In this report I have attempted to give only scattered impressions and observations growing out of my recent trip to Africa which lasted about five weeks. In addition to spending a few days each in Algiers, Dar es Salaam, Nairobi and Dakar, I was in Addis Ababa for one week attending the conference of the Heads of African States. I spent the longest time in the Congo, both in Leopoldville and in a number of villages along the Congo-Angola border, in order to study the Angolan refugee problem. I wrote an article which appears in the June issue of *Africa Today* on my major observations regarding the African summit conference in Addis Ababa.

Since this report must be quite limited, I will first make observations on two dominant impressions growing out of this trip: (1) the desire and the prospects for unity in Africa as reflected at the Addis Ababa conference; and (2) the intensification of the struggle for independence in southern Africa. Then I will report on some of my observations on the refugee problem, both in the Congo and elsewhere. Finally, I will make passing observations on particular countries and projects.

1. African Unity

The main purpose of the conference at Addis Ababa was to draft a charter and to set up an Organization of African Unity. With 30 of 32 Heads of State from African countries present, had something concrete not come out of the deliberations, the conference would have been a terrible failure. Virtually all the independent African countries made quite clear that they wanted the conference to be a success. A meeting of the Casablanca powers (Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, and the United Arab Republic) which had been scheduled to take place in Morocco prior to the Addis Ababa conference was cancelled. Any lobbying which took place prior to the summit meeting was done quietly and informally. In spite of this, when I arrived in Addis Ababa the day before the official opening of the conference, a pessimistic air prevailed. The foreign ministers of the independent states had been meeting for a whole week and had not gotten very far. Seasoned observers of African affairs speculated that the conference would only succeed in setting up a committee to draft a charter which would be presented to a future meeting.

This atmosphere of defeatism changed the first day that the Heads of State met. Perhaps the turning point was the address of the Emperor of Ethiopia calling for agreement on a charter that would unite all the states in a continent-wide organization. These same sentiments were echoed in the speeches of almost every Head of State.

President Nkrumah's plan, outlined in a book published the week before the conference began, calling for the establishment of a single government with a single parliament for the whole continent was not seriously discussed in the open meetings except by Nkrumah himself. Nkrumah's strategy seemed almost certainly to be
limited to propagandistic value rather than being a realistic program designed for immediate adoption. Virtually all the Heads of State, including the leaders of the other Casablanca powers, said that complete political unity could not be established in a day or at a single conference.

The official name of the organization set up by the conference is the "Organization of African Unity." No doubt, one of the primary considerations in adopting this name was not to have a title with the initials "O.A.S." (Organization of African States) which could have been confused in the political alphabet with either the Organization of American States or the French Secret Army Organization of pre-independence Algerian fame. The Heads of State will meet in an assembly once a year to formulate basic policy of the organization. The foreign ministers will meet in council twice a year to carry out policy decisions.

It was generally felt by observers, newspapermen, and indeed members of delegations, that the conference had been successful and that its importance for the future was greater than most had hoped for.

What might have been divisive issues were never openly discussed. Most leaders in their prepared remarks stressed that if border disputes were to be avoided, there must be an immediate acceptance of existing frontiers. Only the Somali-Ethiopian border dispute came up for public attention when the Somali Prime Minister alluded to the long-standing conflict. It was perhaps the most obvious rhubarb of the conference. The generally expressed attitude toward foreign aid was that it should be accepted but should not be allowed to become a divisive factor in the relations of African states. Furthermore, it was felt that the former colonial powers owed a debt to the people whom they had exploited for so many years, and that foreign aid was one way of helping to pay the debt.

By the time the conference drew to a close, all those attending were convinced that it was a truly historic occasion. It was not assumed that problems between African states would by any means come to an end, but it was felt that an organization had been established within which African problems could be dealt with maturely and peacefully. A little later in this report I will make brief mention of the very hopeful groundwork being laid for the establishment of an East African Federation.

2. The Struggle for Freedom in Southern Africa

Almost everywhere one goes in Africa these days, major emphasis is given to the struggle for freedom, especially that in South Africa and the Portuguese territories. This was a major theme at the Addis Ababa conference. Prime Minister Ben Bella of Algeria, in a very short but most effective speech, declared that 10,000 Algerian volunteers were prepared to go to fight in Angola. He added that African states "must die a little" for the freedom of southern Africa, and said it was more important to establish a "bloodbank" in Africa than a development bank. Prime Minister Obote of Uganda offered his country as a training base for freedom fighters in southern Africa. A nine-nation committee whose principal task will be to administer funds contributed by the African states to help carry on an effective struggle against white and colonial domination in southern Africa was established and will have its permanent headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

There are a good many centers in Africa now where there is major representation of African nationalist organizations engaged in the struggle for freedom in southern Africa. Algeria is becoming an important center because Ben Bella's government is committed to supporting the struggle by every possible means and is
giving concrete assistance both in terms of funds and arms. The two major nationalist organizations from South Africa and the two major organizations from Angola both have offices in Algiers, and a Mozambique organization is opening an office there now. Southern Rhodesia is also making arrangements to establish an office there. The Government of the United Arab Republic has set aside a building in Cairo called the African Association which houses representatives from South and South West Africa, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Mozambique and the British High Commission Territories. Tanganyika's position as the southernmost haven of freedom for political refugees from South and South West Africa and Mozambique makes Dar es Salaam one of the most important centers of nationalist activity. The Government helps to support the offices of nationalist organizations there. It is a particularly important center for the Mozambique groups and the Zimbabgwe African Peoples Union, the now banned nationalist organization of Southern Rhodesia.

The newest center for nationalist activity is Leopoldville which has long served the seven Angolan nationalist liberation movements. While I was in Leopoldville, Ntadaninge Sithole of Southern Rhodesia, Sam Nujoma of the South West Africa Peoples Organization and Paul Gumane of UDENAKO (Mozambique) were there waiting for Prime Minister Adoula to set aside a building in which their organizations would all have offices. This building has been opened since I left Leopoldville on June 13th. It also houses the Government of the Republic of Angola in Exile headed by Holden Roberto. The Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa will also have an office in this building.

In West Africa, Accra and Conakry maintain close contact with nationalist groups. The liberation movements of Portuguese Guinea maintain offices in Dakar, Senegal, and in Conakry, Guinea. Military action against the Portuguese regime originates from the Portuguese Guinea nationalists in the Republic of Guinea rather than from Senegal.

Emphasis in the struggle for freedom in southern Africa has very definitely shifted from the non-violence of the All African Peoples Conference in 1958, to violence today. From talks I had with leaders of both the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa at several different places in Africa, it is clear that both groups are planning sabotage, and are in the process of making arrangements for training men in guerrilla tactics. I assume there are some South Africans already being trained in Algeria.

It is generally assumed that active fighting will get started in Mozambique before many months have elapsed. Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, President of FRELIMO (Liberation Front of Mozambique) whose headquarters are in Dar es Salaam, was in Algiers prior to the Heads of State conference and was undoubtedly arranging for some Mozambicans to be trained. Relatively heavy fighting has been taking place for the last several months in Portuguese Guinea and the rebels are in control of a sizeable stretch of territory adjacent to the Republic of Guinea. I got this information while I was in Dakar, not only from African nationalists, but also from Senegalese and even seasoned American observers who had recently been inside Portuguese Guinea.

The most spectacular and visible sign of preparation for violence in the struggle for freedom is among the Angolans in the Congo. Last August, the Adoula Government turned over a military base some 70 miles west of Thysville to the Angolan National Liberation Army. I visited the base in the company of Sithole, Nujoma and Gumane. I have had no experience of military life myself and am not a competent judge of what is good training and what is not. There seemed to be about
1500 men involved in the three to four months training period. The Commander-in-Chief and other officers at the base were among the 32 who last year had gone through a lengthy military training period in Algeria.

I was struck by the discipline that I observed among the men at the camp. Our arrival was unexpected and therefore the usual preparations for visitors had not been made. And yet, within half an hour after our arrival, close to 1,000 men had been called together by the bugle and put on a military drill for our benefit. I have no doubt that the representatives of Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique and South West Africa were making arrangements for recruits from their countries to join the trainees at this base camp. I would guess that since the fighting in Katanga has come to an end, more arms are now being supplied by the Congo Government than by Algeria or other African countries.

The men who participated in the drill were all dressed in uniform. A few of them did not wear shoes, but virtually all of them wore sneakers. It seemed that only about 10 per cent of them were armed. I was told that approximately 1500 men had left the camp not too long before and had gone into Angola and undoubtedly most of the available arms had gone in with them. All the signs I saw would point to a speeding up of the fighting inside Angola in the next few weeks.

The actual and the planned violence both in the Portuguese territories and South and South West Africa is not something that the African nationalists themselves are seeking. They know that they will suffer greater losses than the governments they oppose. Lack of any sign of compromise by the authorities has led to this period of violence. One can only hope that before the struggle goes on for too long the South African and Portuguese authorities will recognize that there is no solution to the problem of southern Africa until an effective political voice is given to the majority of the people.

3. Refugees

Volumes could be written on the problems of political refugees in Africa today. The two principal refugee centers are Tanganyika and the Congo. In Dar es Salaam the Government has provided housing for about 100 political refugees from South and South West Africa, from Mozambique and from Southern Rhodesia. A center has been established toward the outskirts of the city. I visited this site and talked with several South and South West Africans who had been there for some months. They have virtually no money and not very much to keep them occupied. They can't return to their countries, and most of them don't have any prospect of obtaining employment in Tanganyika. Some of them are hoping to get scholarships to continue secondary school and to go to the United States or various European countries, both East and West. There is a great deal of time in the refugee barracks for bitterness and frustrations to be deepened.

Eduardo Mondlane told me there is an onrush of new refugees from Mozambique into southern Tanganyika. It was impossible to obtain reliable figures on the number of refugees that are supposed to be pouring in. During ordinary times, there are many Mozambicans in Tanganyika. I was told that there were approximately 60,000 employed in the sisal plantations. One can expect that as rebel activity becomes better organised in Mozambique there will be a problem in Tanganyika not dissimilar to that of the Angolans in the Congo.

I spent about 10 days in the Congo, and virtually all of this time with Dr. Ian Gilchrist who, supported by the American Committee on Africa, is doing medical work among the Angolan refugees. He makes his headquarters in Leopoldville.
at the S.A.R.A. (Service for the Assistance of Angolan Refugees) center which is located in the same block of Leopoldville as the nationalist organization, the Union of the Populations of Angola. There are supposed to be some 30,000 Angolan refugees in Leopoldville itself. At UPA headquarters and on the grounds of S.A.R.A. there are always about 200 refugees. One or two buildings are used as dormitories, and as many as 50 of the refugees may be lying side by side on the floor of former one-family dwelling places. Every porch in the several buildings of the block provides a resting place for refugees during the night. Cooking is done over open wood fires on the grounds outside these buildings, just as if it were a rural village. I was amazed at how clean and orderly the place was despite the presence of so many people. I was told by UPA officers that 10,000 Angolan refugees have registered at their headquarters since January 1st of this year. (Between June and October 1962, 50,000 refugees came into the Congo from Angola and the estimated total number in the Congo at the present time is 220,000.)

Every morning the clinic is open for all those who want any kind of treatment, and I was told that an average of 50 come each day. There are three doctors and seven male nurses on duty. Dr. Gilchrist takes periodic trips of some 150 to 200 miles from Leopoldville south to the Angolan border every few weeks to do what he can to meet the medical needs of people who cannot get to Leopoldville or other urban centers.

We spent a few days on the Angolan frontier near Matadi, the major port city of the Congo. The Congo authorities told me there were about 15,000 refugees in this area. We visited one village whose population of 350 Congolese before the Angolan revolt began in March 1961 has climbed to about 7,000. Dr. Gilchrist said that when he is travelling into these heavily populated refugee areas he opens up the clinic as early as he can in the morning and keeps going until about midnight. People stand in line all day waiting their turn for diagnosis and treatment. There are nurses on duty in many of these refugee villages and supplies which are shipped through the American Committee on Africa and other agencies in the United States are sent from the headquarters in Leopoldville to the villages to provide the necessary medical assistance.

Even on the Congo side of the border these days the fighting in Angola seems quite close. In the village of Soyo near Matadi we were told that just the day before we arrived, two people had been killed when they were walking to their fields on the Angola side. They had stepped on land mines planted by the Portuguese. Many of the people still till the soil in Angola and walk across the border to the Congo to spend the night. As we were leaving Soyo, we were stopped by some excited people who took us to one of the nearby mud huts. Lying on the dirt floor inside was a man with a shawl over his head. When the shawl was lifted, we could see at a glance that he had been horribly wounded. His eyes seemed to be blinded, and his body was pockmarked with the fragments of a land mine. He had been wounded the day before, but had managed to crawl across the border. His companion had been killed. Dr. Gilchrist could give only a little emergency aid and we then took the man to the government hospital in Matadi.

On another occasion we stopped at a roadside market to purchase some fruit from Angolan refugees. We were told there was a man with a wounded leg only a short distance from us. We went to the place where the man was located only to find that his leg was already in a cast and probably was on the way to mending. He had been injured when the Portuguese bombed an Angolan village.

Dr. Gilchrist is doing an amazingly effective job among the Angolans. He speaks very good Umbundu, a dialect of southern Angola. He also speaks Portuguese
and French. He is looked upon by the Angolans as one of them, in spite of the fact
that he is white. Certainly support for the continuation of his work is one of the
most important things that the American Committee on Africa can do at this juncture.

I spent some time with Dr. Gilchrist at the Mission Center of David Grenfell, a British Baptist who worked for 29 years in Angola before he was ousted by the Portuguese authorities. He is one of the most devoted and sensitive men I ever met. The Portuguese forced him to leave Angola carrying only as much as he could take with him. All British Baptist work in Angola has come to an end. Grenfell carries on at the center of Kibentele. A constant stream of refugees comes to his place because they know of him. As many as 10,000 rations are issued every week to refugees who have recently come out of Angola. Ration cards are distributed to the newest arrivals so that the small amount of food will go as far as possible and will be given to those who most need it. A brick oven has been built and thousands of biscuits are baked every week and distributed to all the refugees who come. David Grenfell wept openly as he told me about the unprovoked violence against the Angolan people in the area where he was working after the revolt started on March 15, 1961. Although there had been no fighting and no revolt in that region, Portuguese troops came in and their planes bombed indiscriminately. Grenfell broke down as he was telling me about the hundreds of young men he had known who were picked up by Portuguese soldiers and shot on the spot or sent away never to be heard from again.

It is expected that the refugee problem will become more severe rather than less so as the war quickens its pace in Angola.

4. Miscellaneous

I will conclude this report with just a few miscellaneous observations without trying to go into detail.

a) I came across evidence of Peace Corps operations in quite a few places. The Peace Corps headquarters are in Ethiopia. There are about 2,000 volunteers in all of Africa working in 18 different countries -- and 270 of these are in Ethiopia. Most of the volunteers are teachers. The Peace Corps participants I met all seemed to be devoted young people. The projects appeared to be going very well and there was no major criticism. It is expected that the number of volunteers will increase substantially next year.

b) I arrived in Kenya on the day the new African government was sworn in and Kenyatta became Prime Minister. It was a day of great rejoicing. The Kenya Africa National Union had won an overwhelming election victory and its members constitute the government that will see in independence on December 12.

One of the most heartening developments has to do with plans for setting up an East African Federation to include Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, hopefully, within a week or two after Kenya accedes to independence. Tom Mboya as Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs is doing the major footwork in the negotiations among these four countries. So far, no major hitch has appeared. It appears that Kenyatta, as the respected "old man" will be the Head of State and that President Nyerere and Prime Minister Obote will be willing not to contest his position as top leader of a new government of some 25 million people. If this Federation does come through, the potential United Nations membership will be reduced by three, for one government will represent what otherwise would be four. Hopefully, this East African Federation will set the trend for what might happen in other parts of Africa as well.
c) Much remains to be done in the Congo. There is high unemployment. To be sure, the end of Katanga secession has made it possible to give major attention to the development process rather than focus on the unification problem. Elections are planned for next June. If Adoua hopes to remain at the head of the government, he will have to spend a lot of time between now and June politicking in order to build up a body of political support. At the present time he has no political movement of his own. He was chosen as Prime Minister, not because he was head of a particular political party, but because at one point he seemed the most likely person to maintain peace among contending parties. Consumer goods are in very short supply. It was almost impossible to find a light bulb in Leopoldville, for example, and when one was located, it cost the equivalent of $2.00 US money.

d) There are many problems in Algeria as the second year of independence begins. An estimated 2 million people are unemployed and the mass exodus of Frenchmen has been responsible for the critical shortage of technical advisers. There is much greater freedom of expression than one would find in many African countries. I was amazed in my private discussions at the freedom with which the government was criticized - seemingly without any hesitation whatsoever. The National Assembly, whose deliberations never seem to get too far, is not the effective body in the government at present. At the moment, the government operates essentially by decree. For example, a decree has made it illegal for Moslems to imbibe alcoholic beverages. I was told that some 60,000 homes formerly owned by French had been vacated and that Algerians have just moved in and taken over. The government has not yet worked out a comprehensive system for handling the disposition of former French private property, or for its equitable distribution. A system has been evolved for handling the farms and plantations under which the workers themselves choose their managers and make all necessary decisions. There is much more American aid than either Russian or Chinese coming into Algeria.

d) Emperor Haile Selassie is still very much in control of affairs in Ethiopia. No one seems seriously to question the fact that he will maintain his leadership of the country during the remainder of his lifetime. There are no political parties and no political movements in the ordinary sense of the term. Politics are essentially "palace politics," or maneuverings for political position and power on the part of the Church, the military, and the wealthy landowners. Many observers seem to feel that after the Emperor has passed on, there might very well be moves for significant change in Ethiopia, with power most likely to pass to the military. Most observers seem to feel that it would be some time before the mass of people are prepared to take a significant part in the politics of the country.