



The

# Courier

A window open on the world

November 1973 (26th year) - 1.70 French francs

## 'PORTUGUESE' AFRICA

the  
struggle  
for  
independence







Photo © Vautier-Decool, Paris

## TREASURES OF WORLD ART

82

PERU

### *Lost face from the Chimú*

This 90 cm. high, wooden statuette is the work of the Chimú, a people whose empire flourished from the 13th to the 15th century on the northern coast of Peru. Chanchan, the Chimú capital, near present-day Trujillo, was a great cultural and trading centre covering 18 square kilometres. Today Chanchan is a monument in peril. This great archaeological site, one of the most important of the pre-Inca period, has suffered greatly from the depredations of grave-robbars and archaeological thieves, despite persistent efforts on the part of the Peruvian authorities to prevent such pillage. The statuette above is preserved in the National Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology, Lima, Peru.



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Published monthly by UNESCO

The United Nations  
Educational, Scientific  
and Cultural Organization

Sales and Distribution Offices

Unesco, Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris

Annual subscription rate 17 French francs



The UNESCO COURIER is published monthly, except in August and September when it is bi-monthly (11 issues a year). For list of distributors see inside back cover. Individual articles and photographs not copyrighted may be reprinted providing the credit line reads "Reprinted from the UNESCO COURIER," plus date of issue, and three voucher copies are sent to the editor. Signed articles reprinted must bear author's name. Non-copyright photos will be supplied on request. Unsolicited manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by an international reply coupon covering postage. Signed articles express the opinions of the authors and do not necessarily represent the opinions of UNESCO or those of the editors of the UNESCO COURIER.

The Unesco Courier is produced in microform (microfilm and/or microfiche) by: (1) University Microfilms (Xerox), Ann Arbor, Michigan 48100, U.S.A.; (2) N.C.R. Microcard Edition, Indian Head, Inc., Ill West 40th Street, New York, U.S.A.; (3) Bell and Howell Co., Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691, U.S.A.

The Unesco Courier is indexed monthly in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, published by H. W. Wilson Co., New York, and in Current Contents - Education, Philadelphia, U.S.A.



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**'PORTUGUESE' AFRICA—  
THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE**



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CSLLCP, Paris

Twenty-five years ago, on December 10 1948, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. To mark this anniversary, the "Unesco Courier" has this year already devoted two issues to the international defence of human rights: "The Threat to Privacy" (July 1973) and "40 Million Child-workers in the World Today" (October 1973). Our present number looks at the struggle for independence of the African people in the Portuguese-administered territories of Africa. Cover shows an African freedom-fighter in a liberated area of Angola.

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The continued rise in production and distribution costs has made it necessary to increase the price of the UNESCO COURIER.

*From January 1, 1974*

*our new rate will be as follows:*

**Annual subscription : 24 French francs**

**Single copy price : 2.40 French francs**

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# THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE OF 'PORTUGUESE' AFRICA

15 million Africans  
in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau)  
in search of a new identity

by Basil Davidson

**A**FRICA's problems of today are sometimes described as being those of the transition from ways and ideas of the more or less distant past to ways and ideas of the modern world. This idea of transition is a useful one, at least so long as one keeps in mind that the ways and ideas of Africa's more or less distant past were valid forms of civilization, in their day and age, and not some kind of hopeless barbarism.

But there may be a better definition for Africa's problems of today, especially in those large regions that are still under foreign rule, whether colonial or racist. I suggest that these

problems are really those of the renewal of indigenous processes of social and cultural development: of the renewal, that is, of processes which were already in existence before the period of foreign rule but which were stopped and distorted by the consequences of foreign rule, and remain so to this day.

Essentially, then, these are the developmental problems of a genuine and effective democratization within the framework of modernizing institutions. Looked at in this light, the problems of the inhabitants of the Portuguese colonies, a total of some fifteen million Africans and about half a million Portuguese and other European settlers or employees, appear in all their difficulty.

The position of these Africans is a rather special one, though possessing obvious parallels with that of their neighbours in Rhodesia and South Africa. This specialness doesn't arise from the antiquity of Portugal's adventures in Africa, for the story of Portuguese colonialism is little different in its broad outlines from that of any other colonial power.

It's true, of course, that Portuguese soldiers were able to seize and minimally colonize a few coastal areas of Angola and Mozambique as long ago as the 16th century, while others pushed up the valley of the Zambezi as far as Sena and Tete, where they had founded settlements before 1600. But the effective colonial occupation of these vast territories of Angola and Mozambique, and of the smaller territory of West African Guiné (the old "Rios do Cabo Verde"), began only

**BASIL DAVIDSON**, British writer and historian, is one of the most respected world authorities on African history and contemporary affairs and has published 17 books on Africa since 1950. He has closely studied the history and current situation of independence movements in Portuguese African colonies and has several times visited liberated areas of these territories: Guinea (Bissau) (1967 and 1972), Mozambique (1968) and Angola (1970). His "Liberation of Guiné" (with a preface by Amílcar Cabral) was published in 1969, and "In the Eye of the Storm: Angola's People" in 1972.





In the 1890s and was not made complete until the 1920s.

The specialness arises from something else. It arises from the nature of the Portuguese colonial system and ethos, and above all from their refusal to make any least concession to the claims of African equality and sovereignty in Africa.

The motivations of those who govern Portugal are various and interesting. But whatever they are their stern intransigence—and words far less

polite could reasonably be used, and often are—has enormously enhanced the problems of modernization.

This intransigence has meant that the necessary journey “into the modern world” of the Africans whom they rule cannot begin so long as they remain in command.

Within the Portuguese system these Africans may be able, if rarely, to acquire the elements of modern education, but it will only be an education designed to serve the ends of Portu-

guese nationalism. These Africans may be able to participate in modernizing forms of economic activity, but once again it will only be as servants or subordinates of an economy designed to benefit Portugal.

The present Prime Minister of Portugal, Professor Marcello Caetano, has explained why. “The natives of Africa”, he wrote in an important doctrinal statement of 1954, never since modified “must be directed, and organized by Europeans but are indispensable as

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

**STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE**  
(Continued)

**Democratization  
in the  
liberated areas**

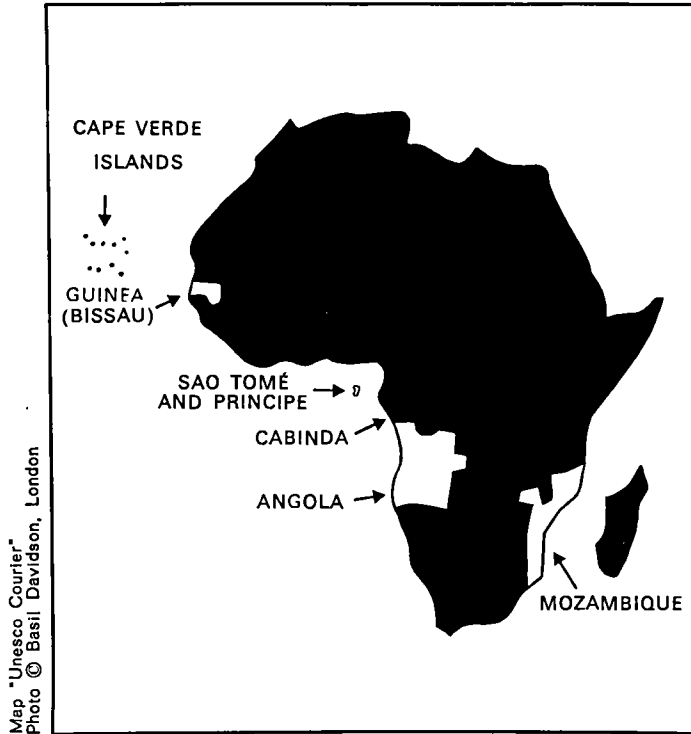
auxiliaries. The blacks must be seen as productive elements organized, or to be organized, in an economy directed by whites". (*Os Nativos na Economia Africana, Coimbra 1954*),

Denied the hope of peaceful change, the "natives of Africa", as we know, have chosen armed resistance rather than continued surrender to foreign rule, just as the natives of other continents have done in situations not dissimilar.

Much has been written about this armed resistance, but really it is not the interesting or important part of the story. That part lies in the use which the movements of resistance have made of areas, large or small, from which they have evicted Portuguese control. There, at last, they have been able to begin to run their own affairs, and, in doing that, to forge new institutions and structures of society that can underpin the needs of material and cultural progress.

Here, in other words, the tasks of democratization within modernizing frameworks are being tackled for the first time in these territories. No longer "auxiliaries" of the colonial system, Africans in these liberated areas can stand on their own feet and face the challenge of their own problems.

What do you find in these liberated areas? Many visitors from many countries, and of many political loyalties, have gone there to discover the answer. Almost all their reports, whether enthusiastic or sceptical, "committed" or neutral or even hostile, are in substantial agreement on the essence



Map, left, shows in white the African territories under Portuguese administration. On September 24, 1973, the Republic of Guinea (Bissau) was proclaimed by the first session of the newly elected National Assembly held in the liberated areas of the country. General elections for the members of the National Assembly were held in 1972 by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, known as PAIGC, following meetings throughout the liberated areas (right) where 80,000 electors were given political instruction and information.

of the matter (1). They find long-deprived peoples who are caught up in a major effort to modernize their lives, and to rule themselves in ways that are as different from their own ways of the more, or less distant past as from the ways of colonial rule.

These peoples apparently see no gain in working for a mere reform of colonial structures and institutions, for no such reform, as they often say, can set them free. What they are engaged upon is something greater and more useful. They define this by what they do and aim for, but their leading spokesmen have also defined it in words which have the ring of profound meditation. They are fortunate in having found spokesmen and leaders of an often remarkable and momentous talent.

Thus the late Amílcar Cabral, founder and outstanding leader of the PAIGC in Guiné and the Cape Verde Islands, is the author of writings now widely recognized as significant contributions to the theory of social change among so-called "under-developed" peoples.

He has described the movements of liberation as comprising "a forced march on the road to cultural progress", because the compulsions of armed resistance have here found their most positive element in the

(1) After an initial visit to colonial Angola in 1954, the present writer has so far made four visits to liberated areas: to those of the liberation movement in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde (PAIGC) in 1967, to those of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) in Mozambique in 1968, to those of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in Angola in 1970, and again to Guinea (Bissau) in 1972.

drive for and achievement of new understandings, new ideas, new modes of individual and community behaviour, and, with all this, a new means of mastering the problems of national freedom (A. Cabral, *National Liberation and Culture*, lecture delivered at Syracuse University, New York, Feb. 20, 1970. See also article page 12).

And they have done this because these movements are nothing if not movements of voluntary participation. They are "schools of progress" even more than they are fighting units or other means of self-defence.

Or consider a definition of what these liberated areas are really about that comes from the Angolan leader, Dr Agostinho Neto. What they are trying to do, he said in 1970, "is to free and modernize our peoples by a dual revolution—against their traditional structures which can no longer serve them, and against colonial rule."

Their aim, in other words, is not only to displace the Portuguese who claim to rule them but to build a new society: to found and develop institutions of self-rule whose democratic and modernizing vitality can overcome not only the heritage of foreign autocracy, but also the heritage of an older Africa divided into small groups and rival ethnic states.

One may well think this a bold and unexpected aim to find among peoples so sorely ravaged and harassed by military repression and all its accompanying evils, yet this is none the less the aim that visitors have all agreed that they have found here.

But what does it look like on the ground, this "forced march on the road





to cultural progress"? What you find, obviously, differs much according to time and place, for all this has to take place in the midst of wars of repression that are savagely pursued.

Some liberated areas have long been safe from any effective enemy intervention, and there you find the building of a new society already far advanced. Other areas are newly wrested from the enemy, or subject to frequent ground-raids and bombing forays; there you find that the work is often interrupted, and sometimes at an early stage. But although the momentary contrasts are many, the policies and "atmosphere" are strikingly the same. All three movements are in close touch with one another, and have the same basic approaches.

Two examples from my own experience. Travelling in 1970 through areas of eastern Angola under MPLA control, I coincided with one of the Portuguese Army's periodical "sweeps in force". The MPLA's fighting units there were on the move and so, in consequence, was the local population that look to these units for protection. Woodland villages were abandoned for the time being; social services, such as schools and medical services, were likewise disrupted.

Weeks would pass before things could be put together again. It was a trying time, and bore witness to the sufferings caused by these colonial wars. Yet the national movement remained in being, whether in its fighting units, its village committees, or its co-ordinated groups of workers concerned with this or that social and cultural activity, and could settle back

to its work again as soon as the danger had passed.

In areas long safe from danger the picture is a different one. Last winter I spent some time in the Como sector of southern Guiné. From this sector the Portuguese were completely evicted in 1965, and had not been able to return. So for seven years the people of Como had been free to work at the building of their new society.

They had gone far towards it. Long-established village committees, all of them elected from local people, had an uninterrupted responsibility together with the full-time workers of their national movement, the PAIGC, for every aspect of public affairs, educational or medical, legal or political.

Here and elsewhere, even before the independence of Guiné was officially proclaimed, a new state was already in existence, a new society was already taking shape, and in an atmosphere of calm and confidence that seemed continuously impressive.

**S**TATISTICS can tell a little of this story. By 1972, for example, the PAIGC had promoted enough schools and trained enough teachers to give some 8,500 boys and girls the elements of a modern education. They had even carried through a general election for a sovereign National Assembly by direct and secret ballot in wide-ranging liberated areas.

Similar statistics from the liberated areas of Angola and Mozambique can usefully add to the picture. It is also clear that much more could be achiev-

ed if the means were to hand, whether in trained personnel or material necessities, and especially the second.

Yet the living reality that unfolds before you in these plains and forests, swamps and woodlands, goes beyond the statistics, even very far beyond. Whether in large liberated areas or in small, strongly held or subject to repeated raids and bombing, here are "backward" people who have become determined to win free from their "backwardness", and to understand the world as it really is.

These are people who are working to achieve this by setting aside the blinkers of tradition or subjection, racism or "tribalism", despair or lack of self-belief. And this they are doing by a process of voluntary participation in the changing of their lives and thoughts.

No-one who travels in these areas will come back with any impression of utopia. Far from that, daily life is harsh in toil and hunger or the threat of violent death. Not everyone understands what is being attempted. Many confusions remain, and no doubt will do so for long to come. The timid withdraw, the fools betray.

All things natural to the human condition are present here. Yet these things include clarity and courage, steadfastness and hope, while the unrelenting growth and expansion of these movements suggest that these are the qualities which prevail. These movements of renewal could not otherwise have gained their remarkable success. It is a success that looks to the rest of the world for understanding, and so for aid and friendship. ■

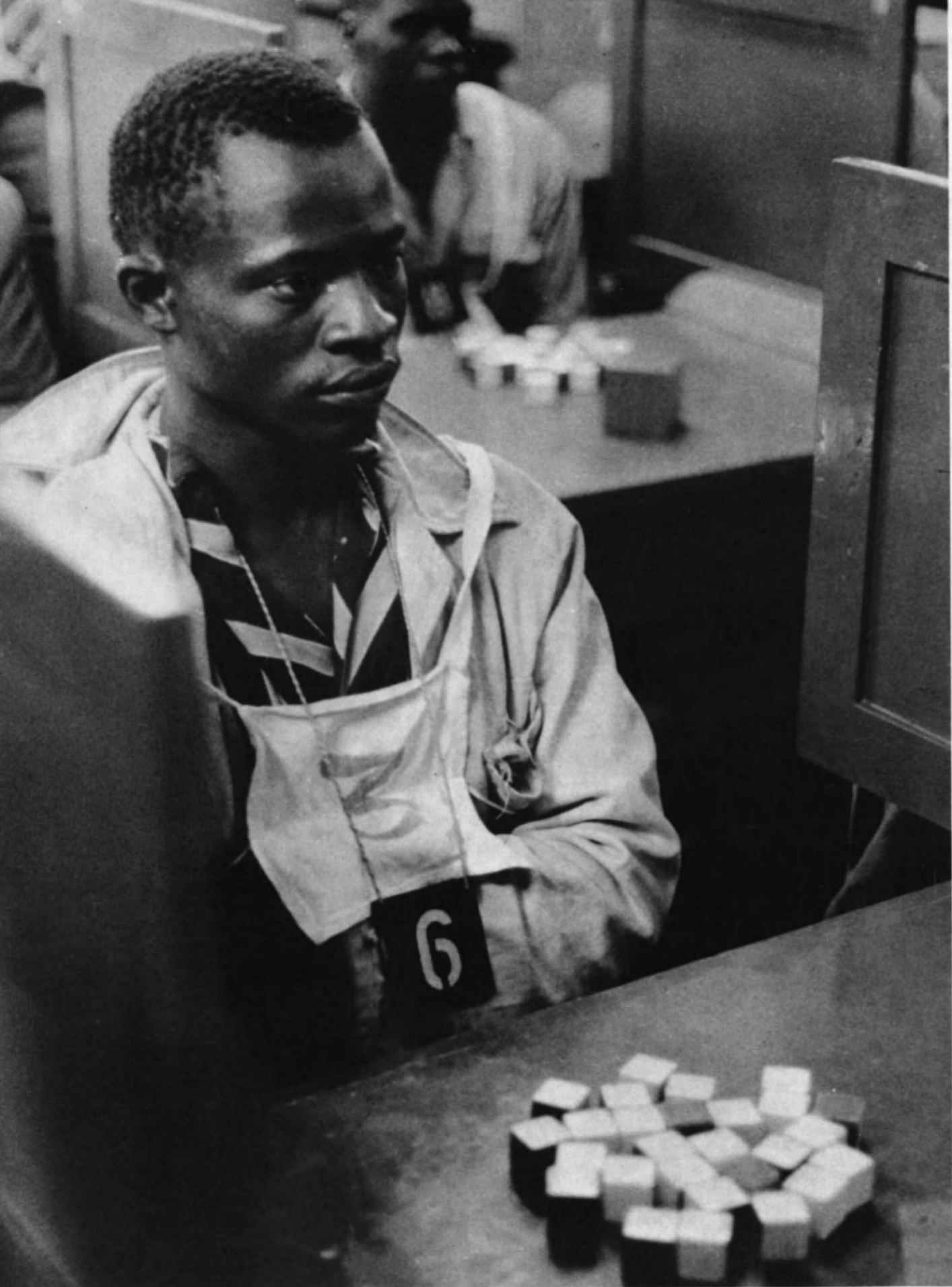


Photo © Vivante Afrique, Brussels

Mozambique serves as a reservoir of unskilled labour for South Africa, noted a report submitted to the U.N. General Assembly in 1966. The report also stated that in southern Africa indigenous workers were paid from five to fifteen times less than white workers. According to FRELIMO, the Mozambique Liberation Front, "the South African Government pays the whole of the worker's wages to the Portuguese Government which deducts various taxes, including a so-called protection tax, before paying the Mozambican worker in escudos." Above, a worker from Mozambique at the recruiting office of a South African gold-mine.



# THE UNITED NATIONS VERSUS THE WORLD'S 'LAST COLONIAL EMPIRE'

**O**F the 28 million people still living in dependent status throughout the world, half live in the Portuguese territories in Africa.

In the last 28 years 71 colonial territories, comprising nearly 1,000 million people, have become independent and taken their place among the sovereign nations of the world (see map pages 28-29).

There are many reasons for this phenomenon. Principally it is due to the sometimes tempered, sometimes violent challenge that the dependent peoples themselves have brought to bear on the long-accepted view that they should continue to be ruled by remote foreign Powers whose cultural, ideological and ethnic identities were different from their own. Largely because of this challenge, there has evolved a world-wide recognition that self-determination and independence are not the exclusive prerogatives of the powerful, but fundamental and inalienable rights of all peoples everywhere.

The right to self-determination had become almost a universally accepted principle in 1960 when the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted an historic manifesto on decolonization which gave a further impetus to the movement of dependent peoples toward freedom and independence.

Yet, today, there remains a hard core of resistance to the recognition of these rights in the vast territories of southern Africa. South Africa's harsh apartheid laws continue to discriminate against an overwhelming non-white majority, which includes those living in the immense territory of Namibia (formerly South West Africa). 225,000 white settlers in Southern Rhodesia have rebelled against the British Commonwealth, in order to perpetuate their domination and control of nearly five million Africans.

In southern Africa also, Portugal refuses to relinquish control of both Angola and Mozambique, territories which are roughly twenty times its size. In fact it is waging an endless war against the liberation movements of these territories and against nationalist groups in the small territory of Portuguese Guinea on the west coast of Africa.

This struggle is significant since the Portuguese possessions comprise the last colonial empire remaining in the world. Moreover, these territories are strategically located. In the west, Angola (population 5,223,000) stands astride the route from Zaire to South West Africa and South Africa. In the east, Mozambique (population 7,040,000) guards the heartland of both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

Both territories are wealthy. Angola, which is more than twice the size of France (481,226 square miles) has rich oil deposits, vast diamond mines and hundreds of millions of tons of high grade iron ore. It is the world's fourth largest coffee producer. Mozambique (297,654 square miles) also has great economic potential because of its large areas of fertile land, its ports and railways and its sources of hydro-electric power.

The other territories now under Portuguese administration are the Cape Verde archipelago comprising ten islands off the west African coast, and the islands of Sao Tomé and Principe, located on the Bay of Biafra, west of the Republic of Gabon, and Macao and Timor in Asia.

The Portuguese Constitution defines the Territory of Portugal as that which at present belongs to it and comprises:

- In Europe : the mainland and the archipelagos of Madeira and the Azores;
- In west Africa: the Cape Verde

archipelago, Guinea, Sao Tomé and Principe and their dependencies, Sao Joao Baptista de Ajudé, Cabinda and Angola;

- In east Africa: Mozambique;
- In Asia : Macao and its dependencies;
- In Oceania : Timor and its dependencies.

Until 1961, the majority of the indigenous inhabitants in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea were not accorded full citizenship status. The Colonial Act of 1933 had accorded these inhabitants what may, for convenience, be described as "indigena" status. As subsequently re-enacted in the Native Statute of 1954:

"A person shall be considered an *indigena*... if he is a member of the negro race or a descendant of a member of that race, and was born, or habitually resides, in the province but does not yet possess the level of education or the personal and social habits which are a condition for the unrestricted application for the public and private law pertaining to Portuguese citizens."

An African could change his status and acquire Portuguese citizenship if he fulfilled all the following:

- he was over 18 years of age;
- he could speak the Portuguese language correctly;
- he was engaged in an occupation, trade or craft from which he derived sufficient income to support himself and his family, or had adequate resources for this purpose;
- he was of good conduct and had attained the level of education and acquired the habits which are a condition for the unrestricted application of the public and private law pertaining to Portuguese citizens; and
- he was not on record as having refused to perform military service or

## From underground organizations to full-fledged nationalist movements

deserted. Upon fulfilment of these requirements, an African was accorded citizenship as an "assimilado".

As a result the majority of Africans living in the three territories were not accorded Portuguese citizenship and were not governed by Portuguese civil law. As a rule, indigenous persons were governed by "the usages and customs pertaining to their respective societies" and were not granted political rights in "non-indigenous institutions".

The special status of an *indigena* carried with it an implication that he was not "civilized". Census figures listed the population in two major sections, the *civilizado* (civilized) and *nao-civilizado* (non-civilized). The civilized section of the population included all persons of European origin (Portuguese and aliens). Indians and Chinese, *mestiços* (persons of mixed European and African descent) and Africans who qualified as "civilized" until he acquired the status of an *assimilado*, an African was not counted as a "civilized" person. At the 1950 census, less than one per cent of the African population in Angola and Mozambique were officially classified as "civilized".

The *indigena* status also carried with it economic and social implications. The *indigena* status made it an obligation for an African to work and, through the operation of the labour laws, frequently subjected him to forced labour both for public works and private enterprises, as in the forced cultivation of cotton which at one time involved some 500,000 Africans in Mozambique.

**T**HE rise of nationalist movements in the Portuguese territories had its origin before the Second World War when Africans attempted to give expression to grievances by pressing for moderate reforms through legal associations. After the Second World War, these organizations urged direct participation of the urban masses in the affairs of the territories. The Government, however, reacted by replacing elected leaders with administrative appointees and by restricting the political activities of these organizations.

In Angola, these measures led to the establishment of underground political organizations which extended their activities both inside and outside the territory. Between 1950 and 1960 clandestine political movements were also formed in Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique. These organizations were generally regarded by the Government as subversive and were suppressed by force.

From that time, several strikes were organized by workers to demand higher wages and police action increased. In 1959, for example, the authorities opened fire on dock workers on strike at Pidgiguiti (Bissau) and fifty people were killed.

United Nations involvement began on February 24, 1956 when the Secretary-General addressed a letter to 16 new Member States, including Portugal. He inquired whether these states had any territories which did not fully govern themselves, since Chapter XI of the U.N. Charter obliges Member States to accept a series of obligations towards territories administered by them.

Portugal replied that it had no such territories, that the territories it administered were in fact integral provinces of metropolitan Portugal. It maintained, as it has ever since, that under its unitary Constitution the European and "overseas provinces" were under the same organs of sovereignty and had exactly the same status from both a legal and de facto point of view. It argued that although political rights in the territories were dependent on certain qualifications, these qualifications were the same for all inhabitants, regardless of race or situation.

After disturbances that broke out on February 4, 1961 in the Angolan capital of Luanda, the Portuguese authorities adopted special security measures and imposed censorship on outgoing messages, and the entry of foreign journalists was suspended until the end of July 1961.

At the request of Liberia and 26 African and Asian States, the U.N. Security Council met from March 10 to 15, 1961, to deal with the "crisis in Angola".

Denying that the Luanda outbreak had any connexion with human rights, the Portuguese representative maintained that in the Portuguese "multi-racial society" there was no colour or religious bar by law, tradition or application and that "human rights are at the very foundation of our political and social structure".

The situation in Angola continued to worsen. According to the Government of Portugal a "wave of terrorism" occurred in mid-March when a series of rebel attacks took place in northern Angola. The Portuguese Government dispatched large reinforcements of troops to Angola in April 1961.

The situation in Angola was again brought to the attention of the Security Council in May 1961 by 44 African and Asian States. The 44 States declared that massacres were con-

tinuing, human rights were being continually suppressed and the situation was a serious threat to international peace and security. This was the first U.N. resolution on Portuguese territories.

The gravity of the situation in the territory was reflected in the toll of lives lost. By early June 1961, Portuguese reports indicated that about 1,000 Europeans and 8,000 Africans had been killed. Other estimates of the number of Africans killed were considerably higher; a figure of about 30,000 was frequently mentioned during the Security Council debates in June 1961.

Following the outbreaks of disturbances in Angola and United Nations pressure on Portugal to change its policies, Portugal introduced what it called "far-reaching reforms" in its territories, beginning in September 1961, the most important being the repeal of the Native Statute.

As a result of this repeal, the African inhabitants of the three territories were recognized as Portuguese citizens; they no longer had to meet certain requirements to achieve citizenship status, or to comply with the procedures for obtaining it.

**I**N 1962, the U.N. Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration visited Africa where it obtained information from representatives of political organizations and persons who had recently left the territories. It had been refused permission by Portugal to visit its territories in Africa.

In the Committee's view, the reforms which Portugal claimed to have introduced not only failed to meet the basic aspirations of the peoples for self-determination, but did not even bring about any significant changes in political, economic, social and educational conditions.

Subsequently, the U.N. General Assembly, on December 14, 1962, condemned the attitude of Portugal and urged it to take steps: to recognize the right of the territories to self-determination and independence, cease all acts of repression, promulgate an unconditional political amnesty and establish conditions permitting the free functioning of political parties, negotiate with representatives of political parties for the transfer of power to freely elected and representative institutions, and immediately thereafter grant independence to all the territories.

On March 15, 1963, Angola entered its third year of war. Portugal was now



said to have 40,000 troops in Angola.

The same year fighting broke out in Portuguese Guinea and quickly became widespread. By mid-May 1963, fighting was reported within forty miles of Bissau, the territory's seaport capital. In July 1963, the Portuguese Minister of Defence admitted that some 5,200 square kilometres (approximately 2,000 square miles) out of a total area of 36,125 square kilometres were involved.

In July 1964, it was reported that the insurgents had cut the territory in two and that Bissau had been completely isolated from the Portuguese held outposts in the territory. Towards the end of September 1964, leaders

that would attempt to hamper Portugal's war effort by requesting States to deny it assistance.

A number of United Nations bodies took action against Portugal in an effort to isolate it in its international relations. In August 1963, the United Nations Conference on International Travel and Tourism, held in Rome, adopted a resolution inviting Portugal (along with South Africa) to withdraw from the Conference. On July 24, 1963 the Economic and Social Council decided to expel Portugal from membership in the Economic Commission for Africa. At the fourth African-Indian Ocean Regional Air Navigation Meeting, under the auspices of the

to the Portuguese Government.

In November 1966, the General Conference of Unesco decided to withhold assistance to the Government of Portugal in educational, scientific and cultural matters and not to invite that Government to attend special conferences or take part in other Unesco activities until such time as Portugal abandoned its policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination. It confirmed a decision taken by the Executive Board of Unesco in 1965 not to invite Portugal to attend meetings of Unesco subordinate bodies pending the conclusion of an on-site study of educational conditions in the Portuguese-administered African Territories.

In May 1966, the World Health Assembly, the executive arm of the World Health Organization, suspended the right of Portugal to take part in regional activities in Africa and suspended all technical assistance to Portugal until it furnished proof of its willingness to comply with United Nations resolutions.

Meanwhile, fighting was widespread in Portuguese Guinea in 1965. During that year the Partido Africano da Independencia de Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) claimed that a significant proportion of the territory's estimated 500,000 population was included within the "liberated areas".

In 1966, there were reports that the guerrillas had opened a second front in the eastern regions of Angola.

The insurgents, operated in small, well-armed groups which engaged in raids, ambushes and acts of sabotage, such as the destruction of roads and bridges. Occasionally, they undertook large operations, including attacks by groups of 50 to 150 men on defended localities and military bases.

During 1967, the flow of refugees from Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea accelerated. In the seven years beginning in December 1965, the total number of refugees from these territories doubled, increasing from 284,700 to 568,000 at the end of 1972.

In October 1967, the U.N. Special Committee considered a detailed report on the activities of foreign economic and other interests impeding decolonization in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, the Portuguese territories and other colonial territories. The report reiterated that foreign interests and monopolies contribute to the misery of the indigenous inhabitants by exploiting the natural resources in their lands; by taking advantage of the cheap labour of indigenous peoples, by helping colonial Governments to stay in power; by transferring most of their profits out of the colonial territories; and by dominating the economics of the territories.

Although several past efforts to secure Portugal's co-operation with the United Nations had failed, the

## THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

### Angola

The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) issued its first manifesto in 1956. Its declared objective was the immediate and total independence of Angola. Today it controls more than a third of the Territory, a region with a population of about one million.

The Union of the Populations of Angola (UPA) in 1962 became part of the Angola National Liberation Front (FNLA), which, in the same year, established the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE). The FNLA operates in the north-eastern regions of the Territory.

### Mozambique

The principal liberation movement in the Territory is the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), formed in 1962 by the merger of three movements. In 1971, FRELIMO represented Mozambique at meetings of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). FRELIMO has declared one quarter of the Territory freed from Portuguese control.

### Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde

The African Party for the Independence of Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) was founded in 1956 by Amilcar Cabral (see page 12). In 1972, PAIGC reported that almost three quarters of the Territory had been liberated and that two thirds of it were under PAIGC control. Elections for the People's National Assembly were held at the end of 1972, followed in 1973 by the proclamation of the Republic of Guinea (Bissau).

of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) declared a general armed insurrection in Mozambique.

During this period Portugal continued to introduce changes and reforms in its territories.

On July 31, 1963, the Security Council declared that the situation in the Portuguese territories was "seriously disturbing peace and security in Africa". It urgently called on Portugal to recognize the right of the inhabitants of the territories to self-determination and independence. It affirmed that Portugal's policy which held that the territories were integral parts of metropolitan Portugal was contrary to the U.N. Charter.

All States should refrain from offering Portugal assistance which would enable it to continue its repression in the territories, and take all measures to prevent the sale and supply of military equipment to the Portuguese Government. This was the first of a host of United Nations resolutions

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), in Rome, in November-December 1964, the table of future aircraft operations in the area was amended to delete all connexions between 30 African States and South Africa, Portugal and the Portuguese territories in Africa.

In 1965, the General Assembly of the United Nations called for economic measures against Portugal by appealing to United Nations specialized agencies, in particular the International Monetary Fund, to refrain from granting Portugal "any financial, economic or technical assistance" as long as it failed to implement the Declaration on the granting of independence.

On June 22, 1966, the Special Committee requested all States, particularly the military allies of Portugal, to desist from giving the Portuguese Government any assistance enabling it to continue its repression in the territories and to prevent the sale or supply of arms and military equipment

# The role of culture in the battle for independence

by *Amilcar Cabral*

Amilcar Cabral, has taken his place as the hero of the struggle for the independence of Guinea (Bissau) where he was born, and indeed all the Portuguese territories of Africa. He was assassinated ten months ago. A man of rare stature, both as a thinker and a fighter, he was concerned with every aspect of his country's future. He described culture, to which he accorded top importance, as "the very foundation of the liberation movement" and insisted that priority be given to education in the struggle for independence. "We must preserve for our children the best of what we have learned", he said; "they are the flower of our struggle." Photo, right, shows Amilcar Cabral in 1972, at an end-of-the-year prize-giving ceremony at a pilot school created by the Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde independence movement at Conakry (Republic of Guinea). The text published below is taken from a study presented by Amilcar Cabral at a meeting on the Concept of Race, Identity and Dignity, at Unesco headquarters in Paris, in July 1972.

Photo © Bruna Amico, Rome



**T**HE struggle of peoples for national liberation and independence has become a tremendous force for human progress and is beyond doubt an essential feature of the history of our time.

Objective analysis of imperialism as a fact or historical phenomenon that is "natural", even "necessary", to the economic and political evolution of a great part of mankind, reveals that imperialist rule with its train of misery, pillage, crimes and its destruction of human and cultural values, was not a purely negative reality.

The huge accumulation of capital in a half dozen countries of the northern hemisphere as the result of piracy, sack of other people's property and unbridled exploitation of their labour, did more than engender colonial monopoly, the sharing-out of the world and imperialist dominion.

In the rich countries, imperialist capital, ever looking for higher profits, heightened man's creative capacity.

Aided by the accelerated progress of science and technology, it profoundly transformed the means of production, stepped-up the social organization of work and raised the standard of living of vast sections of the population.

In the colonized countries, colonization usually arrested the historical development of the people—when it did not lead to their total or gradual elimination. Here imperialist capital imposed new types of relationships within the indigenous society whose structure became more complex. It aroused, fomented, inflamed or resolved social contradictions and conflicts.

With the circulation of money and the development of the domestic and foreign markets, it introduced new elements into the economy. It led to the birth of new nations out of ethnic groups or peoples at varying stages of historical development.

It is no defence of imperialist domination to recognize that it opened

up new worlds to a world whose dimensions it reduced, that it revealed new phases in the development of human societies and, in spite of or because of the prejudices, discriminations and crimes it occasioned, helped to impart a deeper knowledge of mankind, moving as one, as a unified whole amid the complex diversity of its various forms of development.

Imperialist rule fostered a multi-lateral, gradual (sometimes abrupt) confrontation on the different continents not only between different men but between different societies.

The practice of imperialist rule—its affirmation or its negation—demanded and still demands a more or less accurate knowledge of the people dominated and its historical background (economic, social and cultural). This knowledge is necessarily expressed in terms of comparison with the dominating power's own historical background.

Such knowledge is an imperative





necessity for imperialist rule which results from the usually violent confrontation of two different identities, distinct in their historical backgrounds and antagonistic in their functions. Despite its unilateral, subjective and often unjust character, the search for such knowledge contributed to the general enrichment of the human and social sciences.

Indeed man has never shown such interest in learning about other men and other societies as during this century of imperialist domination. An unprecedented amount of information, hypotheses and theories was thus accumulated concerning subjugated peoples or ethnic groups, especially in the fields of history, ethnology, ethnography, sociology and culture.

Concepts of race, caste, clanship, tribe, nation, culture, identity, dignity and many more besides, have received increasing attention from those who study man and the so-called "primitive" or "evolving" societies.

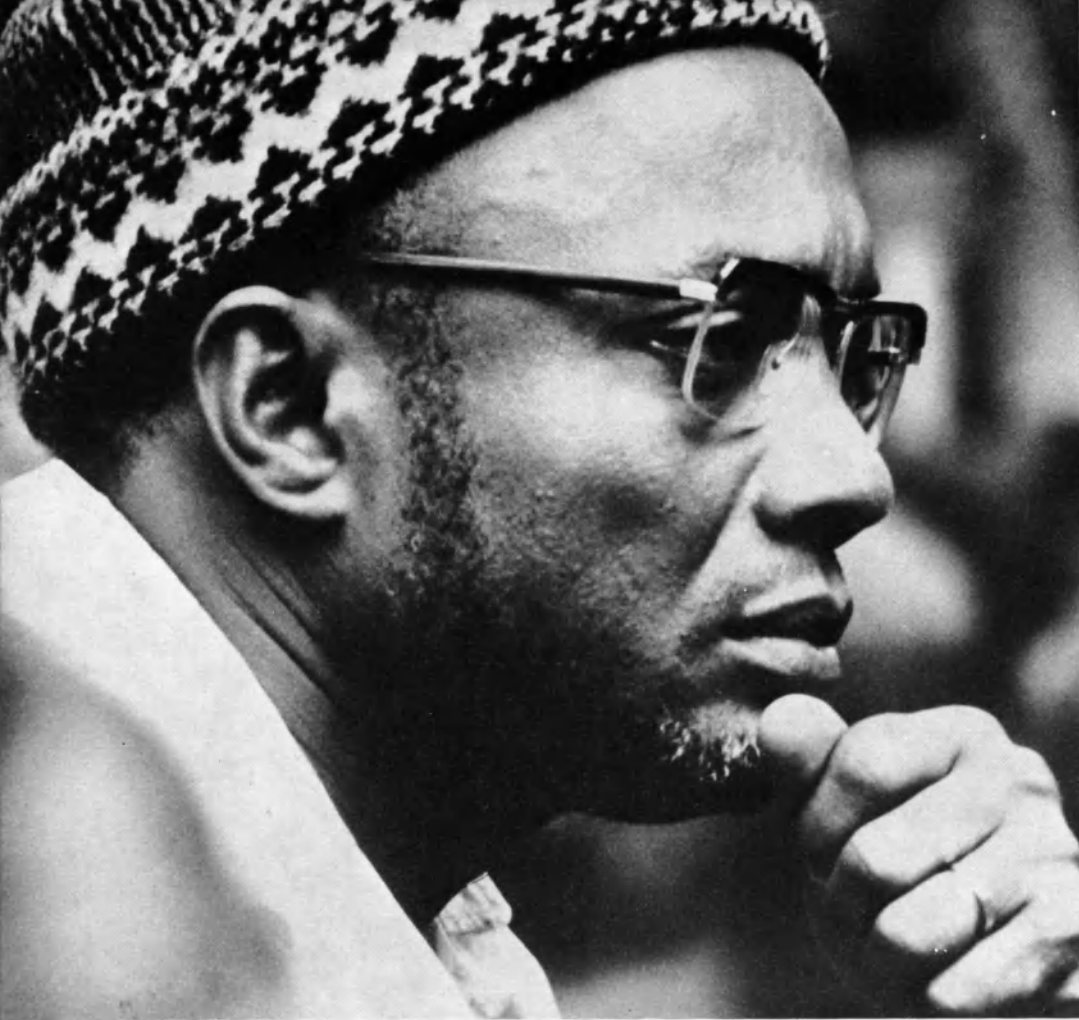
More recently, with the upsurge of liberation movements, it has been found necessary to analyse the characteristics of these societies in terms of the struggle that is being fought, so as to determine which factors spark off or restrain this struggle. Researchers generally agree that in this context culture takes on special importance. Any attempt to throw light on the true role of culture in the development of a liberation (pre-independence) movement can be seen as making a helpful contribution to the general struggle of peoples against imperialist rule.

Because independence movements are as a rule marked even in their beginnings by increased cultural activity, it is taken for granted that such movements are preceded by a cultural "renaissance" of the dominated people. Going a step further, culture is regarded as a method of mobilizing the group, even as a weapon in the fight for independence.

From experience of the struggle of

my own people and it might be said of all Africa, I feel that this is a too limited, if not erroneous, conception of the vital role of culture in the development of liberation movements. I think it comes of generalizing incorrectly from a real but restricted phenomenon that appears at the level of colonial elites or diasporas. Such a generalization is unaware of or disregards an essential factor—the indestructibility of cultural resistance by the mass of the people to foreign rule.

With a few exceptions, the era of colonization was too short, in Africa at least, to destroy or significantly depreciate the essential elements in the culture and traditions of the colonized peoples. Experience in Africa shows that (leaving aside genocide, racial segregation and apartheid) the one so-called "positive" way the colonial power has found for opposing cultural resistance is "assimilation". But the total failure of the policy of "gradual assimilation" of



## AMILCAR CABRAL : THE MAN WHO LIVED HIS IDEALS

"I am just an ordinary African who wants to repay his debt to his people and to be a man of his time", declared Amilcar Cabral. Born at Bafata, Guinea (Bissau), in 1925, Cabral qualified as a specialist in agronomy and could have led a privileged life if he had wanted to. Instead in 1954, when he was only thirty, he founded the Anticolonialist Movement in Lisbon. In 1956, he launched PAIGC (see page 11) which he headed until his death. From early in 1963 he began to organize the independence struggle in Guinea (Bissau) and within ten years had liberated three-quarters of the country. Right, Cabral with freedom-fighters crossing a swamp in Guinea (Bissau). His talent as a theorist and as an organizer and his personal physical courage earned him worldwide respect. In April 1972, at Conakry, he received the members of the special United Nations Mission (see page 20) sent to visit the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau). It was largely due to his untiring efforts that United Nations' attention was drawn to the problems of the African territories under Portuguese administration. He was assassinated at Conakry on January 20, 1973, before he could see the final outcome of the long struggle to which he had devoted all his energies.

### CULTURE AND INDEPENDENCE (Continued)

colonized populations is obvious proof of the fallacy of the theory and of the peoples' capacity for resistance (1).

On the other hand, even in settlement colonies, where the overwhelming majority of the population is still indigenous, the area of colonial and particularly cultural occupation is usually reduced to coastal strips and a few small zones in the interior.

The influence of the colonial power's culture is almost nil outside the capital and other urban centres. It is only significantly felt within the social pyramid created by colonialism itself and affects more particularly what may be called the indigenous petty bourgeoisie and a very limited number of workers in urban centres.

We find then that the great rural masses and a large fraction of the urban population, totalling over 99 per cent of the indigenous population, are virtually isolated from any cultural influence by the colonial power.

This implies that, not only for the mass of the people in the dominated country but also for the dominant

classes among the indigenous peoples (traditional chiefs, noble families, religious leaders), there is usually no destruction or significant depreciation of culture and traditions.

Repressed, persecuted, humiliated, betrayed by certain social groups which have come to terms with the foreigner, culture takes refuge in villages, in forests and in the minds of the victims of domination, weathering all storms to recover all its power of expansion and enrichment through the struggle for liberation.

That is why the problem of a "return to the source" or a "cultural renaissance" does not arise for the mass of the people; it could not, for the masses are the torch-bearers of culture; they are the source of culture and, at the same time, the one entity truly capable of creating and preserving it, of making history.

For an accurate appreciation of the true role of culture in the development of the liberation movement, a distinction must therefore be made, at least in Africa, between the situation of the masses who preserve their culture and of the social groups that are more or less assimilated, uprooted and culturally alienated.

Even though marked by certain cultural features of their own in-

digenous community, native elites created by the colonizing process live materially and spiritually the culture of the colonialist foreigner with whom they seek gradually to identify themselves in social behaviour and even in their views of indigenous cultural values.

Over two or three generations at least under colonization, a social class has been formed of government officials, employees in various branches of the economy (especially trade), members of the liberal professions and a few urban and agricultural landowners.

This indigenous lower middle class, created by foreign rule and indispensable to the colonial system of exploitation, finds itself placed between the mass of workers in the country and in the towns and the minority of local representatives of the foreign ruling class.

Although its members may have more or less developed relations with the mass of the people or the traditional chiefs, they usually aspire to a way of life similar to, if not identical with that of the foreign minority. Limiting their relations with the masses they try to become integrated with that minority, often to the detriment of family or ethnic bonds and always at personal cost.

(1) In Guinea and Cape Verde, for example, the maximum percentage of assimilated persons is 0.3 per cent of the total population after 500 years of civilizing presence and half a century of "colonial peace".





Photos © Bruna Amico, Rome

But despite apparent exceptions, they never succeed in crossing the barriers imposed by the system. They are prisoners of the contradictions of the social and cultural reality in which they live, for they cannot escape their condition as a "marginal" class. This marginality is the real social and cultural drama of the colonial elites or indigenous petty bourgeoisie. While living conditions and level of acculturation determine its intensity, this drama is always lived at the individual, not the community, level.

Within the framework of this daily drama, against the background of the usually violent confrontation between the mass of the people and the ruling colonial class, a feeling of bitterness, a frustration complex, develops and grows among the indigenous lower middle class. At the same time they gradually become aware of an urgent need to contest their marginal status and to find an identity. So they turn towards the other pole of the social and cultural conflict in which they are living—the mass of the people.

Hence the "return to the source" which seems all the more imperative as the sense of isolation and frustration of this lower middle class grows. The same holds true for Africans dispersed in colonialist and racist capitals.

It is not by chance then that theories or movements such as Pan Africanism and Negritude (two pertinent expressions based mainly on the notion that all Black Africans are culturally identical) were conceived outside Black Africa.

More recently, the Black Americans' claim to an African identity is another, perhaps desperate, expression of this need to "return to the source", though it is clearly influenced by a new factor—the winning of independence by the great majority of African peoples.

But the "return to the source" neither is nor can be in itself an act of struggle against foreign (colonialist and racist) rule. Nor does it necessarily mean a return to traditions. It is the denial by the indigenous petty bourgeoisie of the superiority claimed for the culture of the ruling power over the culture of the dominated people with which this petty bourgeoisie feels the need to identify.

This "return to the source" then is not a voluntary step; it is the only possible response to the irreconcilable contradiction between the colonized society and the colonial power, between the exploited masses and the foreign exploiters.

When the "return to the source" goes beyond the individual to find

expression in "groups" or "movements", this opposition turns into conflict (under cover or open), the prelude to the pre-independence movement or struggle for liberation from foreign yoke.

This "return to the source" is thus historically important only if it involves both a genuine commitment to the fight for independence and also a total, irrevocable identification with the aspirations of the masses, who reject not only the foreigner's culture but foreign rule altogether. Otherwise it is nothing but a means of obtaining temporary advantages, a conscious or unconscious form of political opportunism.

It should be noted that this "return to the source", whether real or apparent, is not something that happens simultaneously and uniformly within the lower middle class. It is a slow, discontinuous, uneven process and its development depends on each person's degree of acculturation, material conditions of life, ideological thinking, and individual history as a social being.

This unevenness explains the splitting of the indigenous petty bourgeoisie into three groups in relation to the liberation movement: a minority which, even though it may want the

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

## Domination cloaked in new forms

end of foreign rule, hangs on to the ruling colonial class and openly opposes the liberation movement in order to defend and secure its own social position; a hesitant or undecided majority; another minority which helps to create and to direct the liberation movement.

But this last group which plays a decisive role in developing the pre-independence movement, does not really succeed in identifying itself with the mass of the people (with their culture and their aspirations) except through the struggle, the degree of identification depending on the form or forms of the struggle, the ideological content of the movement and the extent of each person's moral and political awareness.

Culture has proved to be the very foundation of the liberation movement. Only societies which preserve their cultures are able to mobilize and organize themselves and fight against foreign domination. Whatever ideological or idealistic forms it takes, culture is essential to the historical process. It has the power to prepare and make fertile those factors that ensure historical continuity and determine a society's chances of progressing (or regressing).

**S**INCE imperialist rule is the negation of the historical process of the dominated society, it will readily be understood that it is also the negation of the cultural process. And since a society that really succeeds in throwing off the foreign yoke reverts to the upward paths of its own culture, the struggle for liberation is above all an act of culture.

The fight for liberation is an essentially political fact. Consequently, as it develops, it can only use political methods.

Culture then is not, and cannot be, a weapon or a means of mobilizing the group against foreign domination. It is much more than that. Indeed, it is on firm knowledge of the local reality, particularly the cultural reality, that the choice, organization and development of the best methods of fighting are based.

This is why the liberation movement must recognize the vital importance not only of the cultural characteristics of the dominated society as whole but

also of those of each social class. For though it has a mass aspect, culture is not uniform and does not develop evenly in all sectors, horizontal or vertical, of society.

The attitude and behaviour of each class or each individual towards the struggle and its development are, it is true, dictated by economic interests, but they are also profoundly influenced by culture. It may even be said that differences in cultural level explain differences in behaviour towards the liberation movement of individuals of the same social class.

It is at this level, then, that culture attains its full significance for each individual—comprehension of and integration within his social milieu, identification with the fundamental problems and aspirations of his society and acceptance or rejection of the possibility of change for the better.

Whatever its form, the struggle requires the mobilization and organization of a large majority of the population, the political and moral unity of the different social classes, the gradual elimination of vestiges of tribal or feudal mentality, the rejection of social and religious taboos that are incompatible with the rational and national character of the liberating movement. And the struggle brings about many other profound modifications in the life of the people.

This is all the more true because the dynamic of the struggle also requires the exercise of democracy, criticism and self-criticism, growing participation of the people in running their lives, the achievement of literacy, the creation of schools and health services, leadership training for rural and city workers, and many other achievements that are involved in the society's "forced march" along the road of cultural progress. This shows that the liberation struggle is more than a cultural fact, it is also a cultural factor.

Among the representatives of the colonial power as well as in their home countries, the first reaction to the liberation struggle is a general feeling of surprise and incredulity. Once this feeling, the fruit of prejudice or of the planned distortions typical of colonialist news, is surmounted reactions vary with the interests, the political opinions and the degree to which colonialist and racist attitudes have crystallized among the different social classes and individuals.

The progress of the struggle and the sacrifices imposed by the need to take colonialist repressive measures (police or military) cause a split in metropolitan opinion. Differing, if not divergent positions are adopted and new political and social contradictions emerge.

From the moment the struggle is recognized as an irreversible fact, however great the resources employed to quash it, a qualitative change takes place in metropolitan opinion. The possibility if not the inevitability of the colony's independence is on the whole gradually accepted.

Such a change is a conscious or unconscious admission that the colonized people now engaged in the struggle have an identity and a culture of their own. And this holds true even though throughout the conflict an active minority, clinging to its interests and prejudices, persists in refusing the colonized their right to independence and in denying the equivalence of cultures that right implies.

At a decisive stage in the conflict this equivalence is implicitly recognized or accepted even by the colonial power. To divert the fighters from their objectives it applies a demagogic policy of "economic and social improvement", of "cultural development", cloaking its domination with new forms.

**N**EO-COLONIALISM is above all the continuation of imperialist economic rule in disguise, but nevertheless it is also the tacit recognition by the colonial power that the people it rules and exploits have an identity of their own demanding its own political control, for the satisfaction of a cultural necessity.

Moreover, by accepting that the colonized people have an identity and a culture, and therefore an inalienable right to self-determination and independence, metropolitan opinion (or at least an important part of it) itself makes significant cultural progress and sheds a negative element in its own culture—the prejudice that the colonizing nation is superior to the colonized one. This advance can have all-important consequences for the political evolution of the imperialist or colonialist power, as certain facts of current or recent history prove.

The existence of genetic, somatic



The Cry, a recent carving by a Makonde sculptor from Mozambique. Using the natural shape of an ebony branch, the artist has created a symbolic motif of fertility.

# Makonde art African genesis in ebony

Photo Gérard Dufresne - Unesco Courier

The Makonde, a Bantu people of East Africa, live on a 5,000 sq. km. plateau astride the frontier between Tanzania to the north and Mozambique to the south and bisected by the wide valley of the Ruvuma River (see map page 6). Colonial partition in Africa brought the Makonde under the rule of different European powers. In 1964, with the creation of the Republic of Tanzania, the Makonde to the north of the Ruvuma became free citizens of the new





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**MAKONDE ART** (Continued)

state. Those still living in Mozambique remained subject to Portuguese control. Makonde resistance to colonial rule began in 1960 but was brutally suppressed. In the armed conflict that followed, the Makonde gave many freedom fighters to the war waged against the Portuguese by the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). At the same time thousands were forced into exile in Tanzania where two-thirds of the 500,000 Makonde people now live. On its isolated plateau, the ancient Makonde culture has brought forth a remarkable flowering of sculptured art. A closely knit, traditional farming people, the Makonde have developed their wood-carving skills over many centuries. For them wood is a material imbued with force and sacred meaning, and one of their legends tells how their first father carved with his hands the wood out of which the first mother came to life. Today most of their sculpture is in the ebony that abounds in East Africa, a noble wood but difficult to carve because of its extreme hardness. Using the natural form of branch or root, the Makonde sculptor can conjure forth

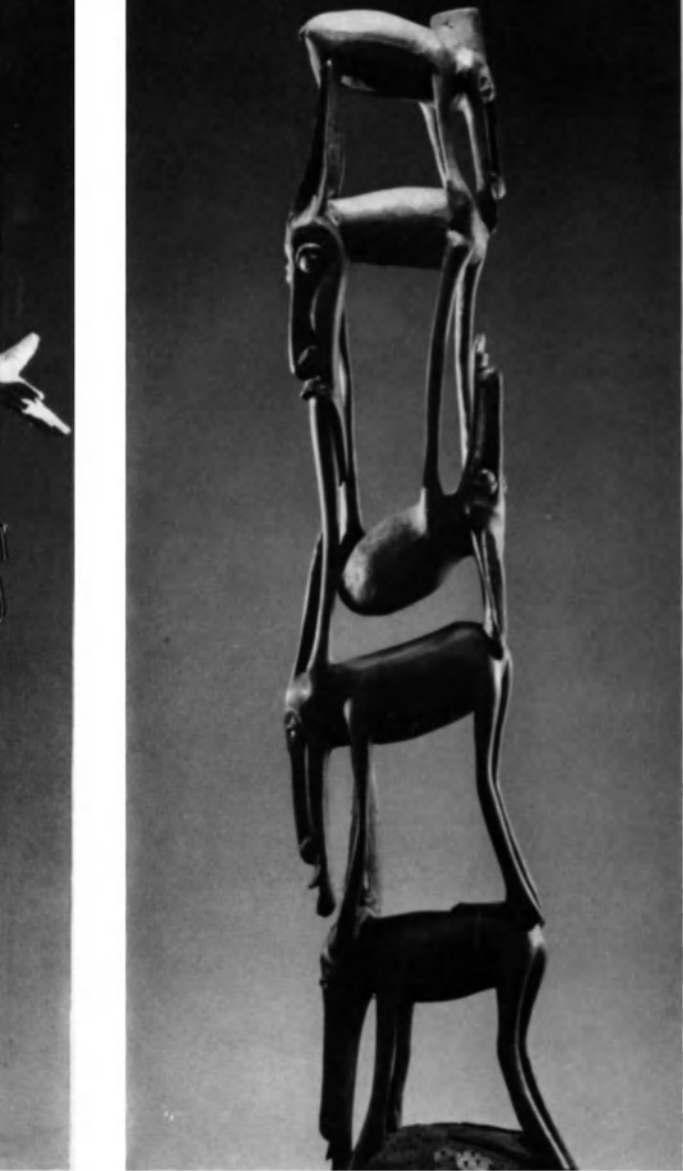
realistic everyday images or symbols of rare abstraction. Modern Makonde art is a unique achievement as much for its rich variety of styles as for the abundance of works. During the past 15 years it has known an even richer flowering—that of a traditional art delving into its past while realistically adapting itself to modern conditions. Here we present a few examples of today's Makonde sculpture in wood. (1) From the root of an ebony tree, the artist has depicted an antelope and a snake (the snake in Makonde mythology symbolically links the worlds of the living and the dead). (2) A herd of antelopes (elongated shapes of many Makonde carvings are determined by the sculptor's choice of wood). (3) Hope of motherhood. The wished-for child is shown on the woman's head. In the Makonde matriarchal society, women symbolize the continuity of life. (4-5) Rear and profile views of an embracing couple whose masked faces (5) symbolize the spoken word. (6) Woman, symbol of fertility, a work whose harmony of line and movement recalls the carving on our back cover.



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Photos Gérard Dufresne - Unesco Courier

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6

## CULTURE AND INDEPENDENCE

(Continued from page 16)

and cultural affinities between certain human groups on one or more continents and a more or less similar situation in regard to colonial or racist domination have led to the formulation of theories and the creation of "movements" based on the hypothetical existence of racial or continental cultures.

The widely recognized or sensed importance of culture in the liberation movement has helped to give this hypothesis a certain following. One would not wish to minimise the importance of such theories or movements as attempts—successful or otherwise—to find an identity and also as a means of contesting foreign rule. But an objective analysis of cultural reality leads one to reject the notion of racial or continental cultures.

In the first place, culture, like history, is an expanding phenomenon and closely linked with the economic and social reality of an environment, with the level and methods of production of the society that creates it. Secondly, culture develops unevenly at the level of a continent, of a "race", and even of a community. In fact, the co-ordinates of culture, like those of every other developing phenomenon, vary in space and time, whether they are material (physical) or human (biological and sociological).

That is why culture—the creation of a community, the synthesis of balances and solutions it produces to resolve the conflicts that characterize it at every phase of its history—is a social reality independent of man's will, of the colour of his skin or the shape of his eyes, and of geographical boundaries.

If culture is to play its proper rôle, the liberation movement must lay down the precise objectives to be achieved on the road to the reconquest of the rights of the people it represents—the right to make its own history and the right to dispose freely of its own productive resources. This will pave the way to the final objective of developing a richer, popular, national, scientific and universal culture.

It is not the task of the liberation movement to determine whether a culture is specific to the people or not. The important thing is for the movement to undertake a critical analysis of that culture in the light of the requirements of the struggle and of progress; to give it its place within the universal civilization without consideration as to its superiority or inferiority, with a view to its harmonious integration into the world of today as part of the common heritage of mankind. ■

*Amilcar Cabral*

United Nations action has made an important contribution to the struggle for the independence of Guinea (Bissau). Below, Horacio Sevilla Borja during his visit last year to the liberated territories as head of the United Nations Special Mission. Right, the United Nations flag in a liberated village.



# What we saw in liberated Guinea-Bissau

An on-the-spot report  
of a special  
United Nations mission





The article published here is based on a report by Horacio Sevilla Borja, head of the United Nations Special Mission which in 1972 visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau). The team consisted of Horacio Sevilla Borja (Ecuador), Folke Löfgren (Sweden) and Kamel Belkhiria (Tunisia), all three representatives of their countries at the United Nations. At the end of 1971, Amilcar Cabral invited the United Nations to send a fact-finding mission to Guinea (Bissau). From April 2 to 8, 1972, the Special Mission travelled throughout the liberated areas observing social, health and educational programmes put into effect by the liberation movement. In November 1972, the United Nations recognized the African Party for the Liberation of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde as "the only and authentic representative of the people of the territory" and reaffirmed "the inalienable right of the people of Guinea (Bissau) to self-determination, freedom and independence."

by  
**Horacio  
Sevilla Borja**

**O**UR first and main impression was that the existence of the so-called "liberated areas" is an undeniable fact of life, despite the persistent denials of the Portuguese which have created doubts among their closest allies and in spite of the innumerable reports by journalists and non-governmental delegations from various quarters who have visited the Territory of Guinea (Bissau).

The military forces and administrative officers of PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde) are actually in control of the situation and they are the real masters of the extensive areas we visited.

Using various means of transport, we were continually on the move. We found the same situation everywhere: the established presence of well-organized guerilla forces; overwhelming support among the people of the villages, hamlets and settlements for those who are fighting to free them; comprehensive administrative organization covering every facet of community life.

It is commendable that, after only a few years of a struggle recognized as legitimate by the United Nations, PAIGC, although considerably inferior to the enemy in material and military potential, has been able to gain control over vast areas of the Territory of

Guinea (Bissau) which are being wrested from the domination of their illegal occupiers.

Even more admirable is the work being done by PAIGC to organize the civil life of the community and, while in the throes of the struggle, to create a new society, with its own institutions suited to the characteristics of the Guinean people rather than foreign cultures forcibly imposed.

This new society dignifies its basic component, the human being, by providing equal opportunities, community work and social justice and by eliminating traditional antiquated customs and tribal differences fostered by the colonizer.



### MISSION TO GUINEA-BISSAU (Continued)

The new society is emerging with great speed from the Dark Ages of inept and unjust colonial domination into the dawn of a future in which there will be dynamic progress free from exploitation.

We shall not forget our visit to day-schools and boarding-schools where, under the direction of PAIGC and with a team of teachers trained abroad, comprehensive education is given to children, many of whom were born in liberated areas and have never seen a Portuguese soldier or civilian.

It is true that the smiles and gaiety typical of their age seem for the present to have departed from the faces of those children. But it must be remembered that, at the same time as they are being educated, they have to take part in defence and reconstruction work and they even have to bring their own school materials from the frontier on long and dangerous treks.

**22** The school-children of Guinea (Bissau) live in constant fear of bombing, because the schools seem to be favourite targets for the indiscriminate

Portuguese bombardments which have already taken many young lives.

While on the subject of education, I must mention the tremendous value of the bilateral international co-operation given by different countries. For example, we were pleased to see children learning their lessons from textbooks in Portuguese printed in Sweden and donated by the Swedish Government.

PAIGC has set itself the goal of providing education for all children of school age and completing a literacy programme for adults in the liberated areas, which would never even have been dreamed of under the colonial system.

PAIGC has several hospitals and health posts scattered over the liberated areas; these not only care for people wounded in the war, the majority of whom are civilians, but also carry out curative and preventive campaigns against diseases endemic in those regions and give intermediate-level personnel medical training, thereby creating a new kind of soldier for peace working for his people. Here, I should also stress the value of

existing international co-operation provided in the form of experts, drugs and equipment, which helps to meet the tremendous needs.

Throughout the areas under its control, PAIGC has also organized people's stores where goods are bartered, a system that helps the people to overcome the problems of over-production of traditional products such as rice and provides them with consumer goods and prime necessities which they could not afford under the colonial administration.

Much could be said about the reconstruction work being carried out, about the administration of justice based on people's courts, about the system of community administration.

It is particularly important to note the attitude adopted by the Portuguese Government on the occasion of the visit of the Special Mission which was approved by an overwhelming majority in the General Assembly. Not only did Portugal try to prevent the visit at the diplomatic level but it also used its military might in an attempt to prevent the visit and destroy three



Photo Bruna Amico © Gamma, Paris

A historic photo taken on September 24, 1973, on the occasion of the proclamation of the "Republic of Guinea-Bissau". Aristides Pereira, Secretary-General of PAIGC and the late Amilcar Cabral's companion of many years, joyfully embraces a colleague.

# UNESCO AID FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

by *Ginette Fontaine-Eboué*

delegates who were carrying out an official United Nations Mission.

It was painful for us to see with our own eyes the atrocities committed by the Portuguese troops. Villages had been burned and their inhabitants were sleeping in the open with the stench of the recent fires in their nostrils. Crops had been destroyed by bombing raids. Cattle had been killed and there were constant reconnaissance flights. We also saw unexploded bombs that had been dropped by planes in the fields of the liberated areas.

I should like to express the gratitude of my colleagues on the Mission and myself to the members of the Special Committee for having given us the opportunity to serve on this Mission and thereby to offer material and specific proof of the dedication and support of our countries and governments for the cause that is closest to the hearts of the African people. The first experiment by the United Nations in its search for new ways of assisting peoples in their struggle to free themselves once and for all from the colonial yoke was an unforgettable personal experience for us. ■

**U**NESCO's contribution to the cause of peace, whether by direct or indirect activities, has been substantial and wide-ranging throughout the Organization's history. However, in recent years, the General Conference has resolved that Unesco must strengthen even more its work for peace. For while it is appreciated that Unesco's total programme of international co-operation in education, science, culture and communication contributes substantially and continuously to peaceful relations among nations, there is nevertheless a demand that still more attention be given, within Unesco's special fields of interest, to activities which can be seen to bear directly on the problems of peace.

For example, Unesco has played an important part in aiding African liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to obtain textbooks and other teaching materials

and has helped to set up schools in liberated areas and neighbouring countries such as Tanzania, Guinea and Zambia.

■ In 1971 Unesco sent a fact-finding mission, led by the Assistant Director-General for Education, Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia). Working closely, the two organizations have since channelled considerable educational aid to liberation movements and refugees from the three Portuguese-held African territories.

■ Since 1972, Unesco has administered United Nations Development Programme funds totalling over \$350,000 for refugee education granted in response to a request for aid from Tanzania, Zambia and Guinea. This aid has provided regional and international study fellowships and has helped to pay the training and salaries of volunteer teachers for the refugees. It has supplied equipment for the Institute of Friendship, run at Conakry (Rep. of Guinea) by the liberation movement in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde (PAIGC), for the secondary school and teacher training centre of the Mozambique Liberation Movement (FRELIMO), at Bagamoyo (Tanzania) and for Nkumbi International College

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**GINETTE FONTAINE-EBOUÉ**, of Chad, is responsible for Unesco's programme of educational aid to African liberation movements and refugees. After joining Unesco's Department of Education in 1961, she helped to co-ordinate cultural and educational aid to the Congo (today the Republic of Zaire) on its accession to independence.

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE



(Zambia) where 40 per cent of the places are reserved for refugees.

■ Unesco allocated \$40,000 for aid to refugees and liberation movements in 1971-72 and a further \$69,000 in 1973-74. Part of these sums have been used to print 60,000 mathematics textbooks for the independence movement in Guinea (Bissau), as well as to help refugee education centres such as the Institute of Friendship at Conakry and the secondary school and teacher-training centre at Bagamoyo. The textbooks have been shipped to Conakry for use in the Rep. of Guinea and in the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau). Unesco is also helping to train primary teachers and literacy workers at Conakry and Bagamoyo.

Unesco is publishing a history textbook on Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, the first to give an account of current events in this territory.

■ Unesco last year collaborated with Sweden and Denmark in a \$700,000 aid programme for the Angola Institute of Education, set up in Dolisie (Peoples Rep. of the Congo) by the Angola Liberation Movement (MPLA). The aid covers buildings (provided by the Danish International Development Agency), staff salaries, furniture and equipment financed through Unesco by the Swedish International Development Agency. With Unesco's help, the Angola Institute is devising special programmes for refugee school children.

■ Unesco has shipped to Africa one million exercise books offered by the U.S.S.R. which has also made available 50 higher education fellowships to refugees belonging to liberation movements.

■ Unesco's appeal on behalf of African liberation movements and refugees has brought responses from other countries. India, for example, has offered school supplies; Kuwait is investigating priority needs in refugee education; Finland has agreed to print textbooks for the liberation movements; and Somalia has made study grants for the training of primary and secondary teachers.

■ Under its programme to give "moral" assistance to African liberation movements, Unesco is publishing several major fact-finding reports on the situation in southern Africa. They include a special inquiry into Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique. The study, "Portuguese Colonialism: Its Effects on Education, Science, Culture and Information" (in preparation), has been written by Dr. Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira (see page 25) and will be published with an introduction by Basil Davidson. ■

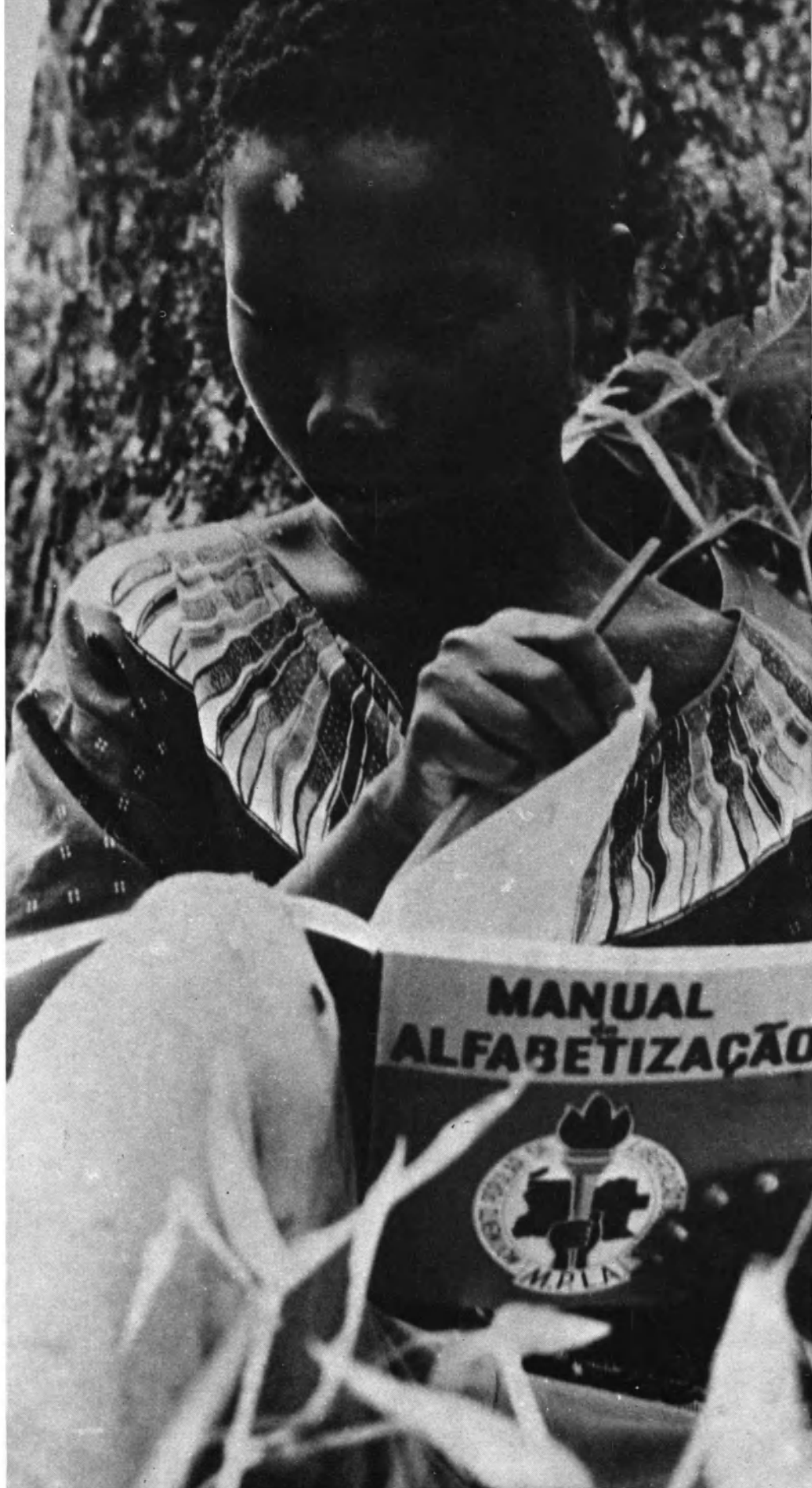


Photo © CSLTCP, Paris

A young Angolan girl learning to read with the aid of a literacy manual prepared by the Angola liberation movement (MPLA). In the liberated areas, where the illiteracy rate is reported to reach 95 per cent, the MPLA has set up some 60 schools and published and distributed its own literacy manuals in Portuguese. With aid from Sweden and Denmark, Unesco has helped the MPLA to set up the Angola Institute of Education at Dolisie, in the People's Republic of the Congo, and to develop new curricula and teaching methods.

# Education and discrimination in the Portuguese territories of Africa

by  
**Eduardo  
de Sousa Ferreira**

The "Unesco Courier" is pleased to offer readers a preview from a special Unesco report on the effects of Portuguese colonialism on education, science, culture and information in African territories under Portuguese control. Here, Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, author of the Unesco report, examines salient findings from his inquiry into education today under Portuguese rule in Africa. His study is one of several fact-finding reports on the current situation in southern Africa which Unesco plans to publish (dates of publication not yet announced) under its programme of "moral assistance" to African liberation movements. The passage below is condensed from a chapter in Mr. de Sousa Ferreira's book at present in preparation.

**E** DUCATION... cannot have as its objective the mere spreading of knowledge; its objective should be the formation of citizens capable of feeling to the full the imperatives of Portuguese life, knowing how to interpret them and making them a constant reality, in order to secure the continuation of the Nation." This, as stated in mid-1972 by the Portuguese Minister of Overseas Territories, Joaquim da Silva Cunha, is the basis of Portugal's educational policy in its African territories.

In the face of international opinion as well as the pressure exerted by the liberation movements in Portuguese African territories, Portugal has since the 1960s introduced important changes in her colonial policy in Africa. Education, as an integral part of this policy, underwent fundamental modifications.

Though this led to an expansion of

education unprecedented in the Portuguese territories, the increase has been quantitative and confined almost exclusively to primary education. The basic aim of the new policy is unchanged from the old: the inculcation of Portuguese values and the promotion among African school-children of a conscious identification with Portugal.

Textbooks throw an interesting light on the new educational policy. Unlike those used before a reform of primary education in 1964, textbooks are now considerably Africanized. They show African life in rural areas and in the towns. Frequently pictures show Africans in harmonious relations with whites.

This depiction of African culture and environment is, however, completely swamped by pictures of whites or of Portugal, while moral, religious and historical issues are dealt with from an exclusively Portuguese point of view.

History in the fourth grade covers Portuguese history only. History is the only subject other than Portuguese language and arithmetic on which the student is questioned in the final examination, and a certificate in history is necessary for any Angolan seeking

any employment other than physical labour. The history of the colonies is mentioned a few times, but only in relation to Portuguese history, e.g. the "discoveries" of Henry the Navigator, and the "liberation" of Angola from the Dutch occupation.

The geography textbooks of the fourth grade have a picture of the Salazar bridge in Lisbon on the cover and contain detailed information about Portugal, including its ports, rivers and mountains.

It will be useful to examine certain immediately relevant aspects of primary education, using Angola as an example. Angola has made the most comprehensive progress of all the colonies and so represents the maximum achievement. Secondly, more up-to-date and detailed data are available on education for Angola than for the other colonies.

There has been a remarkable increase in primary school attendance (from 105,781, in 1960-61, to 392,809, in 1969-70). The rapidity of the increase is explained, however, by the extremely low starting level in 1960-61. In 1970-71 children of school-age going to school still represented only little more than half (53.43 per cent). As regards Mozambique, the newspaper

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**EDUARDO DE SOUSA FERREIRA**, Portuguese economist and specialist on Portuguese economic and political questions, has made a close study of current conditions in African territories under Portuguese administration. He is the author of "Portuguese Colonialism from South Africa to Europe", published in 1972 by Aktion Dritte Welt, Freiburg (Fed. Rep. of Germany).

## EDUCATION AND DISCRIMINATION (Continued)

Noticias of Lourenço Marques (of 29 March 1972) gave the corresponding percentage as 30 per cent.

Schools are mainly in cities or in white settlements. For Africans living elsewhere access to education is difficult. An official inquiry was made in all rural zones in Angola in 1971, except for areas to which access was denied by the liberation movements. It showed that 48.5 per cent of the children of shepherds and 20 per cent of farm children did not go to school in 1969-70 because no facilities were available.

To extend schooling to the rural areas where most Africans live, the 1964 decree established schools which provide a pre-primary class and the first three years of primary education. In general, only full primary schools provide the fourth year. Nevertheless all of the schools are counted in the statistics as primary schools.

Teachers for the full primary schools (almost exclusively Europeans or of mixed Portuguese and African descent) attend a two-year teacher-training course after completing five years of secondary education; teachers in the others need only four years of primary school, and four years of teacher-training.

During the rapid expansion in Angola in 1962, the lower grades in the latter schools were entrusted to monitors, whose only qualifications were four years of primary school and a two-and-a-half month vocation training class. How low this level of training is can be judged from the fact that only after ten years of teaching ("always with good reports at the annual inspections") can moni-

## LEARNING TO BE FREE

Below, the pilot school established by the Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde liberation movement (PAIGC) at Conakry, in the Republic of Guinea, as an experimental education centre and a training school for teachers. Refugee children from Guinea (Bissau) receive practical education in agriculture (right) as well as in the usual school subjects. Unesco has provided some 60,000 arithmetic textbooks for the pilot school and the more than 150 schools established in the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau).



Photos © Bruna Amico, Rome



tors apply to take the examination for teacher posts (though there too, the standard is not high). In 1969-70, most of the teachers in the three-year schools, and all the monitors were African.

The small proportion of properly trained teachers partly accounts for a high rate of failures, but it is not the only cause. Portuguese is the only language of instruction allowed. As from pre-primary, African children have first to learn Portuguese, and are thus at a great disadvantage as compared with Portuguese children. The higher rates of failure occur in the initial grades. Statistics for Angola are not available but those for Mozambique show a pre-primary failure rate of 67.1 per cent as against an average failure rate of 57.8 per cent.

However, transfer from pre-primary to first grade does not depend exclusively on proficiency in Portuguese. As a United Nations document points out: "Recent events suggest however that an African child who is already 7 years old, who speaks Portuguese





fluently and can count in Portuguese, may not be able to enter first grade as a Portuguese child would but may have to go through the pre-primary class, where he will be "made to acquire the social habits necessary for attending common schools with the same success as children from a European type of environment."

Of all students enrolled in Angola in 1967-70, 4.4 per cent completed primary education, i.e. passed the final examination of the fourth grade. The highest percentage (9.58 per cent) was in Luanda, the lowest in Cuando-Cubango (1.96 per cent).

The planners themselves comment: "The conclusion does not vindicate the system. Most of the population (and nearly all the rural population) attend only the first two, or at most three, grades, leaving school with only the sketchiest of knowledge, rudimentary to such a degree that within a short while they fall back into illiteracy; and the consequences for the economy are those that result from the almost total unproductivity

of the investment involved."

Most Africans are debarred by selective processes from access to any education beyond primary level. Of 444,983 Africans being educated in Mozambique 439,974 were at primary level.

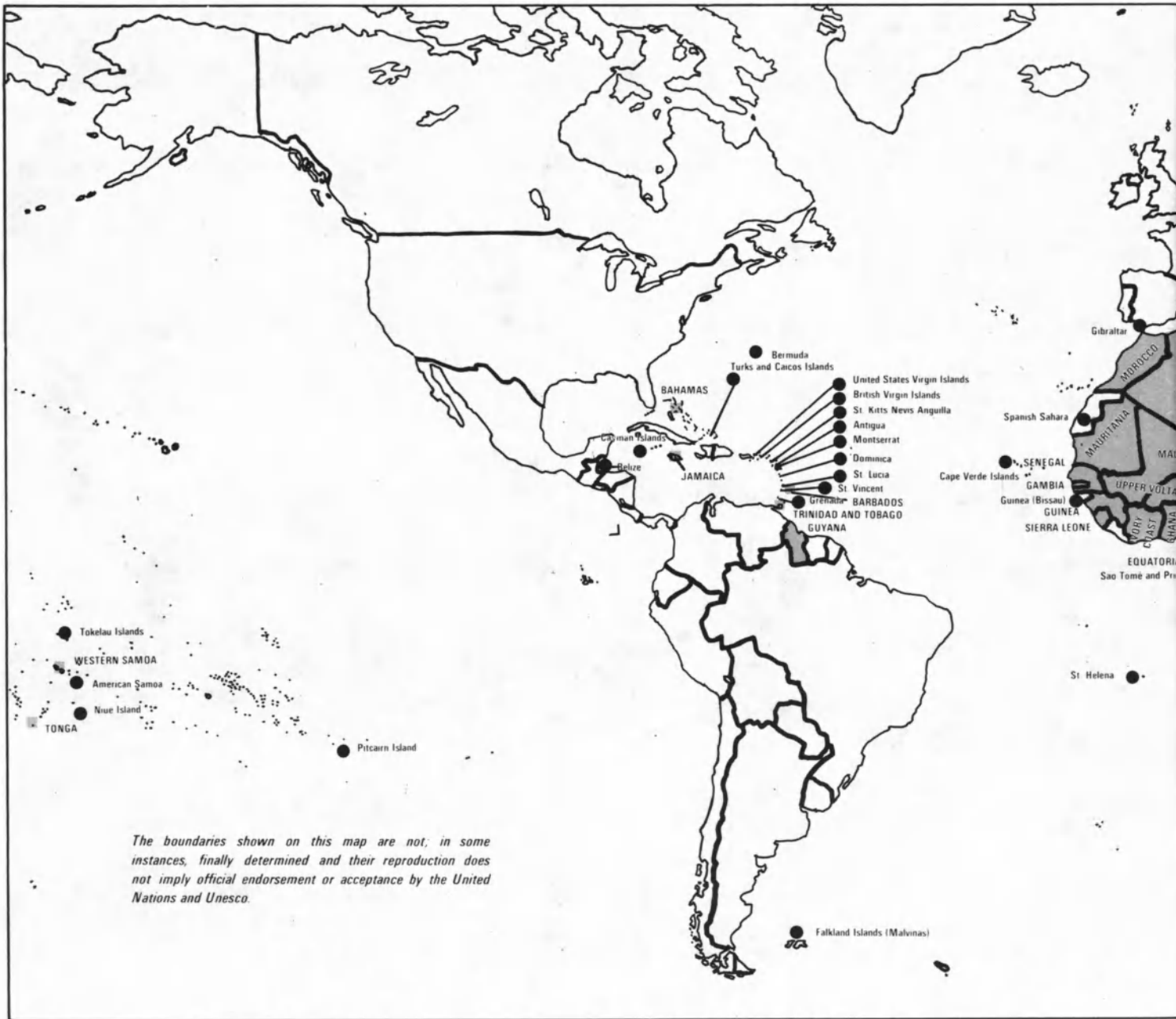
Post-primary education is mainly technical and occupational, its object being to produce more skilled Africans. Figures for Mozambique show that at secondary level in 1966-67, 70.2 per cent of the 4,157 Africans were attending technical or occupational schools and only 29.8 per cent academic schools, whereas most Europeans attended academic schools.

The position is prejudiced still further by the fact that facilities are available in only a very few places, usually not very accessible to most Africans. There is a strong concentration of schools and pupils in a few districts and particularly in Luanda; in 1970-71, 87.46 per cent of all secondary first grade students lived in eight of Angola's fifteen districts, with 38.79 per cent of them living in Luanda.

We have already seen from the figures for Mozambique that there is a high rate of failure at primary school. The figures for Angola show a rate of failure in first cycle secondary of 40 per cent.

University education in Angola and Mozambique is token with only 1,402 students in 1969-70, in Angola. Mozambique (1968-69) had 1,145 students of whom 33 completed their studies. Courses most attended were engineering and medicine (75.94 per cent of students in Angola in 1968-69). Courses providing training for agronomists, veterinarians and social service (which would be very important for rural people and rural development) are less well attended mainly because of the poor prospects open to those who qualify.

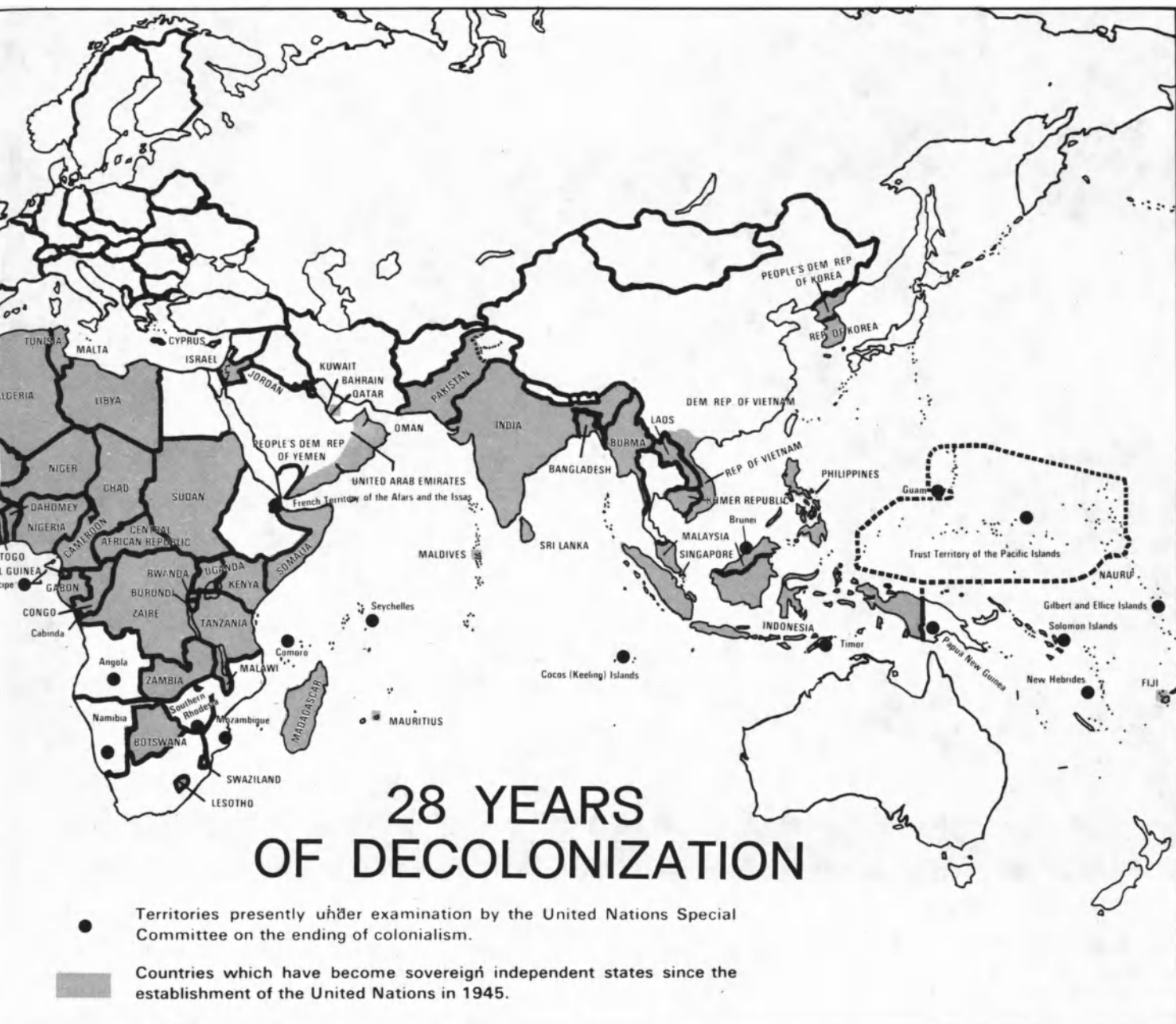
In Mozambique, in 1966-67, of 614 students 9 were Africans. In 1967-68, of a total of 748 students, 8 were Africans (5 studying medicine and 3 engineering), corresponding to 1.1 per cent of the total; 83.5 per cent were whites. Among other obstacles, few



# Colonialism neo-colonialism and decolonization

by  
**Mohammad  
Hakim Aryubi**

**MOHAMMAD HAKIM ARYUBI** was rapporteur of the U.N. Special Committee on Decolonization in 1972 when he was First Secretary of the Afghanistan Delegation to the United Nations. The Committee of 24, as the Special Committee is also known, was set up in 1961 by the U.N. General Assembly to study progress made in applying the General Assembly's Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The text published here is based on the report of the Special Committee for 1972.



## 28 YEARS OF DECOLONIZATION

● Territories presently under examination by the United Nations Special Committee on the ending of colonialism.

■ Countries which have become sovereign independent states since the establishment of the United Nations in 1945.

Based on a United Nations map

**O**N December 14, 1960, the United Nations General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority and without a single negative vote the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Assembly declared that:

"The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

During the decade following the adoption of the Declaration, some 30 dependent territories with a total population of approximately 60 million have attained the goals set forth in the Declaration; many of these formerly dependent territories have become Member States of the United Nations.

It was recognized, however, that some peoples were still deprived of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Many of these peoples inhabited small and often isolated territories, where, due primarily to the paucity of human and natural resources, decolonization required a particular solution in each case.

Some 18 million, however, lived under regimes which offered them very little hope, if any, of early or peaceful emancipation. In many of these territories, repressive measures, including armed aggression, continued to be taken against the inhabitants and their national liberation movements.

On October 12, 1970, shortly before the tenth anniversary of the Declaration, the U.N. General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority the Programme of Action for the full implementation of the Declaration.

The concept of inalienable rights of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence was thus expanded to include recognition of their inherent right to struggle "by all necessary means at their disposal" against colonial powers which suppressed by force their aspirations for freedom and independence.

The General Assembly recommended that Member States as well as the specialized agencies and other United Nations organizations should render all necessary moral and material assistance to the peoples engaged in the struggle to attain freedom and independence.

Despite the adoption of the Programme the process of decolonization in certain territories continues to make agonizingly slow progress.

The cause of the present impasse lies in the open defiance by the colonialist and racist powers con-





Photos Mike McGeorge © Parimage, Paris

## DECOLONIZATION (Continued)

cerned of the relevant United Nations resolutions and in the refusal of certain States, particularly the major military allies and trading partners of these powers, to co-operate with the United Nations in implementing the recommendations and solutions prescribed in those resolutions.

The Government of Portugal continues to deny the principle of self-determination as defined by the United Nations. Portugal instead has undertaken to intensify its military operations against the peoples in the territories struggling to liberate themselves from its rule, resorting to the bombing of civilians and the destruction of villages and property and to the use of napalm and chemical substances against these peoples.

In doing so, Portuguese armed forces have on several occasions violated the territorial integrity of African States sharing common borders with the three territories, once again underlining the dangers inherent in the escalation of military operations with the aim of suppressing liberation movements.

Indeed, a report of the Special

Mission which visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) bore ample testimony to the gravity of the situation and a consequential threat to peace in the region as a whole, as a result of the further intensification of Portugal's military operations and other colonialist measures (see page 20).

In the case of Namibia, a territory for which the United Nations is directly responsible, the challenge to the authority and prestige of the United Nations is specially flagrant, for the Government of South Africa persists in its refusal to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations and continues its illegal occupation and administration of the territory, extending to Namibia its inhuman policies of apartheid and racial discrimination.

In the meantime, encouraged by South Africa, exploitation of Namibia's natural resources by foreign economic and other interests continues at an increasing pace. All sectors of Namibia's economy are almost exclusively controlled by these interests.

The International Court of Justice, on June 21, 1971, not only confirmed the

illegality of South Africa's continued presence in Namibia, but affirmed that Member States are under an obligation to recognize the illegality of that presence and administration. Thus, all States should, as a matter of urgency, take effective economic and other measures to ensure the immediate withdrawal of the South African presence from Namibia.

As regards the problems of decolonization in the remaining dependent territories, the majority of which are small territories with particular problems arising from their small size and population, geographic isolation and limited economic resources, progress has been too little and too slow.

In the majority of these territories, economic, social and educational advancement has fallen far short of the expectations arising from the obligation which the administering powers assumed under the relevant provisions of the U.N. Charter. Indeed, from many territories there are reports of injustice and maltreatment of the inhabitants through alienation of their land, exploitation of natural resources against their interests or discriminatory

## The controversial dam in Mozambique

A project for the building of a giant dam by the Portuguese authorities at Cabora Basso in Mozambique has been under way for several years. In 1970, the U.N. General Assembly condemned the Cabora Basso project as "contrary to the vital interests of the people of Mozambique." A year later the General Assembly called on States "whose companies are participants in the construction of the Cabora Basso project to withdraw their support from the scheme and put an end to the participation of their companies." According to the United Nations Special Committee, the vast complex of the Cabora Basso dam, due to be flooded in 1974, could permit more than a million white settlers to move into the area and constitute a serious obstacle to the future liberation of Mozambique. Despite this, work continues at Cabora Basso (photo left) under the protection of the Portuguese army (right, a bulldozer accompanied by a mine-detecting squad).



labour practices and working conditions.

U.N. Member States strongly condemn once again the activities of the military and political alliance of South Africa, Portugal and the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia aimed at suppressing militarily the right of the peoples in the territories under their domination to self-determination and independence, and demand the immediate cessation of all such activities.

The United Nations is fully aware of the urgent need of the peoples in the colonial territories, particularly in the liberated areas of some of those territories, and of their national liberation movements for international assistance, especially for aid in education, training, health and nutrition.

Recognition by the United Nations of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples for freedom and independence calls for the extension by U.N. specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the U.N. of all necessary moral and material assistance to the national liberation movements in those territories, especially in liberated areas. ■

## U.N. family aid for African refugees and freedom-fighters

The United Nations and Unesco are not the only organizations of the U.N. family giving aid to African peoples fighting for their independence, in particular to refugees from territories under Portuguese rule. By the end of 1972, the High Commission for Refugees, in collaboration with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, had spent over eight million dollars on aid to refugees from Portuguese-held territories. This sum helped to meet medical and educational needs and to provide roads, bridges and equipment for the refugee settlement areas. Aid worth 1.5 million dollars was allocated in 1973.

UNICEF in 1972 provided over 780,000 dollars for refugee mothers and children in six African host countries (Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia, Senegal, Zaire, Guinea). FAO and the World Food Programme have given food and technical aid for clearing land and planting crops to a value of five million dollars. In collaboration with the Organization of African Unity, ILO provides grants to enable refugees to learn trades of all kinds.

# The United Nations versus the world's 'last colonial empire'

*Continued from page 11*

change in the Government in Portugal in late 1968 led to another appeal for its co-operation.

But in September 1969, the Secretary-General of the United Nations declared that the attitude of the Portuguese government: "remains the crucial obstacle to peace in southern Africa and exacerbates the grave situation prevailing in that region."

At its November 1969 session the U.N. General Assembly welcomed the Manifesto of the Organization of African Unity on southern Africa. On the problem of the Portuguese Territories in Africa, the Manifesto states:

"In Mozambique and Angola and in so-called Portuguese Guinea, the basic problem is not racialism but a pretence that Portugal exists in Africa. Portugal is situated in Europe... No legislation passed by any parliament in Portugal can make Africa part of Europe...

"...The peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea... are demanding an acceptance of the principles of independence on the basis of majority rule, and for many years they called for discussions on this

issue. Only when their demand for talks was continually ignored did they begin to fight. Even now, if Portugal should change her policy and accept the principle of self-determination, we would urge the liberation movements to desist from their armed struggle and to co-operate in the mechanics of a peaceful transfer of power from Portugal to the peoples of the African territories."

The United Nations and its specialized agencies have continued to give the closest attention to the problem and have increased their aid and support to the peoples struggling for their independence. In November 1972 the U.N. General Assembly recognized the national liberation movements of Angola, of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and of Mozambique as the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of these territories.

Unesco is collaborating directly with the liberation movements in these territories, providing educational aid and technical assistance, etc. (see page 23).

Unesco's position has been summed

up by its Director-General, René Maheu. In October 1972, addressing the Unesco General Conference in Paris, he declared:

"Two States (Portugal and South Africa) have of their own accord withdrawn from Unesco because of the obvious incompatibility of their racist or colonialist policies with the ideals of Unesco and its action to promote human rights. The firmness shown towards these States by the General Conference is, in my opinion, fully justified since it is based on considerations of justice which are Unesco's *raison d'être*. Unesco is a militant organization. But this in no way means that we cannot hope—indeed fervently desire—that these peoples with their many remarkable talents and achievements in other fields, will reject the inhuman policies which for the time being have separated them from us and that they will soon rejoin us." ■

This report is essentially based on a publication of the Office of Public Information of the United Nations entitled "A Principle in Torment: The United Nations and Portuguese Administered Territories".

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## Education and discrimination in 'Portuguese' Africa

*Continued from page 27*

Africans can afford the basic annual university fee of 1,000 escudos, plus a further 400-650 escudos (depending on the course taken).

If we accept the claim of Portugal that Angola is a province of that country, then, in primary education, Angola not only falls far behind the advanced countries, but also behind some of the developing countries. The higher the level of education, the fewer enrolled. This trend accentuates if we consider the African population alone. Only a few get beyond primary level, and practically none get to university.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the new educational policy in the colonies (since the beginning of the 1960s) does not seek to advance the African population; that the considerable quantitative improvement during the sixties has not been at all levels, but only at the lowest, i.e. in primary education; that the standard now reached is still very low; that qualitative progress has been small, and particularly so with regard to the edu-

cation of the African population.

One may also conclude that Africans are still discriminated against in education by social and financial barriers, and that the access to education is made especially difficult at the secondary and higher levels; that there is practically no African participation in the scientific activities of the colonies; that the State has done practically nothing about research; and that the extent of the State's financial investment in education and science affords little evidence of a concern for education in the colonies and, hence, for the education of the African population.

Such efforts as Portugal made to provide education for Africans were imposed by the development needs of Portuguese colonialism itself, by the international situation, and in particular by the demonstration the liberation movements provided of an alternative to Portuguese domination.

Portugal did undoubtedly succeed in forming an African elite which, though few in numbers, provided an African

petty bourgeoisie, and encouraged African officials and managers of small scale business to ally themselves with Portugal. The need for such managers could lead to a neo-colonialist solution which could then be regarded as a "success" for Portuguese educational policy, but would certainly do little to improve the status of the African population.

Finally, we quote the Provincial Secretary for Education in Angola: "In the matter of relations between Europeans and coloured peoples, it cannot be denied that we are the only ones whose ideas and solutions have remained unaltered overseas since the very beginning. We have a mountain of irrefutable historical documents that prove this. Everything we have done... in regards to teaching and education, everywhere we have set foot, provides undeniable proof of this. Indeed, it is from what a civilizing nation does in regard to teaching and education overseas that the true nature of its intentions can be learnt."

*Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira*



## BOOKSHELF

### RECENT UNESCO BOOKS

#### ■ The Book Hunger

Edited by Ronald Barker and Robert Escarpit. Co-edition Unesco-Harrap, Paris, London, 1973, 155 pp. (22 F). (See inside back cover.)

#### ■ New Unesco Source Book for Science Teaching

A new, up-to-date edition reflecting modern approaches to science teaching. Figures, tables, illustrations. 1973, 270 pp., clothbound (32 F). (See inside back cover.)

#### ■ Possibilities and Limitations of Functional Literacy: the Iranian Experiment

By Pierre Furter (Educational Studies and Documents, new series No. 9). 1973, maps, tables, illustrations, 59 pp. (6 F).

#### ■ A Community School in Yugoslavia

By Stevan Bezdanov. Institute of Educational Research and Development, Belgrade. Unesco-I.B.E., 1973, 40 pp. (5 F).

#### ■ The Role of Culture in Leisure Time in New Zealand

By Bernard W. Smyth (In the series Studies and Documents on Cultural Policies), illustrated, 88 pp. (8 F).

#### ■ Educational Research in Five European Socialist Countries: A Survey 1972

Compiled by Cesar Birzea (No. 3 in the series Documents on Educational Research). Unesco Institute for Education (Hamburg). Bilingual: English-French, 1973, 198 pp. (13 F).

### OTHER BOOKS

#### ■ The Problem of Chemical and Biological Warfare

Vol. 2, CB Weapons Today  
Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Publishers: Almqvist and Wiksell, Stockholm; Humanities Press, New York; Paul Elek, London, 1973, 420 pp. (\$16.50, £7.50, approx).

#### ■ The Origins of MIRV SIPRI Research Report No. 9, August 1973

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Almqvist and Wiksell, Stockholm, 1973, 28 pp. (free of charge).

#### ■ Understanding Technology

By Charles Susskind. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1973, 163 pp. (\$6.95).

#### ■ Light Me a Candle (Literacy work among the women of Khuzistan)

By Rita Wiesinger-Ferris. Shakuntala Publishing House, Bombay, 1973, 199 pp.

#### ■ English Studies Today

5th series; Papers read at the 8th Conference of the National Association of University Professors of English, Istanbul, August 1972, Matbaasi, Istanbul, 1973.

# UNESCO NEWSROOM

## Arms costs top spending on education

The world spends far more each year on arms than it does on education, reports Unesco in a special study prepared for the 34th International Conference on Education held recently in Geneva. In 1970, \$197,000 million was allocated to military spending against \$161,000 million for education. Arms budgets represented 6.4 per cent of the world's gross national product and education 5.2 per cent.

## World Development Information Day

October 24, United Nations Day, was also marked this year for the first time as World Development Information Day. Proposed by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, French Minister of Finance, at the Third U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, in Santiago, last year, the suggestion was unanimously adopted and later endorsed by the U.N. General Assembly. Mr. Giscard d'Estaing suggested that all the world's information media should devote programmes to "a description in human terms of the inadequacy of our development effort", and that schools should devote lessons to the subject.

## Children unite to save the whale

An international children's campaign to save whales has been launched by "Project Jonah", an international society devoted to the protection and study of whales. Over 2 million whales have been killed over the past 50 years, half a million during the 1960s alone, and several species are in danger of extinction. The children's campaign aims at a total ban or, at least, a 10 year moratorium on all commercial whaling.

## 'Cultures' Unesco's new quarterly

The first issue of Unesco's new international quarterly "Cultures", published jointly with Les Editions de la Bâconnière, Boudry-Neuchâtel, Switzerland, takes "Music and Society" as its central theme, examining the place of sound and music in contemporary life. Interviews with Pierre Boulez, Yehudi Menuhin, Ravi Shankar, Luciano Berio and Andrew Lloyd Webber and articles on music in the environment and music as communication complete this exciting first number of "Cultures". Future issues will deal with "Aspects of Popular Culture", "Culture in Asia", "Music and Cultures" and "History through the Cinema".

Annual subscription: 75 French francs. Order from your nearest Unesco sales agent (see page 35) who will quote you rates in your local currency.

## International literacy awards for 1973

International prizes for outstanding work in literacy teaching were recently awarded to educators in Chile and Tanzania. The 1973 Mohammed Reza Pahlavi Prize, donated

by the Shahinshah of Iran, goes to Emma Espina, Sergio Arevalo and Arnulfo Rubilar for developing new teaching methods used in Chile and now being tried out in Panama and Bolivia. The 1973 Nadezhda K. Krupskaya Prize, sponsored by the U.S.S.R., was won by the West Lake Region literacy project in Tanzania, where 250,000 persons have been made literate during the past three years. The awards were presented by Unesco's Director-General, Mr. René Maheu, at a ceremony in New Delhi on International Literacy Day, September 8.

## Flashes...

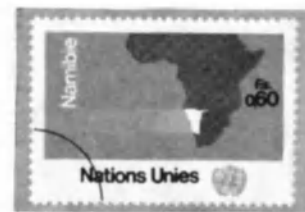
■ Unesco is to award three-month fellowships in education for international co-operation and peace to six teachers participating in the Unesco Associated Schools Project.

■ The German Democratic Republic has joined the Universal Copyright Convention and the Unesco Convention on the Struggle Against Discrimination in Education.

■ The United Nations Development Programme awarded 6,400 fellowships and sent 11,000 experts on assignments to the developing countries in 1972.

■ Road accidents killed over 250,000 persons and injured 7.5 million in 1971, says a recent U.N. report. 45% of deaths occurred in Europe, 28% in N. America and 27% in other regions.

■ The percentage of the world's illiterate population decreased from 44 to 34 per cent between 1950 and 1970, but population increases raised the number of illiterates from 700 million to 783 million, reports Unesco.



## NEW U.N. STAMP FOR NAMIBIA

The United Nations Postal Administration has just issued a new commemorative stamp for "Namibia", formerly South West Africa. U.N. General Assembly resolutions of 1966 and 1967 terminated South Africa's mandate over the Territory and appointed a U.N. Council to administer the Territory until independence was achieved. South Africa has ignored the U.N. action and continues, illegally, to administer the Territory (see page 8, first column). The new stamps are printed in denominations of 8 cents, 15 cents and 0.60 Swiss francs.

# Letters to the Editor

## WASTEFUL, DESTRUCTIVE TRAWL-FISHING

Sir,

There are not many things that I can write or talk about with authority. But I do know quite a bit about trawl-fishing. I was trawling from 1928 to 1953 (war years excepted).

Trawling is a wilful, wasteful, destructive method of fishing. I can quote many personal experiences to prove it.

Even as a boy, I was appalled at the fish market by the utter disregard of officials, trawler owners, fish merchants and others to the fact that tons of immature fish, lots of them never having had the chance to spawn even once, were being landed every day.

Tons of halibut, 4 lbs to 11 lbs in weight were landed in the early 1920s at Grimsby in England. Ten years later all the line-fishing boats were converted to trawling because there were no large halibut to catch. When mature, these fish weigh up to 400 lbs.

I plead with you to make out a case for outlawing trawl-fishing by all nations, at the Conference to be held at Santiago, Chile, next year.

Twice, at the eleventh hour, the fishing industry has been saved by the outbreak of war. In the spawning season the spawn that has already been "shot" is destroyed by the trawls churning up the mud and sand on the sea bed.

When line-fishing you can control the size of fish that you catch by the size of hook you use. Seine-netting for such fish as plaice, dab, sole, brill, etc. is better than trawling for them. The "Seiners" can only work "fine" ground. Therefore the fish can find some refuge in the rough ground.

Drift nets for catching herring, etc. is the only sane way. The small are

able to pass through the net. But not so with trawl and purse nets. These scoop up everything.

Henri West  
Cleethorpes, U.K.

## ABSO-LUTE-LY WRONG

Sir,

A correction is needed for the caption of the glazed faience (presumably; not earthenware) bowl shown on page 32 of the June 1973 issue of the "Unesco Courier". The two objects between the eyes are not lutes, but are the hieroglyph representing the heart-and-windpipe which stands for the word *nefer*, "good", for an unknown reason.

This is one of the commonest Egyptian hieroglyphs and is often erroneously identified as a lute by the layman. The eyes themselves are the eyes of the god Horus, human eyes with the markings of those of a falcon; in any case, a nose would be out of place.

I am sure that the bowl is of blue faience and an Egyptian import (not of local Syrian manufacture). The hieroglyphs would read something like: "The wadjet-eye (the eye of Horus) [brings or is] every goodness"; there is no verb. The repetition of the signs is the equivalent of the superlative.

The Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art found the best and earliest (and at the time, the only known) actual example of an Egyptian lute, though lutes are often shown in wall paintings.

Nora Scott  
Curator Emeritus  
Department of Egyptian Art  
Metropolitan Museum of Art  
New York

## TASTY MORSEL

Sir,

I am 13-years old and live in Siberia, U.S.S.R. I must say that I find the 16-page children's supplement about Nicolaus Copernicus in your April 1973 issue just wonderful. It was so easy to follow unlike those given in our children's encyclopaedias. However, it makes one realize fully the meaning of Copernicus' discoveries for the world. I literally swallowed the sixteen pages devoted to this great man.

I feel that your magazine helped me to get to know more about Copernicus. When you write about other world celebrities, I urge you not to forget the younger generation. We teenagers are no less ardent readers of the "Courier" than grown-ups.

Galya Shipitsyna  
Pervomaisky Township  
Chita Region, U.S.S.R.

## FROM THE OCEANS TO THE HEAVENS

Sir,

Your impressive issue on Underwater Archaeology (May 1972) announced the publication of a Unesco book on the subject. I would like to suggest the publication of two more books. One book would present well-known underwater archaeologists telling about their most famous digs, the instruments they used and their experiences. The

second would be a detailed account of historic cities such as Port Royal which have been swallowed by the oceans.

Also I was impressed by your April 1973 issue dealing with Nicolaus Copernicus, where there was a supplement for children by Jean-Claude Pecker. I think this is a good idea for all "Unesco Courier" issues.

R. Sri-pathmanathan (aged 12)  
Kandy, Sri-Lanka

## PUSHKIN YEAR

Sir,

The summer of 1974 will see celebrations on the occasion of the 175th anniversary of the birth of Alexander S. Pushkin, the great Russian poet who also won a name for himself in world literature.

This memorable date is going to be observed not only in this country but surely throughout the world. Let year 1974 be Pushkin's year.

No doubt Unesco will also participate in major international events to mark the occasion.

Pyotr. S. Filatov  
Vuzuluk Township  
Orenburg Region, U.S.S.R.

## IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF COPERNICUS

Sir,

In his article "In the Footsteps of Copernicus" ("Unesco Courier", April 1973) Jerzy Bukowski makes Copernicus out to be a Polish astronomer. I strongly deny this assertion. I wish to publicly refute this, in my view, flagrant distortion of history.

Jürgen Dibke  
Berlin

## MORAL POLLUTION

Sir,

Your January 1973 issue on problems of the environment made fascinating reading, particularly Miguel Ozario de Almeida's article "The Myth of Ecological Equilibrium". Without closing his eyes to the real problems of the environment and of pollution, he makes short work of several Neo-Malthusian aberrations of the Zero-growth type, demographic as well as economic.

But what about another equally serious form of pollution — moral pollution.

An example of topical interest in many countries, as an especially serious form of moral pollution, are the campaigns for the legalization of abortion. These campaigns run directly counter to the 1959 United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Children, which states: "...the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth..."

I think you should remind readers of this Declaration, voted unanimously by the U.N. General Assembly on November 20, 1959. Its provisions should be effectively applied in all countries.

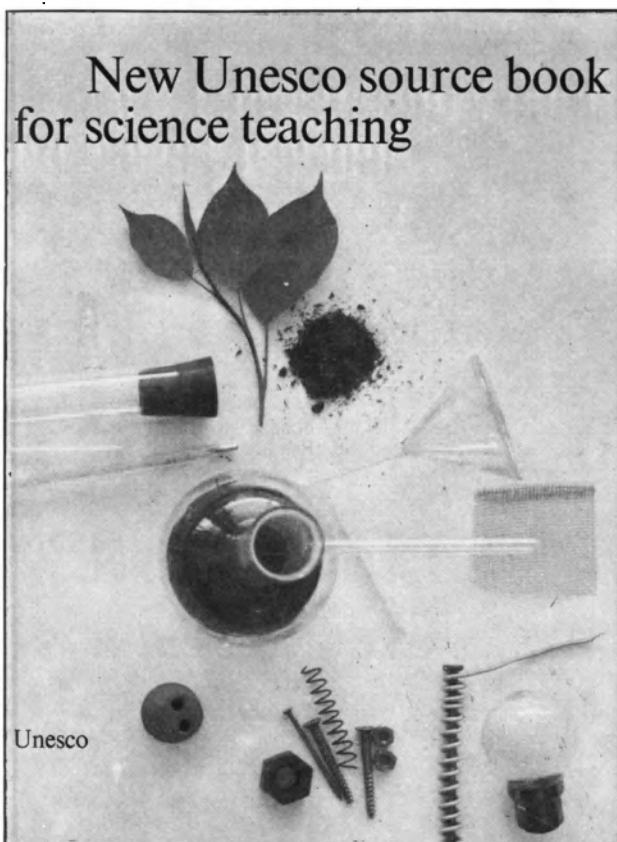
Michel de Guibert  
medical student,  
Neuilly-sur-Seine, France

## UNICEF GREETING CARDS



This year's UNICEF greeting cards, sold to aid the world's needy children, are now available at UNICEF sales points throughout the world. They offer a selection of 31 attractive designs and an engagement calendar for 1974 with 52 illustrations. This UNICEF card reproduces an 18th century painted tile, "Guitar Player", from the Museo de Cerámica de Barcelona (Spain).

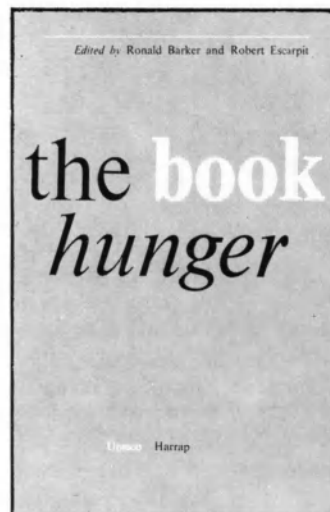
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## Rhythm in ebony

The vast Makonde plateau spanning the frontier between Mozambique to the south and Tanzania to the north has given its name to the East African people who inhabit it. The Makonde have contributed many fighters for the Mozambique Liberation Front Movement. Other Makonde have been forced into exile in Tanzania. The Makonde are renowned for their sculpture in wood. Modern works, such as this stylized ebony head, remarkable for its balance, fluidity and movement, reveal the high artistic originality of the Makonde culture (see story and photos page 17).