

Confidential Report of
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PRESENT CONDITIONS IN MOZAMBIQUE

The United Nations and the world press have recently been concerned with the conditions that have been taking place in the Portuguese possession of Angola. As a consequence, many people have been asking questions concerning the situation in Mozambique.

After my wife had spent four months in the capital city of Lourenço Marques, I joined her for another six weeks. During most of that time we were travelling and visiting many towns and villages in the southern part of the territory. During my wife's stay in Lourenço Marques she spoke with Africans and Europeans alike in regard to the political situation in that country. Most important, she came to know the African areas well, their problems, their living conditions, their attitudes concerning the present government in Mozambique. When I arrived in the country in mid-February, the contact with the African population was intensified to such a degree that under the existing conditions it seemed dangerous for both ourselves and for those who desired to see us.

When my wife arrived in the last part of November 1960, the press in Lourenço Marques interviewed her and published a picture of her and the two children along with an article. The result of this publication was that she was visited by many Africans, and as time passed the interest in my forthcoming visit was greatly heightened. On the day of my arrival one newspaper published a short note announcing that I had landed in Lourenço Marques. Shortly thereafter, the largest paper interviewed me and published an article describing my United Nations work and the interests I had in the development of education for the African people of Mozambique. After that article, hundreds of people came, one by one, sometimes in small groups, to discuss many issues and problems that affected them personally, and the future of their country.

In order to describe systematically our many experiences in Mozambique, I should like to divide them into several parts, thus: Politics, Education, Economics.

Politics

Mozambique is, at this time, a country full of tension and fear. Eleven years ago, when I first left Mozambique, the people were politically frustrated that could see no solution to their problems. Then as now the Portuguese government was concerned with what it called "Communist subversion" within the country. From time to time the police arrested large numbers of people who were interested in politics outside of the government's National Union Party. The majority of these people were simply interested in the betterment of the difficult economic and social situations in which the Mozambique Africans live. In one of these waves of arrests I was imprisoned for a three-day period, the intent being to find out if I was either an African Nationalist or a Communist. Because of that arrest it was rather difficult for us to obtain a passport to leave the country one year later.

Since I left the country, the vigilance of the Portuguese government has not lessened. In 1955 another wave of arrests took place, affecting mainly those Africans who were friends or family of a young African student who departed to study at Oberlin College in Ohio. The Government had failed to find a reason for refusing him a passport to enter the United States under a scholarship given by President William E. Stevenson of Oberlin College.

With the advent of independence for many African countries, the Government watched closely any Africans who had any amount of education and who were not native supporters of the present regime. This concern expressed itself by the persecution of all Africans who were ever heard mentioning the names of any of the leaders of African nationalism in the rest of Africa, such as Nkrumah, Mboya, Banda, Sekou Toure, and especially the name Patrice Lumumba. The arrests served two purposes: to discover the involvement, if any, of Mozambique Africans in nationalist movements, and to frighten the African population out of political involvement.

In spite of its efforts, the Government has not been able to stamp out the political interest of the black man in Mozambique. The nationalistic activities with which Africa is seething are sometimes reported in the local newspapers, and this information is supplemented by news from South African papers. Also, many of the Africans own radio sets and can listen to broadcasts from such important radio stations as Radio Brassaville, which has a Portuguese news service twice a day giving details of African news; Radio Paiping, which broadcasts in simple and clear Portuguese several times a day; the Lusaka Station of the Central African Federation, which has several broadcasts in Ndebele (a Zulu dialect), which many southern Mozambicans understand. Many of the hundreds of thousands of Africans who work in the South African mines, plantations and farms are open to influence through the South African nationalist movements. Thus, no matter how strictly controlled the Africans of Mozambique may be, they cannot help but be interested in their own freedom. Even if there were no influences from outside the country, the repressive measures perpetrated against the Africans of Mozambique are sufficient to arouse their interest in freedom. This point I shall explore as I discuss the other subjects: Education and Economics.

When I arrived I found many of the people I knew and some of my own former school-mates in prison, most of them without any formal charges being levelled against them, but constantly under investigation by the political police. Since they were *incommunicado* I was not able to talk with any of them, but I was able to talk with some of the members of their family. The general pattern was that these people had been overheard by the ubiquitous secret police talking about African politics, ranging from expressing a direct opinion on issues involving their political future to expressing an interest in the political ideas of any of the many African politicians in the rest of the continent. Many of these people are young Africans between the ages of 25 and 45, who have families and work in the main cities of Lourenco Marques and Beira. One of the immediate consequences of these arrests is the plight in which the families of these people are found. In most cases their very large families (average - 5 children per family) are left without any visible means of livelihood. Several of the wives came to us to ask what help they could get from people overseas. Usually when an individual is arrested under the suspicion of being a nationalist his employer drops him from the payroll, and in those cases where he is not, (the police may put pressure to bear on the employer to do so as a form of pressure on the accused or suspect to "talk." In Portuguese law there is no *de facto* division between the administration and the judiciary even though the constitution claims that there is, so that these unfortunate Africans do not have recourse to any system of justice which might intervene on their behalf.

According to several of our informants, some of whom were in the secret police (PIDE: International Police for the Defense of the State) at the time they talked to us, PIDE has police agents in practically every institution in Mozambique. Some of them work as servants in establishments where any sizable number of people are expected to be served. One of our friends was arrested because he had been overheard explaining the problems of the Congo (Leopoldville) to a group of people who were eating in a restaurant. In practically every village we visited, almost the first thing we were told by our friends was the names of all of the members of PIDE amongst them, who were usually well-known, so that we might avoid mentioning anything in their presence that might possibly be interpreted as political.

While we were in the city of Lourenço Marques our block was surrounded by members of the PIDE. During the first week of my return to Lourenço Marques some of these tried to follow us whenever we left our house. But later they gave up after discovering that we were too well aware of them. At times the PIDE sent some Africans who were our relatives to spy on us, especially to find out who were coming to visit us at night. But in most cases these people told us their purpose after the first visit.

In spite of all of these controls, we had hundreds of visitors both in town and in the country. It was quite obvious that the people were very much afraid of the police; yet they insisted on coming to talk to us. Some of those who were in very sensitive jobs in the Government and were afraid of being fired wrote to us to let us know how they wished the situation could be changed in Mozambique.

In the main population centers we attracted large crowds of people each time we stepped out of our house, even though we could always sense a certain amount of tension in the air. On the first Sunday after my arrival in Lourenço Marques I was scheduled to attend services at a certain church. Many Africans knew about it. Early in the morning many people came to that church, including many who were of a different faith and several who must have been "pagans." Meanwhile my wife and I had been advised to attend another church several miles away. When a few people heard of this they passed the word around and every means of transportation was taken to that church. On arriving at the church we found a huge crowd awaiting us. There were about three times more people outside than inside, and on leaving the church we were cheered and were afraid that a riot might take place, since all of them wanted to shake hands with us. After that, our African religious councillors advised us to avoid attending services on Sundays for fear that the Government might accuse them of creating political tension in the country.

Most of the people who talked to us were concerned about the political situation in Mozambique. They wanted us to (a) try to see beyond the facade that the Portuguese Government was putting up for us; (b) help inform the United Nations of the true picture in Mozambique; (c) try to get funds from the United States or any other country in order to help finance the education of many young African men and women who are hungering for education (I shall refer to this later); (d) help to alleviate the worsening economic plight of the Mozambican African, who is becoming more and more an economic tool to enrich a few Portuguese settlers (see under Economics below); (e) persuade the "Big Powers" to pressure Portugal to develop the country towards inde-

pendence or put it under United Nations auspices (in spite of the Congo) to develop it towards independence.

They are afraid of beginning a war against Portugal for fear of a massacre; they have no weapons with which to fight at this juncture.

From the beginning to the end of our visit, the Portuguese Government tried to put its best feet forward. The tone was set by the Governor-General himself. He gave us a very gracious interview in which he frankly analyzed the situation in Mozambique, most of the time criticizing many of what he called "lamentable" practices of the Portuguese settlers vis-a-vis the Africans. He criticized labor practices, saying that although forced labor had practically been stopped in most cases, there were still unscrupulous employers (probably in co-operation with some bad administrators) who still insisted on using forced laborers, others who paid even less than the official minimum wages to their workers, and some who still beat and ill-treated their African laborers. In regard to the cities, he criticized the policies of many companies and employers who did not hire "assimilated" Africans, or who fired them as soon as they got their assimilation papers. We asked him how he, as the chief authority in the country, intended to cope with such problems. He shrugged his shoulders and said that although he belonged to that section of the Portuguese Government which was committed to the most ideal of the Portuguese traditions, he was also a down-to-earth realist who must deal with people as they were. He felt that his situation was one that required a great deal of wisdom and patience. He then told of the many projects that the Government had started, in order to improve the well-being of the people, which included agricultural projects, educational reforms and social welfare schemes. (See below). For all of these things, he said he needed money and a great deal of it. Yet his Government was obviously poor. He acknowledged that it might be possible to get economic and technical aid from friendly nations among Portugal's Western allies, but, he added, Portugal was a proud nation. "We prefer to be poor than to accept aid and be told what to do by foreigners," he concluded.

The Governor-General's attitude was reflected in the conversations we had with the governors of the two southernmost districts of Mozambique and the intendants (a sub-governor) of another district more to the north. They all tended to apologise for the obvious low political, economic and social status of the Africans as compared with that of the whites. The governor of the district of Lourenco Marques stressed the efforts which his office was making to build new houses for the Africans in and around the outskirts of the city, but we also knew that he had ordered his administrators to keep a close watch on our activities in his district. It was in his district that the people were most afraid of the political police.

In the district of Gaza, just north of Lourenco Marques, the governor seemed to be better acquainted with the problems of the Africans under his control. He also seemed to have more confidence on the part of those Africans who were recognized as leaders in the community. Governor Ruas seemed to be interested in pushing into positions of leadership those Africans who had the best education in the area, as contrasted with the governors of other districts who tended to favor those Africans who did not have much education. He thought of his job as that of one who had to help lift the Africans to a higher level

of life. In order to do this he said he had to carry out agricultural projects mainly in the Limpopo and Incomati river basins. He requested some of his technical advisors to take us to see some of these projects. (We will refer to them when we deal with Economics.) Some of the local African leaders expressed regret over the fact that Governor Reas will be retiring from his position early next year, for they feel that, in the existing conditions of Portuguese Africa, they are likely to get a worse governor than he. Here to the north the situation was calmer politically, but this was due to the very low educational status of the African people. In Mozambique the better educated classes tended to gravitate towards the capital city of Lourenço Marques.

Our contacts with the chiefs were extensive throughout the southern portion of the territory, partly because many members of my family are traditional rulers in this area. We therefore had many talks with local chiefs, and paramount chiefs, in conditions of almost complete security from the PIDE. To sum up the position of many of the chiefs: as traditional rulers their primary function is to represent the best interests of their clansmen to the Portuguese authorities and try to salvage as much as they can in the present fast-changing situation in the country. They are interested in what is happening in the rest of Africa, but they cannot be expected to show too much interest in the present circumstances. As far as we could judge, most African chiefs will support the nationalists under cover, but overtly they will continue to shout "Viva Salazar" to please the authorities, until the power structure begins to change.

Throughout the southern area we were accosted by several Africans asking us to advise them on the best way of getting out of the country to join the Mozambican nationalists against the Portuguese. Concerning these requests, though, it was difficult for us to tell if they were genuine or were Government-inspired "traps."

Education

The educational situation has changed little since 1950. At that time about 6 per cent of the African children of school-going age were attending school. Now, according to official records, about 10 per cent attend school. The only visible difference is that there are a few more Africans registered in the very few high and technical schools than in 1950. We tried to get exact figures of the number of African students in secondary schools, but we were always told that the Government did not register students according to race. However, on talking to several African students in Government high schools we gathered that the number of Africans in these schools was very low indeed. In the largest Government high school in Lourenço Marques, which has an enrollment of more than one thousand students, there were no more than six African girls and an estimated 20 African boys. We were told by the rector of the school that most African high school students were at the up-town branch of the school; but some of the students attending that school said that there could not have been more than 30 Africans out of a possible total of 500 students. Most of the Africans who attend secondary schools are in technical and commercial courses, where the cost of the tuition is very low.

Up till recently secondary school education was made difficult by several factors. The first was age. The Government had passed a law making it unlawful for a Government high school to register a child who was older than 13 years of age. This eliminated almost completely all Africans, for, because of the language difference, most African children could not pass the required high school entrance examination before that age. When we broached this problem with the present director of education for Mozambique we were told that this law had now been changed. He said that the present age limit is 17 years. That is to say, if a child is 17 years of age or more he or she cannot be registered in any Government high school in Mozambique. Although this represents an improvement, it is still a handicap, for there are many young Africans who might want to continue their studies in high school after that age.

Another bedeviling problem for Africans wishing to continue their education after Standard 4 is that of money. Even though Government high schools (which are very few) do not cost very much in actual tuition, most African parents cannot afford to pay the almost nominal amount asked. An average African earns about 300.00 (escudos) in the cities, and the high school fees in Government schools are 250.00 (escudos) per quarter. Since most African families are rather large, they cannot afford it. The few parents who have children in high schools are facing economic hardships as a consequence. We have asked many of these parents and/or their children to fill out some questionnaires for us, including the number of children/siblings in high school in each family, the cost per year, their annual income, the amount of subsidy, if any, that they receive from any sources, etc. We hope to be able to prepare a short paper based on these and other facts connected with educational needs in Mozambique.

So far there are between 25 and 30 African students from Mozambique in Portuguese universities in Portugal. Some of these students have partial support from the Government, but most of them are being supported by their parents. Just before we left the United States for Africa last year we received some funds from a New York foundation (\$3,000.00) to aid some African students in Mozambique, especially those attending universities in Portugal. Part of this money is already supporting some five African students in Portugal. But on arriving in Mozambique we discovered that there were more high school students who need financial help than university students. So we began to extend the little money that remained to pay for some expenses of students in the last two years of high school. When the word was passed around that such help was being given to some African students in high school, we were swamped with requests from African parents and/or students in high school. Some of the requests for financial aid came from malatto families who were in the same economic straits as most Africans, although generally speaking malatto families are in better circumstances in Mozambique.

On discussing some of the problems of African education with the director of education in Mozambique, we were told of plans for changes in the present system. But when we probed we found that these changes were not going to be as radical as we felt they should be. In the first place, native education (so-called) is left entirely in the hands of one of the Christian missionary bodies working in the country - the Catholic Mission, at almost the exclusion of both Government and other religious bodies. The Government gives an annual

subsidy to the Roman Catholic church to cover the salaries of the teachers, cost of putting up school buildings and maintenance, and some of the costs incurred by the Catholic priests in their activities in connection with education. But from what we heard from both the director of education himself and some of the priests, this annual subsidy from the Government is very small. The Roman Catholic church maintains that it cannot afford to put up the necessary amount of money to do the job that needs to be done. The other Christian missions working in the country depend entirely on the collections of the local Christians and some of the money they get from their own countries of origin to run their schools.

The Government's responsibilities in education in Mozambique are limited to operating these schools that are for the so-called "civilized" persons, who are at the present moment the children of some 100,000 whites, 30,000 Asians and about 25,000 assimilated Africans and mulattoes. The education of the rest of the 6,500,000 citizens of Mozambique is left in the hands of one religious organization that admits to having no money to establish the necessary number of schools. In this connection the director of education stated that the only thing that the Government can do to alleviate the situation is to increase the annual subsidy given to the Roman Catholic church. He reported that his office had already promised a subsidy increment for the forthcoming school year. But he also added that the amount promised does not come to much in view of the need for African education.

Another problem that faces African education in Mozambique is the fact that Government does not consider African education as involving more than three to four years of schooling. No plans seem to exist for training the Africans beyond standards three and four, except a very few rudimentary courses in carpentry, shoemaking, agriculture and nursing. For the rest, the Africans themselves or their parents have to dig deep down into their already meager financial resources to send their children into the few Government high schools that cater primarily for the education of white children.

To aggravate the situation, when private humanitarian or religious organizations try to establish special high school programmes for Africans, the Government creates a million and one roadblocks to prevent them from doing so. We have known several cases where even buildings were constructed by private bodies for a high school or technical school for Africans. But since no schools can be opened without Government approval, they were unable to open them; and finally the groups were given an outright "no" in the end, and the buildings had to be used for something else.

It seems that nothing short of a radical change of policy in the educational philosophy of the Portuguese Government will help to start the forces in the right direction. Otherwise, the Africans of the Portuguese colonies will be quite unprepared to deal with the new situation to which their political unrest is leading them.

However, while the policy remains as it is, there should be established some fund from which these Africans who are not prepared to enter high school or technical/commercial school can draw upon to pay for the comparatively high fees, and wherever possible to aid those who are ready to enter university or other higher institutions of learning.

Economics

Compared with 1950, the general economic picture of Mozambique seems to have improved a great deal. As one arrives in the capital city of Lourenço Marques one notices the usual signs of economic prosperity: the construction of new homes, apartment buildings, commercial establishments, new African housing projects, expansion of the port wharfs. As one drives outside of the city itself one notices suburban developments, and further north one notices the construction of new roads and the extension of the great northern highway with asphalt paving. In talking to several Government officials one gets the impression that a great deal is being done for the economic advancement of the African people especially in agriculture.

But as we looked more closely we discovered that most, if not all, of this prosperity is confined to Europeans and Asians. The economic status of the Africans has not improved much since eleven years ago. With all the building of new houses and apartments that is going on in the city of Lourenço Marques, there are not more than one or two African families that live in brick houses in a city of more than 50,000 Africans (and about 30,000 whites). We were introduced to practically all of the Africans who earn the best salaries in Lourenço Marques (i.e., among Africans), and only one of them lived in a brick house (the house belongs to the Aeronautics Dept. of the Government for which he works); the rest of them live in corrugated iron houses which are located in the Barro Indigena (Native Quarter) of the city, in spite of the fact that they are "assimilated." The overwhelming majority of the African people live in very poor corrugated iron shacks which are jumbled together in a huge slum.

Most of the Africans living in the city are either household servants or unskilled laborers in local Government service or in private businesses. All business in the country is in the hands of whites and Asians. Some Africans are allowed to sell fresh vegetables and some groceries in the open markets. Most of the Africans working in railroads, highways, sanitation services, construction, shipping and plantations are contratados and are paid less than \$6 per month. In the southern districts there are some plantations which pay up to \$8 per month, plus food and very rudimentary accommodations.

As mentioned above, many Government officials told us of the agricultural projects which the Government was setting up in various parts of southern Mozambique. We visited some of these projects. The main intent of these programmes seems to be to encourage the people of Mozambique to produce those crops that are commercially important, especially for exportation. At this juncture these are: cotton, rice, wheat, maize, peanuts, beans. In order to produce some of these crops it is necessary to drain some of the large river valleys and harness the waters in such a way that controlled irrigation can be effected. For this purpose a certain amount of money has been appropriated by the Government in the last decade or so. As a consequence several thousand African and European families have been settled in some of the river valleys, especially in the Limpopo valley. Judging from what we saw and heard, however, there have been more white (European) families settled in these projects than African families. In the Upper Limpopo valley the Government settled more than 5,000 European families in less than ten years. Yet only a few African families were settled in the same projects. In talking to some of these who are well acquainted with this agricultural settlement we were told that the

few African families that have been sandwiched between the white farmers are not ~~being~~ given the same water facilities available for the irrigation of their crops, and that they were not given the same number of acres as given to whites.

We visited other areas, however, where the only agricultural settlers given land were Africans. A cursory visit might give one the impression that these projects are working satisfactorily, especially in view of the fact that the Africans are producing a great deal of rice, cotton, maize and other crops compared with ten years ago. Also judging from a decade ago, one can very easily conclude that the people are deriving a great deal of profit from these agricultural schemes. But on talking to some of the ~~small~~ farmers one discovers several prevalent problems. The most important of these is the means by which the farmers dispose of their produce for cash. For almost every cash crop in Mozambique there is a concessionaire company which monopolizes the buying and exportation of these crops for the whole country. All prices are fixed by the Government, obviously in co-operation with the concessionaire companies. So far the prices given by Government do not seem to take account of the costs of production. The Africans complain that the prices are far too low. But they are not allowed to have any say in the fixing of the prices. Yet European farmers are not obliged to sell their crops at the same prices.

In this connection some Africans complained to us that whenever they did not wish to sell part of their crops, say rice for home consumption, the Government stepped in and forced them to sell under the threat of imprisonment and/or palmaria (physical punishment in which the palms of the individuals are beaten until they bleed). They must, therefore, buy on the market food at more than double the price at which they sold it to the concessionaire.

In some districts some administrators are beginning to introduce co-operatives for farmers. On talking to some of the administrators interested in co-operatives we found out that they are facing many odds in their worthy efforts. One of these is the opposition of the concessionaires to the introduction of co-operatives that might undermine their chances for continuing to make huge profits out of the work of African farmers. Another problem is that many African farmers do not trust each other enough to want to put their money and efforts in co-operatives. But if the Government as a whole were interested in co-operatives, many of the problems would finally be overcome. There seems no alternative to the concessionaire exploitation than the creation of co-operatives for African farmers.

Generally speaking, Mozambique has a service economy. That is to say, the main source of income for the whole country seems to be the provision of port facilities to the industrial centers of the Union of South Africa and the Rhodesias. The capital city of Lourenco Marques is the nearest natural port from both Pretoria and Johannesburg in South Africa. Beira is about the only port for the Federation of Rhodesia and NORTHERN Nyasaland, especially since the political disturbances of the Congo made the use of the Benguela railroad to Lobito in Angola hazardous. Also, Mozambique is becoming more and more a holiday resort for South Africans and Rhodesians. This, plus the export of Native labor and some cotton, tea, sisal, and cashew nuts, provide the main source of foreign exchange for the country.

Conclusion

A combination of political oppression, lack of educational facilities and economic subservience has made it almost impossible for the African to progress in the Mozambique social structure. This was true in 1950 when I first left Mozambique, but it is even truer today when the standard of living of the minority whites and Asians has risen and the Africans of the rest of the continent have advanced so much. Consequently, the African people of Mozambique are more aware of their plight than before. Those Africans who work in South Africa and the Rhodesias see the difference in the educational standards achieved by the Africans of those countries in spite of segregation. They note the political freedom that the rest of Africa has achieved lately; they read of the forthcoming independence of Tanganyika, their northern neighbor. Yet when they show interest in these things in reference to themselves they are put in prison by the Portuguese Government, beaten and rumor has it, some of them killed.

When many people heard of the establishment of the United Nations, after the Second World War, and of its intention of helping to give the rights of self-determination to the oppressed peoples of the world, they hoped that the day of their deliverance was soon coming. They follow with great interest the work of the United Nations in the former colonies of Germany and Italy in Africa. The independence and preparations for independence of the colonies of Great Britain and France in Africa and the part played by the United Nations in these, has further encouraged Mozambicans to hope that sooner or later Portugal would finally be forced to give in.

Unfortunately they do not have an independent source of information in the country, so that most of what they know about the rest of Africa is mixed with rumors. The pressure that is often brought to bear on Portugal by member states of the United Nations reaches them only through the rebuffs that the Government-controlled press publishes in full. Those who have short-wave radios may secretly hear what is going on in the rest of Africa through Radio Peiping or Radio Brazzaville, both of which have clearly enunciated news services in Portuguese.

Thus far the reaction of the Portuguese Government to either internal or foreign pressures has tended to be more imprisonments, more secret police, more European armed soldiers, more mass rallies and more speeches against any charges. The war in Angola has only made the situation worse. The people are now afraid that as soon as Tanganyika is independent, the Mozambicans who are in Tanganyika will begin to attack from the north and the Portuguese Government will punish those Africans who are now under suspicion in the south. Many of the southern Mozambicans would like to leave the country and join any force that is against Portugal, but they are hemmed in between the Indian Ocean and the Union of South Africa and British Central Africa. (From the city of Lourenço Marques to the border with Tanganyika is more than 1,500 miles.)

Yet the tension is mounting every day. The same applies to the situation in Angola where I spent five days while waiting for a plane to Lourenço Marques, one week after the prison riots of last February. While in Luanda, I talked to many Africans and whites concerning the problems that led to the riots. Many Africans told of periodic raids to homes of these Africans and whites who were suspected of sessionist leanings. Prior to the riots the opposition

to the government was still composed of people of both races. But, ~~unlike~~ while I was there, it was evident that the issue was turning into a white vs. black conflict. Many young Africans were asking how they could flee to the Congo to join those who were preparing to fight the Portuguese. Some of them wished they could get scholarships to come to the United States to study, for as in Mozambique, they felt that they were being denied educational opportunities.

Some of the people were eager to know what the United Nations was going to do to help them. They hoped that a United Nations force could be sent to oust the Portuguese from their country. As in Mozambique, there were numerous rumors regarding the massacres of Africans by the Portuguese whites. They also believed that the Government was arming all the whites of Angola; that a white man would shoot an African if he were walking in the European section at night; that thousands of African nationalists were preparing to attack the Portuguese from the Congo.

It is obvious that sentiment against Portugal and the ~~Portuguese~~ Portuguese people is growing and lately has been enhanced by events taking place in the rest of Africa, especially in the sister colony of Angola. An anti-colonialist undercurrent has been building up since the Second World War. However, Portugal instead of channeling this indestructible force into the establishment of independent states which might at least be friendly to her, is doing everything to combat it. In order to achieve this the Government is putting hundreds of people in prison, pouring thousands of white ~~milit~~ soldiers into the country (obviously using NATO equipment), and generating a great deal of tension. The African people are not allowed to organize themselves into groups that might express their feelings more constructively. Consequently, they are becoming excessively gullible to all kinds of rumors, most of which are harmful to peace and order.

While the neighboring countries are still controlled by European whites, the Africans of Mozambique may not be able to revolt. But as soon as Tanganyika gets her independence at the end of this year, an outlet will be provided for them to express their disapproval of the status quo. One shudders at the consequences of such an eventuality, judging by Portugal's reaction to a similar situation in Angola.

Assuming that the Portuguese Government is not bluffing in its avowed determination to crush any internal revolt against her, and assuming that the Africans' determination to gain their freedom cannot be destroyed, a means to avert a catastrophe must be found elsewhere by those concerned with peace and freedom. Mozambicans who understand the present world situation can see only two world powers that can help them, namely, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which can act either singly or together through the United Nations Organization. These African states that are sympathetic to our cause can help mainly by facilitating our movements through their countries, allowing us to establish our nationalistic organizations within their borders, urging our case at the United Nations and channeling material resources with which to fight the Portuguese army. Since Portugal is determined to solve the question with military strength, it behooves the two major powers to "encourage" her to change her policy. The United States of America could play a decisive part in persuading Portugal to solve the question through peaceful means, for she has many ties of friendship with that country. In spite of what has happened lately, the United States can take a strong position in favor of a positive course of action and Portugal would have no alternative but to cooperate. Otherwise, the world will witness a repetition of the problems that arose in the Congo as a consequence of the lack of foresight on the part of those who had the means to avert chaos. There is an awful possibility that if nothing is done, and done quickly, that Angola and Mozambique will experience a worse confusion than has the Congo. Already it seems as though more people have been killed in Angola in less than two months of revolt than in a whole year of strife in the Congo. (According to the South African press more than 20,000 persons have been killed so far.)

The people of Mozambique think that the United States believes in justice for all of humanity. When the issue of Angola was discussed in the last session of the General Assembly and in the Security Council, the part played by the American delegation convinced the Africans that the United States meant to carry out its oft-expressed sentiments of sympathy with the oppressed peoples of the world. They also appreciated the courage with which Mr. G. Mennen Williams enunciated the principle that the United States wanted for Africans only what the Africans wanted for themselves. They interpreted it to mean that no enclaves of powers outside of Africa should continue to exist against the will of the African peoples. However, unless these expressions of sympathy are followed by immediate action, African peoples may begin to doubt the firmness of that resolve. Other powers have expressed similar sentiments, perhaps with different intent. However, they seem eager to help. It would be better that our fight against Portugal be interpreted as the struggle for freedom, and not the cold war between the East and the West. This does not mean that we are not concerned with the ideological struggle between Capitalism and Communism. Indeed we are. But at this moment the fight against colonialism absorbs all our attention. If our independence wars to come peacefully, we might find time to consider the advantages and disadvantages of either political-economic system. At this moment, however, we must devote all our attention to the immediate problem: ridding ourselves of the arbitrary rule by a foreign power.

The United States of America has several advantageous points from which she could act as mediator between the Portuguese Government and the African peoples.

-She has a long-standing friendship with Portugal, exemplified by the many treaties of friendship and mutual aid that exist between the two countries.

-It seems as though the United States does not have as many economic interests in Portuguese Africa as some of the Western European powers, so that she stands much less chance to suffer from economic sanctions by Portugal.

-Both the United and Portugal are allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, which is committed to fight for free governments everywhere in the world.

-Portugal relies upon the United States for economic development, (in 1960 economic aid from the U.S.A. to Portugal amounted to more than \$25 million).

These, plus many more relationships of which I may not be aware, represent ties between the two countries which should facilitate their communication. It would appear, therefore, that the United States would be in a position to:

- a) encourage Portugal to accept the principle of self-determination for the African peoples under her control;
- b) set target dates and take steps towards self-government and independence by 1965;
- c) help formulate and finance policies of economic, educational, and political development for the people of Portuguese Africa to prepare them for an independence with responsibility.

In order to achieve these ends the United States should not depend solely upon "quiet diplomacy", but should from time to time make positive suggestions or courses of action which she believes to be right. It is imperative that the United States take a strong exception to the massacre of Angolans which even the most conservative newspapers report as taking place everyday. If the United States was justified in publicly condemning the South African Government for the Sharpeville massacre, where less than one hundred people were killed, it should be even more horrified by the thousands of Africans who are being butchered by the Portuguese army in Angola. Furthermore, the United States of America could set aside funds for the education of Africans from Portuguese Africa, in order to prepare them for their forthcoming independence. For this purpose it could establish an organization through which it could carry out a carefully planned program of education. The United States Government need not depend on the co-operation of the Portuguese Government, but seek every means possible to implement that program. However, it would be better if the Portuguese Government could be persuaded to cooperate. The program should be divided into four parts: the expansion of the present primary schools including teachers training; the establishment of new high schools in the various population centers in order to enable a larger proportion of African children to attend them; the establishment of more

technical and commercial schools to train those who cannot follow a strictly academic career. All the religious groups which have members in these territories should be allowed to establish their own schools with government subsidies. While the number of high school graduates is still very small, those who are ready to enter university should be given scholarships to go overseas to study. Meanwhile arrangements should be made to establish a university college attached to either a Portuguese or Brazilian university.

In the economic level, the stress should be put in the present agricultural projects. More funds should be made available to increase the number of agricultural experts now working in the various regions. This would expedite the opening of new areas for settlement in the various rich river valleys.

It would reduce the number of people tending to emigrate to the neighboring countries for work, while at the same time increase the productivity of the country. Experts in co-operatives should help the Africans to organize co-operatives in the various agricultural regions. Labor specialists should help organize the various working classes into labor unions which would enable the people to bargain for better wages.

Finally, the Legislative Councils of Angola and Mozambique which at present represent only European interests, should be reorganized to truly represent the interests of all the people. This could be done by arranging for elections by adult suffrage involving all the people regardless of race or standard of education, under international supervision.

As these words are being written, thousands of Angolans are being killed and hundreds of both Angolans and Mozambicans imprisoned. Fear has gripped both Africans and whites. It is necessary that something be done immediately to alleviate the situation and free the people.