

PORTUGAL IN AFRICA

The Portuguese presence in Africa today is still characterized by ignorance, repression and a careless exploitation of the African people and in purely human terms the lessons of the past offer little hope for the future. (James Duffy, *Portuguese Africa*, 1959)

PORTUGAL IN AFRICA

Portugal is the last old-style colonial power in the world. With a population of about nine million in a 35,000-square mile corner of Europe, she still attempts to rule 14 million people occupying nearly 800,000 square miles in Africa (and outposts in Asia as well). Since 1961, nationalist African forces have been challenging the Portuguese occupation by armed rebellion.

PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN TERRITORIES

Portugal's colonies in Africa include Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands off the coast of Mauritania-Senegal, and Sao Tome and Principe, islands in the Gulf of Guinea. Guinea (Bissau) is a small enclave between Guinea (Conakry) and Senegal in West Africa, with a population just over half a million, and a subsistence agricultural economy. Angola on the Atlantic and Mozambique on the Indian Ocean are the northern outposts of suppressed southern Africa, vast territories with rich agricultural lands, untapped mineral wealth including oil, and enormous economic potential.

Despite the subsidized efforts of Portugal to encourage European emigration to the colonies, and the migration of hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing the war zones, Africans outnumber Europeans in the colonial areas at ratios of 15 to 1 and up. The population breakdown in 1960-62 was:

	Total	White	African	Metico (racially mixed)
Angola	4,957,500	300,000*	4,604,000	53,500
Mozambique	6,581,465	150,000	6,400,000	31,465
Guinea	534,568	3,000	527,000	4,568

BACKGROUND

The Portuguese first made contact with the African peoples and states in her present territories in the fifteenth century, but did not control them administratively until after World War I. The 500 years of Portuguese rule is a carefully fostered myth. On both coasts Portugal found complex and flourishing civilizations and her control was limited to coastal forts to protect trade and alliances with local chiefs and princes. The subsequent introduction of the slave trade in Angola led to war, depopulation, and chaos in the interior. For two centuries Africa, for Portugal, was primarily an outpost on the way to India. Only when the eastern empire met reverses was serious consideration given to the African interior, and a search for gold and silver undertaken. African uprisings were frequent on both coasts well into the twentieth century, and control was not established by Portugal until after other European powers had set the pattern with greater colonial strength and stability.

Throughout the whole period, Portugal proclaimed a civilizing and Christian mission in Africa. But it was not until 1951 that she claimed the colonies as provinces of Portugal. Then they were reclassified in preparation for Portugal's entrance into the United Nations, to forestall possible international concern about non-self-governing territories.

Portugal's colonies differ from South Africa in the absence of apartheid, and the color line is not sharply drawn. Until the sixties, when the independence of most of Africa created new pressures, the colonial populations were divided into Europeans; *assimilados*, Africans or meticos officially equal to the Europeans; and *indigenas*, the native population. After the theoretical 500 years of civilizing rule, only 1 per cent of the African population had reached *assimilado* status. The structure and theory of Portuguese colonial power are economic, social and political, not specifically racist, but *the effect is the same*.

* Since this period the white settlers in Angola have increased substantially with an estimated white population of 420,000.

The most that can be said on behalf of equality and multiracialism in the Portuguese colonies is that the people of Portugal, like the people of the colonies, suffer under a militarized dictatorship and economic oligarchy; their poverty is crushing, their literacy low, their civil liberties in abeyance.

Public opinion about Portugal's colonial progress was jolted by the 1961 revolt in Angola, and today the colonialists face major wars of liberation in all three territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. The Lisbon Government has been forced therefore to remodel her myths by passing reforms for the provinces, by accelerating economic and educational development, and by trying to modernize the colonial structures. But any political opposition, particularly the African nationalist movements, is branded and propagandized as being Communist-inspired. Thus behind the facade of Portuguese flexibility is the continued brutal repression of popular elements and the denial of self-determination.

THE POLICE STATE APPARATUS

The police state in the colonies is an extension of the police state in Portugal itself and the recent change in rulers did not alter the structure. For three decades, Premier Antonio de Oliveira Salazar built up a firm control of Portugal and its empire through an elitist coalition of business, military, and church powers. At home, opposition is silenced by imprisonment or exile; in the colonies by imprisonment or execution.

The most feared arm of the government in the suppression of dissent is the Gestapo-like PIDE, the International Police for the Defense of the State. But the government structure and its supporting legal system are themselves totalitarian. Government censorship, the prohibition of trade unions, and a single-party political system aid in close control of the populace. Enfringements on possible rights of the accused include a six months' renewable detention without arraignment, legal charges, or right to counsel; the constant "unavailability" of legal counsel; the use of torture to extract confessions with no check on interrogation procedures; and the interference of the PIDE in legal affairs. Prisoners are threatened with "fixed residence" in concentration camps and state "security" measures are used to prolong sentences.

The colonial situation aggravates these injustices. The people overseas are more defenseless (more than 90 per cent do not even understand the language of their rulers), the police more ruthless, and the state personified in any Portuguese citizen, particularly an employer. Missionary accounts detail the brutality with which the African majority is controlled.

The *indigenas*, even without the name, are subject to a passbook system not unlike that of South Africa. The *caderneta* (passbook) contains the tax and labor record of the bearer, and names of members of the family with photographs and fingerprints. It must be shown on demand, and stamped before the bearer can travel. If papers are lost or not in order, the bearer may be sentenced to correctional labor (a possibility that furnishes a convenient labor-supply control). Intellectuals, or *assimilados*, are subject to different harassment. For example, the PIDE arrested a group of Mozambicans including authors, journalists, an artist, a student, and a medical assistant in December, 1964. They were accused of contact with subversive nationalist organizations. They were detained until February, 1965, and not placed on trial until the next year, when Lisbon annulled the trial because of unsubstantial evidence. Yet after this, in April, 1967, the men were brought to trial again, and they are in prison today.

COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

Although they were declared integral provinces of Portugal by the 1951 Overseas Reform Act, the colonies are still administered through the Overseas Ministry as colonies. Central policy decisions are made by the autonomous Council of Ministers, with the Premier presiding, in consultation with the Overseas Council and other bodies. Since 1964, the "provinces" have been represented on the Overseas Council by two members and an alternate elected by each provincial Legislative Council. The Legislative Councils are not representative and their functions are only consultative. Their elected members (15 out of 36 in Angola and 3 of 29 in Mozambique) are chosen by a narrow electoral roll which virtually excludes Africans in Angola, and by chiefs in the land reserves in Mozambique. Top officials such as the Governor General are chosen in Lisbon, and all officials are appointive. A three-layer bureaucracy controls the people: civil, military, and PIDE.

THE ECONOMY

The potentially rich colonies of Angola and Mozambique serve the traditional colonial function of providing the mother country with raw materials, external markets, and, because of their wealth, foreign exchange. Major export earnings come from primary agricultural products that are mostly in the hands of Europeans: in Angola, coffee, sisal, maize, cotton, and sugar; in Mozambique, cotton, cashews, sugar, copra, sisal, and tea. In Angola, secondary earnings come from mining; in Mozambique, from transportation (port and rail). Angola has oil, diamonds, and iron ore resources for significant economic development.

Thus far, industrialization has been minimal in both territories, confined to some processing of primary products and light manufacturing for local consumption. However, something of an economic boom has started—in Angola as the result of exploitation of oil by U.S. companies and in Mozambique as the result of heavy South African investment, exemplified by the new hydroelectric complex, the Cabora Bassa.

Among the recent changes made by Portugal in reaction to world opinion was to open the territories to foreign investment. Portugal's own resources do not permit full exploitation of the natural wealth of the colonies or diversification of their economies, but it was not until 1965 that foreign investment was encouraged (when war expenditures were draining Portugal's resources while the wars called attention to the backwardness of the colonial economies). Such investment currently is being concentrated in mining, including oil; processing of agricultural and fishery products; and land (plantation) ownership. Both Angola and Mozambique have increased their share of the world export market and are benefiting from an expanded infra-structure, including hydroelectric and irrigation projects. Reforms in trade relationships between Portugal and the expanding colonies are too recent for analysis, but there is conflict over the lack of free convertibility in currencies and also budgetary deficit problems.

LAND POLICY AND USE

Some 90 per cent of the Angolan and Mozambican people still live on the land and try to make their living from it. Thus land policy is closer to the life and livelihood of the people than any other.

Portuguese land policy is one of actively promoting European settlement in the colonies through land concessions and settlement schemes. This is part of a plan for better utilization of land by the total population, but, even more important, for the strengthening of European control. Approximately 12,000 settlers enter Angola annually, and a lesser number Mozambique, but European colonization is growing in both countries. Poverty in Portugal is a strong inducement.

Land policy favors the settler to the extent that in Angola average land acreage occupied by Europeans is 60 times that by Africans; 550 European plantations produce 75 per cent of Angolan coffee, the major export crop.

Africans have no representation on the plenary councils of the provincial settlement boards which advise on matters of land settlement and rural reorganization. The latest administrative moves include expensive settlement projects for Portuguese peasants (i.e. in the Mozambique Limpopo Valley) and inducements for Portuguese soldiers to settle in the colonies for economic and defense purposes. South African farmers, too, are settling in Mozambique.

The administration is also forcibly relocating the people in *regedorias*, African land reserves. Ostensibly, the resettlement provides opportunity for medical, educational, and technical assistance to Africans. But the relocations, often regimented, barrack-like villages, also make possible easier administrative and military control of the people. Although in some cases Africans if registered under Portuguese civil law may own land, the *regedorias* are communal areas; Africans who live outside of them are subject to removal from their land if it is not cultivated for two years.

The difference between European and African agricultural settlements is deeply discriminatory, at least in Mozambique. A *colonato* is considered a European-type of settlement and the farmer is granted 125 acres of land together with technical and financial aid. In the *ordenamento*, the African-type settlement, the farmer is allotted 25 acres. Gross annual returns on these projects average \$16,200 per settler family in the *colonato*; \$600—one-thirtieth as much—in the *ordenamento*. Theoretically, an *ordenamento* farmer who proves his skills may join a *colonato*, but his starting handicap is enormous.

LABOR

Recent reforms have modified the traditional system of forced labor in the colonies that differed little from slavery. But administrative control and coercion still force African men to provide labor for colonialists' agricultural, mining, and public works' schemes without any say in what their wages and working conditions will be. In 1958, Marvin Harris wrote in reference to Mozambique:

All that is necessary for [this] system to function is for the administrator to have the power to indict the Africans as malingerers without having to prove it in a court of law. Under existing laws, natives so accused are faced with the alternative of being conscripted for public works or of "voluntarily" signing a contract with private employers. These laws indirectly equip the administrator with almost complete discretionary power over the Africans' mode of employment.

The extent of pressure exerted is revealed indirectly by statistics showing that less than 10 per cent of the male population live and remain at home throughout the year. This, in turn, has potential for the loss of unworked land, discussed above.

Wages. The absence of trade unionism or even minimal civil liberties means that African workers have no protection from coercion and wages are abnormally low. Only random figures are available: the average unskilled migrant worker in Angola earns \$22.70 per month, \$10 of which is given to him "in kind;" while non-migrant unskilled workers receive \$23.00 per month. A skilled worker may earn up to \$116 a month, although the minimum subsistence income needs for a family of five in a city such as Luanda are more than \$200 per month. The average daily wage of agricultural workers in Mozambique is 18 cents a day, and estimated earnings of Mozambican cotton workers are less than \$30 per year.

The low wages of Africans depress the per capita annual income to an estimated \$97 to \$143. On the other hand, improvement in wage scales (at least compared to Portuguese home wages) is one of the attractions used to spur European migration. Although racial breakdowns in the wage schedules are not published, it is clear that in general European workers receive up to three times the wages of Africans.

The European profit from low African incomes can be seen also in price differentials. Annual per capita income for independent coffee farmers in Angola is \$42 and their coffee sells in rural markets at \$175 a ton. The export price paid to the European exporter is \$630 a ton.

Migrant Labor. The exploitation of Mozambique labor at home has made Mozambican workers a good recruitment source for the mining industry in South Africa, where one third of the total work force is now Mozambican. The workers are recruited by labor associations representing South African mines. In southern Mozambique, the primary recruiter is the Witwatersrand Native Labor Association (on whose Board sits the American financier, Charles W. Engelhard).

As an average, 100,000 Mozambicans are recruited annually for a maximum 18-month period, and the contract seems rather to be with the Portuguese government than with the men themselves. The Portuguese collect a service charge of approximately \$5.25 per laborer, and Portugal is allowed to maintain taxation collection posts in South Africa. Half of the workers' wages are returned by the employers to Mozambique to be paid only when the recruits return home. As part of the current contract, South Africa agreed to use the Mozambican port of Lorenzo Marques as the import facility for half of the goods coming into the Transvaal region of South Africa.

Workers from Mozambique also enter South Africa for other work, sometimes illegally, and additional workers go to adjacent countries. An estimated 300,000 leave the country annually as migrant workers.

Social Services. Very little is recorded on the general social services (health, pensions, insurance) provided to Africans, but in the most developed territory of Angola life expectancy is only 28 to 35 years, while one out of every three children dies at birth.

EDUCATION

The Portuguese maintain that there is no racial discrimination in education, and no racial breakdown on student population is available. It would, however, be fair to say that rural schools are almost completely African while urban schools vary from African through integrated to wholly white. At the more advanced levels of secondary schools, there are progressively fewer Africans. The 1965 statistics given below refer to school population, the number in schools, and not to the full population of school age.

	Angola	Mozambique	Guinea (1964)
Rural Primary (first 3 years)	118,372	373,912	1,376
per cent of total school enrollment	45	75	
Full Primary (first 5 years)	106,773	68,153	11,664
per cent of total school enrollment	43	20	
Secondary (academic, technical)	27,797	24,887	787
per cent of total school enrollment	10.6	4.4	

Present emphasis is on technical education and the growth of rural primary schools. This may mean that more children will have three years' elementary schooling; but adults with five years of schooling and less are usually classified as functional illiterates. At present it is estimated that more than 90 per cent of the people are illiterate; these figures indicate that the illiteracy rate will not drop below 90 per cent.

THE WARS OF LIBERATION

Open fighting between Portuguese troops and African nationalist forces has been continuous in Angola since 1961. Three major nationalist political groups are involved: the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile-National Front for the Liberation of Angola (GRAE-FNLA), with headquarters in Kinshasa, Congo; the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) with headquarters in Brazzaville, Congo; and the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). In Mozambique, two major parties exist, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) and the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee (COREMO). Fighting by Frelimo began in northern Mozambique in September, 1964; three provinces are now under siege. In Guinea, half of the country is controlled by the forces of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC).

In all three countries, as nationalist organization and military effectiveness have increased, economic, social, and political institutions are being established by the populations living in areas no longer under Portuguese domination.

The Portuguese Response. The costly struggle on widely scattered fronts is a severe strain which Portugal could not bear without help from other nations. In 1967, military expenditures accounted for 45 per cent of her national budget. Troops in the African territories are estimated at between 130 and 150,000 and to maintain them a new military service law in 1967 expanded both eligibility criteria and length of service.

The presence of South African troops has already been reported in Mozambique, and South African equipment in Angola. It is obvious from the South African press that South Africa considers defense of white minority rule throughout southern Africa (including Rhodesia as well as the Portuguese colonies) as an integral part of her own self defense.

NATO. However, throughout the years, the bulk of the support for Portugal has come from her allies in NATO, and particularly from France and West Germany. Portugal was invited to join NATO in 1949 by the United States, despite NATO's founding "on the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law."

The present Commander of Allied Forces in Europe, Lyman Lemnitzer, defended the alliance on May 8, 1963: "Portuguese soldiers, while fighting for the defense of principles, are defending land, raw materials, and bases, which are indispensable not only for the defense of Europe but for the whole Western world." Recently Portuguese officials have pressed NATO to extend its official sphere to include the southern Atlantic and Indian Ocean areas. African nationalists who are engaged in a difficult struggle against the Portuguese quite naturally identify NATO with the Portuguese enemy.

Portugal's direct gains from NATO membership, other than ideological support, are: an annual military review which makes recommendations for the improvement of military forces; information from planning committees in the fields of petroleum, coal and steel, and agricultural and industrial materials; and officer training at the NATO Defense College.

The United States. In addition to undetermined amounts and kinds of NATO contribution to Portugal's defense, military relations are conducted on a bilateral level. For the United States the use of the Portuguese Azores as a military base is deemed the most significant security interest. This agreement, after the termination of the contract in 1962, is based on ad hoc Portuguese consent. The U.S. also maintains a permanent military mission in Portugal and military and naval officials have been cited as accompanying Portuguese officials on tours of the African territories. Under the U.S. Military Assistance Program, Portugal received before 1960 \$300 million worth of military equipment, although after 1961 this amount has been substantially reduced to less than \$5 million per year. The U.S. has also lent \$15 million for the building of three naval escort destroyers, and in 1967 renewed the loan of two such ships to Portugal with the stipulation that they not be used south of the Tropic of Cancer.

But ambiguity still surrounds the extent of American military aid. In 1965 a group of international arms salesmen and pilots were indicted in the U.S. for exporting, without a license, seven Douglas B-26 Invader Bombers to Portugal. The aircraft, part of a total Portuguese order of 20, were flown from the U.S. through Canada to Portugal. The defendants in the case claimed to be working under the protection of the Central Intelligence Agency, and although the C.I.A. denied involvement, the men were never convicted. Other more indirect sales of American armaments occur through sub-contracting by American aircraft corporations, with the ultimate sale of American equipment to Portugal.

The United States insists that all such military aid which is officially directed to Portugal is used only to bolster mutual security interests in the Atlantic, while material cannot be used for Portugal's African wars and control is maintained over certain types of private sales as well. Although Portugal is openly receiving more naval and aircraft from European allies, it is undeniable that any military aid to the Portuguese regime or to its NATO partners supports the overall strengthening of the military and thus the reallocation of resources to the major African battlefield.

UNITED NATIONS ACTION

In 1960, the General Assembly declared that Portugal's colonies were under the jurisdiction of the U.N. Charter, and requested that Portugal report to the Secretary General about her non-self-governing territories. Portugal refused, stating that the territories were a domestic concern. In 1961, the General Assembly established a sub-committee to examine conditions in Angola after the war began there. Following a year-long study, it called upon Portugal to cease its war of repression and to transfer power to the Angolan people.

In 1963 and 1965, the Security Council, recognizing the right of the territories to independence, called on all nations to refrain from offering any assistance, including arms supplies, which would enable Portugal to continue suppressing the people of the territories. The General Assembly, in 1965, asked all nations to break off trade and diplomatic relations with Portugal. On all of these resolutions, the United States abstained.

In 1966, the U.N. Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization called for the sanctions of the 1965 resolution to be made obligatory for all member states. Due in part to United States opposition, the General Assembly did not take that action. The Assembly has continued to call for an end to military, financial and other aid to Portugal, and has recently added a call for moral and material assistance to the African people. Representatives of the Republic of the Congo, Senegal, Zambia, Tanzania, and Guinea have submitted complaints to the U.N. about Portuguese military actions taken against their countries. In addition agencies of the United Nations are involved in the care of hundreds of thousands of African refugees from the territories.

UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT

The United States' primary concern in relations with Portugal has been for the strategic value of the Azores base and the Portuguese role in European defense. But there are growing economic reasons for U.S. interest in a stable Portugal and continued Portuguese control over African territories.

Trade. The United States is Portugal's third largest trading partner, taking 9-10 per cent of Portuguese exports worth \$68 million, and providing a comparable amount of her imports. The U.S. is also Portugal's third largest source of income-producing tourism. The U.S. takes 26 per cent of Angola's exports, valued at \$57 million (1965-66), and provides 9 per cent of her imports, including wheat, automobile parts, machinery, worth \$21 million. One-half to two-thirds of Angola's coffee and more than half her fishmeal go to the United States. In 1965, exports from Mozambique, mainly tea and cashews, to the U.S. were worth \$7.5 million, and imports, \$9 million.

Loans. The Interamerican Capital Corporation of New York has made large loans to Angola and Mozambique for the construction of a textile factory, paper mill, hydroelectric installations, roads, and airports. The Export-Import Bank loaned \$2.5 million, guaranteed by the Portuguese Government, to the Companhia Minerio de Lobito e Sociedade Mineira do Lombige to purchase 30 American-made diesel locomotives for the transport of Angolan iron ore; and more than \$5.5 million has been loaned to the Portuguese Government since 1961. The Bank of America is involved in the financing of the large hydroelectric dam project, the Cabora Bassa, in northwest Mozambique, and brokers Dillon Read and Company have arranged a number of American-backed loans to Portugal.

Investment. Since Portugal relaxed foreign investment regulations in 1965, major U.S. companies have invested in the African territories. Allis Chalmers has nine branches in Angola and has contracted for the processing of iron concentrates. Firestone plans to invest \$5 million in a Mozambique factory. General Tire and Rubber Company holds stock in an Angolan manufacturing firm. Standard Electric of Portugal, a U.S. subsidiary, will manufacture telecommunications electrical parts in Luanda, Angola. Pfizer Laboratories and Singer Sewing Machines have branches in the territories, and Anglo-American Corporation, through its South African company with American capital, holds growing interests in Angolan fisheries, a cashew business in Mozambique, and mineral prospecting in Angola (copper) and Mozambique (iron). An American businessman sits on the Board of Directors of the Angola Diamond Company (DIAMANG) the largest employer in Angola. This Board receives net profits four times the amount of the official wages paid in cash to the more than 25,000 workers.

Oil Companies. More important than these for both financial and strategic reasons is the involvement of American oil corporations. The major company is the Gulf subsidiary, Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, which has had an exclusive concession from the Portuguese Government for exploration off the Cabinda enclave since 1957. At a cost of \$125 million, a rich strike was finally made in 1966. Angola will receive 50 per cent of the profits, providing Portugal with much needed revenue of \$10 to \$20 million a year. By 1970 Portugal will be self-sufficient in oil and, in fact, an exporter. If production aims are met, Angola will be the fourth largest oil producer in the world, and of strategic importance to the entire economic system of southern Africa, especially industrialized South Africa which is still exploring for oil off her own coast. The oil discovery has spurred government rural reorganization of Africans in Cabinda and strengthened defense arrangements to prevent attacks against the oil installations. Recently Diversa of Dallas received a 20 thousand square mile diamond and oil concession in Angola. Mobil Oil and Texaco companies act as distributors of fuels and lubricants in Angola.

In Mozambique, the Mozambique Gulf Oil Company, a subsidiary of Gulf Oil and Pan American International Oil Company, discovered butane gas deposits off the coast, and a gas line is being built to supply the Transvaal area of South Africa. Other U.S. firms with oil exploration concessions include Hunt International Petroleum Company, Sunray Mozambique Oil Company, Clark Mozambique Oil Company, Skelley Mozambique Oil Company, and in northern Mozambique, Texaco. Caltex and Mobil distribute oil products in Mozambique.

In Guinea, Standard Oil of New Jersey, through Esso Exploration, Inc., has a sixty-year petroleum concession and has thus far invested more than \$8 million.

These corporations not only provide Portugal with tax returns but also contribute to a special tax established in 1965 for corporations whose annual profits reach \$16,000 or more. Other corporations have made contributions to Volunteer Corps in Angola.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

In effect, the United States is at present supporting Portugal in its attempt to maintain an African empire despite the rebellion of its subjects in every area and the opposition of most of the world. The U.S. is allied militarily with Portugal; its economic interests in the African territories are growing; and its influence has already prevented meaningful United Nations action to aid the nationalist struggles for freedom.

We urge the reversal of this policy:

1. The strategic necessity of the Azores base is doubtful, in view of long range aircraft and missile development. Nor is it certain that Portugal would insist on U.S. evacuation of the base in reprisal for anti-colonial actions by the U.S. In any case, the U.S. loses more than it gains from the base and the military alliance if the price is alignment with colonialism in Africa, for colonialism is doomed.

The alliance with Portugal should be ended and the Azores base relinquished.

2. United States trade, loans, and investment in the Portuguese African territories should be discouraged before the stake of U.S. business grows larger. It might be pointed out as a matter of self-interest that, aside from the moral question of support for colonialism and the danger of wars spreading, these businesses are involving themselves in a losing cause.
3. Without military and economic pressures to aid Portugal, it should be easier for the United States to support the recommendations of the U.N. Decolonization Committee for sanctions against Portugal and aid to the freedom movements, and the U.S. should do so.
4. Private as well as government action is needed. Investors should make certain that their own funds are not used by banks and companies that do business in the Portuguese territories. Private and public influence should be brought to bear on such institutions to disengage.

A variety of ways are open for direct support to the nationalist movements that are struggling for freedom. They need funds for schools, medical clinics, their organizational apparatus and their armed forces. One way to reach them is through the Defense and Aid Fund of the American Committee on Africa, which can also supply further information, if desired.

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