

Hansen's disease.'

'What in God's name is that?'

'Leprosy. He imagined that the small warts on his hands were the nodules, and found others on his skin, especially on the leg. The nurse told him they were nothing. Then he began to think he was losing the feeling in his fingers, and used to go around the house touching hot taps and cold taps, sunny window ledges and the wall of the refrigerator to make sure. He started wearing gloves and heavy-toed boots.'

'How do you know all this?'

'My brother told me. He's a doctor on the mine, and the Nigerian worked with him. Then he started to plan his life: he'd keep his job as long as he could, until he was found out. Then he'd have to go to a leprosarium. He thought he'd like to go to one in the Transvaal, run by the Dutch Reformed Church. He drew up lists of things to take, books, clothes and so on, and even wrote to book a place! . . .'

The stewardess's voice came over the intercom to warn us

that we were about to land. The rolling high country of Kenya could be seen through the cloud, and passengers started to reach up for their hand luggage and fasten their seatbelts. Smith went on talking through the bustle and chatter. My ears were sore and slightly deaf with pressure bubbles, but as the plane landed with a whoosh at Nairobi, I heard Macrae say, 'Is that right!' People were rubbing their eyes and pressing fingers into their ears.

'Yes, she got him to the doctor in the end. Nothing but heavy scurf and a slight sub-cutaneous parasite infection in his left leg. It took him a few weeks to get over it.'

We were standing in the aisle now, sweat pouring from foreheads. There was a lot of noise and tired scuffling, and I had difficulty in catching Smith's words. As we were going down the steps on to the tarmac, I heard him say 'Yes, they've got one.'

'Fast work' said Macrae.

They were ahead of me through the main entrance of the building, and together turned into Transit. I cleared myself through customs and Immigration, found my driver, and in less than an hour was home in Limuru.



COLONIALISM IN ANGOLA WILL BE DEFEATED

Five centuries have elapsed since Portuguese colonialists infiltrated into Angola. Since then, the Angolan people have been subjected to the most ruthless and brutal domination known anywhere in Africa. But history repeats itself: wherever there is oppression there is bound to be resistance. Since 1482, massacre and torture highlighted the Angolan people's oppression. In this most dramatic period, Angola sacrificed her best children: Antonio Manumualuza (King of the Congo Kingdom), Lieutenant M'buta, Queen Nginga, King Ngola, King Mandume, King Eukukui, King Matuyakevele, King Mwatiava and many others. However, due to the regionalism of that age, the resistance did not take on a national character, and our ancestors did not succeed in completely defeating the enemy.

Since 1961 the Angolan people have been waging an armed struggle. This armed struggle in Angola is but a continuation of our ancestors' resistance; though the Portuguese Government campaign widely to convince the world that it is the work of foreigners who are for the Portuguese, the communists. If this were true, the echo of resistance today, and that of our forefathers, would not resound throughout the country.

But, neither armed struggle nor guerrilla warfare make victory inevitable. Victory is only possible if the Angolan struggle takes the form of a people's war, or "if the historical reality is interpreted correctly by the people and the forces involved are utilised correctly."

BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF ANGOLAN NATIONALISM

Angolan nationalism was born from the social and regional disparities which, indeed, has impeded the attempts at political unification of the Angolan groups operating from outside Angola.

The first nationalist movement can be traced back to 1929. In Luanda (capital of Angola), LNA (Liga Nacional Africana), AMANGOLA (Associação dos Naturais de Angola), GREMIO AFRICANO, ASSOCIACAO dos REGIONAIS DE ANGOLA were mainly formed by the African "assimilados" and by the "mulatos". Later on, in Southern Angola, AASA (Associação Africana do Sul de Angola) was founded mainly by the employees of the CFB (Benguela Railway).

These Associations had social aims as well as clandestine objectives, such as the creation of conditions for fostering the political consciousness of the Angolan people. But, due to the lack of communication between the northern and southern parts of Angola, this very promising embryo of nationalism fell on false barren soil.

From 1953 to 1958 in Luanda, PLUA (Partido de Luta Unida dos Africanos), MINA (Movimento de Libertação de Angola), and the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola) were formed, merging at a later stage, to form the present MPLA. These groups are the true development of the aforementioned groups (social and political) which were led mostly by the Angolan petty bourgeoisie. This urbano-bourgeoise alignment was not only responsible for the slow march towards the expansion of the political ideas in Angola as a whole, but also for the acute political imbalance that Angolan nationalism is experiencing and suffering today.

The Angolan emigrants who went to both Congos (Kinshasa and Brazzaville), Zambia and South West Africa are also victims of Portuguese colonial repression. But their status as emigrants does not affect their Angolan status. All of them are an integral part of the Angolan Nation.

The emigrants in exile were organised into tribal associations to defend their own interests, which were mainly of a social nature. In the Congo (Kinshasa), UPNA (União das populações do Norte de

Angola) which became later on the UPA (União das Populações de Angola), predominated. It was exclusively formed by the Bakongo people, more especially those coming from S. Salvador to Congo. The ALLIAZO (Aliança dos Muzombos) which became the PDA (Partido Democrático de Angola) was predominantly for the Muzombo people from Maquela do Zombo. Simon Toco's movement was of a more political nature.

In Zambia, then Northern Rhodesia, the Tchkwes Association of Congo, of Angola, of Rhodesia (ATCAR) and the Association of Luvalas and Luchazes were formed.

Those associations were condemned to develop themselves on a tribal basis because they sprung not purely from universal ideas of freedom and justice, but from family solidarity. However, this fact does not diminish the value of the associations, when they develop themselves into political organisations such as the UPNA and ALLIAZO (which became the UPA and PDA) and then formed the defunct CRAE (Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile). The real danger to the development of the armed struggle in Angola, which hinders future political unity, emerges when the leaders of the former associations are incapable and unwilling to go beyond tribal and regional interests.

Tribalism has to be criticised and eradicated not through pre-fabricated ideological formulas taken from foreign capitals, where some leaders receive their political pills—often of excessive dosage—but through political and ideological education of the Angolan masses based on the profound and scientific analysis of the inner organisation of the tribes. This analysis, however, cannot be done by “expert theoreticians” who have never lived within a tribal society, or by those who do not constitute an integral part of any of the tribes, because such persons cannot find genuine and permanent solutions to this complex problem. Only those who are an integral part of the tribes with high political consciousness can achieve this.

Angola has a golden opportunity of avoiding future inter-tribal problems because through an armed struggle it will be possible to proceed to a systematic analysis of the socio-political elements involved in each tribal organisation.

FEBRUARY 4th 1961 and MARCH 15th, 1961 — TWO MEMORABLE DATES

The political activities of the MPLA and UPA culminated in the first patriotic demonstrations of 4th February in Luanda and 15th March in the Fazenda Primavera. The attack in Luanda was aimed at liberation of the political prisoners from the S. Paulo jail. The official reports speak of 3,000 Angolans killed savagely by the Portuguese on this day, and still thousands of Angolans languish in the gaols of Cape Verde Islands. African priests and pastors are either detained and imprisoned in Portugal without trial for years and without hope of being released.

The attack of 15th March in the Fazenda Primavera presented a new scenery and new actors. The population who took part in the revolt were mainly from the rural areas, and the scenery was the campaign where the enemy forces were completely non-existent. The official reports of that time say that a battalion of infantry in the district of Zaire and Uige was in action. Three out of the four companies which formed the battalion were in the borders with the Congo. The attack was launched in the regions hundred miles apart. The actors were the forced labourers from the coffee plantations who had nothing to lose but the chains which tied up their feet and hands. This is, indeed, a memorable date, and it is a contribution to our science of people's war. However, there are certain gaps that cannot be passed without mention: the insurrection as led entirely by the emigrants and by the Angolans who left the country years ago could not analyse concretely and correctly the situation of Angola. The tribal associations of the emigrants lacked the dimension through which it is necessary to unite all the oppressed people regardless of the ethnic origin. So, the uprising went beyond the capacity and control of the leaders, creating in this way opportunism, anarchy and inaction.

WHY UNITA? (NATIONAL UNION FOR TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA)

UNITA (National Union for Total Independence of Angola) was formed in 1965 in Mungai, small town inside Angola. UNITA represents a new step forward in the struggle of Angola, because for the first time in the history of the struggle for liberation, a political party was born inside the country. The seven years of liberatory war in Angola since 1961 without any people's foundation has determined the Angolan people to launch a new organisation and apply new revolutionary methods to lift up the morale of our people on which the final victory so much depends.

People's war has to be carried out with the people. A handful of armed freedom fighters will never be able to dislodge the Portuguese troops and shake the colonial machinery, without the full conscious and willing participation of the Angolan people. The hard, long and slow process of the people's mobilisation from the rural areas to the urban areas must be surveyed directly by the most capable and prestigious leaders. Therefore, the leaders have to be inside the country as often and as long as conditions allow. Propagandistic incursions into the neighbouring areas adjacent to Angola, torrents of monotonous military communiques claiming an uninterrupted series of victories, the fallacious and sensational announcements about establishing headquarters inside Angola, will never bring enough confidence for the Angolan people to endure all the cruelties that a people's war calls for, and to bring change in Angola. **If the Angolan leaders have the right to send their Angolan brothers and sisters to die for Angola, they should not spare their own lives to govern an independent Angola of tomorrow, for this sounds cruel and opportunistic.**

It is why UNITA:

- a) undertakes systematic organisation and mobilisation of the peasants inside the country as a major force in the struggle for national independence,
- b) implements the integration of the “intellectual cadres” inside and outside the country with the broad Angolan masses in their common struggle,
- c) refuses to have military training camps in neighbouring friendly countries serving exclusively as an instrument for external propaganda,
- d) refuses to be dragged along by the big foreign powers which are attempting today another Yalta among themselves through peaceful coexistence,
- e) believes strongly in real and genuine Unity through and for the struggle with all the Angolan liberation movements in the common effort for national liberation.

Since its inception inside the country, UNITA has achieved modest but decisive results. For UNITA there are no short cuts or easy solutions in the long and bitter war for national independence. Today, the situation in the southern part of Africa, is becoming more complex than ever, and the situation of Angola cannot be examined separately in the fight for independence.

The presence of UNITA is unquestionable in the six provinces of Moxico, Cuando-Cubango, Lunda, Malanje, Bie and Huambo. The Portuguese Newspaper “Diario de Noticias” (18th April 1968) specifically states the areas to be affected by the “rebels” of UNITA, and to be where military engagements took place against the Portuguese soldiers. Some of the areas are under control of UNITA forces and adherents. In those areas, thousands of Angolans are enjoying the fruits of freedom, such as complete refusal on the part of the African people to pay taxes to the colonial regime. Thousands of children have been going to rudimentary schools to learn how to read and write and to study the history of their brilliant past. Thousands have been treated in the rudimentary mobile clinics; farmers have been organised into co-operatives to produce more and to improve the standard of living in the rural areas. UNITA has undertaken the task of consolidating the local committees in the liberated areas in order to adapt its different organs to new responsibilities.

In the disputed areas, the Portuguese authorities are lowering

the taxes from the individual tax of 250 escudos (equivalent to four pounds) to 50 escudos in a bid for popular support. People who are suspected by the Portuguese of having dealings with the rebels have been massacred, women have been picked up and beaten savagely by Portuguese soldiers. People, including Protestant missionaries, must have permission to travel from one town to another. Church meetings of any kind, including Sunday services, are officially forbidden. The intimidation of the African people has become a routine process. It consists of sudden seizure followed by long interrogations. Guests are forbidden to enter any village, unless they are presented to the village chief.

We could go on to elaborate in detail the complex structure of the people's war that the Angolan people are waging under very difficult conditions. We have invited any journalist or observer to see and experience "in loco" the herculean tasks which UNITA and the people of Angola are determined to carry through. The reporters who limit themselves in visiting the Angolan borders cannot assess the Angolan struggle objectively. It is necessary to go inside the country in order to remove certain deliberately-fostered misconceptions about the Angolan struggle and about UNITA.

UNITA is far from meeting its programme in all fields of the struggle, but its achievements are thanks to the Angolan people's initiative. However, there is immediate need for trustworthy personnel for the battle zones and liberated areas, especially doctors and nurses. Food, money and medical supplies are equally needed to meet the need of the liberated areas.

UNITA has a military wing, FALA (Armed Forces for Liberation of Angola). The armed forces of UNITA are the result of the popular militia's development. The activities of FALA have been reported many times in the Radio and papers of the enemy. A diagram could be drawn showing UNITA's military progress in the last year. The activities of FALA range from sabotage of bridges, ways of communication used by the enemy, and small "hit and run" ambushes. During June, July and August, 11 important military engagements took place in Angola between the UNITA forces and the Portuguese soldiers, and a great deal of military equipment was captured from the Portuguese, and military vehicles were destroyed. Some of the rifles have the follow-

ing numbers: G3 FMP 58147-11/66; 10 rifles MAUZER number: D.2203; E.6682; C 9684; D.16702; F.11977; U.32043. The enemy is the best and main supplier of the UNITA military equipment.

The road ahead is still long, but victory is certain. Those who sometimes indulge in sinister and malicious political propaganda against UNITA abroad and in Africa, by using the sabotage of the Benguela Railway (CFB) as an excuse for political opportunism, should always remember that the revolution in Southern part of Africa, as a whole, will not be an easy one. The imperialist economic interest and the present colonial and racial administrative apparatus have to be destroyed if the Southern African people are to enjoy the fruits of a true and total independence. UNITA will continue inside the country under a correct revolutionary leadership and line to fulfil its revolutionary obligation. The Southern African liberation movements must unite their efforts, because they are facing a united, and collective imperialist apparatus.

From now on, the UNITA's main task is that of developing the struggle in three aspects:

- 1) Political mobilisation of the entire nation.
- 2) Armed struggle to reach a new height.
- 3) National reconstruction in the liberated areas to found a political, economic and social system which will respect Angolan traditions and make the country strong and progressive.

This programme was set up and decided at the first Conference of UNITA cadres that took place in Angola from 31st August to 5th September 1968.

This programme will depend mainly on the efforts that the Angolan people are prepared to make and to endure. However, the road towards freedom, will be less and the sacrifices less devastating if peace-loving people of the World could bring their material support to all those engaged in the armed struggle inside the country. It is in this spirit that UNITA through all its representatives issues a general appeal "for any possible material assistance, and invites correspondence from anybody wishing to be associated with UNITA's sacrificial and heroic blazing of the trail of African freedom".



A PATTERN OF PETALS

OKUGBULE WONODI

BETWEEN US
(To Eunice from America)

What pains are you in now, waiting for relief?
Like an orphan, tired and hungry, without care,
Tears dripping down your cheeks, you watch the moon
Grow to parturition without your man.

You put your fingers through your hair
And look down the path we walked last August,
When Rebisi of seven villages poured libations
And friends furnished our marriage feast.

Forgive me, your husband,
Walking white streets of a distant land,
Straining with many engagements;
And at the cold day's end, I return

To a lonely room where your thoughts sit
Between sleep and the eyes, there to eat
Sour counterfeits of your kitchen ...
There are tears on this side, too.

But some day we shall sing together
And pour libations on the fourteenth of August,
For there shall be no oceans, nor continents,
And no thoughts to stand between us and sleep.