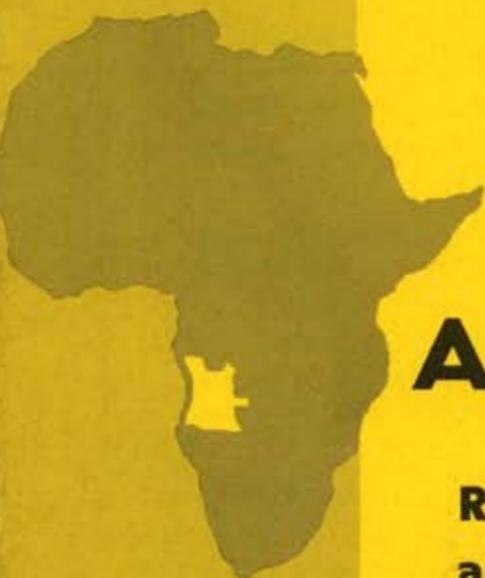


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ANGOLA

**Repression
and Revolt
in
Portuguese Africa**

*American
Committee
on Africa*

Homer A. Jack

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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 60-16872*

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ANGOLA
Repression and Revolt in Portuguese Africa

By HOMER A. JACK

INTRODUCTION

"Angola is probably the least known big country in Africa."—John Gunther¹

Angola is Portugal's largest colony. Fourteen times larger than Portugal, it has an area of 481,000 square miles — almost twice the size of Texas. Despite a healthful climate in its central plateau, Angola has only an average population density of about ten persons per square mile. Of a population of 4,361,000 in 1955, 4,200,000 were Africans, 109,000 whites, and 30,000 of mixed parentage.

Located south of the equator, Angola runs for a thousand miles along the Atlantic Ocean. Except for the small enclave of Cabinda, Angola lies south of the Congo River, being bordered by the Republic of Congo (formerly part of French Equatorial Africa) on the north, the Republic of the Congo (formerly Belgian Congo) and Northern Rhodesia on the east, and South West Africa on the south. The capital and principal city is Luanda, with a population of 200,000. Other important cities are Lobito, Benguela, Nova Lisboa, Malange, Sa da Bandeira, and Silva Porto.

The semi-arid coastal plain, extending from 30 to 100 miles inland, is very warm and generally unhealthful. The central plateau, on the other hand, has a more invigorating climate because of its altitude — 3,000 to 5,000 feet. It consists of rolling plains with a good rainfall and a number of rivers. To the east, the plateau falls away to the basins of the Congo and Zambezi. There are several mountain chains on the plateau, some reaching 7,780 feet.

Angola and Portugal's other African colonies (Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, São Tomé, and Príncipe) are the most economically impoverished and politically backward territories in Africa. They are

among the last strongholds of classical and oppressive colonialism. While Portugal has tried to present a "modern" colonial policy to the world, she has in fact not basically changed the implementation of her centuries-old policy. Her African colonies, with the exception of Mozambique, have not been on the normal routes for tourists or even journalists and thus what Portugal has or has not accomplished in Africa has been kept from the world. She has not revealed conditions in her colonies to the United Nations, of which she has been a member since 1955.

Through the enterprise of several journalists and with documents supplied from Angola through an Angolan nationalist organization with headquarters in Leopoldville,² the Portuguese curtain of feudal oppression has been partly penetrated. What is revealed is not only the repression, but the beginnings of revolt as even the Africans in Angola cannot be isolated from the significant events in the adjacent erstwhile French and Belgian territories and in the whole African continent. Still, Angola — as Portugal — remains a strict dictatorship and the full range of facts with documentation is less available about Angola than almost any other part of Africa.

Slavery—Old and New

"The reality is pretty much the same today as it has been for four hundred years: the indiscriminate use of the African for Portuguese profit."—James Duffy³

Portugal was one of the first European powers to enter the slave trade in Africa and almost the last to give it up. In the 15th century she sought gold and slaves in West Africa. In the 16th century Portugal could not find enough slaves in West Africa (other European powers were displacing her there). To meet the needs of Sao Tomé — a kind of supply and redistribution center for slaves — the Portuguese began to obtain slaves from Angola and colonize there for that purpose. Thus Luanda was founded in 1576, although Portuguese navigators first reached Angola in 1482.

An estimated one million slaves were exported from Angola between 1580 and 1680. For a time 80% of these slaves were sent to Brazil to work on the sugar plantations: "Without sugar there is no Brazil and without Angola there is no sugar."⁴ On the five- to eight-week voyage, as many as one-quarter of the slaves perished. In the period 1680-1836, an estimated two million additional slaves were ex-

ported from Angola, principally through the ports of Luanda and Benguela.

By 1820 most nations had abolished the slave trade, but Portugal and Brazil were slow to do so. With British and other pressures on Portugal, the 300-year-old practice in Angola ended in 1850. (In Mozambique the end of slaving was further delayed, leading Sir Frederick Lugard to write in 1888: "These Portuguese are inveterate slavers.")⁵

Before the abolition of the slave trade, the Portuguese in Angola found it more lucrative to sell slaves than to keep them. When the slaves could no longer be sold, the white settlers found slavery still profitable and repeatedly postponed the internal abolishment of slavery. In 1868 slavery was finally terminated throughout the Portuguese empire. The slaves were made freemen (*libertos*), but the association of slaves with their masters was not to be severed until 1878. The first labor code was promulgated in 1875. This had a clause under which a "non-productive" African was deemed a vagrant and individuals could contract for his services.

The changes inside Angola after the technical abolition of slavery were largely semantic. Masters kept their former slaves by calling them contract workers (*serviçais*). They obtained additional workers, as previously they had obtained slaves, from agents who received them from chiefs by means of petty gifts and bribes. Also the colonial administrators would draw up contracts between employers and vagrants (Africans not under contract), forcing the latter to work under five-year contracts.

Contract workers were less well treated than slaves under this system, for the employer felt no proprietary obligation. Before the turn of the 20th century, some areas of Angola were denuded of Africans because of contract labor, and thousands fled to the interior. The labor code in force between 1899 and 1928 was based on a government report which stated: "The state . . . should have no scruples in *obliging* and, if necessary, *forcing* these rude Negroes in Africa . . . to better themselves by work, to acquire through work the happiest means of existence, to civilize themselves through work." (*italics in the original*)⁶

In the first quarter of the 20th century, there were many public protests against slave labor in Angola and other Portuguese territories. *Harpers* magazine sent British foreign correspondent Henry W. Nevin-

son to Africa and his book,⁷ articles, and lectures caused deep revulsion against Portugal especially in England, with outcries against "legalized slavery in Angola and São Tomé" by John Galsworthy, H. G. Wells, and other public figures. This led to a public demand to the Quaker chocolate firm of Cadbury that it boycott cocoa from São Tomé. William Cadbury went to Africa himself to investigate and his findings substantiated those of Nevinson. In 1909 Cadbury and several other English firms refused to buy cocoa from São Tomé and attempts were made to induce American candy makers to do likewise.

In 1925 Prof. Edward Alsworth Ross of the University of Wisconsin submitted a report, from personal observation, of forced labor in Angola to the Temporary Slaving Commission of the League of Nations.⁸ This report infuriated the Portuguese and there were severe reprisals against Africans and missionaries who in any way helped Prof. Ross.

Portuguese Colonial Policy

"Only the Portuguese know how to treat the native."—Common saying of Europeans in Africa⁹

Portugal has had the longest colonial record in Africa—some four centuries. Today Portugal is one of the world's largest colonial powers, and her policies over the centuries have been oppressive and cruel. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar came into power in 1926 as dictator of Portugal and the Colonial Act of 1930 was the work of Salazar himself who was briefly Minister of Colonies.

Salazar's "New State" quickly developed its own colonial mystique. This included the hypocrisy that Portugal's chief interest in Angola and her other colonies was to give the people the spiritual benefits of civilization, not to take from them economic riches. This is, of course, an old colonial theme, but it was used between the two world wars not so much to placate African opinion in the colonies—which could be dealt with by Portugal through less rhetorical means—as to bolster confidence inside Portugal and to hoodwink world public opinion. Thus one Portuguese editorial writer in 1935 could assert: "Africa is for us a moral justification and a *raison d'être* as a power. Without it we would be a small nation; with it we are a great country."¹⁰

The Portuguese have always used lofty phrases in dealing with

their colonies: "dignity of labor," "civilization through work," spiritual assimilation," and "cultural evolution." James Duffy concludes: "There is not much evidence that the African was 'civilized through work,' while there is plenty of evidence that he was degraded and exploited."¹¹ Portugal's colonial policy, even of the "New State," is double talk to conceal the obvious fact that a morally and economically bankrupt country is trying desperately to hold on to even more impoverished colonies.

Colonial Administration

"The aim . . . is to perpetuate colonial rule forever."—John Gunther¹²

Since 1951 Portugal's overseas colonies have been constitutionally designated as "overseas provinces." Thus Article 134 of the Portuguese Constitution reads: "The overseas territories of Portugal are given the generic name 'provinces' and have a politico-administrative organization suitable to their geographical situation and their conditions of social environment."

Apart from Premier Salazar, the reins of the administration of Portugal and her colonies are in the hands of the Council of Ministers in Lisbon. The Council legislates by decree, approves all concessions in the colonies, and appoints the colonial governors. The Overseas Minister executes colonial policy, aided by a consultative Overseas Council. The National Assembly has little power, legislating proposals received by the Ministry and reviewing annual reports of the colonies. There are at present three deputies from Angola in the 120-member National Assembly. These members need not be residents of Angola and are candidates chosen by the government to stand for election by the qualified voters—whites, mulattoes, and assimilated Africans. In 1956 the deputies from Angola included a Governor of the Bank of Angola and a former Governor-General of Angola.

The principal authority inside Angola is the Governor-General, appointed by the Council of Ministers for a four-year term, which may be renewed. The Governor-General is legally the protector of the rights of the Africans and also the government's instrument for carrying out its policy. The Governor-General is, in theory, guided by the Legislative Council of Angola which consists of 26 members, eight being appointed and 18 elected. Of the latter, 11 are elected from the electoral districts of Angola by direct suffrage of those citizens registered on the electoral roll. Other members are chosen by

municipal bodies, organizations representing cultural and religious interests, labor, business, and Portuguese taxpayers. The Council's functions are confined to expressions of opinion on legislative decrees and to other problems submitted to it by the Minister or Governor-General, but any increase in expenditure is specifically excluded from its jurisdiction. As Hailey observed: It is characteristic of Portugal that "it assigns a much higher range of authority to the executive than to the legislative institutions of the government."¹³

Angola is divided into a number of areas or circumscriptions (*circunscricção*), each of which is controlled by an administrator (*administrado*) directly responsible to the Governor. Each area contains a number of posts (*postos*) administered by a district commissioner (*chefe de posto*). (If the area contains *assimilados* and perhaps Portuguese colonists, it is known as a *concelho*). The divisions within each *posto* are in charge of a *regedor*, who is often an *assimilado*, or a *régulo* — an indigenous chief. It is the function of the *régulo* to act as arbitrator, to maintain public order, and to see that Africans work either on their own land or accept labor contracts. The Village Head is subordinate to the *régulo*. The former is not paid, but receives a gratuity at the end of the year which is based on the collection of taxes. There are no native courts, but the *chefe de posto* in disputes involving only Africans mediates between Portuguese and tribal law. Thus the colonial official in closest contact with the Africans is the *chefe de posto*. Supervision extends from Lisbon down to the 12 districts, 66 civil circumscriptions, and 280 posts in Angola.

The Un-assimilated: The Few and the Many

"A system as selective as assimilation, which in a period of 25 years has affected the legal status of one-half of one per cent of the African population, has little to recommend it as an instrument of native policy—unless the purpose of the policy is to maintain the degraded status of the greater part of the population."—James Duffy¹⁴

The Portuguese have used many names in referring to Africans: *Negros*, *naturais*, *cafres*, *nativo*, *o gentio* (the heathen people), and *a gente da terra* (people of the land). Today the most common term is *indígena* (indigeneous persons), although sometimes the word, *preto* (black), is used, both affectionately and scornfully. The term, *negros*, seems to be used less frequently while *africanos* is being used more frequently.

Cultural assimilation is frequently mentioned as Portugal's con-

tribution to "native policy" in Africa. The earlier Portuguese theory of "selective assimilation" has been discarded for one involving in theory the ultimate assimilation of the entire African population of the colonies. At the present time in Angola, as in the other colonies, there is a clear demarcation between the civilized population (*população civilizada*) who are entitled to enjoy rights as citizens of the Republic and those "not yet qualified" (*não-civilizada*). The former automatically include Europeans. Africans and mulattoes are included only if they fulfill necessary qualifications.

An *indígena* is — according to the 1954 statute — a person of the Negro race who is governed by the customs of his own society and has not yet evolved to a cultural level which would permit him to be governed by the same laws as a Portuguese citizen. A *não-indígena* includes a white person, a mulatto (*mestiço*), or an assimilated African (*assimilado*). An *assimilado* is an African who has attained full Portuguese citizenship. Under the 1954 statute, the term used is *cidadão* (citizen) instead of *assimilado*.

Any African can, in theory, enter the ranks of a *não-indígena* and become an *assimilado* if he meets these standards: 1 — produces proof that he is over 18 years of age; 2 — demonstrates ability to speak Portuguese; 3 — earns sufficient income for himself and his family; 4 — possesses good character; and 5 — gives evidence that he has not evaded military service. The candidate must submit his application to the local authorities who, if they decide favorably, issue him an identification card. Other Africans are automatically considered *não-indígenas* if they have performed some public service, are employed by the colonial administration, have acquired a secondary school education, or are engaged in business.

The *assimilado* acquires both rights and duties. He can travel freely inside Angola and obtain a passport presumably to travel abroad. He can vote for the President of the Republic of Portugal and his children are entitled to a free education. He and his wife are exempt from forced labor. However, he has to pay income and military tax, but not the head tax. He loses the right to free medical service and must give up certain indigenous customs — such as polygamy.

The 1950 census showed 135,355 persons in Angola in the "civilized population," with 4,009,911 outside. Of the "civilized," 78,826 were white, 26,355 were half-caste, and only 30,039 were African — *assimilados*. (In the same year there were only 4,353 *assimilados* in

Mozambique with a total population of 5,732,982.) One of the reasons for the limitation of *assimilados* is that the facilities for education are such that the possibility of Africans achieving assimilation is practically confined to the urban areas. Thus the strict age limit for admission to the state high schools means that Africans are not often qualified for admission, while the fees charged by private high schools prevent the entry of many African children.

Economics

"Our colonial possessions must have balanced budgets."—Antonio Salazar¹⁵

The present economy of Angola is based on the production and exportation of agricultural commodities. The country's agriculture consists of 1—Africans who concentrate on subsistence farming, the collection of tree crops and beeswax, and in certain areas coffee and cotton; 2—Portuguese colonists on the plateaus who cultivate wheat, other cereals, and fruit; and 3—large and medium plantation owners who cultivate coffee, sugar, and sisal on the plateaus, tobacco and cotton in the central plains, and hard fibers and oil palm in northern Angola. Coffee is the most valuable crop exported, but other agricultural exports include sisal, corn, wood, palm oil, cotton, sugar, palm kernels, and beans.

Diamonds are the only mineral which is substantially exported, although copper, manganese, mica, asphalt, and oil are produced in small quantities. In 1957 some 28,500 workers were employed in mining and the gross value of the output was \$13.8 million for diamonds, \$1.1 million for copper, and \$.5 million for manganese. The per capita gross value of mining in Angola was \$3.83 per year (compared to \$1.70 for former French Equatorial Africa, \$27.41 for the former Belgian Congo, \$149.27 for Northern Rhodesia, and \$65.80 for South Africa.) Diamang, a Portuguese firm with strong British and Belgium backing, is the most important force in Angola's economic life. It was established in 1920 and is the largest employer of African labor.

Industry is poorly developed and limited to the processing of agricultural produce and seafood. There are several small industries, such as spinning mills and sugar and cement factories. These are encouraged if they do not compete with industry in Portugal. Products from Portugal have trade protection.

About 40 per cent of the imports to Angola come from Portugal. They consist of cotton textiles, other textile products, wine, automobiles and trucks, and petroleum products. Seventy percent of the exports of Angola consist of coffee, diamonds, and fishmeal, with the balance consisting largely of other agricultural produce. In 1955, Angola exported \$35 million worth of goods to the U. S., principally coffee (\$28 million).¹⁶ In the same year she imported \$11 million from the U. S., principally machinery and automobiles.

The British-owned Benguela railroad taps the rich Katanga ore fields of the Congo and runs through Angola to the port of Lobito on the South Atlantic. This constitutes more than half of the railway trackage in Angola. The natural harbors of Luanda and Lobito make shipping and fishing possible. There were 35,000 kilometers of highway in 1955, of which 8,850 were first class.

In a country and continent where statistics are meagre, standards of living are difficult to compare. The per capita production of electricity in Angola in 1956 was 22 kilowatt hours — compared to eight for French Equatorial Africa, 194 for the Belgian Congo, 483 for Northern Rhodesia, and 1,362 for South Africa. The African in Angola lives in a chronically depressed economic state, while some whites are also relatively poor. The average per capita annual income in Portugal itself is estimated at only \$200 — which is the lowest in Western Europe — while that of Angola is estimated by the U.N. to be less than \$100.

The budget of Angola has been balanced since 1931. In 1956 it amounted to \$70 million. The Second Development Plan for Angola (1951-55) involved an expenditure of \$98.7 million. Of this 50% was used to improve communications facilities, 14% for hydroelectric power, and 18% for agricultural resettlement (primarily for whites). The 1959-64 plan is allocating 52% of expenditures for basic facilities and 36% for agriculture and industry. The Second Plan was financed 95% from local resources and only 5% from loans (compared, for example, to the development plans in the Belgian Congo where only 54% came from local resources or in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland where 51% was found locally).

Monies to meet national expenses are raised through customs duties and taxes. Non-Africans are taxed according to the source of their income. For example, an industrial tax of 10% is levied upon income derived from industrial and commercial enterprises. The

bulk of Africans are subject to a head tax. This involves all African males over 16 years of age and under 60. It is fixed annually by the Governor and varies between regions. Exemptions are granted to the aged, administrative officials, soldiers, sailors, police, etc. The tax is collected by the *chefe do posto* with the assistance of the Village Head who receives 2% of the collection if 70% is paid up to date. An individual's family is responsible for the payment of the tax until proof is produced of the taxpayer's death. Employers of indentured labor are under an obligation to deduct the tax from wages. The tax, varying from \$4 to \$10 annually, used to be one of the largest sources of revenue, but today other sources predominate.

Forced Labor

"Only the twisting of language can make this system differ from slavery."
—Basil Davidson¹⁷

The basis of the economy of Angola — and many of her social problems — is forced labor. Although Portugal signed the Slavery Convention of 1926 limiting the use of forced labor to public purposes, she has not signed the Forced Labor Convention of 1930 or the Recruitment of Indigenous Workers Convention of 1936.

Labor conditions have differed little from those in Angola during the first quarter of the century, although in 1928 a new Native Labor Code was promulgated. Today there are three categories of African labor:

1 — Obligatory Labor. The code (Article 20) indicates that Africans may be compelled to work only on "public works of general and collective interest, the results of which will benefit them, to fulfill judicial sentences of a penal character, and to fulfill fiscal obligations." This means that Africans may be requisitioned to work on public projects whenever voluntary workers are not sufficient, or in disaster emergencies. Africans can also be forced to work to clean African dwelling areas and for local road construction. They receive wages for such obligatory labor, except when working on roads. Those who do work on roads, in addition to receiving no pay, must furnish their own tools and their own food. Africans can also be forced to work in lieu of prison sentences or to make up payments for taxes.

2 — Contract Labor (*contratado*). Africans are recruited, under the supervision of local administrators, to work on private or public

projects. They often work outside the region in which they normally reside, families being broken up in the process. Until 1951 the maximum time limit on contracts for work was two years inside Angola and three years outside (e.g., in São Tomé). Today the limit is supposed to be one year and in some cases is only six months. There is a special dispensation to Diamang for a limit of 15 months and to the fisheries for 18 months. In theory, Africans whose pass book (*caderneta*) shows that they have worked six months within the year are exempt from immediate contract labor. Children under 14, the sick, and the aged are also exempt. Women cannot sign for work outside their villages except when accompanied by a male relative. Davidson, quoting an official government estimate in 1954, asserted that there were 379,000 *contratados*.¹⁸ F. C. C. Egerton, a defender of Portuguese policy, gave a lower figure: 142,674 *contratados* in 1953 and only 99,771 in 1954.¹⁹

3—Voluntary Labor (*voluntário*). Africans under this system contract directly with an employer and work in the area in which they normally reside. The contract may be for varying lengths of time and is not under the direct supervision of the provincial administrator. Davidson estimated that in 1954 there were 400,000 *voluntarios*.

However inhumane these labor regulations may be, it is acknowledged that the implementation is even worse than the policy. The minimum requirements of the labor law are often not met. The commonest complaints are inadequate wages, illegal extensions of contracts, use of pregnant women and small children in road projects, corporal punishment, and bribes. Private employers and the colonial government itself as an employer often violate these laws.

The *chefe de posto* is vulnerable to bribes offered by private employers to furnish them workers. These colonial administrators often, in turn, bribe African chiefs to obtain workers. John Gunther reported that the normal pay-off ("illegal but widespread") is ten times the contract laborer's wages for six months.²⁰ Sometimes the local Portuguese administrator passes on part of the bribe he receives to the African chief or Village Head. Davidson asserted that, at least until recently, should the African chief fail to secure the required number of men, he would be mercilessly flogged and, in any case, workers who had only just returned from a previous period of labor would be seized. In recent years local administrators have been careful to recruit only "voluntary" contract laborers. The workers are technically

given the chance to refuse to accept the contract. Actually the pressures by the Portuguese authorities are exerted through the Village Head who is told that he must supply a quota of laborers and is apt to be punished if he does not produce such laborers. There have been a few local administrators who have made an honest attempt to enforce the requirements of the law. Some Portuguese officials who have been proved to have profited by illegal recruitment of Africans have been expelled from the colonial service. Although the use of pressure has been officially denied, the U.N. ad hoc Committee on Forced Labor in 1953 expressed the belief that there were certain restrictions and exemptions in the labor laws of Angola which permitted the exaction of forced or compulsory labor.

Examples of contract labor during recent years in Angola would include the following:

- The Benguela railroad is partly run by forced labor. The general manager said that they had 13,454 *voluntarios* and 2,018 *contratados* in 1954. He felt that this was not a bad proportion — most companies in Angola had a much higher proportion.²¹

- "In some ways the situation is worse than simple slavery. Under slavery, after all, the Native is bought as an animal; his owner prefers him to remain as fit as a horse or ox. Yet here the Native is not bought — he is hired from the State although he is called a free man. And his employer cares little if he sickens or dies, once he is working, because when he sickens or dies his employer will simply ask for another."²²

- Diamang in 1954 had 11,000 free workers and 4,000 forced workers. The wages of the latter were the equivalent of \$2.24 a month. In April 1955 the government ordered their wages almost doubled.²³

- Forced labor is in general use in sugar, coffee, sisal, and other European owned plantations. The government allows "a theoretical average" of 33 contract workers for every 100 hectares (220 acres) of plantation. Wages in 1954 were about the equivalent of 14¢ a day.²⁴

- Working hours are from 5 a. m. to 7 p. m., Sundays included. The stipend often amounts to \$40 for 24 months, and from this a tax is deducted. The government technically enforces a minimum wage for Africans. It is \$5 a month plus certain housing and food allowances.²⁵

Population Movements

"It is clandestine emigration which, ever more rapidly, drains away the peoples . . . and in Angola is largely responsible for the extreme grave state of depopulation (demographic anemia) one notes in this colony." Senhor Henrique Galvao²⁶

There has been a movement of peoples both into Angola and out. The whites have gone in and the Africans have gone out.

In 1930 the estimated population included three million Africans and 50,000 whites and mulattoes. In the decade 1930-40, the white population probably remained constant. From 1940 to 1950, the white population rose to 78,000. Today it is estimated to be 150,000 and the number of Africans has risen above four million.

By a decree of May 1901, all land in Angola not owned by individuals was considered to be owned by the State. Africans cannot be required to leave their land except on payment of compensation and a guarantee that an equal area of land will be made available to them in the Reserves. However, land left uncultivated for more than a year is regarded as vacant. Concessions of land can be obtained up to 125,000 acres, subject to approval by the Minister of Overseas Provinces. The new owner must spend on improvements 200 times the land cost and becomes exempt from a land tax for the first 11 years.

White immigration into Angola has been encouraged by the Portuguese Colonization Fund which uses publicity and preferential treatment. Emigration has averaged about two thousand whites annually in recent years, although an estimated 3,500 families from Portugal arrived in Angola in 1958 alone as part of a resettlement scheme. The Governor-General in 1958 said: "The problem is . . . to attach the Portuguese to these lands in such a manner that he will love them as much as his village in Portugal." As an inducement, a married farmer from Portugal over 30 years of age could receive, upon settlement in Angola, from 20 to 100 hectares of land, livestock, and a long-term loan. Contract labor would also be made available to him. The settlers are given good land, the Africans often being forced to leave such land for arid regions. The Europeans displace them on the pretext of occupying abandoned property.

If 150,000 Europeans have found their way into Angola over several generations, it is estimated that more than that number of Africans have left. Some have found better economic opportunities, especially in Northern Rhodesia, the Republic of the Congo, and even South West Africa. Some go with one-year contracts, with pro-

visions for a six-month extension and repatriation. Few Africans are allowed to go to the Union of South Africa from Angola, although many go there from Mozambique.

A large number of Africans leave, clandestinely, principally to avoid contract labor. They go especially to the Congo, the Central African Federation, and the former French Equatorial Africa. Estimates of the number of Angolans who are more or less permanent expatriates range upward from a quarter of a million.

Education

"The Portuguese territories were the only major areas in Africa which were unaffected by the acceleration of social and economic change that was elsewhere the most important result of participation in the Second World War." —Lord Hailey²⁷

In 1953-54 there were only 91 African high school students in Angola. In the 21 high schools, of which two were state-owned and 19 were private, there were 2,582 students. Of these, 2,023 were Europeans and 462 mulattoes. In the same year only 50 Africans were enrolled in the commercial and industrial schools of Angola out of a total of 1,153 pupils.

In 1954 only 17,000 pupils attended primary school, 35,000 rudimentary school, and 2,800 secondary school throughout Angola. The exact numbers of schools and pupils are shown in the following chart:

Numbers of Schools, Teachers, and Students in 1954²⁸

	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Teachers</i>	<i>Students</i>
Primary			
Government	139	293	10,979
Catholic	24		
Protestant	42	280	6,454
Private	132		
Rudimentary			
Catholic	784	800	24,618
Protestant	135	341	10,743
Elementary Professional (Gov.)	7	24	614
Commercial & Technical			
Government	5	61	950
Private	6	51	513
High Schools			
Government	2	55	1,283
Private	20	160	1,547
Normal Schools			
Government	1	8	13
Catholic	1	11	153
TOTALS	1,298	2,074	57,867

(Reprinted from *Portuguese Africa*, by James Duffy.)

For a nation of more than four million inhabitants, 58,000 is a small number of children in school. No wonder that, in 1950, the illiteracy rate among the Africans was 99 per cent! (UNESCO in 1958 put the figure at 97%). Twenty-three per cent of the whites were illiterate in 1950.

Of the children in school, probably the majority in most categories are non-African. In most schools, Portuguese students are given first choice of the limited space available. For example, in 1956, of the 9,860 students in government primary schools, only 737 were Africans, mostly those of *assimilados*, as follows: 2,531 were children of whites born in Europe, 3,382 were children of whites born in Africa, 3,210 were children of mulattoes, and only 737 were children of Africans. In the private primary schools (Catholic, Protestant, or secular), there is a higher percentage of African students: 2,446 out of a total of 7,274 in 1956. The Union of the Populations of Angola asserts that there is room for only 5% of the children of school age in the existing rudimentary schools.

There are three kinds of pre-secondary schools: rudimentary (equivalent to kindergarten and grades 1 and 2), elementary (grade 3), and primary (grades 4 and 5). These are operated either by the Government or by Roman Catholic or Protestant missions. In both only one language — Portuguese — can be taught, although the vernaculars may be used to teach Portuguese. As Lord Hailey has observed, the Government insists on the use of the "school as an agency for the spread of the Portuguese language and culture"²⁹ — and thus the "civilizing mission" of Portugal. Most mission schools end with the fourth grade and thus pupils cannot qualify to enter secondary, industrial, or technical school. The secondary schools have three "cycles:" grades 7-8, grades 9-10-11, and grades 12-13. Education is free and compulsory for students who reside within three kilometers of a school and are between the ages of 7 and 12 — if there is classroom space available.

The Archbishop of Luanda directs all Catholic mission schools for Africans. The state-operated schools are administered by the Ministry of National Education, Department of Overseas Education. Only whites, mulattoes, Asians, and assimilated Africans are allowed to register in state schools. Private schools cater to whites and Asians. Some of these do not discriminate against Africans, but few African parents can afford to send their children to these private schools since the expenses are heavy because they tend to be boarding schools.

In 1954, of 50 students enrolled in one agricultural school, not one was an African. Since 1954 the number of pupils in the whole school system has reportedly increased by 30%.

There are only five seven-year high schools (*liceus*) in Angola which may lead to entrance to universities. There is no university in Angola and African students have not been encouraged to pursue higher education. A few Africans study in Portugal, but are usually not allowed to study elsewhere.

Health

"The African's need for (medical) assistance is as desperate as it is for education, and less adequately provided for."—James Duffy³⁰

The medical and health services are responsible to the Ministry of Overseas Territories and are in touch with the Institute of Tropical Medicine in Lisbon. In 1954 there were 53 state-operated hospitals and 55 private hospitals in addition to 60 infirmaries. In 1952, it was estimated there was one bed for every 2,250 persons in Angola. Government physicians number 156, with an additional hundred in private practice (including medical missionaries). Government and company hospitals are segregated. For example, there are separate wards and operating rooms in the Luanda Hospital.

Basil Davidson wrote: "Medical services practically never reach the villages; and preventive medicine seems to be limited to erratic efforts to inoculate for smallpox and sleeping sickness. Malnutrition is general, and its main effect is in spreading tuberculosis."³¹

Religion

"I seek Christians and Spices."—Vasco da Gama³²

Portugal is a Catholic nation and Article 140 of the Portuguese constitution asserts that "Portuguese Catholic missions overseas and those establishments preparing personnel for that service . . . shall be protected and aided by the State as institutions of instruction and assistance and instruments of civilization." Relations between Portugal and the Catholic Church, especially in the colonies, have not always been that close. However, with the Concordat signed between the Vatican and Portugal in May, 1940, the function of the Roman Catholic Church is again to "Christianize and to educate, to nationalize and to civilize."

There are five Catholic dioceses in Angola and their missions are

subsidized by the Angola government. In 1957 there were 387 priests, yet there is no African bishop. According to the 1950 census, there are about 1.5 million Catholics in Angola.

Protestantism exists in Angola under some handicaps. There are, however, about 300 missionaries, including at times some American Negroes. Protestants have specialized in the medical and hospital fields. Important Protestant groups include the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church, the Brethren, and the United Church of Canada. In the 1950 census there were an estimated 540,000 Protestants, including 6,000 *assimilados*, 800 mulattoes, and 2,000 Europeans.

Much of the responsibility for education has fallen to Protestant and Catholic missions, although only the latter are subsidized by the State. The missions have been unable to cope with the problem and the full educational needs of the Africans have not been served.

Racism

"Signs on the doors of Angolan restaurants reading 'Right of Admission Reserved' are not accidental phenomena any more than are the creation of almost exclusively white towns and colonization projects in the interior."
—James Duffy³³

Some Portuguese have taken public pride in what they claim is a lack of racial distinction in their colonies. While in decades past there may have been fewer visible signs of the color bar in Angola than in some of her neighboring territories, in recent years racial discrimination has grown: On buses and trains in Luanda, the drivers, conductors, and ticket-takers are white. Signs on the doors of some restaurants read, "Right of Admission is Reserved." All-white towns and colonization projects have been built. In public service it is hard to find an African in a position higher than that of interpreter. In municipal hospitals there are segregated wards. While the color bar is thus obvious in the larger coastal cities, it is even more prevalent in the interior.

Oppression

"There is little opportunity in the present circumstances for the exhibition in Portuguese territories of the spirit of Africanism, for there is a severe measure of restriction on the expression of public opinion."—Lord Hailey³⁴

The Portuguese administration uses a variety of methods to continue the system of forced labor and to prevent political activity to

ward self-determination. Such universal methods are used as informants, "reliable" chiefs, severe censorship (of newspapers, books, movies, and records), supervised education, and ruthless police action.

The colonial system has a way of reaching down to every male African since each must possess an identification booklet (*caderneta*). This contains the individual's photograph, fingerprints, labor record, tax payments, and the names of his wife and children. Each African male must show his booklet on demand and have it properly visaed when moving from one part of Angola to another. The *assimilado* must also show his identity card. In some parts of Portuguese Africa, an employer must sign his employee's booklet every day.

The internal military patrol (*guarda fiscal*) tries to prevent desertions from contractual labor obligations. In addition, the Angola border, especially touching the Congo, is patrolled, most recently by tanks and even airplanes.

African students who have been graduated from secondary school are screened carefully before being allowed to leave Angola for higher education in Portugal. Those university graduates who are suspected of harboring advanced political thoughts are not allowed to return to Angola and often must seek work in other Portuguese colonies.

Penal camps in Angola are notorious, especially those at Foz de Cunene, Fort Rocadas, Silva Porto, and Porto Alexandre. "Political incorrigibles" are often banished to other Portuguese colonies.

Corporal punishment is not uncommon. One high Portuguese official told James Duffy: "We Portuguese regard the native as a child and like good parents we have to spank him from time to time."³⁵ The instruments of torture used are the hide whip (*chicote*) and the wooden paddle (*palmatória*). Davidson quoted a description of the latter as follows: "It is a sort of mallet carved from one piece of hard wood, with a handle some 10 or 12 inches long, the head being a disc some three inches across and an inch and a half thick. On each side of this disc five tapering holes were bored. These were in the pattern of the dots on the five of dice. The way this implement of torture was employed is this. The victim holds one hand out palm up. The operator brings the *palmatória* down with a sharp forceful blow on the outstretched palm. Under the force of the blow the flesh is sucked up into these tapering holes. The lessening diameter of the holes pinches the enclosed flesh and produces intense pain. The victim then

presents the palm of the other hand and the operator hits it. So the hands are struck alternately with a regular beat for the ordered number of blows. The Africans give *palmatória* a name of their own which might be translated, 'the pain.' A tough individual may take four or five blows in silence, but after that one cannot restrain his cry of anguish. . . . Death might follow 150 blows. . . ."³⁶

The Portuguese assert that this method of punishment is simpler, cheaper, and more effective than imprisonment. The police seldom inflict permanent injuries, it is said, because manpower is so scarce in Angola! As Gunther has concluded, "The Portuguese, for all their temperateness, employ some measures harsher than anything else . . . in Africa."³⁷

African Nationalism

"The immediate independence of the Territory would appear to be the normal solution appropriate to the solution of all the problems of the Angolans."
—Union of the Populations of Angola³⁸

Revolt in Angola in the 20th century probably first occurred in 1914 when Buta and his associates tried to stop deportations of Angolans to São Tomé and Cape Verde. In 1928 the High Commissioner for Angola, Norton de Matos, on behalf of some Portuguese in Angola, asked Portugal to grant independence to that colony. The reaction of Portugal was harsh and de Matos was dismissed.

In 1929 the African National League (*Liga Nacional Africana*) was established, first among the white settlers, but later mulattoes and Africans were admitted. Today the steering committee is still limited to whites and mulattoes. The League is recognized by the Government, but has never advocated an independent Angola. Recently it made representations to the U.N. and its relations with the Government immediately deteriorated.

The Union of the Peoples of Northern Angola was clandestinely organized in 1954, although there were earlier nationalist activities among expatriates from Angola in Leopoldville. By 1958 the activity of the Union secretly spread to all parts of Angola and it became the Union of the Populations of Angola (U.P.A.). Its program includes complete and immediate independence for Angola, strengthening of Pan-Africanism, and opposition to racial segregation and oppression. Its representative attended the Accra, Tunis, and Addis Ababa Pan-

African congresses and unofficially observed the 14th session of the U.N. General Assembly.

More recently certain other nationalist groups have arisen in Angola and the other Portuguese colonies in Africa. They include the following: The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola), the African Party of Independence of Guinea (Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine), the Movement for the National Independence of Angola (Movimento Para a Independencia Nacional de Angola), and the Anti-Colonialist Movement (Movimento Anti-Colonialista). These have now combined to form F.R.A.I.N.—the Revolutionary African Front for the National Independence of the Portuguese Colonies (Frente Revolucionaria Africana Para a Independencia Nacional das Colonias Portuguesas).^{38a}

In the meantime, facts about oppression inside Angola again found their way into the world press. Basil Davidson, an English journalist specializing in African affairs, was commissioned by *Harpers* magazine to write about Angola 50 years after Nevinson did so for them. Davidson's articles and subsequent book, *The African Awakening*, showed that there were few changes in half a century, except that *serviçais* had become *contratados*. The most penetrating criticism came from a Portuguese himself, Captain Henrique Galvão, formerly a high inspector in the colonial service and deputy for Angola. He made a confidential report on forced labor to the Colonial Ministry in 1947. This was published by a group in Portugal opposed to Premier Salazar. Galvão was jailed in 1951 and again in 1958 and was sentenced to 16 years for alleged political crimes. (He escaped, however, and now is in exile in Argentina).

In December, 1955, in Northern Angola, public opposition appeared to forced labor and oppression. In February, 1956, Portugal reacted with arrests and deportations. Ambrosic Luyanzi, a leader, was persecuted to death and such leaders as Figueira Lello and Liborio Nefwane were exiled to the Silva Porto penal camp.

In 1957 the Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara met in Angola and some Africans for the first time had an opportunity to meet with representatives from Ghana, Liberia, and other independent African states. When the Conference closed, the Portuguese authorities arrested the Angolans who fraternized with the African delegates.

In August, 1958, an African Manifesto was first distributed. This document condemned the horrors of five centuries of Portuguese colonization and exhorted the people of Angola to assert with all their dignity their right to self-determination.

In February, 1959, *Présence Congolaise* of Leopoldville reported that more than 200 expatriate Angolans in the Belgian Congo were expelled to Angola. They were met by Portuguese authorities at the border, stripped of everything including their baggage, and sent to concentration camps. This newspaper asked the Belgian authorities if they had "no interest in the fate of these men whom they turn over to the Portuguese authorities."

In the summer of 1959, there were further arrests in Angola. *La Présence Africaine* of Leopoldville reported that 50 persons were arrested for a crime against the internal and external security of Angola.³⁹ It was reported that they presented a manifesto to the colonial administrators demanding independence by 1960.

Additional arrests were made in the autumn of 1959 when the U.N. General Assembly indirectly discussed Portuguese colonies. On December 7, 1959, 57 persons (11 in absentia) were indicted for committing crimes against the security of the state. Their trial was to have taken place in Luanda on March 7. However, it was postponed and there were reports that they were tried secretly by a military tribunal late in May 1960. Both Africans and Europeans were among those arrested; indeed, it was reported that three groups of prisoners were arrested who previously had no contact with each other.⁴⁰ In June 1960 at least 52 additional persons were arrested in several parts of Angola. They included Agostinho Neto, a poet, and Pinto de Andrade, a Catholic priest.

In addition stories appeared in the world press of guerilla warfare inside Angola.⁴¹ One of the surest signs of discontent inside Angola is the large-scale military preparations which the Portuguese are making to eradicate revolt, especially with the freedom of the Congo and its 1,500 mile common border. Two thousand troops from Portugal arrived in Angola during 1959-60, making an estimated total of 20,000 troops in Angola. These are equipped with Panhard armored cars, field guns, and troop transports. New barracks and airfields are being built. Two motor gunboats, to be joined by a frigate, are patrolling the coast and rivers. Military planes are to be based on Angola for

the first time.⁴² Indeed, during the visit of President Eisenhower to Lisbon in May, 1960, Portuguese military authorities let it be known that they would hope that the U. S. mutual security act could be amended so that U. S. military equipment furnished Portugal under NATO could be used in Africa.

Portugal Before the U.N.

"Even States having Non-Self-Governing Territories—which is not the case in respect of Portugal—have to transmit information only, in accordance with the charter, if the constitutional conditions and security conditions are such as to permit such transmission."—Portugal's delegate to the 14th General Assembly⁴³

According to Article 73 of the U.N. Charter, every member nation with non-self-governing territories "accepts as a sacred trust the obligation to promote . . . the well-being of the inhabitants in these territories" and—in addition—to "transmit regularly to the Secretary-General" information on the economic, social, and educational conditions in these territories. Soon after the organization of the U.N., the secretariat requested the original members to submit a list of their territories and also a list of factors to determine whether a territory comes within the meaning of Article 73 of the charter in this regard. A total of 74 territories were listed by eight nations then members of the U.N. These nations became members of a Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories as did an equal number of non-administering states.

Between 1949 and 1953, the U.N. concerned itself with the problem of deciding what constitutes a non-self-governing territory so as to determine when administering powers should cease to transmit information. In this period, Denmark, the Netherlands, and the U. S. all communicated to the U.N. that they were discontinuing the transmission of information on Greenland, the Antilles and Surinam, and Puerto Rico respectively.

From 1955 through 1959, a total of 23 new nations were admitted to the U.N. Each was asked by the secretariat whether it administered non-self-governing territories. All replied in the negative. Portugal, one of the largest colonial powers, was admitted to the U.N. in 1955, and her negative reply to this question especially produced consternation among many U.N. members. In the Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee, the Portuguese representative stated that the status of

Portugal's "overseas provinces" was identical with that of the metropolitan provinces.

The General Assembly in 1956, 1957, and 1958 tried to deal with this whole matter in a diplomatic way by not singling out Portugal or Spain (which also refused to transmit information on its African colonies), but discussing the appointment of a committee to study the application of the U.N. charter in the case of new U.N. members. While resolutions toward this end were adopted by a simple majority in the Fourth Committee in 1956 and 1957, they were defeated by the lack of a two-thirds majority in the plenary session. In 1958 the resolution was withdrawn at the last minute.

In the 14th General Assembly, however, this problem was more openly discussed. Portugal found herself increasingly isolated. As a result, a resolution calling for a six-nation study commission was easily passed by the Fourth Committee and the plenary session. The U. S., U.K., Netherlands, Morocco, Mexico, and India were appointed to this Committee. They reported their recommendations to the 15th General Assembly (autumn 1960) which may, at long last, decide whether such recent U.N. members as Portugal and Spain possess non-self-governing territories and whether an obligation exists for them to transmit information to the U.N.

If Portugal does begin to transmit information about Angola and her other colonies, some of the social, economic, and educational problems facing Angola will be brought before the Committee on Information and eventually before the Fourth Committee for debate. Yet in terms of the U.N. Charter, Portugal would not have to report on the *political* problems within her colonies. Given the present U.N. Charter, there are severe limitations to debate and action by the U.N. on Portuguese colonialism in Angola and elsewhere, even should the increasingly powerful Asian-African bloc at the U.N. want to do so.

Conclusion

"The Union of the Populations of Angola calls upon all international organizations and bodies to bring pressure on Portugal so that the regime of exploitation and willful genocide in Angola shall cease and that the territory shall recover its independence of ancient days."—Union of the Populations of Angola.⁴⁴

One of the first colonial powers in Africa, Portugal has managed to keep her colonies longer than most European countries. Yet her

days in Africa are strictly numbered. With at least 18 African states becoming independent in 1960 alone, the major Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique will have or already have borders contiguous to freedom: Angola with the two Congo Republics and Mozambique with Tanganyika (which may be independent in 1961). Portugal may think that her colonial system isolates the Africans, but surely only a few months and years remain before Angola will take her freedom with or without Portuguese consent.

Since colonial power is increasingly confined to southern Africa, the close association of the governments of the Union of South Africa and Portugal is surely not accidental. In 1957 Dr. Ernest Jansen, Governor General of the Union of South Africa, paid a state visit to Portugal. In Lisbon he stated, "By a happy accident we are neighbors. I believe that we should be grateful to history for this accident."⁴⁵ In 1959 Portugal's Minister for Colonies, Vice-Admiral Vasco Lopes Alves, visited South Africa and declared: "We are accomplishing a parallel task in our territories and, if Western civilization is threatened on this continent, South Africa and Portugal should work together."⁴⁶ If the governments of South Africa and Portugal now have a common cause, the peoples of the world also have a common cause.

The freedom of Angola is inevitable. It will come largely through the efforts of her own people. Yet there are many steps that individual nations and the U.N. might take to lessen the travail of the Angolans and hasten the day of the freedom of Angola. Individual Americans can also help in this process.

What Americans Can Do About Angola

"The United States and Portugal have worked together without a single difference of opinion."—President Dwight Eisenhower⁴⁷

I. Write letters to

- The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.
- The U. S. Ambassador to the United Nations, 2 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Make this point: The U. S. in the U.N. and elsewhere must help the peoples of Angola and other Portuguese colonies in their right to self-determination. The U. S. must not allow its treaties and friendship with Portugal

to lessen its historic opposition to colonialism, including that of Portugal.

2. Write a letter to the Ambassador of Portugal, Portuguese Embassy, Washington, D.C.

Make this point: Portugal should allow the people of Angola and other Portugal "provinces" to have the right of self-determination.

3. If you are a member of a club, school, church, synagogue, or labor union, arrange for a speaker on African affairs to address your group. Obtain an African student, a diplomat from the increasing number of independent African states, or an African petitioner at the U.N. A few speakers may be informed on Portuguese Africa, but probably not many. Write to the American Committee on Africa for suggestions.

4. If you are a clergyman, preach a sermon on Angola. This is a clear moral and ethical issue. Background material is available in this pamphlet and elsewhere.

5. As a citizen, write a letter about Angola to your local newspaper or your favorite periodical and explain what is happening inside Angola.

6. If you are a pupil or teacher, you can discuss Angola in the classroom. There can be many constructive projects on Angola, depending upon the age of the children.

7. Order additional copies of this pamphlet directly from the American Committee on Africa. There is a discount for quantity orders. This pamphlet should be widely distributed to schools and libraries and to editors, clergymen, and other opinion-makers in your community.

8. Support the Africa Defense and Aid Fund which is giving legal and other help to those who stand for freedom and equality in many parts of Africa. The Fund has already supported individuals and their families in South West Africa, South Africa, Central African Federation, and Kenya. It stands ready to help inside Angola also—if humanitarian legal aid is allowed. Send your contributions to the

Africa Defense and Aid Fund, Suite 400, 801 Second Avenue, New York 17, New York.

9. Keep informed on the problems of the entire African continent, problems which in a real sense are not divisible. Africa is increasingly in the news. Read current newspapers, periodicals, and books. Subscribe to the new *Africa Today*, published monthly by the American Committee on Africa, and learn of developments inside Angola. A one-year subscription is \$3.50.

Acknowledgements

The author is grateful for many suggestions in editing this manuscript. He visited Angola briefly in 1952 and has been in close touch with the nationalist movement there ever since. Acknowledgement is especially made for much information from Prof. James Duffy's excellent book, *Portuguese Africa* (Harvard University Press, 1959) and Basil Davidson's *The African Awakening* (Jonathan Cape, 1955).

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