

PETITION
BY THE ANGOLA COMITÉ
CONCERNING THE REPORT
BY MR. PIERRE JUVIGNY
REGARDING THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE ABOLITION OF FORCED
LABOUR CONVENTION, 1957
(No. 105) BY PORTUGAL.

AMSTERDAM
1972

The Governing Body of the
International Labour Organization
Route de Lausanne 154
Geneva
Switzerland

Petition concerning the Report by Mr. Pierre Juvigny regarding the
Implementation of the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957
(No. 105) by Portugal

Amsterdam, 20th April 1972

Dear Sirs,

In order to show that no forced labour exists in Angola and Mozambique the Portuguese Embassy in The Hague (Netherlands) is distributing as a propagandabrochure the report by Mr. Pierre Juvigny on the labour conditions in Angola and Mozambique, made on behalf of the International Labour Organization.

Therefore the Angola Comité feels obliged to make a vehement protest concerning the investigation made by Mr. Pierre Juvigny. The reasons why we cannot accept his investigation are stated fully in Annex I.

From the confidential report which was drafted by Dr. Afonso Mendes, director of the Labour Institute of Angola, on behalf of the Portuguese authorities one year before the visit of Mr. Juvigny took place, it appears how much Mr. Juvigny has let himself be hoodwinked by his Portuguese hosts and especially by Dr. Afonso Mendes. This report by Mr. Mendes is published as Annex II.

In an unequalled way Dr. Afonso Mendes by way of his function was able to be informed on the real labour conditions in Angola. His report tells more about the real situation in Angola than piles of reports from commissions of investigation or other visitors taken round by the Portuguese authorities.

Instead of sending another commission to Angola the International Labour Organization should base itself on the report by Mr. Mendes for its discussions on the labour conditions in Angola.

Yours sincerely,
on behalf of the "Angola Comité"
F. Ernst

THE INVESTIGATION BY PIERRE JUVIGNY

BACKGROUND

Portugal has always been very reluctant to ratify the various conventions of the International Labour Organization (I.L.O.) in Geneva whose goal has been to guarantee better labour conditions to people under colonial rule and to put an end to forced labour. This reluctance comes in spite of the fact that Portugal has been a member of I.L.O. since its inception.¹⁾ Portugal has still not ratified either the *Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936 (no. 50)* and the *Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939 (No. 64)*. Both of these conventions concern problems closely connected with practice commonly referred to as "forced labour".²⁾ Neither the *Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939 (No. 65)* nor the *Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1947 (No. 86)* have been signed by Portugal. Only about 1960 has Portugal begun to ratify a number of conventions: the *Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29)* was only ratified 26 years later; the *Abolition of Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1955 (No. 104)* was ratified in 1960; the *Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105)* was ratified on the 23rd of November, 1959. This means that the last Convention came into force for Portugal and its colonies on the 23rd of November, 1960. Three months later the government of Ghana filed with the Director-General of the I.L.O. a complaint that it was not satisfied that Portugal was securing the effective observance of the Convention in her African territories of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, and requested the Governing Body of the I.L.O. to take appropriate steps, for example, by setting up a Commission of Inquiry to consider the complaint and to report thereon.

THE FIRST INVESTIGATION

Although the I.L.O. is generally satisfied with reports made by the governments, a decision was made in June of 1961 to appoint a special Commission to make an investigation in Angola and Mozambique in connection with Ghana's complaint. On the 21st of February, 1962, this Commission

reported on its findings. Serious charges against Portugal were contained in this report. The Commission found that virtually all of the unskilled labour employed in the ports of Luanda and Lobito and by the Luanda railroad were forced labourers³.

The Commission required a large number of laws to be abolished, including provisions concerning:

- the moral obligation to work (*Native Labour Code, 1928*),
- the compulsory recruitment for public works,
- the compulsory cultivation of certain agricultural products.

This report was approved in March, 1962 by the I.L.O. In addition, Ghana and Portugal accepted the findings and recommendations of the Commission. In 1965 Portugal was urged in a resolution of the I.L.O. once again to give effect without further delay to the recommendations of the 1962 Commission of Inquiry of the Governing Body, particularly in so far as they related to forced labour practices and the sequels of forced labour.⁴

CRITICISM OF THE FIRST INVESTIGATION

Although in the first report serious criticism was given to the labour conditions in the Portuguese colonies, the superficial and naive method of investigation has been justly criticized by among others the American professor of anthropology, Marvin Harris, who had tried to do research himself in Mozambique between June 1956 and June 1957. His investigation was seriously hampered by the Portuguese authorities:

*Fear of reprisal against my informants and the threat of eviction by the Governor-General prevented me from gathering the kind of systematic data which is accessible in more democratic political milieus.*⁵

Concerning the investigation of the Commission of the I.L.O. in Angola and Mozambique he wrote:

The Commission, which consisted of three jurists, was perhaps professionally inclined to be overly impressed by legal façades and by the testimony of administrative officials and corporation executives whose motivations and rewards for lying were very high against whom no punishment for perjury could be brought to bear. Late in 1961, the Commission traveled for ten days in both Mozambique and Angola. Unfortunately, its itinerary was always known in advance, and its members were almost always accompanied by Portuguese officials (in Mozambique, by three labour inspectors). The Commission was also accompanied by its secretariat, which apparently included at least one Portuguese-speaking member who could serve as an interpreter. The Commission believed that its investigations had

not been hampered by linguistic difficulties and that it had been able to obtain spontaneous and uninhibited testimony from most of the African workers with whom it consulted. In this crucial matter, it exhibited a naivité which will be self-evident to anyone who is familiar with the problem of protecting informants from the threat of reprisal in a society where the members of an oppressed minority have no practical defense against vengeful acts of brutality.⁶

THE SECOND VISIT

In 1969 the Portuguese government asked the I.L.O. according to the procedure of direct contacts established in 1968 to determine whether there were still discrepancies between the provisions of the *Convention against Forced Labour (No. 105)* and the practice in the Portuguese colonies. The I.L.O. decided to appoint the Frenchman, Pierre Juvigny to carry out this investigation. He fulfilled the requirement that he was acceptable to the Portuguese government. Accompanied by an employee of the I.L.O., Mr. K.T. Samson, Pierre Juvigny visited Angola and Mozambique in October 1970 to make an investigation of the progress made since 1961 in abolishing forced labour. In January 1971 Mr. Juvigny reported on his visit to the I.L.O.

The conclusions in this report⁷, pleased the Portuguese government so much that they used it for propaganda purposes. However, this report, made by one man, does not have the same status as the report of 1962. In contrast to the first report, officially approved by the I.L.O., Juvigny's report was merely acknowledged. While the members of the Commission on Inquiry in 1961 made an solemn declaration corresponding to that made by judges of the International Court of Justice, Juvigny never took such an oath. In addition, the method of the two investigations was entirely different. While the first Commission only decided when in Angola to allow a few lower civil servants of the Portuguese government to accompany them on their investigation, Juvigny first went to Lisbon (in May of 1970) for preparatory briefings and allowed himself to be continuously accompanied by high Portuguese authorities throughout his stay in Angola and Mozambique. It is significant that Juvigny elaborately thanked the Portuguese authorities at the end of this report and in particular the former president of the Labour Institute of Angola (Dr. Afonso Mendes), in contrast to the first investigation report in which only the assistants of the I.L.O. were thanked.

SUPERFICIALITY

The second investigation in Angola and Mozambique only lasted ten days as well; between the 9th and 21st of October, 1970.⁸ Considering the size of these territories, the duration of this investigation is extremely short. In Angola the visit was limited to two cities (Luanda and Lobito), a small village (Portugalia), and the surroundings of the city Nova Lisboa. This means that the two men merely visited a minimal fraction of this enormous country. Although the large majority of the African labourers who work under the *contract system* are employed on the coffee plantations,⁹ *not a single coffee plantation* was visited.

This in spite of the fact that the accusations of forced labour practically always refer to the coffee plantations in the North of Angola. The investigation of the I.L.O. in 1961 was also seriously inadequate on this point. When the Commission of Inquiry informed the Portuguese government that it wanted to visit this coffee area, it was told by the authorities that this area was unsafe. The Commission abandoned its original plans and visited one of the few modern coffee plantations in Angola, that of the CADA in the centre of the country. Even the few places that were visited by Juvigny and Samson were finished off in flying haste. On the first day in Angola for instance the following program was got through:

- Arrival in Angola,
- Visit to the Provincial Secretary of Health, Labour, Social Security and Welfare,
- Visit to the Governor-General of Angola,
- Visit to the Luanda employment office,
- Visit to the transit Center for workers,
- Visit to the Handicrafts Center,
- Visit to the Workers Canteen,
- Visit to the National Union of Bank Employees
- Visit to the National Union for Commerce and Industry,
- Visit to the National Union for Motor Transport, Railway and Metal Workers

The only agricultural enterprise that was visited in Angola was the sugar plantation Cassequel. On the same day that this enterprise was visited, a visit was made to the port of Lobito and the Lobito employment office, and a distance of hundreds of kilometers was covered. According to the report, interrogations were made with about one hundred workers during this day. If these people were heard individually (one-by-one) by the investigation Commission, no more than an average of two or three minutes could have been spent on each interrogation.

NAIVITY

An even more serious criticism than the haste and the resulting superficiality of the investigation is however that Juvigny has completely failed to take into account that he was visiting the Portuguese colonies on the invitation of the government of a police state, and that the only reason for this invitation was to make the delegation conclude that no forced labour exists in Angola. The visitors accepted extensive information from the Portuguese colonial authorities during their visit to Angola and Mozambique and during their visit to Portugal before and after the investigation.

This information was uncritically used in the report of the investigators, so that it now and then gives the impression of being a piece of Portuguese propaganda. Much information was taken from the paper *Trabalho*, published by the Angolan Labour Institute, and from the book, *O trabalho assalariado em Angola* (1965), written by the director of the Labour Institute, Dr. Afonso Mendes.

The published report is divided into paragraphs. Of the 114 paragraphs concerning Angola, 81 are devoted to information provided by the Portuguese colonial authorities or by the business directors, and 11 paragraphs are devoted to declarations by the recruiters of African labour; in only 20 paragraphs the statement of the workers are reproduced. As the government and the entrepreneurs, as well as the recruiters of African labourers will systematically deny the existence of any use of force in the recruitment of labour, the "critical part" of the report is limited to only 20 paragraphs in which the African labourers are interrogated.

The trip of the two visitors and the timing of their visit was arranged in advance with the Portuguese authorities. This means that various measures could be arranged in time to hide abuses from view and that companies where serious abuses occur (as on the coffee plantations in the North of Angola) could be avoided. The investigators should from the beginning have taken into account that while people in a police state cannot express themselves freely, and this applies even more to the oppressed population in the colony of a police state; and certainly this even more so when large groups of this suppressed population have taken up a fight to the death against the colonial occupation. If the Commission really had had the intention to give the African labourers the opportunity to eventually lodge a complaint against the régime or to make the accusation that they are working under force, the Commission should have taken care that the labourers could speak openly with the visitors without fear of retaliation by the authorities. It is already a serious fault that the Africans were always interrogated in the presence of other workers, as there are also informants among the Africans.

But in addition, Juvigny was constantly accompanied by several high Portuguese authorities, including the present director of the Labour Institute of Angola and his predecessor. In their communication with the Africans the investigators had to rely on the latter, Dr. Afonso Mendes, for the translation of the questions and answers. Neither Mr. Juvigny nor Mr. Samson spoke or understood sufficient Portuguese, not to mention one of the languages of the African population. Juvigny never identified himself to the Africans as a representative of the I.L.O. who had come to make an investigation of the labour conditions in Angola. How could anyone expect that Africans would express their grievances against the regime or the labour system when they are questioned by unknown whites who are the guests of the Portuguese government and who are constantly accompanied by high officials of this government.

It is incomprehensible that the representatives of the I.L.O., after the experience during the first investigation in December 1961, would again make the same careless mistakes. Also in 1961 the representatives of the I.L.O. visited the sugar plantation of Cassequel Company. In the official record of the visit of 1961 is stated:

*The unskilled workers at the Cassequel Company. . . were more backward than any whom the Commission saw elsewhere and gave the impression of being intimidated. They certainly did not speak freely to the Commission, and after the Commission and the representatives of the company had moved on, some of them speaking only an African language attempted to make contact with the Commission through its staff.*¹⁰

We should wonder what has happened to these courageous Africans when the Commission had left the country.

- 1 Portugal, since 1919 member of the I.L.O., has ratified only 29 of the 134 Conventions. (In comparison: Holland ratified 66, Spain 78, and France 82 conventions).
- 2 Description from the *International Labour Office Official Bulletin*, Supplement II, April 1962, paragraph 725.
- 3 *op. cit.*, paragraph 378.
- 4 I.L.O. report of 1966 concerning the *Measures taken by the Government of Portugal to Implement the Recommendations of the Commission Appointed under Article 26 of the I.L.O. Constitution to examine the Observance by Portugal of the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957, (No. 105), paragraph 7.*

- 5 Marvin Harris, *Race, Conflict and Reform in Mozambique*, in: *The Transformation of East Africa*, London, 1966, p. 157.
- 6 *op. cit.*, p. 170.
- 7 Report by Pierre Juvigny, Representative of the Director-General of the International Labour Office, on direct contacts with the government of Portugal regarding the implementation of the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105), Geneva, 1971
- 8 On the 11th, 17th and 18th of October was not worked.
- 9 According to the report by Pierre Juvigny, paragraph 19, approximately 75 % of the contract labourers worked on the coffee plantations.
- 10 *I.L.O. Official Bulletin*, Supplement II, April 1962, paragraph 490.



THE REALITY IN ANGOLA

revealed by Dr. Afonso Mendes, Director of the Labour Institute in Angola.

The most important Portuguese authority to accompany Juvigny on his trip through Angola was Dr. Afonso Mendes. From 1962 to 1970, this Dr. Afonso Mendes was the director of the Labour Institute, the bureau which regulates the entire labour system in Angola, which enforces labour legislation, grants licenses to labour recruiters etc. No one could have been in a better position to be familiar with every detail of labour conditions in Angola than Dr. Afonso Mendes.

In 1969 – a year before Juvigny visited Angola – Dr. Afonso Mendes was requested by the Portuguese government to write a confidential report about conditions in Angola. The purpose of this report was to make a contribution to the psychological warfare against the Angolan population. Together with several other Portuguese officials in key positions in Angola, Dr. Mendes was asked how the Portuguese Government could reduce the support of the Angolan population to the liberation movement. The Portuguese Government was anxious to organize the counter-subversion to oppose the so-called “subversive activities” of the liberation movement. The original report in Portuguese was presented to some members of Dutch political parties, represented in the Dutch Government:

Mr. Th.M. Hazekamp (KVP, Member of Parliament)

Mr. J. Penders (KVP, Fraction Secretary)

Mr. P. van Tellingen (ARP, Information Secretary)

Mr. J.G. de Klerk (CHU, Fraction Staff Member)

They received this report from a Portuguese who they spoke to personally and whose integrity they have no reason to suspect.

The literal English translation of this report and the original Portuguese text follow here after:

INSTITUTO DO TRABALHO, PREVIDÊNCIA E ACÇÃO SOCIAL DE ANGOLA

(Labour, Social Security and Social Welfare Institute of Angola)

SECRET

RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE COUNTER-SUBVERSION

(Report by Dr. Afonso Mendes)

1. In 1960 the population of Angola was estimated to be roughly composed of 95,2 % of African origin, 3,5 % European and 1,1 % Coloured. From 1950 to 1960 the group of African origin increased by 567,675 persons; that of European origin increased by 93,703 persons, and the Coloured population decreased by 23,744 persons. As a result of the problem of insecurity caused by terrorism, between 1960 and 1970 the population of European origin did not increase at a higher rate. In his book *Problemas do Desenvolvimento Economico em Angola* (Problems of Economic Development in Angola) Walter Marques, calculates on page 38 that this Province will have more than five and a half million inhabitants, of which more than 5 million will be of the negro race, which is approximately 91 % of the entire population. Thus the large majority of people are of this race and this will become even more accentuated to the extent that medical assistance is improved and the present social advance comes to fruition. Nevertheless, almost all the wealth, all the positions of leadership, all the agricultural, livestock, industrial, and commercial enterprises, and the real decision-making power will remain in the hands of the European segment of the population, which in 1970 will continue to form merely a small minority as has always been the case. The positions of leadership in the public administration in Angola are filled by this segment of the population as well. This situation results in a striking economic inequality between the "white group" and the "black group". This leads to social inequality and to the maintenance of cultural inequality.

These differences have combined in provoking a large polarization between the two groups of the population. Through the abolition of the

“indigenato” an enormous effort was made to reduce this polarization and this effort still continues by means of education, free labour, the increased appeal to qualified workers of African origin, a better protection of the land property rights, the social elevation of the Africans and the abolition of discriminatory measures and practices. But the road is long, difficult, and time-consuming, and the goal in view, to level the conditions of life of whites and blacks remains hypothetical. As long as progress continues to take place, if this is possible, there will still be stimulation for immigration from Europe.

It is irrefutable that a wide and deep gap between the two population groups now exists. It is difficult to reduce this gap due to the possibilities of the Africans to compete, due to their customs and their low level of education.

The ultimate consequences of this gap will irrevocably lead to racism, more on the part of the blacks than on the part of the whites, although certain attitudes of the white man, particularly of the “petit blanc”, may also be placed in this abominable category of human relations.

This panorama of Angolan life, which is sketched very concisely and with the most somber tones, is intended to clarify the existence of grave “social lags”, which are the origin of cracks through which subversive forces penetrate with their mission of disruption to win the sympathy of the malcontents. And in the case of Angola, these malcontents may constitute more than 90 % of the entire population!

But the subversive elements try to undermine the instinctive solidarity within the dominant minority group, the whites, in which a great part of the mestizos and some increasing tens of thousands of blacks are integrated, by exploiting the many motives for discontent, the lack of confidence in the future, the rivalry between the sub-groups, through arousing expectations and ambitions – in short, by disruption.

It would be ideal if time would permit and if a detailed knowledge of our society were present to allow an account of all the “social lags” which can be exploited by the subversion. In that case we would be able to put an end to these cracks or to neutralize them as instruments useful to the ENEMY. Perhaps it would be advisable to make an exhaustive study of this aspect later.

However, it is already within our reach to give a general indication of some failures of our social structure. This is the subject of the following points.

2. The subversive forces attempt to turn the African masses against our political and administrative authority and against the presence of the white population in the Province. For that reason they do everything they can to agitate these African masses, to dissociate them from the Europeans, to spread black racism among them, and to make them believe in the chance for an easy, prosperous and happy future – in short, to mobilize the masses to serve their ideology and to pursue their aims. Consequently, it seems logical that they make use of:

a. Errors and abuses committed in the very recent past by our political and administrative structure.

Slavery, the pacification wars, the abuses of power, physical violence by administrative authorities, forced labour with all the accompanying consequences which are unpleasant to relate, misuse of guardianship during the “indigenato” régime, administrative measures, the confiscation of lands which belonged to the community by customary law and were not destined for individual ownership, the dislocation of the population, the compulsory cultivation, the numerous offences against the traditional laws and the African system of values, etc. etc., certainly form the themes for well-known stories, legends, and tales in the long community gatherings which are so peculiar to the black population. Here the white man will always be presented as a bad and greedy creature, as the sole cause of all the misery of the past, and as destined to be the traditional enemy of the black man. And because the white man was like this in the past it will be considered that it is very probable, it will continue to be so in the present and the future. The population will therefore be susceptible to a large degree to the subversive doctrines. This is why we cannot afford to neglect this fundamental aspect of subversion which opens the door to the advance of the enemy.

Suggestion: We must create a doctrine as quickly as possible which justifies the errors of the past and minimizes their consequences. We must strive to project and enlarge our work and emphasize its many positive aspects.

b. The immense discrepancy between the standard of living of the African population and the population of European origin.

The reality is so obvious that it would merely be a waste of time to try to demonstrate this. The ENEMY will certainly take advantage of this

by presenting it as irrefutable proof of the continuation of the exploitation of the blacks by the whites.

Suggestion: We must spread the idea that this discrepancy results from the Africans' lack of education, their smaller desire to work, and their doubtful spirit of enterprise. Various examples must show that the black man, if he desires, has the same opportunities as the white man. The Government is now trying to elevate the negro population economically through education and by technical and material assistance. But they must cooperate. Finally, we must create a propaganda which guides the population and directs their attention toward the joint task of economic development.

c. Several cases of the abuse of power give the impression that people of African origin do not enjoy the same rights as others and that they are subjected to heavier obligations.

Certain cases of the abuse of power by various officials, the paternalistic tradition of the "indigenato", and the distrust of the negroes which is dominant among a large number of the Europeans underlie the application of special measures to persons of African origin which do not apply to members of the white group. As long as these measures are practiced and these attitudes are maintained, the ENEMY can always present itself to the indigenous population as a liberator and an ally.

Suggestion: We must try to force the authorities, especially those of the administration and the police, to treat the Africans as Portuguese citizens, to respect their human dignity and their rights, and also to support them in their problems and their needs. These authorities must not act like bureaucrats who take refuge behind formalities and legal regulations that are likely to make it more difficult or even impossible to solve these problems, but must be people who try to win the sympathy of the black population and who try to help them.

d. The increase in the agricultural activities and cattle breeding has always caused the Africans to be driven from the lands which they always considered their own or the property of their community. They consider this to be a serious offense and a theft which not only deprives them of their present means of subsistence but also of all their hope for the future.

This type of abuses committed in the past in Cuanza Sul, in Cuanza Norte, in Uíge, in Benguela and lately in Huíla, are terrible recollections of the Africans which easily lead to sympathy for the ENEMY and can even lead the Africans to support its activities.

Suggestion: in the concession of land we must take the utmost care to respect traditional rights of the Africans and, if these rights must be infringed upon, there must be prior agreement and a fair material compensation, with a replacement of lands which enables the displaced group of individuals to continue the farming. The given compensations and guarantees must be entirely publicized.

e. A large difference exists between the wages of the African worker and of the worker of European origin.

The average monthly wage of the rural worker and similar workers, always of African origin, is 600 escudos whereas the urban workers, who are predominantly of European origin, get six times as much. It must be taken into consideration that the first group represents about 3/4 of all the workers. In as far as this situation has not yet been fully exploited by the ENEMY propaganda this is bound to occur and will place another dangerous weapon in its hands.

Suggestion: The rate at which wages are harmonized, although already in progress, must be increased by the establishment of minimum wages for the agricultural sector, by liberalizing the freedom of movement of the workers and by extending the activities of the labour inspection.

f. There is a wide range of obstacles to the mobility of the agricultural workers which is necessary for the desired improvement of the general labour conditions. Displacement of urban workers is facilitated. Aside from the consequences in the working sector, this fact can be used as evidence for one more discriminatory measure against the blacks.

In order to escape from the present unsatisfactory situation it is a "conditio sine qua non" that the rural workers have the possibility to choose their employer and their work, to discuss the working conditions, and to resign from that work if it does not meet their expectations or the promised conditions. As long as the employers continue to use professional recruiters and contract workers to satisfy their labour needs, marked progress cannot be expected in the improvement of working conditions

and in particular, in the type of relationship between employers and employees.

At the present time there are still many obstacles not only imposed by the civil authorities, but the military and para-military as well: all this under the pretext of defense reasons. Once we understand the importance of removing the argument of the ENEMY that the black workers are exploited and of convincing the black workers that conditions are now improving for their benefit, we must recognize the necessity to consider this point.

Suggestion: To encourage a form of population control which does not conflict with the freedom of mobility of the rural worker. The authorities must be convinced to respect that mobility.

g. Administrative authorities still frequently intervene with repression against workers at the request of the respective employers. We can see and verify recently a similar intervention of the police and para-military authorities. The cases of extreme physical violence are not few.

In legal terms this intervention is designated as "forced labour" and is considered to be morally wrong and punishable by a maximum of two years imprisonment. This extremely bad example by the officials has been followed by the employers who do not hesitate to inflict physical punishment for any negligence or irregularity of the workers. Such practices arouse the hatred of the blacks which facilitates the expansion of the subversive action of the ENEMY.

Suggestion: To impose upon the civil, military, police, and paramilitary authorities that they must abstain from intervention in the conflicts between employers and rural workers, which should be left to the courts. Physical punishments, which are illegal, must be ended for good. Naturally, subversive attitudes of the workers must be fought, but only by specialized organizations, and only when proved.

h. The non-payment of salaries and other grave offences committed by the employers are not punished effectively, which gives those workers affected the impression that the white man continues to do whatever he wants with impunity.

There is an insufficient number of Labour Tribunals and they are often

very slow to take decisions. It frequently occurs that workers in remote districts have to wait a long time before their wages for one or more years are paid. This delay is incomprehensible to the workers who conclude that they are still not under any protection. And what is serious, they spread that opinion to create a climate of hopelessness which is advantageous to the activities of the ENEMY.

Suggestion: To enforce more efficiency and rapidity in the administration of justice either through the establishment of new courts or through the creation of adequate labour legislation.

i. *The individuals of European origin deliberately and maliciously insult the Africans in their daily contact with attitudes based upon an unmitigable hostility.*

These attitudes make the differences more pronounced with which the ENEMY intends to separate the whites from the blacks, which is bad.

Suggestion: Develop a propaganda campaign directed to encouraging the mutual understanding between both groups.

j. *The principle of non-discrimination on ground of ethnic origin is a legal principle of ours which is not always observed in day-to-day life.*

Anyone who is somewhat familiar with the life of our Province knows that this is so. No other argument is used as widely by the ENEMY as evidence of the lack of honesty and sincerity of the Portuguese actions in Angola. With these arguments the ENEMY tries to make the African population believe that with the presense of the European element their future is unlikely to ameliorate. And we know how the hopeless react.

Suggestion: To direct the campaign suggested in the previous paragraph to fight all deviations from the legal principle of non-discrimination.

k. *The absence of economic ties in the urban centers makes the African population an easy target for subversion. This subversion is reinforced by the supporters of the ENEMY who spread the idea that there is everything to win and nothing to lose.*

The housing problem in the urban centers will eventually become a

heavy argument used by the ENEMY to the advantage of his campaign of subversion.

The fact that the blacks do not participate in the commercial and industrial activities constitutes one more aspect of the lack of economic ties and fixed material interests. This leads to the absence of a black middle class which is conservative by nature and not easily susceptible to revolutionary doctrines and movements.

Suggestion: Creation of a system of credit capable of stimulating the birth of a black bourgeoisie. Development and execution of an adequate housing program based on resolvent property rights (propriedade resolúvel).

1. There is a social legislation exclusively for Africans (CTR) which is considered to be the legal establishment of a discriminatory regime.

Suggestion: Unification of the social legislation in force.

3. There are reasons for dissatisfaction, disruption, rivalry, and uncertainty for the future within the ethnic minority which consists predominantly of Europeans, in which the coloured and the socio-economically advanced blacks are beginning to become integrated. The enemy seems to be concentrating more efforts in disrupting this group through known techniques of propaganda.

In this connection, it is necessary for the public administration to develop a program directed to this group which eliminates the unjust and often unreasonable inequalities. A spirit of hope in a better future must be instilled in this group which will lead them to unify in common defense. It must be made easy for them to purchase real estate which would tie them to the Province.

It is therefore important to make a study of the composition of this group and of the reasons for dissatisfaction in order to eliminate them, or if this is not possible, to minimize them.

The numerous problems which lead to internal dispute must be studied in order to find a solution which is not in conflict with the construction of a society of peaceful, fruitful, and multiracial coexistence in which the value of the individual, regardless of ethnic origin, forms the only basis for success.

This is the only goal we consider to be reconcilable with the final

victory against subversion and with the permanent consolidation of Angola as a dear and important part of the Portuguese Empire.

4. Contrary to our original intention, we have considered aspects and suggestions of a general nature which are somewhat difficult to express in concrete terms.

Contrasubversion can only be effective through extensive social, political, and administrative reforms. Considerable resources are required in this, as well as in counter-guerilla warfare, because they both form a fundamental line of defense in the struggle which we are fighting for, the integrity of the Nation. Unfortunately, there has not yet been an indication of the willingness to mobilize the manpower and the legal and executive power which is indispensable to achieving these aims.

And time is on the side of the ENEMY.

We consider the local measures to be merely temporary substitutes which, although useful, are far from the global solution which is required.



SECRET O

ASPECTOS RELEVANTES DA CONTRA-SUBVERSÃO

(Estudo realizado pelo Sr. Doutor Afonso Mendes)

1. A composição porcentual da população de Angola era em 1960, "grosso modo", avaliada em 95,2 0/0 de étnia africana, 3,5 0/0 do grupo europeu e 1,1 0/0 de mestiços.

Entre 1950 e 1960 o grupo de origem africana aumentou em 567 675 unidades, o de origem europeia teve um crescimento de 93 703 e o grupo mestiço sofreu uma subida numérica de 23 744 indivíduos. Com os problemas da insegurança suscitada pelo terrorismo, a população de origem europeia não tem aumentado em maior ritmo no decénio que findará em 1970. Walter Marques, na sua obra "*Problemas do Desenvolvimento Económico em Angola*", a pags. 38, calcula que esta Província terá mais de 5,5 milhões de habitantes, dos quais serão de raça negra mais de 5 milhões, por tanto à volta dos 91 0/0 da população global.

Há portanto, um grande predomínio desse grupo, mais e mais acentuado à medida que a assistência sanitária vá progredindo em eficiência, e a promoção social em curso produza os seus frutos. Porém, ao grupo europeu, que não deixará em 1970 de constituir a escassa minoria que sempre representou, continuarão a pertencer a quase totalidade dos capitais, dos postos de direcção, as explorações agrícolas, pecuárias, industriais e comerciais e o verdadeiro poder de iniciativa. São elementos seus que ocupam os lugares de comando de Administração Pública de Angola. Daí resulta uma diferenciação económica muito pronunciada entre o "grupo branco" e o "grupo preto" que conduz à consequente diferenciação social a à continuidade do desnível cultural.

Esse conjunto de diferenciações provocou um grande desnível entre os dois grupos. Com a abolição do indigenato enorme esforço foi feito para o reduzir, continuado agora, mediante o ensino escolar, o trabalho livre, o crescento apelo à mão-de-obra qualificada de origem africana, a maior protecção à posse das terras, à promoção social do negro e a abolição de

medidas e práticas discriminatórias. Mas a caminhada é longa, difícil e morosa, e o objectivo em vista, o nivelamento das condições de vida dos brancos e dos pretos, muito hipotético. E quando vier a alcançar-se, se isso for possível, ainda existirá estímulo à imigração do europeu?

De momento é inegável que existe um profundo e largo fosso entre ambos os grupos, que o poder competitivo da mão-de-obra africana, os hábitos e o baixo grau de instrução do seu grupo étnico tornam difícil reduzir. Os efeitos desse fosso, nas suas últimas consequências, serão os inerentes ao racismo, mais pelo lado do preto do que do branco, embora certas atitudes deste, em especial do "petit blanc" possam enquadrar-se nessa abominável forma de relações humanas.

Esta panorâmica da vida angolana, traçada por forma muito sucinta e com as mais escuras tintas, tem por objectivo evidenciar a existência de graves "social lags", origem de linhas de fractura por onde as forças subversivas vêm penetrando na sua missão desagregadora e de conquista dos descontentes. E estes, no caso angolano, podem constituir mais de 90 % de toda a população!

Mas no próprio grupo minoritário dominante, o branco, em que está integrada uma grande parte dos mestiços e umas crescentes dezenas de milhares de negros, a subversão procura minar a sua instintiva solidariedade, explorando múltiplas motivações de descontentamento, de falta de confiança no futuro, de rivalidades entre os seus subgrupos, suscitando esperanças e ambições, em suma, desagregando.

Seria ideal que o tempo e o conhecimento pormenorizado da nossa sociedade permitisse a relação de todas as "social lags" susceptíveis de aproveitamento pela subversão. Se tal fosse conseguido, estaria na nossa mão cessar com essas linhas de fractura ou neutralizá-las como instrumentos favoráveis ao IN. Talvez que seja aconselhável um próximo estudo exaustivo desse aspecto.

Todavia, para já apenas está ao nosso alcance a indicação, algo genérica, de algumas falhas da nossa estrutura social. Essa a matéria dos números seguintes.

2. As forças subversivas procuram mover as massas africanas contra a nossa autoridade político-administrativa e contra a presença da população branca na Província. Daí que se esforcem por agitar essas massas, dissociá-las dos europeus, semear entre eles o racismo negro, fazer-lhes crer num futuro fácil, próspero e feliz, em suma, mobilizá-las no sentido da sua

ideologia e dos objectivos que prosseguem.
Consequentemente, parece lógico que incidam sobre:

a. Erros e abusos cometidos pela nossa estrutura político-administrativa num passado que vem até há bem poucos anos.

A escravatura, as guerras da pacificação, os abusos do poder, as violências físicas exercidas pelas autoridades administrativas, o trabalho forçado com todo o seu seguimento de consequências bem pouco agradáveis de relatar, o errado uso e abuso da tutela durante o regime do indigenato, as medidas administrativas, a expropriação das terras que por direito costumeiro eram pertença de comunidade e não susceptíveis de apropriação individual, a deslocação das populações, as culturas obrigatórias, os inúmeros atentados contra o direito tradicional e a escala de valores dos africanos, etc., etc. por certo constituem objecto de histórias familiares, de lendas e de fantasias nos longos momentos de convívio tão peculiares às populações negras. Nelas não deixará de ser o branco apresentado como um ser humano mau, ganancioso, causador único das desgraças do passado, porventura o inimigo tradicional do preto. E se ele foi assim outrora, pensar-se-á, é muito provável que assim continue no presente e no futuro. Grande será, pois, o grau de receptividade dessas populações às doutrinas subversivas. Daí que não possamos descurar este aspecto fundamental da subversão, porventura a porta aberta ao avanço do inimigo.

Sugestão: Deverá criar-se com a maior premência uma doutrina justificativa dos erros do passado, minimizadora das suas consequências.

Procurar-se-á dar projecção e engrandecer a nossa obra realçando os seus múltiplos aspectos positivos.

b. Imenso desequilíbrio entre o nível de vida das populações africanas e do grupo de origem europeia.

A realidade é tão notória que seria pura perda tentar demonstrar-se a existência desse tão vincado desnível, que o IN não deixará de aproveitar apresentando-o como prova insofismável da continuidade da exploração do preto pelo branco.

Sugestão: Deverá difundir-se a ideia de que esse desnível resulta da impreparação dos africanos, do seu menor apego ao trabalho, do seu precário espírito de iniciativa. Vários exemplos e invocar demonstrarão

que o preto, quando queira, tem as possibilidades do branco. O Governo está agora, através do ensino, do auxílio técnico e do apoio material, procurando elevar economicamente as populações negras. Mas a elas competirá ajudar. Enfim, há que criar uma propaganda que conduza as populações e lhes prenda a atenção numa tarefa comum de promoção económica.

c. Algumas prepotências dão a ideia de que os indivíduos de origem africana não gozam de iguais direitos dos demais, e sobre eles impede um maior gravama deveres.

Certas prepotências de vários funcionários, a tradição paternalista do indigenato e a desconfiança que em relação ao negro domina uma grande parte dos europeus, estão na origem da imposição de medidas especiais aos indivíduos de origem africana, a que não se submetem os elementos da etnia branca. Enquanto tais medidas ou atitudes forem mantidas ou praticadas, junto das populações autóctones o IN pode sempre arrogar-se o papel de libertador e aliado.

Sugestão: Há que procurar impôr às autoridades, em especial às administrativas e policiais, que tratem dos africanos como cidadãos portugueses, respeitando a sua dignidade de pessoas e os seus direitos; e ainda que essas autoridades os apoiem nos seus problemas e necessidades, não como burocratas refugiados nas formalidades e regras legais susceptíveis de dificultar e emperrar os assuntos, mas sim como pessoas empenhadas em capturar a simpatia e auxiliar as populações negras.

d. A expansão das actividades agro-pecuárias tem provocado a expulsão dos africanos de terras que eles sempre consideraram como suas ou da sua comunidade. Esso facto é por eles considerado grave e esbulho que não só os priva dos seus meios presentes de subsistência mas ainda lhes tira toda a esperança no futuro.

Os passados abusos neste género cometidos no Cuanza Sul, no Cuanza Norte, no Uíge, em Benguela e ultimamente na Huíla, são factos terríveis na mente do africano, precursores de uma fácil inclinação para o IN e até de adesão às suas actividades.

Sugestão: Na concessão das terras deve haver o maior cuidado em não afectar direitos tradicionais dos africanos e, quando esses direitos tenham que ser atingidos, que haja uma prévia base de acordo com a justa

recompensa material, a concessão efectiva de terrenos que garantam a continuidade produtiva das actividades agro-pecuárias do grupo ou indivíduos afectados, tudo aliado à plena divulgação das compensações e garantias dadas.

c. Grande desnível existe entre os salários do trabalhador africano e do trabalhador de origem europeia.

A média mensal do salário do trabalhador rural e equiparado, sempre de étnia africana, é de 600\$, ao passo que o trabalhador não rural, predominantemente de origem europeia, atinge o sextuplo. Deve atentar-se que o primeiro grupo representa à volta dos três quartos de toda a mão-de-obra. Essa situação, se ainda não foi devidamente explorada pela propaganda inimiga, acabará por sé-lo e constituirá mais uma perigosa arma nas suas mãos.

Sugestão: Através da fixação de salários mínimos para o sector rural, da liberalização dos movimentos dos trabalhadores e da maior expansão das actividades inspectivas do trabalho, apressar o ritmo da aproximação salarial já em curso.

f. A mobilidade dos trabalhadores rurais, origem imprescindível da desejável melhoria das condições gerais de trabalho, está sujeita aos mais diversos entraves. Os trabalhadores não rurais têm as suas deslocações facilitadas. Assim, além das consequências no sector do trabalho, o facto pode ser invocado como testemunho de mais uma medida discriminatória em prejuízo do preto.

A possibilidade do trabalhador rural ter as suas preferências por patrões e empregos, de discutir as condições de trabalho e de abandonar o emprego que não correspondeu às condições prometidas ou às espectativas é condição "sine qua non" para sair-se da mediocre situação actual.

Enquanto o empregador continuar recorrendo ao recrutador profissional e ao contratado para satisfazer as suas necessidades de mão-de-obra, não são de esperar progressos sensíveis na melhoria das condições de trabalho e, em especial, no tipo de relações entre patrão e trabalhador.

Presentemente ainda são múltiplos os entraves a essa modalidade, impostos não pelas autoridades civis mas também pelas militares e para-militares, tudo isso ao abrigo de invocadas razões de defesa. Ora, sendo conhecido o interesse que há em retirar ao IN o argumento da exploração do tra-

balhador negro, e convencer este de que as coisas estão agora a melhorar e a modificar-se em seu benefício, bem se avaliará do interesse do presente "item".

Sugestão: Promover-se um tipo de controlo das populações que não colida com a livre e fácil mobilidade dos trabalhadores rurais. Impôr o respeito dessa mobilidade a todas as autoridades.

*g. Ainda é frequente a intervenção repressiva das autoridades administrativas junto dos trabalhadores a pedido dos respectivos empregadores. Vem de há uns tempos verificando-se idêntica intervenção das autoridades policiais e para-militares.
Não são isolados os casos de violências físicas extremas.*

Em linguagem legal essa intervenção designa-se por "trabalho obrigatório", condenável moralmente e punido por lei com pena de prisão até dois anos. Esse péssimo exemplo das entidades oficiais vem sendo seguido pelas entidades patronais que, perante quaisquer negligências ou irregularidades do trabalhador, não têm pejo em recorrer aos castigos físicos. Tal prática suscita o ódio do preto, que se expanda e facilita a acção subversiva do IN.

Sugestão: Impôr às autoridades civis, militares, policiais e para-militaris que se abstenham de intervir nos diferendos entre empregadores e mão-de-obra rural, deixando esse assunto para os tribunais. Os castigos físicos, que são ilegais, devem ser banidos de vez. Naturalmente que atitudes subversivas dos trabalhadores devem ser combatidas, mas apenas pelos órgãos especializados e quando provadas.

h. A falta do pagamento dos salários e outras irregularidades graves cometidas pelos empregadores não são alvo do castigo oportuno, criando no espírito dos trabalhadores lesados a ideia que o branco continua, impunemente, a fazer o que quer.

O Tribunal do Trabalho são numéricamente insuficientes e porcessualmente podem ser extremamente morosos nas suas decisões. São frequentes os casos de trabalhadores que aguardam longo tempo, em suas distantes terras, que lhes seja entregue o produto de um ano ou mais do seu trabalho. Essa morosidade é incompreendida pelo trabalhador, que conclui de si para si continuar sem protecção. E, o que é grave, difunde esse conceito, criando assim um clima de pouca esperança, propício às actividades do IN.

Sugestão: Imprimir maior eficiência e celeridade à justiça do trabalho quer com a criação de novos Tribunais quer com a promulgação dos códigos e diplomas legais adequados.

i. Dia após dia nos contactos entre si, indivíduos de origem europeia melindram os africanos com atitudes de voluntário acinto, que assentam numa animosidade evidente.

Essas atitudes tornam mais vincado o fosso com que o IN pretende separar a comunidade branca da africana, o que é mau.

Sugestão: Desenvolver uma campanha de propaganda tendente à aproximação e à mútua compreensão dos dois grupos.

j. O princípio de não discriminação com base origem étnica é entre nós um princípio legal nem sempre observada na vida corrente.

Quem conheça um pouco da vida da nossa Província sabe que assim é. E nada tanto como a discriminação tem sido utilizada pelo IN como argumento da falta de honestidade e de autenticidade da acção portuguesa em Angola. Com a sua argumentação, o IN procura dar às populações africanas a ideia de que, com a presença do elemento europeu, o seu futuro não é provável que venha a melhorar. E nós sabemos como actuam os desesperados!

Sugestão: Orientar a Campanha sugerida na alínea antecedente no sentido de combater, todos os desvios do princípio legal da não discriminação.

k. A ausência de interesses económicos nos centros urbanos torna a respectiva população africana alvo fácil da subversão. Esta reforça-se com a difusão do conceito de tudo haver a ganhar e nada a perder por parte dos negros aderentes ao IN.

O problema habitacional nos centros urbanos será, eventualmente, argumento de peso usado pelo IN em favor da sua campanha de subversão. O afastamento por parte do negro das actividades comerciais e industriais constitui mais um aspecto da falta de raízes económicas e de interesses materiais fixos. Daí a ausência de uma classe média negra, por indole conservadora e pouco susceptível de aceitar doutrinas e movimentos revolucionários.

Sugestão: Criação de um sistema de crédito susceptível de estimular o aparecimento de uma burguesia negra. Planificação e execução de uma política habitacional adequada e em regime de propriedade resolúvel.

1. *Há legislação social exclusiva para os africanos (C.T.R.), o que é tomado como a fixação legal de um regime discriminatório.*

Sugestão: Unificação da legislação social vigente.

3. No grupo étnico minoritário mas dominante, o europeu, em que se vão integrando os mestiços e os pretos em evolução sócio-económica, há motivos de descontentamento, de cisão, de rivalidade, de incerteza no futuro.

É na sua desagregação, e seguindo conhecidas técnicas de propaganda, que o IN mais esforços, parece estar concentrando.

Nesses termos, compete à Administração Pública desenvolver em relação ao grupo uma política de eliminação das desigualdades injustas e tantas delas sem motivo válido. Criar nessas massas um sentimento de esperança num melhor futuro, que a leve a manter a coesão como meio de defesa comum. Facilitar-lhes a criação de interesses imobiliários que as radique na Província.

Importa, por isso, efectuar um estudo da sua constituição e das motivações do seu descontentamento, com vista à abolição das últimas ou à sua minimização em caso de impossível extinção. Que se estudem os múltiplos problemas com que o grupo se debate, sempre no intuito de lhes dar solução não incompatível com a edificação de uma sociedade de pacífico e frutuoso convívio multiracial, onde o valor individual que não a étnia constitua exclusivo motivo de sucesso.

Esta a única meta que divisamos em coincidência com a vitória definitiva sobre a subversão e com a consolidação da permanência de Angola como parcela querida e importante de "Todo português".

4. Bem ao contrário do que projectávamos fomos arrastados para os aspectos e as sugestões de carácter geral, algo difíceis de concretização imediata. É que a contra-subversão só mediante largas reformas sociais a politico-administrativas se nos afigura susceptível de êxitos efectivos. Carece, por isso, de meios materiais e humanos consideráveis, tal como a contra-guerrilha, pois forma com esta uma linha de defesa fundamental na luta que estamos travando pela integridade da Nação.

Infelizmente, não houve até agora providência que revelasse disposição superior am mobilizar os meios, os homens e os poderes legal e executivo indispensáveis a esse sector.

E o tempo favorece o IN!

As medidas locais, que consideramos meros paliativos, embora sendo úteis, estão longe de representar a solução global que se impõe.



" FACTS AND REPORTS "

is a magazine, published every other week by the Angola Committee in Amsterdam, Holland. It provides information on Portugal, on the Portuguese colonies, and Southern Africa as a whole, by means of cuttings from the international press.

"FACTS AND REPORTS" tries to give you an opportunity to easily stay in touch with the news from Southern Africa. Most of it is in English, some is in French.

The subscription rate is f 35,- (35 Dutch guilders) a year (about \$ 12.-). Outside Europe: f 25,- extra for air mail (about \$9.-). Subscribers should not pay before having received an invoice.

If you want to subscribe or you want to receive some free sample copies, write to

"FACTS AND REPORTS"
ANGOLA COMMITTEE
DA COSTASTRAAT 88
AMSTERDAM - HOLLAND.



Angola Committee
Da Costastraat 88
Amsterdam
The Netherlands
Tel. 020-183598

d6845