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KIMPWANZA !

The story of the

Angola

Freedom struggle !

AN 'AFRIKA'
BOOKLET

Price:
5c



This booklet is produced by **AFRIKA PUBLICATIONS**
P.O. Box 10120, Johannesburg.

It is the third in the Series on Africa.
The first was CONGO (now out of print.)
The second was ALGERIA — Price 10 cents.

ANGOLA

KIMPWANZA !

The Freedom Struggle of the people of Portuguese Angola

1. The War

Angola is in flames. After 400 years of vicious colonial rule the Portuguese colonists are at last faced with a determined liberation force which is waging a war for the freedom of Angola.

From March this year Angolan freedom fighters have simultaneously attacked numerous lonely trading posts and coffee plantations in Northern Angola. The African fighting force used sharp bush knives (known as 'katanas'), sticks, and a few antiquated guns.

These attacks began only after years of peaceful protest during which all the methods used — strikes, demonstrations, manifestos and appeals — met with vicious reprisals. When the people of Angola asked for higher wages they were met with bullets, when they presented manifestos they were imprisoned, and when they demonstrated Salazar's Air Force dropped bombs on them. Finally, the people revolted.

From Angola, they used to say, came the silence of the graveyard. No longer.

"The people of Angola are standing in a state of rebellion", Mr. Mario de Andrade, President of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), told the Third All African People's Conference in Cairo on March 25, 1961.

Shot Without Trial

The news of the start of the rebellion filtered out of Angola slowly, painfully.

Some incidents:

- The arrest on June 8, 1960 of the much loved Angolan poet and first president of the MPLA, Dr. Agostinho Neto, who was flogged in the presence of his family.
- Eight political prisoners shot without trial in the yard of the Luanda military jail on November 2, 1960.

The MPLA reported:

"A 14 year old African boy who heard the shooting and climbed the wall to see what was happening was shot dead on the spot. And a passing African motor-cyclist who tried to carry the boy's body away was arrested and beaten."

The names of the eight murdered political prisoners were not known but were believed to belong to a group of 50 Africans arrested in 1959. Their trial, originally fixed for March 1960 was 'postponed indefinitely.'

This shooting in the Luanda Prison was only one of the incidents that sparked off the war.

The War Communique

Let the official communique of the Military High Command of the People's Liberation Movement of Angola tell the story in its own words, translated here from the Portuguese.

First the bare, but vital announcement: "On the 6th day of December 1960 the People's Liberation Movement of Angola (M.P.L.A.) declared that direct action was the only means by which the people of Angola could attain independence . . ."

Then back into the events earlier in 1960:

"In July 1960, a massacre took place at Icolo Bengo, the national village of the Honorary President of the MPLA, Dr. Agostinho Neto, who was arrested together with the great nationalist Reverend Pinto de Andrade, by the Portuguese authorities. The police and the army fired into groups of men and women numbering a thousand who were peacefully demonstrating against the arrest of Dr. Neto.

"These massacres resulted in 30 dead and over 200 wounded.

"At the same time, our peoples were anxious over the fate of hundreds of political prisoners among whom were leaders of the MPLA, Ilidio Machado, Vieira Dias and Gabriel Leitao arrested since March, 1959 together with a group of fifty other patriots.

"This is why the decision of the MPLA to pass into direct action has resounded and been so enthusiastically welcomed in our country.

"Immediately MPLA's commando men attacked the prison of Luanda in an attempt to liberate some of our leaders and other patriots.

"Despite heavy casualties, these attacks aroused international opinion.

"Colonialist forces violently repressed this with the result of 3,000 dead.

"On March 4th this year on the farm 'Primavera' near the Congo border, as forced labour workers claimed a raise in wages and shorter working hours, the farm owner found one single means to answer them: he beat them. The workers revolted and killed their master. Neighbouring farm owners decided to avenge their friend and started killing any African they could lay hands on or within reach. The peoples rose and resorted to violence.

"This is how the armed insurrection got under way.

"The militiamen of the MPLA then being at the early stage of organisation, lined up with the people in arms from the very onset of

the fight. They took different strategic positions over a vast area of roughly 9,000 miles and led the front, either directing operations or collaborating with various fighting groups, with the aim of coordinating the action of all fighting patriots in order to save as many lives as possible and advance the battle.

"A very important achievement has been registered by a group of 800 men led by our comrade TOMAS PERREIRA, General Commandant of the MPLA militia. This group united 24 men at the beginning. Their number increased as many dispersed patriots have come to join. It left one of our bases, travelled within 30 days a distance of over 620 miles, registered numbers of attacks, operations, sabotages and guerilla actions, and killing 230 Portuguese soldiers and detaining ten who were later released.

"Casualties on our side amounted to 10 dead and 90 wounded during the period referred to above.

"A Portuguese patrol making its way to Demba, made a journey of 40 miles in 18 days as a result of threats and attacks it met on the way.

"As Portuguese soldiers travel along roads, avoiding the bush path, it has become necessary to draw them to numerous ambushes.

"Our militia men, helped by civilians, were able to set major obstacles on roads; especially on those of Quibaco-Quibaxe, Caxito-Ucua, Pango-Aluquem-Quibaxe, Ucua-Quitexe at Quinzau-Ambrizete, and also on a portion of railroad in the neighbourhood of Ucua.

"Many successful achievements of the MPLA's militia can be proved on the one hand by the enormous damage inflicted on the colonialists, roughly £1 million lost in coffee plantations in the region of Ucua; settlers farms burnt down; trucks burnt; bridges blown off by dynamite; arms and ammunition confiscated; telephonic and electric cables cut; and on the other hand the mighty mobilisation of the people who have always helped our forces with enthusiasm.

"The colonialists reaction was of the most barbarous type. Unable to lay their hands on the militia men, they resorted to atrocious activities against innocent peoples. Whole villages have been massacred, especially in the regions of Tomboco, Ucua, Damba, VigeGande etc. Without the slightest consideration for international conventions they not only kill prisoners, but worse still they persecute the peoples fleeing to seek refuge in the Congo and many a time cross the boundaries into neighbouring territory over an area of eight miles to threaten them.

"In addition they subject thousands of prisoners to atrocities and a great number of them are reported missing.

"Faced with such stubbornness by the colonialists in their genocide operations, the militia of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola and her Military Command have decided to intensify the fight on every front till final and decisive victory."

No Coffee Crop

Within the short space of a month the guerilla forces had established control over 5,000 square miles of territory, one-tenth of the total area of the country.

This territory which the Portuguese are today desperately attempting to regain with an army of 25,000 men, tanks, aeroplanes and guns,

is in the most important part of Angola. It is from here that the coffee-crop, grown and harvested for the last 100 years by the Angolan people for the Portuguese under the most brutal and inhuman conditions, has brought in an annual revenue of £16,000,000, one half of Angola's total assets.

This year the coffee is not being harvested. Here and there, determined not to give up their spoils so easily, the Portuguese have brought in men from the South under armed guard to salvage what they can, but they are subject to continual attack, particularly in the Carmona area, and many plantations they intend harvesting are burnt down before they arrive. The latest reports show that the exploiters will be lucky to salvage even one-third of their former rewards.

Since the revolt began the liberation forces have grown greatly both in organisation and numbers. Today there are over 5,000 men in the forests and mountains, armed with weapons captured from the enemy, who are bitterly determined to see justice done in their country.

Genocide

The resolution of these men has been strengthened, if it was ever necessary, by the brutal mass retaliation that both the army and the White civilian population has taken against thousands of ordinary villagers.

In the North whole villages have been razed to the ground — first by napalm bombing, which leaves a grim trail of fire, and finally by shooting when the ground forces move in — if there is anyone left alive.

30,000 dead, men, women and children. Thousands more in the living death of jails and Angola's five concentration camps.

Hundreds of innocent civilians brutally murdered in the streets and townships of Luanda and Lobito Bay. GENOCIDE — the gradual extermination of a whole people — that is the charge laid against Prime Minister Salazar today.

The Northern provinces of Angola have become deserted except for the men with guns and the old and sick.

Everyone capable of walking has fled over the border of the Congo River into the Congo, and there are 130,000 refugees in camps there, being cared for by voluntary and Red Cross organisations.

The death toll among the refugees too has been appalling — a report from a Baptist missionary at Moereke, near the Congo River, records: 'The mothers, exhausted from walking and lack of food, cannot feed their babies, and while the nurses are frantically getting food ready, the babies have often died in their mothers' arms.'

Thousands are dead, normal life is at a standstill in Angola, there is terrible hunger and privation. WHOSE IS THE BLAME?

Is it the rebels, who demand independence — KIMPWANZA — bread and land for their people, subjugated for centuries to degradation, malnutrition and death? Or is it the Portuguese Government, which rules with an iron fist, which was the last country in the whole world to renounce slavery, which allows no democracy even within the 'home' fortress in Europe, and which has acknowledgedly one of the most inhuman labour policies in the world?

2. The Years of Horror

How is it that after 400 years of colonial rule 98% of the people of Angola cannot read or write? Or that 200 out of every 1000 babies born die of malnutrition?

It is Portugal, and Portugal alone, which is responsible for the misery and hardship that exists in Angola today.

For 300 years the people of Angola were shipped to Brazil and North America as slaves. In some months as many as 10,000 left their homeland, never to return. It is estimated that over one-third died on the journey.

Between 3—5 million Angolans were deported in this way — **ONE-HALF OF THE ENTIRE POPULATION.** The Portuguese have a history of genocide.

Copper and Diamonds

At the end of the last century, when slavery was no longer profitable or possible in the face of an outraged world, the Portuguese for the first time thought of Angola in terms of agriculture. Large coffee, sisal, cotton and sugar plantations were established, mainly in the central and northern parts of the country where the climate is temperate and the land fertile, and small towns came into being.

With the discovery of diamonds in the Southern coastal region the other Imperialist powers also began to take an interest in the country, and when the Angola Diamond Company (Diamang) was formed British, as well as some South African interests held the majority of the shares. (Diamang was established in 1920 and is the largest employer of African labour in Angola.)

As a result of the discovery of copper in the Katanga area of the Congo the British also invested heavily in a railway across the heart of Africa from Katanga to Lobito Bay in Angola. The Benguela Railway is owned by Tanganyika Concessions, an all-British Company, and brings in an annual net profit of over £1 million pounds.

Forced Labour

Both Portuguese and British investors immediately ran into difficulties. As the result of centuries of depopulation, both from the slave trade and from the flight of Angolans to other African territories to escape hardship, there were insufficient men to do the necessary work. (It is estimated that in the past it was customary for over 100,000 men to leave Angola annually for Nyasaland, the Congo and the Rhodesias.)

The Portuguese answer to the problem was to institute a system of **forced labour.** Every adult African is compelled by law to work, either for the Government on road-building and other public works, for private contractors for periods of one to three years, or 'voluntarily' for individual employers.

The average wage for plantation work and mining varies from £6 to £24 per annum, while Government work is unpaid. Not even rations or tools are supplied for the latter compulsory service.

With time the Government has become the main recruiter and distributor of labour, to a point where settlers call on the Department of 'Native' Affairs with written demands for a supply of labour. This word 'supply' is used by them in the same way as if they were buying goods.

Captain Henrique Galvao, who recently led the group which captured the Portuguese ship Santa Maria in an attempt to liberate Portugal's African colonies, said in a report originally commissioned by Salazar on labour conditions in Angola, but then suppressed because of its honesty:

Rented Men

"In some respects the situation today is more grave than that created by pure slavery. Under slavery the bought man, acquired as a head of cattle, was regarded as an asset by his master. He was interested in keeping him healthy and strong and agile in the same way as he would look after his horse or bull. Today, the African is not bought — he is simply rented from the Government, though he may have the status of a free man.

"His master could hardly care less if he falls ill or dies as long as he goes on working while he lives . . . When he becomes unable to work or when he dies the master just asks to be supplied with other labourers."

SOME EMPLOYERS HAVE LOST 35 PER CENT OF THEIR LABOURERS THROUGH ILLNESS OR DEATH BUT HAVE NEVER BEEN STOPPED OBTAINING FRESH 'SUPPLIES'.

Each year 400,000 men have been contracted into forced labour, usually outside their home district, by the local administrator working through the Chief. 400,000 more have taken work 'voluntarily'. The Chiefs and agents are bribed to produce enough men, as well as women and children, and if the Chief does not co-operate he is deposed or flogged. Men who have just returned home have frequently been ambushed into another long contract almost immediately.

Those men who until recently had managed to avoid compulsory labour because they had their own smallholdings where they grew crops for themselves as well as a little coffee or cotton for sale, have in the past few years frequently been dispossessed to make way for Portuguese peasant farmers who have immigrated as the result of poverty in Portugal. The original African farmers have found themselves working for a meagre salary to pass on the yield of their soil to the usurpers.

These are some of the conditions that finally made the people turn to action.

Great poverty, long hours, brutality — physical punishment is the norm for any deviation — sickness and death far from home, and the total absence of any democratic rights whatsoever.

Civilising Mission ?

Only 3,000 African children went to school each year in Angola before the rebellion. In 1953-54 there were a total of 91 high school students. Of the entire population of just over 4 million, the official figures show that only 14,751 or 0.36 per cent could read or write.

The official figures also show that over 23 per cent of the White population, whose mission it is supposed to be to 'civilise' the Africans, were themselves unable to read or write, and this shows just how much importance the Portuguese colonisers attach in general to education!

There are 250 doctors in the whole country, and smallpox, sleeping sickness and tuberculosis are rife. Nearly everyone suffers from malnutrition and its attendant illnesses.

Portugal claims that 'assimilation' is her contribution to 'native policy' in Africa. In theory any African can become an *assimilado* (winning full citizenship and equal rights with Whites in the territory) if he passes set tests. **BUT** after more than 400 years of Portuguese rule over 99 per cent of the Africans of Angola are classed as 'uncivilised', with everything that this status entails.

Every male African who is not an *assimilado* must carry an identity book which is frequently signed and checked. There is an internal military patrol whose work is to prevent desertion from *contratado* or forced labour.

There are numerous penal camps, and it was reported recently that hundreds of men had died of starvation in the camp at Silva Porto in central Angola.

Hide Whip and Wooden Paddle

Corporal punishment is carried out with some very refined instruments of torture, among them the hide whip and the wooden paddle. Davidson, in 'The African Awakening', describes the latter as follows:

'It is a sort of mallet carved from one piece of hard wood, the handle 10-12 inches long, the head a disc three inches across and an inch and a half thick.

In the disc five tapering holes are bored, and when the victim is hit on the hands, the force of the blow sucks the flesh up into the holes. The lessening diameter of the holes pinches the enclosed flesh and produces intense pain. A tough individual may take four or five blows in silence, but after that he cannot restrain his cry of anguish . . . death may follow 150 blows.'

Today, when the people have shown that they will endure these conditions no longer and there is pressure within Portugal itself for some modification, the Salazar regime is making a belated pretence at 'democratisation'. The vote is promised — again only to those whom they call civilised — and the end of racial discrimination under the labour laws. It is all quite meaningless. The people of Angola demand **KIMPWANZA** — the right to decide their own lives and their future as a free nation — and they will not be bluffed by the vague and empty promises of a dying brutocracy.

3. Salazar Over Portugal

Portugal is a small country, in the extreme south-east corner of Europe. She has always been a seafaring nation, and her large navy made her the foremost trader of the 15th and 16th century, when capitalism throughout Europe was in its earliest stage of mercantilism, or development of capital and profit through trade.

Portugal 'discovered' Africa in her search for a sea-route to India, whose spices and goods were in high demand in Europe. At first she was content merely to establish small settlements on the Eastern and Western coasts for the purpose of re-stocking her ships, but in the 16th century the promise of gold gave her a more direct interest. Gold — and the slave trade — these were the factors that made the early Portuguese Imperialists colonise in Africa, particularly on the West Coast where Angola and the Congo exist today.

On the East coast this small but powerful nation also established a profitable trade (particularly in slaves) within India, but the Arabs whom she had dispossessed continued to make sporadic war with her. Between 1650—1700 the Arabs received assistance, possibly unintentionally, from Britain and Holland, who were determined to capture the lucrative trade with the East for themselves, and by 1710 Portugal had withdrawn to what is today Mozambique. At the same time she lost her interests in the Congo and her supremacy of the high seas, and the British and Dutch replaced her as the major trading countries.

It was this setback that made Portugal look at Angola and Mozambique with an eye to more permanent settlement. Now she attempted to colonise the territories with fire and sword, plus a few missionaries. The soldiers were encouraged to settle, but those who remained were mainly convicts and exiles who could not return to Portugal. Agriculture remained small and undeveloped, and was done mainly by those who had been doing it for centuries past — the local population.

The Slave Trade

It was at this time that slavery in Angola reached vast proportions. Both the local settlers and the mother country saw it as a means of making a quick and easy profit, this trade in human beings, and Portuguese ships called regularly at the 'slave-factories' on the coast to collect their cargo — 10,000 people in chains, crowded into the holds with the bare minimum of food — almost every month.

It was only in 1858 that Portugal finally decreed that the slave trade should cease. She had lost her colony in Brazil in 1822, where a large proportion of the slaves had gone to work on the plantations, her navy was dwindling, and she no longer had the support of the rest of the world for her evil work. Despite the official decree, the settlers in Angola kept a clandestine slave-trade going for another twenty years, until one-half of the Angolan people had been torn from their homes.

With the loss of the wealthy Brazilian colony Portugal had been greatly weakened. In Europe too her strength and power was sapped, and she was unable to keep pace with the industrial growth and development that took place in England, France and Germany in the latter half of the nineteenth century. She had neither the space nor the accumulation of capital necessary for survival in the modern world.

Today Portugal is a complete decayed anachronism. Her people are poverty-stricken except for a few very wealthy families who own most of the land; she has no industries of any size, and she is ruled by an old-fashioned despotic and fascist oligarchy which deals with any attempt at liberalisation within Portugal with ruthless severity.

Yet even inside Portugal itself the Salazar dictatorship has never been shakier. Political groups ranging from Catholics to Communists are working underground. Between March and July 1960, 103 people were tried on political charges and sentenced to a total of 138 years in prison and loss of political rights for a total of 725 years. In 1959 there were 3,811 trials leading to convictions for crimes against 'religion, the security of the state', and other political offences.

Since 1955 the government has tried to regain prestige in the eyes of the world by staging three presidential 'elections', though the opposition candidates were so handicapped as to make the elections farcical. The last of the elections took place in 1958, when the vote cast for Salazar's opponent General Delgado was so high that direct elections for the presidency of Portugal were abolished and Delgado had to flee the country for his life.

'Santa Maria' Sets Sail

The 'Santa Maria' episode, when the opposition movement seized the Portuguese ship and tried to set sail for the shores of Angola to link up with the popular opposition there, highlighted the twin bankruptcy of the Salazar government: Portugal herself is bankrupt, corrupt and poised ready to get rid of Salazar; the colonies, Angola the largest and wealthiest, are straining to throw off the ugliest colonial burden in Africa. The Santa Maria episode showed the common cause of Delgado and his Captain Galvao; and the people of Angola have now taken to arms to free their country.

In April, just as the war in Angola was getting going, a senior Portuguese Government official, in the course of a statement on the current situation in Angola, said:

"For us this is a life — or — death struggle. Portugal cannot survive as a nation without its African territories."

It is seldom that the Imperialist powers are so honest about the source of their profits!

4. The People Stand Up

Which men, which bodies, stand at the spearhead of the Angolan struggle? Who are these men who have dared to stand up against centuries of tyranny and oppression?

In Angola there are several movements for national independence, among them:

- The M.P.L.A. (in Portuguese 'Movimento Popular Libertacao de Angola') led by **Mario de Andrade**, organising now from Conakry, Guinea.

- The Uniao das Populacoes de Angola (the UPA) led by **Roberto Holden**, working from Leopoldville in the Congo.

- The Alliance des Ressortissants de Zombo. (ALIAZO)

- The Uniao Nacional dos Trabalhadores de Angola (UNTA), the trade union body.

MPLA is one of the groups that recently united with movements in the other Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Goa and Portuguese Guinea in order to form F.R.A.I.N. — the Revolutionary African Front for the National Independence of the Portuguese Colonies.

The programme of UPA states that it stands for 'complete and immediate independence for Angola, the strengthening of Pan-Africanism, and opposition to racial segregation and oppression'. UPA was represented at the Accra, Tunis and Addis Ababa Pan-African congresses and has observers at the United Nations. On his next visit to the United Nations UPA's leader Roberto Holden, educated in the Congo and once an employee in the Congo's civil service, will carry fragments of an American made napalm bomb as evidence of Portuguese methods against peaceful villages.

The UPA claims 90,000 members. Started originally (in 1954) as the freedom movement of the Bakongo people in the Northern provinces, it has today won the support of large numbers throughout the country, whether Mbundu-, Ambundu-, or Kwamyama-speaking.

At the same time many thousand Bakongo who live in the new Congo state on the northern side of the river also give their assistance and support — clear evidence of the artificial geographical divisions imposed by the Imperialists.

Here are extracts from the programme of the MPLA:

- * Achievement of immediate and complete independence for the Angolan homeland.
- * Establishment of a democratic republic, with universal suffrage and a coalition government that will carry out planned economic reconstruction and an agrarian reform.
- * The coalition to put the interests of the workers and peasants foremost.

* Economic, social and cultural ties to be created and developed among all regions and nationalities of Angola.

* **African Affairs.**

Support for the unity of the peoples of Africa on the basis of mutual respect. Support for the eventual union of African States, carried out by democratic and peaceful means on the basis of the freely expressed popular will.

* **Elections.**

All over the age of 18 to have the vote.

All over the age of 21 to be eligible for election.

An elected Assembly of the People of Angola would draft the Constitution and nominate a coalition Government.

* Agricultural production to be stepped up and all rural work gradually to be mechanised.

* All peasants to get land. The land of enemies of the independence movement to be nationalised.

The single-crop system to be changed to mixed farming.

* An eight-hour day and a minimum wage to be established.

* Women equal with men before the law.

* Education to be reformed and an immediate campaign against illiteracy begun.

* All foreign bases to be abolished.

A national army on democratic lines to be established.

No military pacts to be signed with any other country.

Unity

The Angolan freedom movement is growing by leaps and bounds, but lacks unity.

The two strongest groups are the MPLA and the UPA. There is no open conflict between the two bodies, but no close co-operation either. The UPA did not take part in the conference with MPLA and other freedom-fighting bodies, 12 groups in all, which formed the common front (FRAIN) at Casablanca in April 1961. The other groups represented Portuguese Guinea, the islands of Cape Verde, Sao Tomé and Principe off the coast of Angola, Mozambique and Goa, Damon and Diu in India.

MPLA's programme goes beyond the defeat of the Portuguese troops and is evidence of far-sighted and long-term planning.

UPA, on the other hand, appears to have greater material resources, some of which, critics have suggested, have been supplied by Kasavubu in the Congo with American backing behind him.

Whatever their differences on policies and tactics outside Angola, the freedom troops inside Angola fight side by side, in battle and ambush, whether they owe allegiance to UPA or MPLA.

This unity is one of the keys to victory in Angola.

Support of the People

Another is the solid support for the fighting forces given by the people of Angola. Without their assistance the guerillas would find it impossible to make war, split up into small groups of 25-30 men as they are, with no proper base or equipment. It is the civilian population which feeds them and it is the people who show them the secret tracks through the jungle undergrowth that enable them to disappear after an attack on one of the slow-moving Government columns with skill and ease.

Due to the great shortage of arms (most of what there is has been taken during battle), the Angolan fighters use whatever methods the local conditions permit. Those who once built the roads know today how to make them completely unfit for use, by digging ditches, placing trees across them at close intervals, and blowing up bridges. If they are short of dynamite a river may be diverted until it undermines the earth foundations of a bridge, so that it collapses, or it may be treated alternately with fire and water until the concrete cracks.

In this way the much vaunted Spring offensive of the Portuguese forces too is collapsing in failure, though Portugal's military operation which began in May now absorbs nearly half the regular Portuguese army, and troops continue to be poured in.

The 'Observer' reported:

'The aim of this operation was to encircle the rebels and seal off the Congo frontier from which they are directed. **Neither objective has come within the bounds of possibility.** All that can be claimed is the checking of the revolt on a line running roughly from Luanda eastward to Forte Republica, near the Congo border (Kasai).

'Above this line, certainly, mobile columns have relieved or re-occupied a score of towns and villages engulfed by the rebel flood in March — but even in daytime their control of these places extends only to a radius of five or six miles.

'At dusk they are obliged to retire on their strongpoints and watch from a distance while the rebels burn neighbouring plantations at a rate of five or six a night.

'... The depression has produced the inevitable restlessness among traders but also a deeper political reaction which manifested itself two months ago in the collection of signatures for a telegram to Lisbon demanding Angolan autonomy. Eight of the European organisers were arrested, and in a similar scene in Beira, Mozambique, an indignant crowd of Europeans had to be cleared from the administrator's office by the police.

'... yet on Sundays, one drives out of Luanda to find half the population at improvised target practice on the country roads.'

The situation today has reached a stage where the Whites are panicky and the Government is desperate. So far, they still hold the upper hand, but time and the frequent rainy seasons are on the side of the liberatory forces, as well as the tremendous support of the African people.'

5. The World Beyond

The attacks on the Luanda Prison, the first fighting action from March onwards, and Angolan participation in the All African People's Conferences brought demands from the Afro-Asian and Socialist countries for an International Commission to investigate conditions in Angola. A recommendation went before the Security Council of the United Nations from Liberia, asking for the appointment of a sub-committee to help prevent the further deterioration and abuse of human rights and privileges in Angola. 34 Asian and African members of UNO gave their fullest support to this request, and added that they considered the situation had 'grave potentialities for international friction.'

Despite this strong claim the motion was rejected on March 15 by a vote of five in favour and none against, with six abstentions. (At least seven approving votes are required for the adoption of any decision by the Council.) Those who voted in favour were:

Ceylon, Liberia, United Arab Republic, Soviet Union, United States.

Those who abstained were:

Chile, Nationalist China, Ecuador, France, Turkey, Britain.

It is interesting to see that two of the major Imperialist powers, Britain and the United States, recorded opposing votes.

Why this difference when both give Portugal help and support by supplying her with arms, planes and ammunition under the NATO agreement? The answer lies in economic interests — America is greatly concerned to build up markets and goodwill in the whole of Africa today, while Britain, with tremendous investments in Angola, is more concerned about her immediate profits there than the general situation.

Further Action by UNO

At last today a sub-committee has been appointed to make investigations, but Portugal, like South Africa over South-West, has consistently refused it entry into the territory for on-the-spot investigation. The committee has in the meantime asked the Congo Government to interview Angolan refugees in the Congo on its behalf.

Individual member nations of the United Nations have also issued strong messages of solidarity and support to the Angolan people. Chief among these have been Ghana, China, the Soviet Union, Guinea, Libya and Senegal.

Nkrumah on Angola

In a speech to the Ghana National Assembly Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana and a leading figure in All-African Affairs, said:

"The evils of Portuguese colonialism are realised by all African States without exception.

"WE SHOULD THEREFORE BE ABLE TO GO UNITED TO THE ASSISTANCE OF THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA . . . what is happening in the Congo can be repeated in other African territories under colonial rule unless the Africans themselves unite to save Africa from the misery of these tragedies."

Dr. Nkrumah emphasised that the help must be practical. The wounded and the refugees must be cared for, the atrocities exposed, and the entire African and World Trade Union movement refuse to handle goods and arms destined for Portugal — these were some of the measures demanding immediate implementation. At the same time the African States would continue to exert maximum pressure at the United Nations for the speedy ending of the war in Angola.

NATO

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation is composed of both the major and the smaller powers of Western Europe. America, Britain, France, Germany, Portugal and Spain are among its members. It is a military alliance, a part of the anti-Communist Cold War set up, which supplies member nations with money and arms.

Portugal has benefited greatly in terms of this agreement. For example, although Britain has been forced by the pressure of public opinion to stop selling arms to her openly for use in Angola, under their NATO agreement she supplies her with large quantities. America, despite her vote for investigations into the Angola situation, gives even larger amounts.

It has been said that PORTUGAL COULD NOT CONTINUE THE WAR IN ANGOLA FOR MORE THAN TWO MONTHS if she were to be excluded from the pact. (The NATO agreement is supposed to exist purely for purposes of defence.)

Spread of the Revolt

In the 'Star' of July 19 it was reported that Port Guinea, a small Portuguese colony lying between Guinea and Senegal on Africa's West coast, had been invaded across its frontier with Senegal. A later report spoke of further attacks from Guinea in the south. It is not yet clear whether the invasion is the work of Portuguese opponents of Salazar, African nationalists, or the two working together. The typical Portuguese Press censorship has made it impossible to get any further facts.

In August a leader of the Mozambique National Democratic Union, Mr. Marcelino Dos Santos, who is also a member of the co-ordinating secretariat of all the Portuguese liberatory organisations, FRAIN, said in an interview in Dar-es-Salaam:

"Our struggle is for the liberation of the people of Mozambique. We shall take up arms because the Portuguese do not understand any other way of settling disputes."

1,000 prisoners have starved to death at Saint Mare, 500 have been deported, and many thousands have fled to Southern Rhodesia.

At the end of July the independent Republic of Dahomey told the Portuguese to evacuate a small fort on her coastline in the Gulf of Guinea. Portugal established this miniature 'colony' at the end of the 15th century, and President Maga has now given notice that she must quit immediately.

Goa is demanding reunification with India, together with Daman and Diu. The people of these territories too are deprived of all elementary civil rights, and have given evidence of the most severe repression by the Portuguese of any demands on their part. They give facts to support their statement that their homeland is of no economic value to Portugal, but that their oppression is due solely to the desire of this Imperialist country to maintain her military bases in the East and thus give support to the NATO bloc.

All Portugal's colonies are in revolt. Her armies are spread ever more thinly all over the globe while the volume of denunciation against her grows into a torrent.

If an armed uprising were to break out in Mozambique and Goa she would no longer have sufficient forces to be able to continue to make war everywhere at the same time.

Portugal's Allies

At the beginning of July South Africa's Minister of Defence, Mr. Fouché, spent two days in Portugal, where he had discussions with the Prime Minister, Dr. Salazar, and the Army, Navy and Air Force Chiefs. At the end of his visit he denied that a Joint Defence Pact had been drawn up, although in fact such a Pact already exists, but only for Mozambique officially so far.

Ever since the Nationalist Government took power in 1948 they have spoken of the importance of allying themselves with Portugal and the Rhodesias in their determined stand against the 'ravages of Black nationalism', and the importance of keeping South Africa under all-White rule. When Mr. Erasmus was Minister of Defence he made promises that the South African army would fight alongside other White supremacists wherever necessary, as long as there was no racial mixing of units! (Portugal has large numbers of armed African troops.)

Today Portugal wants these promises put into practice, and she has asked for units of the S.A. Defence Force to enter Angola to help her in the fight against the liberation army. Despite recent troop movements — in June South African forces moved into Ovamboland in northern South West Africa, while the Air Force began patrolling the Angolan-South West border — she has not been successful yet. South African ground forces are co-operating with the Portuguese police to stop people travelling between the two territories, and all garrison and border posts have been strengthened, but despite her sympathy with the fascist regime further North, South Africa has not dared so far to enter the struggle actively.

In Rhodesia too there has been talk of a joint 'defence' pact. Speaking in the Federal Assembly recently, Mr. John Gaunt, the member for Lusaka West, said that Angola, South Africa and Rhodesia should

form an alliance. This followed talks between the Rhodesian Defence Minister and the Governor-General of Angola, General Deslandes.

The Losing Side

'PORTUGAL LOSING WAR IN ANGOLA' said a recent headline in the Observer, a British newspaper.

The report stressed that Portugal's current defence bill and trade loss would be certain to force her into bankruptcy within two years if the present situation continued. This fact is of great significance. If the liberation forces can continue to control the North of Angola for this period, Portugal will collapse not only because of military opposition and political and social decay, but because she no longer has the money to govern. At such a time, whatever changes took place within Portugal itself, the people's fighting forces would be presented with the opportunity to take control in Angola.

In the meantime there is a long and hard battle to be fought. The Portuguese pretend that they are gaining the upper hand, and official reports from Lisbon speak of continual attacks on 'native insurgent troops.' But when the reports are read more carefully it is clear that it is usually the rebels who are on the attack, and that they are in fact gaining more ground to the South. The liberation army has all the natural advantages of climate and jungle on their side, and as the result of the support of the people they are very mobile, but they are ill-equipped and comparatively inexperienced, and the immediate outcome cannot today be spoken of with any certainty.

Independence and After

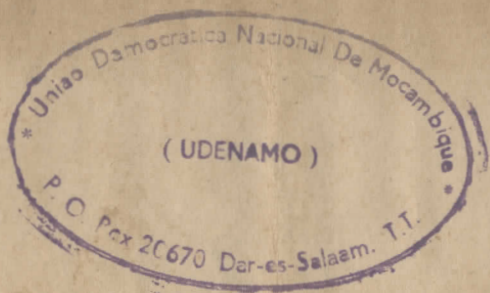
Tremendous problems wait to be solved in the future. Angola has hardly any industries, an essential requisite for raising living standards above bare existence level, and those with the education to run a complex modern society have either been put to death or are at present behind bars.

Portugal's consistent fear of those few Africans whom she has been forced to educate has meant that teachers and priests have been the first to be arrested on every occasion during the past few years when there has been a popular movement for reform.

Fortunately the Angolan people today have many friends, both in Africa and the rest of the world. In Portugal and Angola too there is an increasing number of Whites who can no longer bear the brutality and injustice of the present regime, who take a stand anywhere along the line from reform to total change, and who will co-operate with a new regime.

Thus when at last the real battle — the battle of a good life for all — begins, the Angolans will not be alone. They already have the sympathy and solidarity of all Africa and Asia, as well as the Socialist countries, and when the time comes for the building of schools and hospitals, for the development of industry and agriculture, they will get assistance from their brothers the world over.

Johannesburg. October 1961.



Issued by Afrika Publications, P.O. Box 10120, Johannesburg, and
printed by Pacific Press (Pty.) Ltd., 302 Fox Street, Johannesburg.

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