plot from the Portuguese point of view, great damage had been done with the assassination of the principle founder and leader of the movement. Nevertheless, from my observations, coming on to the scene almost six months after the assassination, the PAIGC has made a remarkable recovery. Perhaps the movement, its leaders and its people have been inspired by the necessity to re-double their efforts in order to make up for their tremendous loss. I met Ana Maria Cabral, the wife of Amilcar, who is still living in their small house at the headquarters. They have three children, the oldest of whom is fifteen, and the youngest a baby. She is carrying on with her activities, very much a part of the movement. She received many messages of condolence from the United States and said to me: "give our best greetings to all of our friends in the United States."

I asked some of the other leaders of the PAIGC what the loss of Amilcar meant. One of them said to me, "we feel strangely that he is still with us. Many of us have the feeling as we are sitting in meetings discussing important points of strategy that he is present." I was told by others that Amilcar had been involved in just about every decision and certainly every major decision that the party had to make. He always had solutions to offer to whatever the problem was - whether economic, political or military. I was told that one of his greatest contributions to the movement was the spirit in which he dealt with people. One of the leaders told me that he never recalls Amilcar losing his head in anger. This person said that whenever others of them occasionally were in bitter argument, Amilcar would say, "if we who are working here together cannot love one another how can we expect to love the people whom we are trying to serve in Guinea-Bissau whom we can't even see now."

The loss of Amilcar may be slightly easier because the decisions of the party were collective ones. He did not try to impose his will or his judgement on the others. All the decisions were jointly made. One of the most obvious results of Amilcar's death was that the military struggle against the Portuguese was intensified. Between March and the middle of June, I was told, eighteen planes had been shot down. A nineteenth plane was brought down the week that I was there. Coincidental with my arrival at the Conakry airport PAIGC military personnel also arrived by an internal flight. I was told that they had just returned from the fighting front and that there were two major battles then in progress, one in the south and one in the north. They further told me that late in May they had taken a major military camp from the Portuguese in the southern part of the country and that it would be possible for me to be taken there during the next few days.

After a couple of days in Conakry during which I had many discussions with PAIGC leaders, we took off by Land Rover before dawn for the border of Guinea-Bissau. It was about a seven hour ride over what I considered a rough road, to cover the 180 miles to the town of Boke still in the Republic of Guinea. Then it was another three hours over roads which at times reminded me of the stony bottom of a not quite dry mountain stream bed to travel fifteen or twenty miles to the PAIGC base camp on the border at a place called Kandiafara. This was the rainy reason and so the very rough road, which would have been impassable for all except the Land Rover, was sometimes completely under water. Here the commander of the south who is familiarly called Nino (but whose formal name is Bernardo Veiera) was located. A large contingent of PAIGC guerillas was based there. Most of them carried their rifles over their shoulders and worked in camouflaged uniforms. A canopy of trees rose over the area so that it could not be seen from the air. However there had been a bombing attack by Portuguese planes just two days before I arrived. Several civilians had been wounded, two of them were being operated on in the near-by PAIGC hospital when I visited there. We travelled on late in the afternoon towards what had been a major Portuguese military base in the south at a place called Guilege. I had thought that it would be necessary for us to walk but the PAIGC leaders told me that they now were using the road, poor though it was, because the area was so secure from Portuguese foot soldiers. The only danger was from planes.

By leaving late afternoon the risk of bombing was slight. Again the road to Guilege would be thought of by our standards as almost impassible. But indeed it was a lot better than a long hike. Equipment could be carried and the strength of men saved. In our group also there was a young French woman doctor who was working at the PAIGC hospital and also Ana Maria Cabral was with us; she was going inside Guinea-Bissau for a period of weeks.

We arrived at Guilege not long before dark and just before a huge rain and wind storm struck us. Therefore I was able to take only a few pictures showing the destruction which had been wreaked on the place. Actually the military base had been reduced to rubble. Some concrete bunkers looked like small basements in the ground. A piece of wall stood occasionally but on the whole the base was levelled. The battle for Guilege had ended May 22nd having lasted five days. I was told that about half of a contingent of 260 Portuguese soldiers had escaped. There was a runway fashioned out of a cleared area of the forest and one destroyed plane was still on it. For months the Portuguese had been able to get provisions into the camp only by air as the ground had been under PAIGC control for a long time. Actually the destruction of the camp had taken place not so much during the military engagement as afterwards. The PAIGC wanted to make sure the Portuguese would not come back because there would be no buildings left standing for them to come back to. Only the air strip was there. It had been about a 20 acre camp surrounded by a barbed wire fence with lights mounted to illuminate the surrounding forest. The PAIGC had captured the generator without damage and was using it elsewhere already. They had captured quantities of food, because there had been provisions for at least six months. Also they captured a great deal of military equipment. We had seen some of the destruction of jeeps and trucks along the road on our way to Guilege. This whole experience was a reminder of the destruction which inevitably is part of the military process. And yet it also reflected the strength of the PAIGC and its almost complete control of the land surface of the country.

Barely ten miles away we could hear the guns of another battle in progress at a place called Gadamael. The PAIGC expected to win this battle shortly although it had been going on for more than three weeks. The only way the Portuguese had access to this village and military camp was by helicopter along the path of a very wide river and by river boat which was very difficult for the PAIGC forces to attack. They surrounded the village on three sides, with the river the only access by the Portuguese. This trip to Guilege and the sound of the battle at Gadamael was a grim reminder that a war was going on.

I also was privileged to see some of the very positive and creative nation-building activities of the PAIGC even in the midst of conflict. Just a couple of miles from the military base at Kandiafara was one of the trading centers of the PAIGC. They call these trading centers "People's Shops". They said that there were about thirty-two of them scattered throughout their controlled areas. Through these shops, built right in the middle of the forests, the people are able to trade what they themselves produce for needed supplies. There are an average of fifty peasants a day who come into this center loaded down with whatever they have to exchange. Guinea-Bissau is primarily an agricultural country and rice is the main product grown.

In addition to the large bags of rice which the people bring in, carrying them on their backs, they also trade honey and bees wax, kola nuts, the skins of animals or crocodiles, palm products, etc. In exchange for this the people receive shoes, clothing, cigarettes, blankets, sugar, salt or soap, etc. These goods are sent to the PAIGC from friendly countries ranging from Holland, Sweden or Norway to Cuba or East Germany or other parts of Eastern Europe. There is a very sophisticated system for estimating the exchange value of products. For example one meter of crocodile skin is worth two kilos of rice. Three kilos of rice equal one pair of trousers. Fifteen kilos of rice is worth one pair of women's shoes. One kilo of rice equals one kilo of sugar. There is no money for exchange for they are completely outside the escudo zone of Portugal and of course not in the money system of the Republic of Guinea either. By the time I reached this particular shop, trading for the day was already finished, and what I saw was a group of about five huts in the forest, three of which were used as warehouses for rice, bees wax or for blankets and clothing. A PAIGC person responsible for the running of the shop together with a staff of helpers was there. One of the huts had four sewing machines, each one being used to make clothing out of some of the cloth which had been sent to the PAIGC from abroad.

Only a few miles away from the People's Shop is one of the major schools of the PAIGC. It is called the Boarding School of the South. At present it is located on the Republic of Guinea side of the border, although there is no sign to indicate when one is in the Republic or in Guinea-Bissau. It was moved just last year because of the danger to the children from Portuguese bombs. Even in this location trenches had been dug to which the children and teaching staff go when the planes fly over head. The school of course is hidden from the air by the trees, but the attack just a day or so before I arrived was a reminder of a constant danger. Two teachers brought me pieces of bomb fragments they had collected from the attack which had wounded several civilians. The school is named after one of the fallen heroes of the PAIGC, Areolino Lopes da Cruz. He was killed in action several years ago. There are now 82 students in the school. The dormitories and the school rooms are all made in the usual African forest style with thatched roofs made of palm leaves. The sides of the structures are open to allow for good ventilation in this warm and humid climate with the slanted roofs stretching almost to the ground so that rain cannot penetrate in the wet season. Children come from all over the southern part of Guinea-Bissau to attend here. There are of course other village schools located throughout the country but the boarding school is for those children who have shown special promise. It is a four year course. The director of the school is a young man of about twenty-five years of age who joined the PAIGC just ten years ago. He studied overseas for several years before taking on his duties as the head of this school. There are eight teachers on the staff. The children put on an exciting program of drumming and dancing and drama for us, and at the conclusion brought me a bracelet and a wooden spoon made out of available forest material. On the spoon was written, in English, "The PAIGC need peace."

There are five boarding schools of the PAIGC - one to serve the northern region and one the east in addition to the one in the south. In Conakry in the Republic of Guinea there is a nursery school and kindergarten as well as what is called a Pilot School. The best of the students attend this school coming from all over the interior of Guinea-Bissau. There are now 120 students in the Pilot School - 80 boys and 40 girls. As in the Boarding School of the South, discipline and the organization of the school is almost entirely in the hands of the students themselves who elect their own committee and are responsible for keeping the place clean and neat. They have a rigorous schedule the whole day from the time of rising almost at dawn until they go to bed about 10 o'clock in the evening. The teaching staff is composed almost entirely of people from Guinea-Bissau although it was very interesting to me to meet one member of the staff who was Portuguese and whose father was in the Portuguese army in Angola. This young man, who was opposed to the colonial wars of the Portuguese, had left his home and Angola in order to join in the work of the PAIGC. He was welcomed as his teaching responsibility attests.

The dormitory rooms all have double-decker bunks with as few as four in some small rooms and as many as twelve in larger rooms. In each room there is one person responsible to see that everyone does his or her work. Every Friday evening there is a meeting of the student body to discuss discipline or other problems which may have developed during the week. A teacher is included as part of the committee responsible for discipline and program-planning for the school, but there is a shift every week so that no one teacher has a deciding voice. I have rarely seen a place as neat and smoothly run as either the Pilot School or the Boarding School of the South or for that matter the kindergarten. I asked whether they had the place specially neat because a visitor was coming, and I was told that they did not know about my visit until shortly before I arrived. They said they have no real discipline problems because the children are bound together by the common effort in which all are involved and they know how fortunate they are to be able to attend school.

The entire education program of the PAIGC is organized under what they call the Friendship Institute. I was told that there have been 422 students in Europe since 1964 and that 35 had graduated from university. Altogether there are 14,531 students in the schools of the PAIGC throughout Guinea-Bissau and there are 258 teachers. This contrasts with what existed under the Portuguese - only eleven schools, 45 mission schools and 2,000 students.

I spent several hours at the hospital of the PAIGC, which they call Solidarity Hospital, located at Boke inside the Republic of Guinea where it is relatively safe from bombing attack, but close to the border. The director of the hospital is Dr. Manuel Boal who originally came from Angola, but Guinea-Bissau is his adopted country. The hospital was constructed in 1969 out of prefabricated material given by the Republic of Guinea government. It is not very strong material. I noted that two rooms in a wing of the hospital had no roof. I was told that in late April this section of the hospital was hit by a huge wind and that the roof was torn off, leaving ten beds open to the elements. Dr. Boal told me that the PAIGC was now faced with a decision which at the time I was there had not yet been made. The issue

is whether to start re-building the hospital at its present location or simply to reinforce parts of it until such time as they can re-build the hospital inside their own country. Obviously the key issue is how long before the Portuguese will leave Guinea-Bissau. If the war continues for another two years, for example, then they would not put up a more permanent and stronger hospital building in the Republic of Guinea. But they might be forced to build a stronger hospital if they think the war will last much longer than that. As if to make this problem very real to me, a 20 minute rain and wind storm struck when I was at the hospital and I could feel the walls shake. The staff watched with apprehension. Before the roof was taken off the rooms with ten beds, the hospital had 125 beds. I was taken through the wards of the hospital and I would estimate that about 2/3 of the patients were war-wounded. Many of them had to have legs, arms or finger amputated. During 1972 I was told that there were 111 war-wounded in the hospital of which eight were children, seventy-five soldiers and twenty-eight adult civilians. Four of the soldiers and thirteen of the civilians died. The hospital also has a very active out-patient clinic. In 1972 there were 5,000 out-patients. A few of them come from the Republic of Guinea, but most of them are from inside Guinea-Bissau.

In addition to the Solidarity Hospital there are seven regional hospitals inside Guinea-Bissau and twelve other medical centers. A place is called a hospital if a doctor is stationed there. A medical center has a medical assistant or a trained nurse in attendance. Dr. Boal explained that there were now nine trained Guinean doctors. In addition to the nurses and doctors from Guinea-Bissau at Solidarity Hospital, there was a special team of five technicians sent by the government of Yugoslavia to help the PAIGC with its medical work. The head surgeon at the hospital is Dr. Petrovich. Others in this team include a laboratory technician, a radiologist and an anesthetist. The young French woman doctor whom I mentioned was with our group travelling to Guilege, was stationed at the hospital for a brief time. I noted that there was a nurse from Algeria, and I was told that there were two Cuban doctors whom I did not meet. There are forty student nurses, 18 of whom are women, in a two year training course, Twenty are in the first year and the same number in the second year.

I was deeply impressed by the style of living and the obvious level of commitment of the PAIGC leaders and workers. In Conakry the party workers live communally. There is one building in which five married couples live together, each with their separate bedrooms, but with a common kitchen and bathroom. There is a similar arrangement for the single men and women. I was told by the head of the Department of Information that he rarely has need for money. He apologized a couple of times for not having any cash with him when we stopped at the market in Conakry, at my request, to pick up some of the delicious tropical fruits such as papaya and mango. I of course had not expected him to pay, but this was the occasion for him to explain to me that whenever any of the party need anything, they get it from the person who is responsible for that part of their operation. For example, someone is responsible for buying food, someone for keeping their vehicles in good shape and supplied with petrol, someone responsible for medical work, educational work, etc. Their basic needs are always met and he said he does not like to carry money with him.

I had mentioned earlier in this report that there was quite a group of us who went to visit the former Portuguese military camp at Guilege. Our party travelled in two armoured trucks, one Land Rover, and one Jeep. There were others at Guilege waiting for us. When it was time for us to return, the larger portion of those who had already been at Guilege, some of whom had been in our party, took off by foot in the rain and in the dark towards a small village in the forests of Guinea-Bissau still some three hours walking distance. One of them was Ana Maria Cabral, and another was Vasco Cabral (no relation to Amilcar) who was responsible for some of the political organizing within the party. I found out subsequently that his task was to go inside the country to help prepare for the second Congress of the PAIGC. The first was held in 1964. This one was held in order to decide on a successor to Amilcar Cabral as the Secretary General of the party and other matters of internal organization. In addition to that it was to choose forty members representing the party in the newly elected National Assembly. Perhaps before this report is out we will know the results of the meeting of the National Assembly for I was assured that some time this year they would proclaim the existence of their state. I suppose it came as no real surprise to those who have been acquainted with the PAIGC that Aristides Pereira was chosen as Secretary General to succeed Amilcar. For the Permanent Commission of the party, which is the top administrative group, four persons were chosen; Pereira, Luis Cabral, the Commander of the South, Nino, and the Commander of the North, Chico Mendes.

I came away from these few days in Guinea and inside Guinea-Bissau feeling that Amilcar Cabral had laid the foundations for this movement exceedingly well. The struggle is continuing in all of its phases, both military and nation-building, as he would want it to. Just before I left Conakry to go on to the other places in Africa, which I was to visit, I hesitantly asked one of the responsible party leaders where the body of Cabral was buried. He replied by saying, "We did not bury his body. He is in a mausoleum someplace in the Republic of Guinea. After the independence of our country is secured we will move his body inside the country where he would want it to be."

In the remainder of this report, I can only make passing comment on other areas and other movements visited on this trip.

MOZAMBIQUE

With the exception of the struggle in Guinea-Bissau, there is no question about the fact that the most progress is taking place in Mozambique. Here the struggle is lead by FRELIMO, (the Mozambique Liberation Front). I was in Dar es Salaam, on the day the publicity about the recent massacres by the Portuguese in Mozambique made headlines. I would like to say a word about this. FRELIMO's external headquarters is located in Dar es Salaam. I had already been in the Tanzanian capital two days, having arrived July 9th, and had spoken with several of the FRELIMO leaders, before the publicity about the massacres was in the press. FRELIMO spokesmen such as Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of the movement, gave no indication that they expected any headline news momentarily. I therefore picked up facts of the massacre at Wiriyamu through the Daily News in Dar es Salaam. Of course, the real story broke in the London Times based upon the information of Catholic missionary priests who had been inside Mozambique and had released the information prior to the controversial official visit of Prime Minister Caetano of Portugal to Britain. The revelation of the massacres got world wide attention and had amazing political repercussions in Britian itself.

Afrer seeing the story in the Tanzanian press, I immediately got in touch with FRELIMO leaders to get a reaction. The release of this particular information did not seem to be the work of FRELIMO. The Secretary of Information for FRELIMO, Jorge Rebelo, with whom I spoke, was beseiged with phone calls, cables and requests for information. This put quite a strain on the limited facilities available. Aside from this there was no obvious special excitement. The reason was that FRELIMO has, for many years, been issuing communiques about massacres of their people in Mozambique by the Portuguese forces. On the whole these releases have not been picked up by the world press. FRELIMO spokesmen have been as voices crying in the wilderness. Therefore the question which was under discussion among some of the FRELIMO people was why, all of a sudden, did the rest of the world discover that there were massacres in Mozambique such as had taken place in Vietnam? Their answer was ~~two~~ fold: first, the news was not seen as propaganda from revolutionaries bent upon driving the Portuguese out of Mozambique, but was from the reports of Catholic missionaries who had for so long been thought of as part of the Portuguese establishemnt in Mozambique. Second, the statement by the preists was well timed to precede the important state visit of the Portuguese governmental leader to England. These two factors gave both credibility and immediacy to the news. The fact was impressed upon me that the only new thing that had happened was that the international press was giving attention to the old story of indiscriminate use of military force against a defenseless people by an occupying power. I had an opportunity to talk with Tanzanian governmental leaders about the revelations of the Catholic priests, and their reaction was pretty much the same as that of the FRELIMO leaders. They were exceedingly grateful that the news had come out, but quite familiar with its content. There was the general feeling that this news might have some political repercussions

in terms of driving a bit of a wedge between the Portuguese authorities and the Catholic church authorities. Furthermore it was hoped it might help to win more international support.

I had the overall impression after these several weeks in Africa that FRELIMO was faced with a problem which inevitably accompanies considerable success. Their struggle has expanded so rapidly inside Mozambique that their organizational structure has a hard time keeping up with demands upon it. In Zambia and in Tanzania, not especially from FRELIMO sources, but from governmental authorities, I was told that FRELIMO forces were successfully moving further southward into Mozambique. In 1970 FRELIMO forces entered Tete province from Zambia. They have now crossed the Zambezi river and are in Monica and Sofala province further south. One piece of information which corroborates this is that military units of Zimbabwe movements have collaborated with FRELIMO in going through a section of Mozambique in order to enter eastern Rhodesia as the military struggle expands in that southern African country.

This great activity is seen in all phases of FRELIMO work which I was able to visit. Foremost was another visit to the secondary school of FRELIMO at Bagamoyo. When I visited there last year there were about 130 students. Now there are 202. Six new buildings have been finished for additional dormitory and classroom space. And yet at the moment of my visit there were fewer teachers than last year because some of the teachers had been called for special assignment inside Mozambique.

I was not able to visit the Primary school at Tunduru, which is several hundred miles south of Dar es Salaam just north of the Mozambique border. This center started in 1966 as a small FRELIMO community for orphaned or lost children. It has now expanded to a center of about 2,000 people, more than half of whom are children in primary school, some in pre-school training. Also there is a training school for mothers of the children and for the wives of those men who are fighting or are in other ways carrying on nation-building activities inside Mozambique.

There is no easy optimism among the FRELIMO people about the end of the struggle. They see it going on for a long time. Yet they have no question about their ultimate victory. What is obvious is that they not only are effectively carrying on the struggle, but are building the institutions of a free society while the struggle goes on.

ANGOLA

The main story in the Angolan struggle at the present time is the effort towards unity between the two major movements in this Portuguese west-African colony. The two movements are the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, (M.P.L.A.), and the National Liberation Front for Angola (F.N.L.A.). These two movements were both born in the mid-1950's but arose out of quite different circumstances. The MPLA was first organized in Luanda, capital of Angola. Its beginnings were quite similar to those of the P.A.I.G.C. in Bissau. It had on the whole an educated and an experienced leadership and grew in an urban situation. It had to operate clandestinely because of the nature of the Portuguese rule.

The FNLA grew primarily on a base of the movement called the Union of the Populations of Angola among peasants in the northern part of the country. The initial leadership was composed of northern Angolans who were living and working in what was then the Belgian Congo. These two movements never worked well together and actually had little contact with each other for many years; not until they were both exiled and after the liberation fighting started in early 1961. The Organization of African Unity has attempted, ever since its founding in 1963, to try to bring these movements together. These efforts met with partial success last December 13, 1972, when an agreement was signed by Dr. Agostinho Neto, the President of the MPLA and Mr. Holden Roberto, the President of the FNLA.

I talked with leaders of both groups on this trip, either in Kinshasa or in Lusaka or in Dar es Salaam. As is to be expected the moves towards unity have been going slowly, even following the agreement reached on the leadership level. They agreed to establish what they called a Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola. Under this there are two councils: a Military Council and a Political Council. Each is to be composed of twelve representatives, six from each movement. The Supreme Council, to be headquartered in Kinshasa, would have twenty-four members, twelve from each movement and would be the policy making body. The Supreme Council has not yet met. However there have been preliminary meetings laying the foundations for the functioning of the Supreme Council, hopefully quite soon.

I was agreeably impressed in my discussions with the representatives of both movements that they seemed to be adhering to the agreement to no longer engage in verbal and propaganda attacks against the other movement. Part of the agreement was that not only would these movements cease such activities as they had participated in quite freely in the past, but would also urge their friends to observe this discipline. I was reliably informed that a representative of one of the movements had been suspended because he had distributed a propaganda piece against the other at an important international conference in Oslo in early April, this year. The presidents of the four independent African states, Zaire, Zambia, Tanzania and Congo-Brazzaville, charged with the responsibility by the O.A.U. to attempt to implement this agreement are doing so with seriousness.

1973 does not seem to have been a year with spectacular progress in the struggle in Angola. The movements are holding their own, but are engaged in trying to unify their efforts which in turn should strengthen their struggle. The main locus of the FNLA seems to have shifted from the north to what they call the north-east and the east of Angola,

especially in Luanda province. The MPLA is concentrating on what it calls its third region based in Moxico. Both of these movements are continuing their nation-building activities. The MPLA has one center at Dolisie in Congo-Brazzaville adjacent to their second region at Cabinda. Newer facilities are being developed in western Zambia near the Angolan border near Sikongo and Kassamba. Here the MPLA hopes to complete a fifty bed hospital already under construction, by the end of 1973. Also in this same area the Angolan Women's Organization (OMA) is developing new work. There are now about 200 women at a place called Lupa in western Zambia where they are building a school program for the children, class in literacy, and political education for the women. They are also constructing a nurses' training center.

The FNLA is continuing with its' educational and medical program which I have discussed in previous reports. There are now about 1,200 students in their school in Kinshasa. About 25 miles outside of Kinshasa they have a hospital which has now become the center of a small village of about 2,000 Angolan refugees.

A third movement in Angola, called the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) is more of an unknown factor in the over-all struggle. It is not recognized by the Organization for African Unity. It prides itself on being located entirely within the country with no external headquarters. It subsists militarily mostly on weapons captured from the Portuguese. This movement is very interested in joining the unity efforts of MPLA and FNLA. I met one of their representatives who had come out of the country to explore the possibilities. He said that he was hopeful that something would work out, but that not very much progress had been made as yet and probably would not be made until the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola was properly working for the two movements which have already signed the agreement.

ZIMBABWE

I can take space for only two brief comments on the situation in Zimbabwe. First, within the last twelve months the liberation struggle has progressed significantly. This does not indicate by any means that the end of the struggle is in sight. Beginning last December 20, a new military offensive began initiated primarily by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). This has centered on activity in the north-east and eastern part of Rhodesia. The situation in Zimbabwe cannot however be compared with that in any of the Portuguese territories while the liberation movements actually control significant areas of land with hundreds of thousands to millions of people under their direct administration. There is no part of Rhodesia which is out of the reach of the Rhodesian military force within a short time, either by planes or ground personnel. Therefore, for some time the liberation movements have been following the tactic of slowly infiltrating their trained men (those trained both in the political and in the military sense) among the villagers. Their success depends upon their ability to be indistinguishable from the average villager. At least since

1970 this sort of infiltration has been taking place. It is this which made it possible for the new military offensive to begin last December. The Rhodesian government has had to respond by calling up military reserves. It has put further pressure on the Ian Smith government to enter into negotiations with the legal African organization inside the country, the African National Council, led by Bishop Muzorewa. There have been some preliminary talks between Smith and Muzorewa which, as might be expected, have not led any place; for the white minority have given no indication that they are prepared to give up minority control, and the African majority are beyond the point where they are willing to accept anything less than majority rule. Thus the struggle continues and it looks as if it will have to go through many bitter years before the reality of the situation is made clear. The five percent white minority cannot hope to maintain control over the ninety-five percent for an indefinite period.

The second comment has to do with efforts toward the unity between ZAPU and ZANU. The O.A.U. has given special effort to try to bring an agreement about, as they have in the Angolan situation. Last year, in March 1972, at a meeting sponsored by the O.A.U. a Joint Military Command was established consisting of equal representation from ZAPU and ZANU. This did not work well. A third liberation movement called the Zimbabwe Liberation Front (FROLIZI) with some leadership drawn both from ZAPU and ZANU came into being. For a time it was thought both by the O.A.U. and the leaders of some African independent states that FROLIZI represented a sort of unity between ZAPU and ZANU. However, at an O.A.U. meeting in January of this year in Accra, it was concluded that this was not the case and it was decided that FROLIZI should no longer be supported. In fact just before I arrived in Tanzania I was informed that the Tanzanian government was no longer permitting the FROLIZI office to operate officially there. Whether FROLIZI will now go out of existence remains to be seen. Their leadership says they are very active inside the country. What is clear is that the Organization of African Unity is going to put its main efforts into effectively bringing ZAPU and ZANU together. There have been two Councils established, one a Military Council and the other a Political Council. The Military Council is headed by ZANU and the Political by ZAPU. Neither Council had begun to operate effectively as of the end of July. Whether either one will work remains to be seen, but one can be sure of the fact that the O.A.U. and the various African states will press for it vigorously. Of the two Councils, the Political Council has more policy-making power. This leads to uneasiness on the part of ZANU since they have been more active militarily in the past year, and cannot be satisfied with a lesser policy role.

NAMIBIA

There is only one movement in Namibia recognized by the O.A.U. This is the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO). It has its major headquarters in Lusaka, and its second most important office in Dar es Salaam. During the past year SWAPO has speeded up its activities both in a military sense inside the country, and in a political and nation-building sense outside the country. The military men of SWAPO are able to infiltrate back and forth across the Caprivi strip from Zambia to Namibia.

They have engaged in military confrontation with the South African military force in the Caprivi strip particularly. In Lusaka they have in storage a significant pile of military goods which they have captured from the South Africans and which they had on display at the 10th anniversary meeting of the Organization of African Unity, in Addis Abbaba in late May. SWAPO of course does not claim to be in a position to challenge the might of South Africa militarily at this time.

Inside Namibia, SWAPO participates in an African political coalition called the South West African Convention. This body challenges the basic thrust of the South African government which is to organize Namibia into Bantustans. The fact that the people of Namibia are in strong opposition to continued South African control is indicated by the virtual boycott of the elections in the northern part of the country (Ovamboland) held in early August. This was an astounding development which greatly embarrassed the South African government. Vorster can no longer claim that the people in Ovamboland, where 45% of the people of Namibia come from, accept South African rule. The boycott of the elections (only 2.5% of the potential electorate participated) was essentially organized by SWAPO.

On August 17, the police broke up a SWAPO meeting in Katatura, the African township outside the capital city of Windhoek. One man was killed by gunfire and more than 200 arrested. This meeting was taking place in protest against South African rule, and was in session at the time the Vorster controlled South-West African Advisory Council was convened in Pretoria.

In Zambia, SWAPO now has a farm supported by the U.N. Council for Namibia where classes are conducted and where produce is also being farmed.

SOUTH AFRICA

It is impossible to say much about the liberation movements and the struggle inside South Africa. Both the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress have been banned since 1960. Their leadership is either in prison, in exile or deceased. The South African authorities deal ruthlessly with anyone who is known to have had any connection with these movements. The fact that treason trials (or trials under the Suppression of Communism Act or the myriad pieces of legislation designed to control these movements) are taking place is an indication that the movements have a following and are at work. I spent considerable time talking with leaders of these movements on this trip. They quite rightly said to me, "we cannot talk about what we are doing inside South Africa. If we do our people will be arrested and will be imprisoned perhaps for life. All we can say is that we are active and that we are involved in the events taking place inside the country. History will have to make its own judgement on whether we are doing right or are defective at the present moment."

I myself have never been able to visit South Africa since 1954. Therefore it is impossible for me to speak as one who has been inside the country, or even on its borders. My contacts have been essentially with the leaders of the movements whether in New York, when they come to the United Nations,

or in London, or principally in their headquarters in Africa -- in Lusaka, and in Dar es Salaam. There is no doubt in my mind that the movements have a hand in the developments inside South Africa such as the recent strikes in the Durban area where thousands of men quit work in protest against the wage structure. The South African government was not able to discover who the leader of the strikers was. This is effective organization. If a strike leader had been named, he would have either been immediately arrested or else would have been dealt with in due course by the government and removed from the scene. The fact that virtually no arrests took place is an indication of a highly skilled job of organization.

I am convinced that the liberation struggle in South Africa has entered a new stage in which the struggle will be primarily internalized. It is not a question of an invading force, coming across the borders from an independent African state. South Africa is protected from this at the moment by the Indian and Atlantic Oceans, by their military control of Namibia and the present dominance of white minority and colonial regimes in Rhodesia and in Mozambique. I was told by one of the major leaders of the African National Congress that they are no longer urging their adherents to leave South Africa and to come outside. They want them to stay inside and to work there. There will be infiltration back and forth across the border for special training of a political or military nature, but most of the work will be done inside South Africa and will, of course, be done clandestinely.

It is impossible to know what in fact the old liberation movements may be doing. I am convinced that they are still active and are still playing a significant role in the development of the liberation struggle inside South Africa.