

ANGOLA IN REVOLT

BY MALCOLM McVEIGH

... There it was, black, dried, sunken, with closed eyelids. ... These were the heads of rebels. Rebels! What would be the next definition I was to hear? There had been enemies, criminals, workers—and these were rebels. Those rebellious heads looked very subdued to me on their sticks.

—Joseph Conrad in *HEART OF DARKNESS* (1903)

African rebels ambushed a military patrol. In reprisal the Portuguese Army took a number of headmen from nearby villages, executed them and stuck their heads on poles.

—Joseph Barry in the *NEW YORK POST*, August 27, 1961

1. Fixing the Blame

I MUST CONFESS IN THE BEGINNING that I feel somewhat inadequate for the task before me. I am not a reporter, or a member of an investigating committee, or a policeman, or a lawyer. I am merely a missionary of the Methodist Church, one who has recently returned from a term of service in Angola. I have seen certain things, and heard others, during my stay there, especially things that have happened recently, that I think should come before the attention of the world. I do not now speak as an official representative of the Christian Church in Angola or the Board of Missions in New York. I speak as an individual and bear the full responsibility for all that is said. I am not trying to make a case or prove anything (although it may seem that I am). My purpose is to give information about what is going on. If I seem to be one-sided, it is not because I am ignorant of the fact that there are two sides to the Angolan question. I merely feel that only one side, namely the Portuguese point of view, has been told to the world. The world is ignorant of the African side.

To appreciate what is going on in Angola today it is necessary to understand some basic presuppositions behind Portuguese rule wherever it is found. These presuppositions certainly would not be accepted as valid all over the world, perhaps in no place outside Portugal itself, but they determine all policy and help us to understand the Portuguese attitude and reaction to the recent events in Angola.

1. The Portuguese believe that Angola is Portugal. They do not recognize Angola as a colony but as an integral part of Portugal.

2. The Portuguese believe that the great majority (they used to say *all*) of the Africans consider themselves Portuguese and are content under Portuguese rule and loyal to the Government. In their view, the Africans don't want independence, and all political activity is an expression of external, foreign, *Communist* influence.

3. The Portuguese believe that they are the only ones who know how to colonize properly. It has become for them a sort of religious crusade. They believe that by slow evolution (it may take centuries yet) the Africans will become completely "assimilated" into the Portuguese culture.

4. The Portuguese believe that by rigid control of both internal and external news, displays of force on their part can maintain the present system indefinitely and assure a "peaceful" evolution. Force is considered an unfortunate necessity used for the real good of the majority.

Understanding these presuppositions, we are better able to appreciate the practical situation which has evolved over the years causing the present tragic state of affairs.

Most fundamental, there is a complete lack of political participation by the people, both whites and blacks. Assimilated Africans (about 30,000), together with European settlers, are permitted to vote only once every seven years, and for only one man, the President of the Republic (a purely honorary position without power) in an election the outcome of which is well-known before anyone goes to the polls. No government official in all Angola is elected. All officials are appointed from Lisbon, and the majority of them see Angola for the first time after their appointment. Portugal for all practical purposes is ruled by one man, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, who although never entering a national election has ruled Portugal for 33 years. His power was seen recently when he succeeded in replacing his entire Government, men who had recommended rapid reforms, while he alone remained. Since Angola is a province of Portugal, it is also ruled by Salazar, although he has never been there. Real political parties are prohibited in Angola, and anyone engaged in or suspected of engaging in political activity is considered an enemy of the State and thus a criminal. African nationalism, no less a real

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influence in Angola than in any other part of Africa, is given no channel of expression and has thus become an underground movement.

To control political activity, all publications are rigidly censored. Freedom of the press is permitted for only one month every seven years, before the national elections. From the big Luanda dailies to simple religious pamphlets everything must be passed by the censor. The slightest hint of criticism of the existing order will result in certain banning and possible reprisals.

With no channel for expressing dissatisfaction with things as they are, abusive social and economic practices are the usual order of the day. Forced labor is not only common but defended by the Portuguese as the only way to teach lazy people to work. Everyone who does not have Modelo J (a paper that says one is a private farmer—like so many things it is very difficult to get) must seek an employer. Only by some higher officials is it denied that this system still exists. Local graft and the use of the bribe are but some of the more obvious results of the forced labor system. The desire for cheap labor to support European plantations has also been the cause of increasingly higher standards being required for Africans to become assimilated. Women and children are still the unwilling instruments of the repair of secondary roads and have always been considered a vital part of the coffee harvest and the cotton program. The cotton program is one of the most notorious of the Government forced crop programs and has always been a source of discontent among the people. In many areas, especially in recent years, it has been increasingly difficult for Africans to receive money for their goods. Merchants pay for locally grown crops only with manufactured goods, making it almost impossible for Africans to pay their taxes, let alone send their children to school, support their churches, or fulfill other desires requiring money.

The one bright light in this dreary picture is the almost complete lack of a formal color bar. Certainly there is cultural discrimination. All women in native dress, for instance, must go third class on the train, but African people who dress and act like Portuguese may travel on trains and enter hotels and eating places. Africans who show their assimilation papers may enter movie theaters.

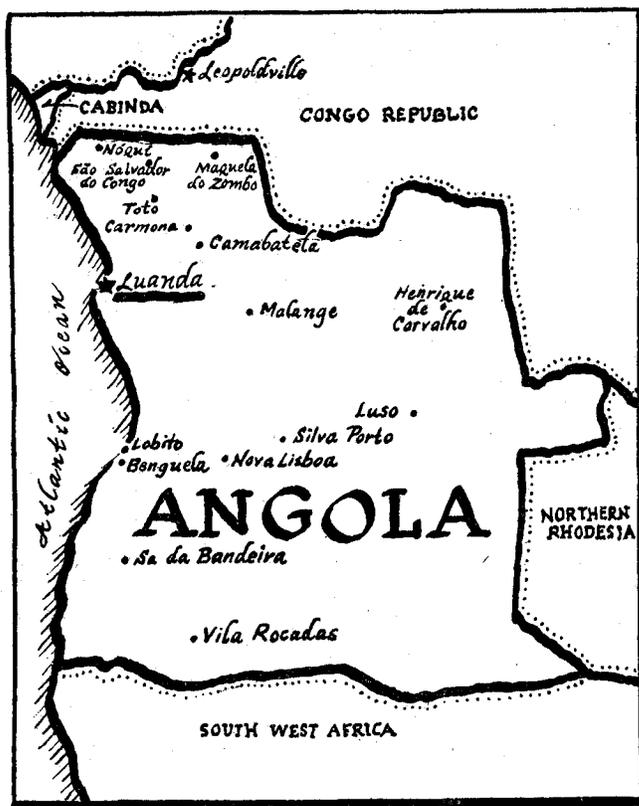
Educational development has been notoriously slow. There are very few government schools and even these are not free. Most education is private, in general being connected with either Protestant or Catholic missions. The Catholic missions are subsidized by the Government. Even the minimum fee required is a major obstacle to the poverty-stricken Africans, and the vicious circle of illiteracy, ignorance, and superstition perpetuates itself. The educational system and the textbooks used are exactly the same as those used in metropolitan Portugal. The system is not adapted to mass education or to the real needs of either the whites or the blacks of Angola. Its purpose is to train a small elite. Even in metropolitan Portugal the people are still about 50 percent illiterate.

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS for Angolan independence have been at work both inside and outside Angola since the Korean War. The two main groups presently at work are the Popular Movement for the Liberation

of Angola, led by Mario Andrade, and the Union of the Peoples of Angola led by Holden Roberto. It is a mistake to consider these foreign or Communist trends. If there are signs in the Angola liberation movements today of leanings toward the East, they are probably caused by the lack of hope that the West is interested in African freedom. These movements are expressions of the same nationalistic phenomenon which has led to the establishment of independent countries all over Africa in recent years.

It is interesting that the impetus for the first outward action of this movement should have had as its point of departure the desire of Portuguese whites for a more liberal government. I refer, of course, to the *Santa Maria* affair, which was a signal to spark Portuguese opposition to the Salazar regime. Within a short time African nationalists attacked the Luanda prisons seeking to free suspected political agitators who had served considerable prison terms before they were ever tried in a court of law. Brutal reprisals followed in the African sections of Luanda with scores of innocent Africans killed by angry Portuguese troops and officials. This action was freely reported in the international news because many foreign correspondents were permitted to enter Angola in expectation of the arrival of the *Santa Maria*. But when these correspondents began to send out reports unfavorable to Portugal, they were sent packing and their films confiscated. From that time until the present, there has been a complete blackout of impartial news concerning the happenings in Angola.

The first African attacks in Luanda were not anti-white as such. They were in essence complaints against the existing order which allowed no recognition of the political rights of the people. It is a tragedy of enormous proportions that the first attacks were



met with such violence and irresponsible reprisals, rather than with sincere recognition of error and the need of reform, as many high government officials (since deposed) advocated. I say unfortunate because it encouraged a view long held by the Africans that peaceful reform is impossible in Angola.

One of the most significant events following directly the happening in Luanda was never mentioned by the Portuguese newspapers. This was the revolt in the Baixa de Cassange in early February. This revolt, again, was not so much an anti-white attack as it was against abusive practices in the government-sponsored cotton program run by the company Cottonag. Africans did break windows and upset the stores of white merchants; they did attack a Catholic mission and the residence of local government officials; but they did not rob the stores, and few if any whites were killed. It was a spontaneous demonstration against practices of the company, and most whites who fled the area agreed that the Africans had a right to complain. A military general was put in charge of crushing the rebellion. What we know of the action is mostly through African sources, for no report appeared in any Portuguese newspaper, and we were forbidden to enter the area. Reports of Africans killed ranged from the high hundreds to ten thousand. Many fled to the Congo. Villages were bombed, and the soldiers "cleaned up" other areas not reached by the bombings. Since Malange (the site of one of our missions) was the point of departure, we are in a position to confirm that hundreds of troops were sent to the area, and that many planes were seen heading there during that period. One pastor sent down word that the smell of dead bodies was so bad they could hardly stand it. At that time Joaquim Monteiro, a Cape Verdian, was District Governor in Malange. He went up to investigate the situation, and concluded that there were just causes for complaint from the African side. He sent a complete report to the Governor General on the abusive practices of the Cottonag company, and leaflets written in Kimbundu were dropped on Baixa de Cassange stating that the Africans would never again be compelled to grow cotton against their will. This was unprecedented. Cottonag, unfortunately, also sent representatives to Luanda, and within two weeks Monteiro was called to Lisbon, supposedly to receive a higher position in the Portuguese UN delegation. To our knowledge, he is still in Lisbon. The brutal suppression of the revolt in the Baixa de Cassange laid a blanket of gloom upon the African population throughout the Malange district, but not a word concerning it was published in the Portuguese newspapers. They continued to tell their people that everything was fine, and that the Africans were perfectly contented. In this way they contributed directly to the death of nearly a thousand of their own white countrymen on isolated farms in the North of Angola about a month later.

From the middle of February until the middle of March, although Africans continued to be picked up as political agitators in Luanda and in other areas, notably in the North, the situation was relatively calm. On March 15 African attacks leading to the violent and brutal killing of hundreds of Portuguese whites, including women and children, were launched. These events have been fully recorded in the Portuguese and world press. The untold part of the story is the reaction of the Portuguese to those first attacks. It was both swift and violent, following the philosophy that brutality must be met with brutality.

I was holding evangelistic meetings near Ucuva when the attacks were started. I was there until March 18 and can honestly say that the Africans in that area did not know what had happened. They were as much in the dark about it as I was. On March 18 the local Chefe de Posto came and asked me to leave immediately because, he said, they were "going to bomb those villages." They bombed villages throughout the Dembos and the Congo districts. The majority of the people who escaped the bombings and did not flee were either taken prisoner or killed. These reprisals were not confined only to the area of rebel attack. White militias were hastily formed and armed throughout the country, and were given complete freedom to use their arms as they saw fit. For various reasons, Protestants seemed to bear the brunt of white ire. Our pastors and church members in the areas of Golungo Alto, Ambaca, Dondo, Cacuso, and the Libolo, areas that never experienced any real rebel activity, were taken and many killed. A reign of terror began. The white militia, in its attempt to revenge the deaths of Portuguese killed in North Angola, went far beyond the original intent of the official who armed them. I assume this from statements made by the Overseas Minister, Senhor Adriano Moreira, who later warned whites not to "make the innocent pay for the crimes of the guilty." Nevertheless, the reign of terror continues. When I left (June 30) more Africans were being taken into custody every day.

In the past three months thousands have disappeared, carried off by the local militia, government officials, or the troops. We have heard of very few new prisons being built, and no one has ever heard of a concentration camp. The prisons are constantly being filled and emptied, and very few return to their families. One of the big questions is: Where are they going? The rumor in Malange (I have heard it from whites, mulattoes, and Africans) is that they are being killed and buried in mass graves by bulldozers. I've never seen it, and I can't prove it, but to dispel the rumors the Portuguese should make it clear where these people are and allow their families to see them. Of all our pastors who are believed to be in prison only one has actually been seen by a relative. Reports come from the prisons of conditions so bad—no beds, no blankets, food impossible to eat, beatings—that we are left wondering if any will survive the treatment. The day I left Angola they held the funeral of one prisoner who had spent over two years in prison without a trial and was one of the few actually convicted in court. He died June 28 of a stroke, and his body was given over to his family—the only such case I know of. It is impossible to know how many Africans have been killed. In some ways the worst part of the present situation is the uncertainty. The Portuguese in the meantime are importing thousands of troops and the rebellion continues.

The Methodist Church, which has had missions in Angola since 1885, has established churches in three areas hit by the recent revolt: the Baixa de Cassange, Luanda, and the Dembos. In a number of other areas, such as the Libolo, Ambaca, Golungo Alto, Dondo, and Cacuso, although there was no rebel activity, pastors and church members have been either killed or put in prison. According to the best figures that we can establish, of the 167 pastors and teachers of the Luanda Region, 26 are supposedly still in prison, 21 killed, 34 are still free, and the whereabouts of 76 are unknown. Of the 34 who are free, only 11 are at their

posts, and only two of these are outside Luanda. The Protestant missions generally have tried to develop African leadership. When no Protestant missions were attacked or missionaries harmed by Africans in North Angola, many whites concluded that these missions were "cooperating" with the rebel activity. We were even accused in the Portuguese press of "arming" terrorists.

THERE ARE SEVERAL IMPORTANT THINGS to note about the present situation. *First*, the Government is encouraging and stimulating tribalism. By their constant reiteration that the Bailundos (and other South Angolan people) are loyal, they hope to divide the Africans into two camps. They recognize that the most valuable African weapon is unity.

Second, they are trying to stimulate religious hatred and hope thereby to divide the Africans further between Protestants and Catholics. However, it is clear that the revolt is in no way a religious or tribal movement as such. It is a nationalistic movement of the people which is not confined to any particular religious or tribal group.

Third, Portuguese ire has been especially directed against those in whom they took most pride previously, namely assimilated Africans (black Portuguese, if you like). The worst reprisals have been against pastors, teachers, nurses, and government functionaries, the more highly educated and better trained classes.

Fourth, the present Government shows no signs of reform. I use as evidence the following facts: 1. The new Governor General, Venancio Deslandes, was sent to do "the exact opposite" (*exactamente ao contrario*, quoted the Luanda daily, *O Comercio*) from what the UN asked; 2. They continue to pick up people in Luanda and other areas; more were arrested in Luanda the last week that I was there than in the previous month; 3. They still refuse to give information to Africans regarding the whereabouts of relatives

who have been taken prisoner; 4. There has been no attempt to bring prisoners to a court of justice; 5. Forced labor continues; thousands of Africans are being rounded up for the difficult coffee harvest; 6. Rumors have spread that the Portuguese will level Angola if they are forced to leave.

In regard to the future, it is easy to be pessimistic and difficult to be optimistic. Salazar, from the standpoint of economics, morale, and his own prestige, is dedicated to putting down the rebellion quickly, and is sending thousands of troops. On the other hand, the rebels seem equally dedicated to continuing their guerrilla activity. They are favored by the natural terrain and reports indicate that thousands are presently being trained in the Congo. The Portuguese have made it clear that surrender is impossible, and it probably would not be acceptable to the Africans in any case. The result would seem to be a perpetuation of the present tragic situation with more and more bloodshed. It is impossible to think that Africa can anywhere long remain under complete white domination. The only real hope seems to be in a radical rethinking on the part of the Lisbon Government, and a reform movement leading to assurance of basic rights for all. There was a time when a multiracial society would have been easily possible in Angola. The real tragedy is that so many whites in their fear and anger and desire for revenge have tried to burn the last bridge of hope for their future in Africa.

Five great unanswered questions remain:

1. Why didn't the Portuguese report the events in the Baixa de Cassange?
2. Where have all the Africans who have disappeared been put?
3. Why won't the Government give information on those who have been taken prisoner?
4. Why won't the Portuguese allow foreign correspondents to report freely the events?
5. Can the Portuguese justify the bombing of African villages?

2. Forced Labor

MUCH TO THE DISMAY OF PORTUGAL, and in spite of all her attempts to regulate and control news, world attention has been increasingly focused on her West African colony of Angola. Angola is virtually in a state of civil war. Conservative estimates list 1,000 whites and about 50,000 Africans dead already, and the rebellion continues. It is reported that 130,000 African refugees have fled to the Congo. Strange as this may seem, observers who have watched the evolution of events in recent years are not surprised at these results. The tragic situation which has developed in Angola seems merely to prove further the truth of the words: "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." Portugal has sown the seeds of hate, violence, and social injustice for centuries. In the face of increasing agitation and discontent, she had adamantly refused to compromise, to recognize past errors and institute reforms. She has followed the blind policy of sanctioning the *status quo*, of thinking and saying that what was possible 500 years ago is still possible. She has completely refused to come to terms with the 20th Century and to recognize that a new era has dawned in Africa. The seeds of this great failure are just now coming to their violent maturity.

The underlying causes of African unrest are amazingly numerous and all-encompassing. Every phase of life seems to present some great social problem, gnawing at the very fabric of human relations and demanding reform. It is impossible to single out any one of these problems and say that it is more important than all the others. They all contribute to the cancer. Nevertheless, I think that it is fair to say that there is no social or economic practice in Angola which is more devious or abusive of fundamental human rights than is the forced labor system.

On the international level Portuguese officials quite often deny that forced labor is still practiced in Angola, and it is not unusual for them to produce a mountain of official documents to prove that the system was abandoned many years ago. Of course this is pure and simple propaganda issued for world consumption. The willful distortion of reality can be justified, they argue, by the fact that the world in general would not understand the truly benevolent character of Portugal's "realistic" colonizing policies.

Interestingly enough, in Angola itself no one would ever think of denying that it still exists because it is so common. Practically no economic activity takes place anywhere without the use of forced labor. In

Angola not only is its existence admitted, but it is defended as something good. The Portuguese boast of the system as a great blessing, not only for the whites, who would be destitute without it, but also for the Africans themselves. Some, in their more idealistic moments, look upon it as a kind of school where naturally "lazy" people are learning to work. I remember speaking with an Administrator in Caxito, a small African town near Luanda, in March; he strongly defended the forced labor system as the only way "to get the men to stop living off their wives." He was careful not to mention the fact that women also have their place in this program.

According to the system, everyone must work and must show the produce of his work. Most Africans live on and from the land. Therefore one of the major tasks of the African in Angola is to make manifest that he is a productive unit in his own right. He has to prove this to the local authorities. If he is fortunate he may be classified officially as a private farmer and receive a paper, called Modelo J, establishing his status. Anyone who has Modelo J is free to go about his business and develop his farm. Everyone who does not have Modelo J must seek an employer; if he does not find one, one is found for him. It is very difficult to get Modelo J, and for this there are several reasons.

Sometimes there is a real shortage of good land available in a particular area. Certainly if the whole of Angola is considered, 14 times larger than Portugal, with a population of less than 5,000,000, there is no national land shortage. But in certain areas, notably in the coffee country, land has become a considerable problem. In Northern Angola, for instance, where most of the heavy fighting is going on, hundreds of white plantations have been carved from African holdings by the simple expedient of the whites registering officially with the Government any land that looked good to them, disregarding completely any African claims to title and ownership. The result is that in many areas there is a considerable shortage of good land, and the Africans are forced to work for those who have it.

In other cases, an African may be producing enough from his own land to qualify for Modelo J, but the local administrative authority, under pressure from the European planters' desire for cheap labor, may refuse to give it to him. According to the law, for instance, an African with 5,000 coffee plants is eligible to be classified as a private farmer. However, throughout the Dembos area, where I traveled extensively last year, I found Africans with 10,000 to 12,000 coffee plants who were still waiting for their Modelo J. They had to work for the European plantation owner, receiving about 35 cents a day, sometimes less, until they finished the daily task. Then if time and energy permitted they would go to their own plantings. In most cases the only thing that really assures the African of receiving Modelo J is the outright permission of the European employer, something which he naturally is very reluctant to give. Consequently most Africans find themselves in the iron grip of a vicious cycle in which they serve as unwilling and poverty-stricken servants, contributing to the growing wealth of a white man whose riches are made possible by both their land and their labor.

Local plantation owners usually maintain a very close relationship with the administrative officials. When a new Administrator or Chefe de Posto arrives,

he is courted and given gifts to make him feel "at home." Most officials freely admit that their salaries are inadequate and that extra income is necessary to maintain their families. Acceptance of gifts soon puts even the more well-meaning officials in a compromised position, and later when the call for more laborers is made, it is virtually impossible to refuse. When the coffee harvest begins, the Chefe de Posto spends almost all his time "satisfying" the needs of plantation owners for workers. He sends out calls to the villages, either to the local *soba* (an African chief elected by the village) or the *regedor* (an African appointed by the Chefe to take charge of the administrative affairs of the village), asking for a certain number of workers listing the desired number of men or women. If the *soba* or *regedor* fails to supply them, he is usually taken to the Post and given corporal punishment. I talked with a *soba* in Quiculungo last year who received 200 *palmatorios* (a hard hit on the palm by a flat wooden mallet with holes in it) until his arms swelled up to his shoulders and his hands became a bloody mass. He was unable to work for two months afterward. This happened because he had failed to produce the required number of workers. Without effect was his plea that he had already sent everyone available and that it was absolutely impossible to fulfill the demand because there simply weren't so many people. If a *soba* or *regedor* is "clever" (he is not generally considered dishonest) he may gain quite an income protecting his "friends" from the forced labor system.

It would be bad enough if the labor program included only men. In some ways, however, its most insidious element is that women and children are also involved. Again in regard to practices in the coffee country, during the harvest, which begins in June, it is common for women and children to spend up to six months working on the European plantations. Generally the first three months are given over to picking the coffee and the other three to separating out the bad beans after they have passed through the mechanical sheller. As one might well imagine, it is extremely difficult to carry out a school program under such a system. The students start their studies late in the year and often cannot go to the examinations (generally held in July) because of their work on the plantations. In more recent years we have been able to get "concessions," allowing the students to complete their examinations before being taken for the coffee harvest. It is not uncommon for women and older children to be separated, some working on one plantation while others work on another. Spiritual degradation is one result of the forced separation of families and the unhealthy moral life on the plantation compounds. This is especially a problem for young teen-age girls who become the victims of the desires of unscrupulous whites, mulattoes, or blacks. As if all this were not enough, usually women and children are not paid a fixed wage but are given a sort of "tip" at the end of the coffee season, sometimes as little as 50 escudos (less than \$2.00). When I was in Ucuia in March I was informed that last year was the first time that women had ever received a regular wage in that area. They received two and a half escudos (about 10 cents) a day for picking a bag and a half (about 200 pounds) of coffee beans. It is little wonder that the coffee country of Northern Angola was the scene of the most violent anti-colonial attacks ever witnessed in Africa.

The work of women and children is not confined merely to the coffee country however. They still serve as the unpaid instruments for the building and repair of most of Angola's roads, and play a vital part in the cotton program. The cotton program is one of the most notorious of the Government's forced crop programs and merits some special mention. Sometimes the system follows the general lines of the practice in the coffee country, the Africans becoming the employees of the large cotton companies. More often, however, the Africans remain private growers working plots of land assigned to them by Government or company officials and are paid a price for their product. The Portuguese Government reserves the right to decide what the people will grow. Sometimes the crop chosen for a particular area is corn, or beans, or peanuts, but most commonly cotton. Overseers are sent to mark out the plots and supervise the planting and cultivating. Having a cordial relationship with the overseer, who is generally noted for his cruelty to "unfriendly" workers, is looked upon as essential. His friendship is gained by gifts of goats or chickens or money if it is demanded.

Cotton presents a special problem in that it does well only on certain types of soil and quickly exhausts the mineral resources of the land. In most areas of Angola, since very little fertilizer is used, two years is the maximum time that a particular plot can be used for cotton without a rest. The victims of the cotton program may begin by cultivating near their own village. The following year, however, they may be moved to another area ten miles away. Later they may be moved 50 miles away or even farther. Sometimes they are forced to grow cotton in an area where there are no streams or springs to provide water for personal use. Then they must either carry the water long distances or buy it from merchants who have the means of transportation. Lack of water is a common complaint in cotton areas. Food presents a similar problem. Two homes must be maintained or the original one abandoned. Generally the African who is caught in this system, whenever possible, divides the family, leaving some to look after the livestock and cassava fields while others cultivate cotton at a distance. Perhaps the most discouraging part of all is that the reward of their work and sacrifice is usually so meager, because of dishonest scale weights and the low prices paid by local merchants or the cotton com-

panies, that most Africans end the year in debt.

This type of situation was the direct cause of the revolt in the Baixa de Cassange (an area near Malange extending from Quela to Marimba) in February of this year. It was a spontaneous demonstration against the abusive practices of the Cottonag Company, and even most of the Europeans who fled the area expressed sympathy for the plight of the Africans. But the Portuguese army and air force bombed and strafed villages throughout the area, and hundreds or perhaps thousands of Africans were killed.

Some publicity has been given in the international press to the use of "contract" workers in Angola. The Portuguese maintain that they are hired on a purely voluntary basis; they deny that force is used in their enlistment. Nevertheless, it remains a fact that the principles which govern the Portuguese labor policy are the same everywhere. In many areas there are no nearby European plantations, and in such areas villages are liable to raids in which Africans are picked up and sent off for work in other areas. These "migratory" workers form the backbone of the Angolan labor force and are considered essential to the coffee and sisal crops as well as to the manganese mines, the diamond industry, the railroads, etc. When a Portuguese businessman or farmer needs more labor he generally asks the local *Chefe de Posto* or Administrator. Sometimes the latter procures workers through official channels. More often he gets them through his own contacts, thereby making a little personal money on the side. Local graft and the use of the bribe flourish under such circumstances. The most common term of service for a *contratado* is one year at work and six months at home. Following this period (the exact time is not too carefully observed) he is eligible to be taken off for another year somewhere else.

One might have expected that the Portuguese would institute radical reforms following the attacks which have rocked Angola in recent months. Observers, however, have looked in vain for any recognition of error or signs of reform. The fact is that forced labor not only continues but has increased in recent weeks. The Government has rounded up thousands of African "voluntarios" in Luanda and South Angola for the difficult coffee harvest. They still insist that the Portuguese are the only people who know how to colonize properly.

MALCOLM McVEIGH left Angola in late June, 1961. He had been there four years. Commissioned as an overseas missionary of the Methodist Church in 1956, he studied a year in Lisbon and became an agricultural missionary in Angola in 1958. He has a BSc in Agriculture from Rutgers University and a BD from Drew.

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