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THE FACTS ABOUT PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN COLONIES

BY

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INTRODUCTION

BY BASIL DAVIDSON

PORTUGAL'S colonies have been called Africa's "zone of silence". And no wonder.

"What makes Mozambique an unknown land is the silence of her African people." This is the recent judgment of an American anthropologist, Professor Marvin Harris, who has made a careful study of the subject. He continues: "Overwhelmingly illiterate, carefully insulated against provocative news from abroad, subject to corporal punishment and deportation at the whim of the European authorities, their thoughts are never expressed, their real voice unheard." The same could be said of Portugal's other colonies in Africa—Angola, Guiné, San Tomé, and the Cape Verde Islands.

But here at last, in this remarkable pamphlet, is an authentic voice of the peoples of "Portuguese Africa". It is a clear and confident voice, although it comes to us through many barriers and barricades. It is also an angry voice; but no one who values freedom should be displeased by its anger. For it speaks on behalf of peoples who are enclosed, and know themselves to be enclosed, in a pit of suffering.

Is that an exaggeration?

A recent American visitor to Africa, Mr. Peter Ritner, has observed (in a book called *The Death of Africa*, New York, 1960, page 122) that: "Anyone who takes an interest in Africa soon learns that Portuguese Africa is one of the worst governed areas of the world." It is no more than what several writers have pointed out from time to time over the past few years—just as others, like William Cadbury and Henry Nevinson, drew attention to much the same view fifty years ago. But the paid scribes of Dr. Salazar, the dictator of Portugal, continue to reply that such opinions are the distorted or malicious inventions of men of ill will. These scribes, of course, have nothing else to say with which to earn their keep; yet it may be useful in view of what they say, and as an introduction to the devastating pamphlet which follows, to quote some of the judgments that travellers and reporters have lately made on "Portuguese Africa".

First of all, Professor Charles-André Julien of the Sorbonne, writing on Portuguese Africa in his *Histoire de l'Afrique* (Paris, 1955), pages 124-126:

"Racialism expands under the influence of South Africa, and is reinforced by prohibition on mixed marriages. . . .

“Africans are deliberately kept in a state of ignorance and the missions give only limited and rudimentary education to a small number of individuals. Justice is summary and rough. Use of the whip remains current. . . .

“Although forced labour is legally forbidden, ‘contractual workers’ (*contratados*) are requisitioned by force, and their fate differs from that of slaves only because its character is intermittent. . . .”

Next a British reporter, Mr. Alexander Campbell, writing in his book, *The Heart of Africa* (London, 1954), page 376:

“Any adult male African may be compelled by Portuguese law to work for a white master for at least six months of every year, or else to produce a minimum quantity of prescribed crops on his own land. Africans who don’t are put to work on road-making, and get no pay. The same fate awaits Africans who fail to pay their poll taxes. African labour is also the chief export of Portuguese East Africa. . . .”

Then Mr. John Gunther, who took a closer look than Mr. Campbell and gave his findings in *Inside Africa* (London, 1955), page 572 and other pages in the same book:

“The Portuguese overseas provinces are ruled exactly as Portugal itself is ruled, by authoritarian methods. The press is censored, the secret police are proficient, and elections do not mean anything even if they do take place. . . .

“The chief problems are poverty to an extreme degree (the average wage in Mozambique is about ninepence a day) and lack of education. . . .

“The worst thing about Portuguese Africa is forced labour. Not only does this still exist; the Portuguese authorities admit that it exists, say that it is necessary and even a ‘good thing’ for its victims, and condone it. . . . It is not quite—but almost—a form of slavery. The man becomes a chattel.

“The system works more or less like this. An up-country planter informs the government that he will be needing so many men, and these are provided for him by the local *Chefe do Posto*, or district officer. Native recruiters go out into the villages, and collect the necessary number of men, who are then turned over to the planter. But the planter, to be sure of getting all the recruits he needs, usually has to pay off the *Chefe do Posto*, if this gentleman happens to be corrupt. The normal pay-off is ten times the contract labourer’s wages for six months. Nothing more vicious can be imagined. . . .”

Dr. Salazar’s apologists point to a mountain of legislation intended to “defend” the Africans in “Portuguese Africa”. This mountain of legislation, however, is “uniformly irrelevant”, as Professor Marvin Harris (*Portugal’s African “Wards”*, New York, 1958, page 21) has pointed out, to the realities of the labour system. In the old days, in Mozambique, forced labourers were called *shibalos* (just as, in Angola, they were called *serviçais*). Under one name or another, the same system of forced labour still persists in spite of all the laws “forbidding” it.

"Despite the repeated declarations of its illegality", declares Professor Harris, "the system whereby *shibalos* are conscripted by private, non-governmental recruiters today probably still furnishes as many workers to private employers as it did thirty years ago. . . . The net result of the legal definition of idleness, and of the *shibalo* system which is its inseparable companion, is to force not merely 100,000 workers [those exported to South African mines] but the overwhelming majority of Mozambique's African males to participate in the European economy on terms which are deeply injurious to native welfare, but highly lucrative for the Europeans, especially in the neighbouring territories. . . .

"It can be said with absolute certainty, therefore, that less than 5% of the mature, able-bodied males in southern Mozambique are legally entitled to remain within the confines of their homesteads.

"Of the remaining 95%, the more fortunate find employment in the urban centres, while the less fortunate are either caught up by the *shibalo* hunters or driven from their homes into the arms of foreign recruiters. . . ."

As in Mozambique, so in Angola—Portugal's other great African colony. Let me round off these reports by a quotation from my own book, **The African Awakening** (London, 1955, p. 197):

"In 1954, official figures in Angola showed 379,000 forced workers (none being in Native industry or agriculture) and another 400,000 voluntary workers. . . .

"Up-country, forced labour is now being used for three main purposes. In the first place, the Government makes universal use of forced labour for all its own needs, and above all for the maintenance or building of roads. Rural roads are invariably built and maintained by the unpaid conscript labour of the people of the area through which the road passes. These people have to furnish not only their own labour but also their own food, and often enough their own tools. Since many men are absent on forced labour elsewhere, the local chief or headman in whose hands responsibility for the road is left will frequently call up women and quite small children. That is why one sees women with babies on their backs, and pregnant women, and quite small girls, scraping at roads with primitive hoes and carrying cupfuls of earth in little bark containers on their heads. . . .

"Forced labour is in general use on sugar, coffee, sisal and other European-owned plantations. . . . Thirdly, there are the diamond mines of the Lunda province [which possess] a prospecting monopoly over five-sixths of the entire colony, and a labour conscription monopoly over most of the Lunda province, a country half the size of England. . . ."

These reports understandably emphasise the fact of forced labour, for it is forced labour that stamps the condition of servitude on the African peoples of these colonies.

Lack of education, poverty of medical care, complete absence of the rights of political organisation—all these are based on the foundation of forced labour.

British readers will be moved by this situation. They should not forget that the Angola Diamond Company, exploiting African labour with a nineteenth-century ferocity, is an offshoot of De Beers—having British as well as American, Belgian, and other foreign participation. They should not forget that the Lobito Railway in Angola, also an employer of “contract labour”, is almost completely in the ownership of British shareholders. Above all they should remember that Portugal has regularly sheltered from criticism behind its “traditional friendship” with Britain.

Until a few years ago these colonies lay helpless in their wretchedness. But now, as Abel Djassi clearly shows, the liberating ideas of the African awakening have scaled these Portuguese bastions of the old colonial system.

Abel Djassi, who is an executive member of the newly-formed Revolutionary Front for the Independence of Portugal's African colonies, gives the facts about African resistance.

This resistance grows in spite of all Salazar's attempts to smash it. Salazar sends in fresh troops, builds up new garrisons, prepares for a bloody repression. Impoverished and almost pre-industrial, Salazar's Portugal is desperately trying to hang on to its loot and to the sources of its loot.

Yet more and more Africans are understanding that their lives need not be as they are now. They are finding new links with a different future and new friends who will help them to achieve it. Portuguese Guinea already has one independent African country as a neighbour, the Republic of Guinea; and now acquires another, Mali. The Belgian Congo, next-door to Angola, will be independent in a few weeks' time. Tanganyika, next-door to Mozambique, will govern itself by the end of the year; and Nyasaland, also next-door to Mozambique, will not be far behind. The Government of Ghana will soon be broadcasting daily programmes in Portuguese.

Hope at last beckons to these bedevilled and forgotten peoples of “Portuguese Africa”, and it beckons from close at hand.

We publish this pamphlet in the firm belief that this call for help by Africans under Portuguese domination will not fall on deaf ears in Britain.

BASIL DAVIDSON.

London, June 1960

THE FACTS ABOUT PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN COLONIES

By ABEL DJASSI

ELEVEN million Africans suffer under Portuguese colonial domination. The Portuguese colonies cover an area of about two million square kilometres (about 5% of the entire Continent and larger than the combined areas of Spain, France, Germany, Italy and England). The African population of these colonies has been enslaved by a small country, the most backward in Europe.

These two million square kilometers are rich in natural resources. The land supports agriculture and livestock breeding. The sub-soil contains iron, coal, maganese, oil, bauxite, diamonds, gold, precious metals, etc. The variety and beauty of nature offer possibilities for tourists.

Side by side with these natural riches, some of which are exploited by the colonialists, Africans live on a sub-human standard—little or no better than serfs in their own country.

Contempt for Africans

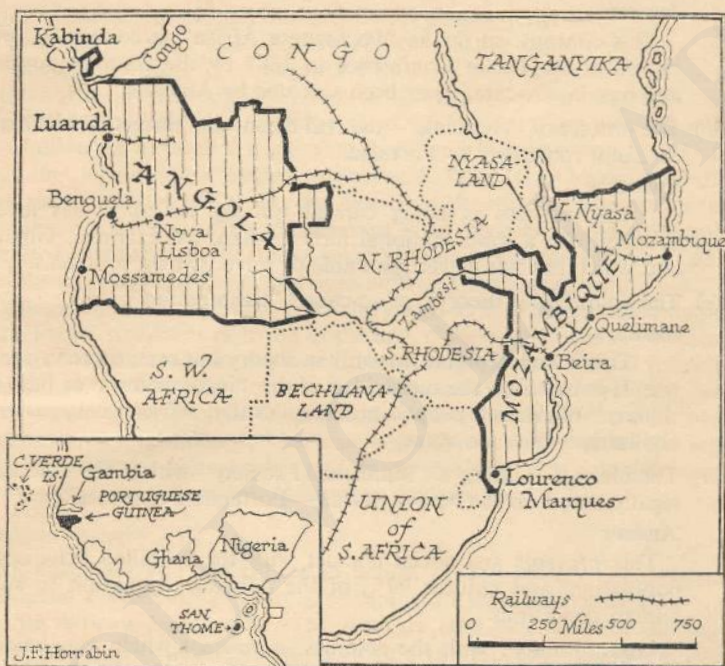
After the slave trade, armed conquest and colonial wars, there came the complete destruction of the economic and social structure of African society. The next phase was European occupation and ever-increasing European immigration into these territories. The lands and possessions of the Africans were looted, the Portuguese "sovereignty tax" was imposed, and so were compulsory crops for agricultural produce, forced labour, the export of African workers, and total control of the collective and individual life of Africans, either by persuasion or violence.

As the size of the European population grows, so does its contempt for Africans. Africans are excluded from certain types of employment, including some of the most unskilled jobs.

Racial discrimination is either openly or hypocritically practised. Africans have been driven from the remaining fertile regions left to them in order that *colonatos* for Europeans could be built there.* Political, social or trade union organisation is forbidden to the Africans, who do not enjoy even the most elementary human rights. When the United Nations Charter was adopted, giving all countries the right of self-determination, the Portuguese Constitution was hastily changed. The name "colony" was replaced by "overseas territory", thus enabling Portugal to claim that she had no colonies and could not therefore make reports on her "African territories".

* *Colonatos*—groups of farms reserved for European settlers.

As Africans have awakened and begun moving towards freedom and independence, efforts to control and oppress them have redoubled. A political secret police was created. The colonial army was reinforced. In Portugal, military mobilisation was increased, attended by warlike manoeuvres and demonstrations of force. Air and sea bases were built in the colonies. Military observers were sent to Algeria. Strategic plans were drawn up for a war against the Africans. Political and military agreements were made with other colonial powers. New and increasingly advantageous concessions were given to non-Portuguese enterprises.



The demands of the Africans and the work of their resistance organisations, which are forced to remain underground, have resulted in severe repression. All this was and still is perpetrated in the name of "Civilisation and Christianity" by the most retrograde kind of colonial system.

Both the human and natural resources of these colonies are exploited and mortgaged at the lowest possible value. The colonialists deny the practice of Christian principles in their lack of reverence for the human being, and they do everything they can to hide the true effects of their "civilising influence".

While humanity discovers its unity and strives for community of interest based on peace and the recognition of the Rights of Man, of

freedom and equality among all peoples, the Portuguese colonialists prepare to launch new colonial wars.

Flimsy Arguments

Portuguese colonialism can offer only flimsy arguments, devoid of human or scientific content, to justify its existence and conceal its crimes. These arguments are negated by the very facts which the Portuguese colonialists attempt to conceal. The salient arguments are as follows:

- (a) "Historical rights."

Answer:

This concept, so far as "Portuguese Africa" is concerned, was buried at the Berlin Conference in 1885 by the colonial powers, and has, in any case, never been accepted by Africans.

- (b) The process of "civilising"—the real means and results of which are carefully concealed by Portugal.

Answer:

This process is being carried out by an under-developed country with a lower national income than, for example, Ghana, and which has not as yet been able to solve its own problems.

- (c) The colonialist "theory" of so-called "assimilation".

Answer:

This is unacceptable not only in theory but even more in practice. It is based on the racist idea of the "incompetence or lack of dignity" of African people, and implies that African cultures and civilisations have no value.

- (d) The idea of creating a "multi-racial society" within the colonies, legally based on the Native Statute—Portuguese *apartheid*.

Answer:

This prevents any social contact with the so-called "civilised" population, and reduces 99% of the African population to sub-human conditions.

- (e) "National unity" with the colonies, a concept which was hastily brought into the Portuguese Constitution as a means of avoiding the responsibilities set out in the United Nations Charter.

Answer:

This disgraceful subterfuge totally contradicts all the geographic, historic, ethnic, social and cultural facts, and it even comes into conflict with the laws prevailing in the colonies concerning their practical relationship with Portugal.

- (f) The "state of peace" that is claimed by Salazar to exist.

Answer:

In these colonies Africans have no political rights and cannot form trade unions. Africans do not enjoy even the most elementary human rights. Despite a vicious secret police, an inhuman colonial

administration, and brutal soldiers and settlers' militia, African nationalist organisations are offering active resistance to Portuguese colonialism.

The Real Situation

It might be asked whether Portuguese colonialism has not done a certain amount of good in Africa. Justice is always relative. For the Africans who for five centuries have lived under Portuguese domination, Portuguese colonialism represents a reign of evil, and where evil reigns there is no place for good. As for other people, particularly those who fortunately have not known colonial domination, they will first have to acquaint themselves with all the facts before passing judgment.

Those people who really love truth and justice must overcome the barriers that Portugal sets up against visitors to these colonies. They must go there without allowing themselves to be deceived in any way and they must carefully study the real situation of the people. They must observe the whole truth of what is happening there, and then they will be able to judge the "civilising influence" of Portugal. When they know the truth these people cannot but realise the desperate situation of Africans in the Portuguese territories. This colonialism is in process of systematically depriving Africans of the most essential requirements for living, and has taken a heavy toll in African lives, suffering and humiliation.

Portugal is an under-developed country with 40% illiteracy and with one of the lowest standards of living in Europe. If she could have a "civilising influence" on any people, she would be accomplishing a kind of miracle. Colonialism, a historical phenomenon which is now disappearing, has never depended on miracles to keep it alive. Portugal is exercising the only kind of "civilising influence" she can—one that corresponds to the type of colonialism she has adopted and to her position as a colonial power whose economy, culture and civilisation are backward.

Economic Misery

Both the laws and the concerted action of the settlers and colonial authorities prevent Africans from owning rural or urban property.

Most African peasants have to cultivate land which is not officially recognised as belonging to them. In Angola and Mozambique nearly 70% of the agricultural produce, and in Guiné the total amount, comes from the African cultivator. He is forced to sell his products to the settlers at artificially low prices imposed by the authorities, and these prices are then reduced still further by the buyers.

The most fertile areas of land, from which Africans have been systematically driven away, were used by colonial companies and are now being occupied by European *colonatos*.

In Mozambique, for example, one-fifth of the land—that is, more than half the cultivated land—is reserved for a small European minority, and includes the richest areas. In Angola, more than four-fifths of the coffee plantations, bringing a higher revenue than any other product, belong to settlers who took most of the land from Africans and are now exploiting

it with forced African labour. In the Quanza Valley (Angola) alone, more than 100,000 hectares (220,000 acres) of land are reserved for European settlers and colonial companies. In the island of San Tomé nearly all the cultivated land (cocoa and coffee) is in European hands, and was taken illegally by the violence of the settlers and the colonial authorities. Tens of thousands of African families (more than 14,000 families in the *colonato* de Cela of Angola) have been driven off their lands to make way for farmers from Portugal.

Colonial companies own properties which sometimes exceed hundreds of hectares. The Companhia Angolana de Agricultura, for example, owns about 250,000 hectares (550,000 acres) of which 17,000 hectares (37,400 acres) are coffee plantations. The "Companhia dos Diamantes de Angola" is the sole concessionary for diamond mining in that colony. 570,000 Africans in Angola and Mozambique are forced to produce cotton and about 60,000 peasant families in Guiné have to grow peanuts.

While the African people live in misery, the colonial companies and the settlers amass wealth and capital most of which is taken out of the colonies. To take the year 1957 as an example—

During that year a number of companies, the Sociedade de Agricultura Colonial (San Tomé), the Banco de Angola, the Companhia dos Diamantes de Angola, Comgeral Purifina, the Sociedade Agricola de Cassequel (Angola), Sena Sugar States (Mozambique) made a net profit which averaged about 49% of their capital. This net profit alone would be sufficient to cover all the public expenditure in Cape Verde, Guiné, and San Tomé during 1957—leaving a surplus of 50 million escudos (£650,000); and this sum would also be higher than the amount spent in the same year on public education in Angola. The agricultural and commercial company Mario Cunha (Angola) owns blocks of flats in Lisbon (Portugal) which are worth hundreds of thousands of escudos and has set up two humanitarian foundations with the profits derived from the forced labour—which is really slave labour—of Africans in Angola.

In order to protect Portugal's impoverished industries, the Africans are forced to buy second-rate Portuguese products at very high prices, and to sell their products to the settler-traders at much lower prices than the latter receive on resale.

Wine is one of the most important imports of the Portuguese colonies, usually coming second to textiles.

The Africans have to pay various taxes, among them the "sovereignty tax". The so-called "native tax" provides the largest single contribution to the budget of each of Portugal's colonies. Every African over fifteen must pay taxes which often exceed a quarter of his tiny annual income.

Portugal intends to turn these colonies, especially Angola and Mozambique, into so many South Africas to enable her to exploit even more fully their resources and the labour of the Africans. In order to achieve this aim, she considers the mass immigration of Europeans to be her principal task in Africa and spends large sums on this purpose.

In Angola alone, 500 million escudos (£6,250,000) are to be spent on the *colonato* de Cela to build 530 farms in an area of 40,000 hectares. This

sum, largely the proceeds of African labour, is equivalent to 20 times the amount spent in Angola by the Agricultural and Forestry Services in 1957.

The setting up of each European family costs Angola one million escudos. For an African peasant family to earn that much money, it would have to live for a thousand years and work every year without stopping.

The economic backwardness of Portugal is reflected in the economic and financial life of her colonies. Portugal never has been, and never will be, capable of creating the necessary foundations for the economic advancement of her colonies. Portugal herself is lacking in these basic requirements and the less impoverished colonies, Angola and Mozambique, now face an economic crisis that Portugal cannot solve.

The Social Situation

Of the African population of Angola, Guiné and Mozambique, 99·7% are classified as “uncivilised” by Portuguese colonial laws, and 0·3% are considered to be “assimilated” (*assimilados*).

For an “uncivilised” person to attain the status of *assimilado*, he has to prove his economic stability and a standard of living higher than that enjoyed by a large majority of the population of Portugal. He must live in the “European manner”, have paid all his taxes, have done his military service and know how to read and write Portuguese correctly. **If the Portuguese people themselves were asked to fulfil these conditions, well over 50% of the population would not have the necessary requirements for becoming “civilised” or *assimilado*.**

The so-called “uncivilised” African is treated as a chattel, and is at the mercy of the will and caprice of the colonial administration and the settlers. His situation is absolutely necessary to the existence of the Portuguese colonial system. He provides an inexhaustible supply of forced labour and labour for export. By classifying him as “uncivilised”, the law gives legal sanction to racial discrimination and provides one of the justifications for Portuguese domination in Africa.

The tiny minority of so-called “civilised” Africans who are theoretically considered to be Portuguese citizens do not enjoy the privileges reserved for Europeans. Some find themselves in an isolated position between the mass of the African people and the settlers, and are discriminated against by the latter either in an open or a veiled manner. Most of them actually live in similar conditions to those which are legally imposed on the “uncivilised” Africans.

Portuguese “multi-racialism” is a myth.

It really means complete racial segregation, except for contact through work, where it furthers the interests of colonialism. With very few exceptions—such as can also be found in South Africa—there is no social contact between Africans and European families. It is only in the schools and other places outside the family environment that European children come into direct contact with the few *assimilado* children who attend schools. The children mix together in innocence, but these relationships also contain prejudices and complexes. Cinemas, cafés, bars, restaurants and so on are almost exclusively frequented by Europeans. Any African

bold enough to enter one of these places must be prepared to face humiliation. In the towns of Lourenço Marques and Beira (Mozambique), Nova Lisboa and Lobito (Angola), racial segregation is openly practised.

Portugal racism hardly existed at the beginning of the period of colonisation. It was born and increased as the size of the European population grew. It is no accident that of the ten million inhabitants of Angola and Mozambique, there are only 60,000 "coloureds", and for the past half century the size of this "coloured" population has remained almost static. Nearly all of them are illegitimate children who have been abandoned by European fathers. A mixed couple, especially an African man and a European woman, is always a target for the insults and mockery of the settlers, so much so that the very few existing mixed couples do not usually show themselves in public.

In country districts, the Africans must suffer very miserable conditions. In the towns, the "uncivilised" Africans live in areas which are being moved further and further from the town centres, in squalid shantytowns such as the *musseques* in Luanda. Few houses occupied by Africans could be considered as habitable by any standards of decency. These were built by the authorities in a selected area, as is the case in South Africa. After overcoming innumerable obstacles, a few *assimilados* manage to acquire a reasonably decent home. This is only achieved by the handful of Africans who have been to university and by the ever-decreasing number who are able to gain public employment despite racialism. These people are always cited in colonialist propaganda. Most of the Europeans, however, live in *vivendas*—some of which are real colonial palaces comparable to the richest homes in Portugal.

"Uncivilised" Africans, especially in the towns, have to carry passes and obey a 9 p.m. curfew. A wise *assimilado* always carries his identity card which, when accepted by the authorities and settlers, is his only valid proof of being a human being.

Forced Labour

Twenty thousand workers from Angola, Mozambique and the Cape Verde Islands work twelve hours a day on the settlers' farms of San Tomé, in the heart of the equatorial zone. There is forced labour for public works in Guiné, Angola, Mozambique; but in the latter two it extends as well to privately owned companies. Every year 250,000 Angolans are rented out to agricultural, mining and construction concerns. Every year 400,000 people of Mozambique are subjected to forced labour, 100,000 of whom are exported to the mines of South Africa and the Rhodesias.

This trade in forced labour provides one of Portugal's most stable sources of foreign currency. Henrique Galvão, a one-time colonial administrator who has had the courage to tell the truth, has stated that "only the dead escape forced labour. . . . The present situation is worse than that created by pure slavery. . . . There are employers who have a 30% mortality rate among their workers and they have never had any trouble obtaining new workers." The Companhia Angolana dos Diamantes alone uses up to 20,000 workers a year. This new form of

slavery—for it cannot be considered anything less than that—has broken up millions of African families.

The authorities who hire forced labour make a substantial yearly profit on each man rented out. 75% of the workers' wages are paid when they return to their place of origin. But this is paid by the authorities, not the employers, and the authorities' annual average profit is of the order of about 1,500 escudos or £18 15s. on each man, while the yearly annual net salary is 1,200 escudos, or £15 15s. 0d.

This payment is made only after all taxes have been deducted, and **after the worker gives fifteen days of free labour to the State**. Theoretically he is entitled to medical assistance, but in most cases this scarcely exists. He is also entitled to food, but even Portuguese technicians have established that the diet of the African worker remains deficient in nutritive value. Much forced labour is provided by children and adolescents. Apart from agricultural work, the settlers also use "uncivilised" Africans for heavy labour and as houseboys.

The *assimilado* worker earns three or four times less than the European worker who does the same work. He is always a "second-class" worker, even if skilled. With the exception of a few public employees and miserably paid workers, the *assimilados* are always fighting the threat of unemployment, and their adult children are mostly unemployed. Even the most unskilled jobs, such as waiter or lottery-ticket vendor, are reserved for Europeans. Africans in Angola and Mozambique are not in practice allowed to become taxi drivers or shop salesmen.

The African worker has never been allowed to defend himself. The "uncivilised" are not allowed to organise themselves, and the *assimilados* have no voice even in Salazar's Fascist "trade unions". In the farms, mines and everywhere else, the work schedules are entirely dependent on the good will of the employer, leaving the African worker exposed to all the whims and sanctions of the settlers which may include beating.

Medical "Care"

Three hundred and eighty doctors "care" for the health of eleven million people who inhabit an area of two million square kilometres. Communications in these territories are by far the worst in Africa. In the Cape Verde Islands, which have proportionately the greatest number of doctors, there is one doctor for every 10,000 people. In Angola, where the situation is better than in Guiné or Mozambique, there is one hospital for every 280,000 people, one doctor for every 20,000 people, one nurse and thirty beds for every 10,000 people.

The infant mortality rate is said to be higher than 40% and in some regions may attain 80%. Among Africans who died in 1956, 84% of registered deaths were attributed to "obscure or unknown causes"—but these "causes", we may note, kill only Africans. From 1940 to 1950 drought and famine in Cape Verde caused the deaths of about 40,000 people.

Literacy: 1 in 100

Catholic Missions hold a monopoly of education for the so-called "uncivilised" Africans. According to the Agreement between Portugal

and the Vatican this education must "conform to the doctrinal dictates of the Portuguese Constitution and must take its directions from the plans and programmes issued by the local governments". This means that 99.7% of the African population is forbidden access to lay schools. Due to this Catholic monopoly, the educational influence of other Christian missions is small.

In Angola, Mozambique and Guiné, 99% of the population is illiterate. Areas larger than Portugal are totally without schools.

In 1937 40,000 children out of a total population of about four million attended mission schools in Angola. Yet in the same year in the Belgian Congo there were 1,300,000 children at elementary school—proportionately ten times as many as in Angola.

The sons of *assimilados* (0.3% of the population) are allowed to attend official elementary schools, secondary schools and universities. But the various forms of racial discrimination practised in colonial schools, especially in Mozambique and Angola, added to the great poverty of African families, limit the number of pupils who may graduate. Only those pupils capable of making an extraordinary effort manage to finish their studies.

The secondary schools are almost exclusively attended by the sons of the settlers.

There are no universities in the colonies. About one hundred Africans are in the universities of Portugal or are prepared for university entrance—one hundred students out of a population of eleven millions.

Most elementary school teachers and all secondary teachers are European except in Cape Verde, where Africans who have diplomas may teach at secondary level.

All Portuguese education disparages the African, his culture and civilisation. African languages are forbidden in schools. The white man is always presented as a superior being and the African as an inferior. The colonial "conquistadores" are shown as saints and heroes. As soon as African children enter elementary schools, they develop an inferiority complex. They learn to fear the white man and to feel ashamed of being Africans. African geography, history and culture are either ignored or distorted, and children are forced to study Portuguese geography and history.

Puppets and Stooges

Africans have no political rights. The old structure of African political life was totally destroyed by Portuguese colonialism. The few remaining chiefdoms* are controlled by the colonial authorities, who use the chiefs as puppets. Most of the chiefs are put in "command" of communities different from those to which they really belong.

In the so-called local government Council, "elected" by the Governor, there are sometimes a few members representing the African people. These men are usually Europeans. The few Africans who accept these positions, or are forced to accept them, are not entitled to intervene in any way on behalf of African interests.

* Chiefdoms—*regulados* in Guiné and *sobados* in Angola and Mozambique.

On one occasion a "Coloured" Councillor was expelled from the Council in Angola for having attempted to criticise the Government. One of the very few African doctors in the colonies was invited to take his place. This doctor declined on the grounds that the only thing he knew anything about was medicine. An African priest finally took the post of Councillor after being subjected to intimidation and pressure by the Archbishop of Luanda.

In the Lisbon "Parliament" one of the 120 Deputies elected by the Government is an African. He is the "Deputy" for San Tomé. The Deputy for Cape Verde, who is of European descent, is the leader of the Fascist political party in the colony and holds his position indefinitely. The "representatives" for Angola, Mozambique and Guiné are Europeans closely linked to the large colonial concerns. All the "Deputies" from the colonies enjoy the absolute confidence of the Fascist colonial government. They have nothing in common with the Africans, 99·7% of whom, in any event, are not allowed to vote.

Three Africans are used as political puppets, or as synthetic samples of a non-existent product, by the Portuguese delegation to the United Nations and at other international meetings. These three men, the Negro James Pinto Bull (Guiné), the "Coloured" Augusto Santos Lima (descendant of Cape Verdians) and the "Coloured" Julio Monteiro (Cape Verde), are considered by their countrymen as traitors. They are administrative functionaries in the well-paid service of Portuguese colonialism.

All demonstrations and organisations are forbidden unless rigorously controlled by the colonial authorities. Even football clubs are exclusive. With the exception of one useless newspaper in Mozambique—the Government-controlled *Brado Africano*—no African press is permitted.

Portugal and the African Awakening

Portugal does not accept the principle of self-determination for the peoples of her colonies. She denies their right to choose their own future since she does not consider the African people capable of governing themselves, or of contributing to human progress as independent and sovereign nations. The Fascist Government of Portugal appears to be unaware of one of the most important political realities of our time, **the end of colonialism**. The Portuguese colonialists do not know, or pretend not to know, that colonialism is doomed, not only because it is incompatible with the material and spiritual needs of the twentieth century, but especially because the colonial people have decided to banish it once and for all.

The Prime Minister of Great Britain, after visiting various African countries, denounced South African *apartheid* and declared, "The wind of change is blowing through the continent . . . we must accept it as a fact. Our national policies must take account of it." This statement was confirmed by the peaceful preparations for the independence of Tanganyika and Kenya.

President de Gaulle of France has said: "In the face of the changes taking place among the African peoples, we must agree to form a community with them on a new basis—that is, on a basis of free choice for all."

The King of the Belgians and the Belgian Government have acknowledged the right of the people of the Congo to independence in mid-1960.

The people of Africa, supported by other peoples, are united in a common struggle. They are gaining their independence and starting to build new nations in the name of humanity. Yet while all this is taking place, the Prime Minister of Portugal can solemnly declare: "All Africa is burning . . . because the fire is being fed from outside." Unlike leaders of much greater countries with much greater interests in Africa, the dictator of Portugal refuses to acknowledge that Africans are capable of rebelling against colonial exploitation **on their own initiative**. He does not consider them sufficiently human to desire dignity, independence and freedom.

The opinion of the Portuguese dictator will not turn back the course of history. It is colonialism—not Africa—that is burning; and Portuguese colonialism will burn with all the rest. The African people of the Portuguese colonies will feed the fire that will reduce Portuguese colonialism to ashes.

Resistance

Despite their sufferings, these African people have never lost their spirit of resistance. During the colonial wars, this took the form of armed resistance, although the weapons of the Portuguese were technically superior. Afterwards there was passive resistance. And from the onset of the crisis of colonialism, when Africa awakened and began to re-establish her dignity and national independence, resistance began to be organised for an underground struggle.

Despite great difficulties, this underground activity has already increased the political awareness of Africans and has begun to reveal the true facts of Portuguese colonialism to the world. No force will be able to stop it. Underground political parties and mass organisations now exist in all the Portuguese colonies. People from Angola, Cape Verde, Guiné, Mozambique and San Tomé are co-ordinating their actions for the common fight for freedom.

Always forced to work underground, African political and nationalist parties have built up their resistance organisations both inside and outside the colonies. They are now in process of uniting all the anti-colonialist movements of the various colonies, and have created an African Front for co-ordinating and furthering the struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

The foremost organisations involved in this vital groundwork are the:

Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola

Partido Africano da Independencia da Guiné

Movimento Para a Independencia Nacional de Angola.

Movimento Anti-Colonialista.

União das Populações de Angola

The first four organisations have now combined to form the **Frente Revolucionária Africana Para a Independencia Nacional das Colónias**

Portuguesas (FRAIN). This Front has the active support of almost all the Africans from Portuguese colonies who are now living abroad.

In the Belgian Congo and the Republic of the Congo (ex-Middle Congo) there are now more than a million immigrants from Angola. Hundreds of thousands of people from Mozambique have settled in Tanganyika, Nyasaland and the Rhodesias. Tens of thousands of Guineans and Cape Verdians are living in the Mali Federation (Senegal and Sudan), in the Republic of Guinea, and in the Gambia. These Africans have also set up organisations to further the struggle against Portuguese colonialism. Those who live in Europe, among them a number of exiled patriots sought by the Portuguese police, are organised and resolute.

The immediate aims of this struggle for freedom are to bring all political parties and mass organisations into the Front; to enlarge the development of organisations within the colonies; to mobilise all the Africans from Portuguese territories who are living elsewhere in Africa; and to gain the active support of all peoples who want peace and who respect the dignity of man.

African organisations fighting Portuguese colonialism were represented at the All-African People's Conference—in both 1959 and in 1960. In Accra there was one delegate and one observer. In Tunis there were five delegates. These five delegates secured the inclusion of a section on Portuguese colonialism in the final resolution. This section condemned Portuguese colonialism and its preparations for waging war on Africans, and demanded immediate independence for African people under Portuguese domination.

Telling the Truth

Portuguese colonialism is being successfully exposed to world opinion. African patriots in Europe and America have done a great deal to disseminate information about Portuguese colonialism. Other men, devoted to the cause of truth and humanity, such as the English author and journalist Basil Davidson, the American author and journalist John Gunther, and the American Professor Martin Harvis, were able to escape the attention of the Portuguese colonial authorities and acquire on-the-spot evidence about the true nature of Portuguese colonialism. Afterwards they published books to make these facts known to the world.

During the last session of the United Nations General Assembly, as a result of the struggle waged by the Africans of the Portuguese colonies, a few representatives, notably those from Independent States of Africa and Asia, made a frontal attack on Portuguese colonialism. They denounced the lies used by the Portuguese to justify their presence in Africa and demanded that Portugal should respect and adhere to the principles of the United Nations Charter. The Portuguese representative, flouting these principles, repeated Portugal's absurd claim that her occupied territories were neither colonies nor non-self-governing territories—but "Provinces of Portugal". Nevertheless a Commission was set up to study the problem of non-self-governing countries and the subsequent application of the principles of the Charter.

The Gunman's Reply

Though no longer capable of deceiving world opinion and the U.N. Portugal is preparing herself for a desperate fight to defend her position in Africa. **Secret agreements have been made with the Union of South Africa and other colonial powers.** Abortive attempts have been made to reach an understanding with Belgium and the Central African Federation. Extraordinary concessions have been offered to non-Portuguese capital investments, especially American, German and Dutch. Portugal is not only mortgaging the future of the people and countries she dominates, but is also acquiring arms for repressive war on Africans.

A Portuguese Minister, who is a shareholder of at least one of the major colonial companies in Angola, has stated: "We must take into consideration that nothing can be done in Portugal today unless we keep and defend our oversea territories." Salazar's Government is doing all it can to convince the Portuguese people of this need so as to ensure their support for new colonial wars.

Military reinforcements are being sent to the colonies. Air and naval units have been set up in Angola, Mozambique and Guiné. The armed forces are being reorganised and Portuguese strategists are drawing up plans for operations in Africa. The Portuguese *Military Review* (No. 12 of December, 1959) published an article entitled "The Defence of Mozambique and the Revolutionary War", in which the author wrote: "The fight that we will have to face in the clash between blacks and whites will be the subversive fight of the black masses. . . . In the face of this approaching clash, we cannot limit ourselves to military action against the rebels. Our actions must be more general so as to encompass all aspects of the conflict, and for this we must use four concurrent forms of action: military, psychological, social and political."

Portugal avails herself of her position in NATO to obtain arms for use against the African people and claims that this Organisation defends Portuguese colonialism.

Portuguese officers are trained outside the colonies, some of them in the Algerian war, for Portugal counts on the support of other countries.

In the United Nations, Portugal always votes in favour of racial discrimination and colonialism in the hope that countries interested in the Portuguese vote will do the same for her.

A few years ago the Portuguese colonialists launched a violent campaign against African patriots. Persecutions, arrests, deportations, torture and massacres of defenceless people have since occurred in the Portuguese colonies.

In the District of Cabinda in Angola more than 200 Africans who had openly demanded independence for their country were arrested and later reported as missing.

The leaders of the *União das Populações de Angola*, Liberio Newfane and Lello Figueira, have been in the concentration camp of Bié since 1956. Their colleagues Julio Alfonso, Isaias, Katmutuke, Alfredo Bengé, Cunha, Loureiro Sequiera and Ambrosio Luyanzi have disappeared after arrest and, as we fear, torture.

The nationalist religious leader Simão Toco, whose movement is active throughout Angola, especially in the District of Congo, has been in a forced labour camp in the south of Angola (Baia dos Tigres) for a very long time.

In March, 1959, after various arrests in Angola, Mozambique, Guiné and San Tomé, the Portuguese Colonial Gestapo, which has several hundred secret agents in Luanda alone, started a campaign of repression. This resulted in the arrest of over a hundred African patriots who were then interrogated, tortured (some to the point of madness), and detained in secrecy. A great number of these patriots were suspects of affiliation to the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola and the União das Populações de Angola, and were accused of attempts against the "external security of the State of Portugal" and against "Portuguese National Unity" (Article 141 and 151 of the Portuguese Penal Code). Among those detained and accused are Ilídio Machado, Higino Aires, Veira Dias, Francisco Africano, Andre Mingas, Mendes Carvalhos and Noé Saude. They are liable to penalties of up to 25 years in prison, but it is common knowledge that it is really their lives that are at stake.

In addition to the detained and accused Africans, seven European democrats have been arrested and accused of supporting the Movimento de Libertação de Angola. Among them is Julieta Gandara—a doctor who is greatly respected by the Africans of Luanda.

Previously, Portugal has always used indirect methods in persecuting Africans. Now she is resorting to massacre. In San Tomé more than 1,000 Africans from a total population of 40,000 were killed by the Portuguese civilians and soldiers in February, 1953. These Africans had rebelled against the imposition of forced labour. Dozens of Africans were arrested and tortured and thirty of them died in consequence. The few urban and rural properties owned by Africans were destroyed by settlers armed by the authorities. Forced labourers coming from other colonies were made to take part in the massacre.

In August, 1959, there was another massacre on the Pijiguiti Quai in Bissao (Guiné). More than fifty Africans were shot dead by Portuguese civilians and soldiers because they had the courage to strike for higher wages. Military and Security Force officers, as well as soldiers and civilian settlers opened fire on the defenceless Africans when they tried to escape by throwing themselves into the sea.

Portugal on Trial—At Last

A Fascist colonial tribunal in Luanda, presided over by a young settler judge, is now engaged in the "trial" of forty Africans and seven Europeans, and three American Negroes accused of attempts against "Portuguese national unity". The Portuguese colonial political police have arranged three trials: two for the Africans and one for the Europeans. These were to have begun on March 7th, 1960, but were adjourned after world-wide publicity was directed at them. They have now begun again in conditions of great secrecy.

Yet it is neither the African patriots fighting for the right to live as men nor the honest Europeans, friends of the African peoples, who are being judged at Luanda. This event is in fact an outright arraignment of Portuguese colonialism. **We appeal to all people who love peace and freedom to give their closest attention to these "trials". They must be there at the side of the Africans.** For this is really a case between Portuguese colonialism and humanity, in which Portugal is on trial for the crime of exploiting, squandering, humiliating, and menacing the lives of eleven million people.

What the Africans Want

We, the Africans of the Portuguese colonies, are fighting Portuguese colonialism to defend the rights of our people, to defend the true interests of people everywhere.

The Africans want Portugal to respect and rigidly adhere to the obligations set out in the U.N. Charter. **We demand that Portugal should follow the example of Britain, France and Belgium in recognising the right of the peoples she dominates to self-determination and independence.**

The African anti-colonialist organisations of the Portuguese colonies, representing the legitimate aspirations of their people, want to re-establish the human dignity of Africans, their freedom, and the right to determine their own future. These organisations want the people to enjoy real social development based on fruitful work and economic progress, on African unity and fraternity, on friendship and equality with all peoples, including the Portuguese people. They want peace in the service of humanity.

The African organisations fighting Portuguese colonialism believe in the use of peaceful means for achieving independence. However, we have no illusions, and since Portugal intends to use violence to defend her interests, we will be ready to answer with violence. Our organisations are vigilant. They follow closely all the diplomatic manoeuvres of Portugal. They believe that no democratic government will prejudice its own good name by continuing to ally itself with Portuguese colonialism—doomed like all other colonial regimes. They believe that the material and human wealth of their countries are part of the patrimony of humanity and should be made to serve the progress and happiness of their own people and of peoples in all countries.

The Africans of the Portuguese colonies will destroy Portuguese colonialism. It may be the last colonial regime to go, just as it is the last in terms of technical and economic development, and the last to respect the Rights of Man. But its days are surely numbered.

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