

ANGOLA



**Five
Centuries
of Portuguese
Exploitation**

by AMÉRICO BOAVIDA

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ANGOLA:

Five Centuries of Portuguese Exploitation

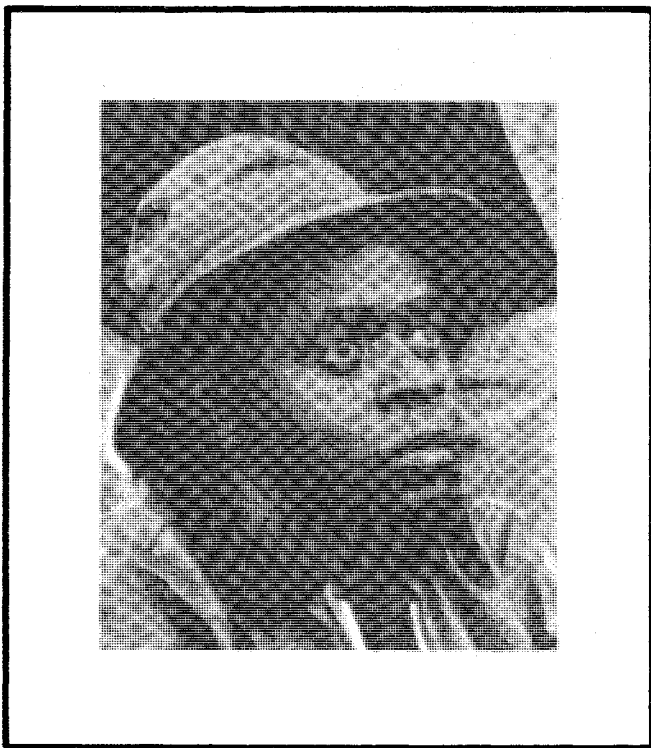
by AMÉRICO BOAVIDA

TO THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA,
its workers, peasants, students
and intellectuals, to the prisoners
and political deportees, and to
those who have fallen under the bullets
of Portuguese colonialism - the
sensitive homage and the deep
respect of the

Author

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Américo Boavida

PREFACE to the ENGLISH EDITION

Perhaps I was the last person to see Dr. Américo Boavida alive. It was about 8 o'clock on the morning of 25 September 1968 when a tiny dagger from a Portuguese fragmentation bomb pierced the brain of Angola's most heroic doctor. Moments earlier we had dived from different directions underneath the same small clump of bushes, trying to avoid detection and worse from three helicopters strafing at treetop level some thirty or forty feet overhead.

"We make too good a target together", said Dr. Boavida. "Better if we separate." Then, in that silent space between machine-gun bursts, we went our separate ways, attempting to escape the Portuguese air and ground attack on Hanoi 2 which marked the start of the fascist regime's late dry-season offensive against MPLA's liberated zones in eastern Angola.* The offensive failed, but one of Angola's most dedicated, brilliant and selfless revolutionaries was dead.

I first met Américo Boavida in March 1968. He was recuperating in Dar es Salaam from two hard years of medical work on the eastern front, studying health conditions and desperately trying to improve and extend MPLA's Medical Assistance Services (SAM) to the peasants and guerrillas of a vast semi-liberated area more than four times the size of Portugal. In the MPLA office I interviewed Dr. Boavida,** and learned something of the realities of life and health faced by those struggling to liberate Angola from the parasitic grip of an obsolete Portuguese colonialism. A few months later and some 200 miles inside Angola, I continued to benefit from Dr. Boavida's vast experience. After working each day at the SAM clinic and school, he would often stop off at my hut for a chat in the late afternoon. We would talk, sometimes haltingly, he teaching me Portuguese and I assisting him with English. I remember one occasion soon after we'd learned of Salazar's stroke when Dr. Boavida observed that the death of the Portuguese

*For details of this attack see "With the Guerrillas in Angola", Don Barnett, LSM Information Center, Vancouver 1972.

**See Appendix I.

dictator would make little or no difference to their struggle in Angola. "Salazar is merely the symbol of Portuguese oppression in Angola", he said. "Our real enemies, still very much alive, are the Portuguese oligarchy and international capital."

It is this latter point, supported largely by the data then available from U.N. and other sources, which I believe of paramount importance in Américo Boavida's ANGOLA: FIVE CENTURIES OF PORTUGUESE EXPLOITATION.

Against the bold relief of Portugal's own backwardness and economic dependence on her "overseas provinces", Dr. Boavida unfolds a picture of the "collective colonialism" through which Portugal, especially since 1961 and the outbreak of armed struggle in Angola, has mortgaged increasing amounts of the natural wealth of Angola and Mozambique in exchange for the desperately needed military, financial and political support of her "great power" NATO allies. Lacking the financial and industrial means either to fashion modern imperialist relationships or sustain archaic colonial ones, Portugal has become the visible but increasingly junior partner in a multi-national imperialist effort to both defeat the liberation movements and extend and "modernize" the economic exploitation of Angola, Mozambique and Guiné.

This junior partnership, however, has but temporarily checked certain contradictions while, at the same time, giving rise to new and equally ominous ones for the Portuguese regime. Support from her "partners" is clearly the factor which has so far enabled Portugal to hang onto her African colonies in the face of mounting military and political pressure from the liberation forces. But the accelerating exodus of young people, which Dr. Boavida documents, and the recent (1971) emergence of Armed Revolutionary Action (ARA) in Portugal itself, make it more and more difficult for the Lisbon regime to adequately play its role as the *heavy-handed, occupying power*. Again, with the benefits from its colonial enterprise - still largely in the mould of pre-industrial looting and forced labor - flowing almost exclusively to a narrow agro-financial oligarchy and state bureaucracy, the masses of Portuguese peasants and workers exhibit less and less enthusiasm for a counter-revolution on three fronts to defend the "Great Lusitanian Dream". In short, waning morale and increasing emigration and domestic resistance are, with every passing day, making it less possible for Portugal to fulfill her minimum obligation

to the "collective colonial" venture in Angola, Mozambique and Guiné.

Caught thus on the horns of a dilemma — too weak in military manpower to continue ruling her colonies directly, and too weak economically to transform them into neo-colonies — Portuguese colonialism, and hence the protected super-profits of the Portuguese oligarchy, is entering its final days.

But what of Portugal's NATO allies and senior partners? Do they not also see the handwriting on the wall? Faced with the Lisbon regime's increasing dependency and politico-military inadequacy, yet unable at this juncture of history to themselves assume — either collectively or singly — the mantle of direct colonial rule in Africa, they must nonetheless devise means to protect their growing investments and raw materials sources in southern Africa. As is clear from the U.S. State Department's official policy paper on Angola, the senior partner aims "to encourage a peaceful and equitable [sic] solution to the Angola problem, based on self-determination principles", while at the same time "hoping that Portugal will be able to play a constructive future role in Angola and elsewhere [sic] in Africa". Thus, at a critical juncture in Portugal's military failings and dependency, the United States and other senior imperialist partners will "encourage" (i.e. force) the Lisbon regime to seek a negotiated "solution" with "responsible" elements of the Angolan population involving the prompt withdrawal of the Portuguese colonial apparatus and the installation of an African government willing to guarantee current investments and a stable and orderly foreign investment climate. Portugal, perhaps in exchange for guarantees against domestic revolutionary pressures, will be obliged to gracefully abandon its African colonies in a hoped for process of "peaceful transition" to neocolonialism. It is with this objective in mind that the U.S. and Co. have continually sought to spawn such "responsible" liberation movements as the GRAE and UNITA in Angola, COREMO in Mozambique and FLING in Guiné, as well as to befriend and woo the more "moderate" elements in genuine liberation movements such as the MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC.

In his *ANGOLA: FIVE CENTURIES OF PORTUGUESE EXPLOITATION*, Américo Boavida succeeds both in informing his readers about the salient facts and configuration of "collective colonialism" in Angola and in projecting a challenge to his compatriots in the

People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). That challenge, embraced in full by the MPLA, is to steadfastly resist all tendencies and temptation to compromise their people's struggle for "complete independence" and accept political pseudo-independence from Portuguese colonial rule in exchange for neocolonial dependence and firmer integration within the imperialist system. MPLA President, Dr. Agostinho Neto, reaffirmed his Movement's commitment to refuse this neocolonial option in a radio speech to Angolans on 6 June 1968:

The blood that is being shed by the best sons of our countries (Angola, Mozambique and Guiné), and the efforts of each guerrilla and of every one of our people, must not be spent in vain. . . It is necessary that the real control of the country, whether from the political, economic or social point of view, be in the hands of people who are devoted to the struggle, and not in the fists of bureaucrats who - it could be said in passing - are dishonest and not to be found in the battlefield. Much less could we allow foreigners to continue to exploit our peoples - for imperialism to extend its clutches over our countries and subjugate them in neocolonialism. We have to fight for complete independence!*

In Dr. Boavida's Final Note is an urgent call for other Angolans to "dedicate themselves to the study of these (imperialist) relations so as to achieve for us a more profound understanding of the economic, financial, social and political implications which result from them." Américo Boavida clearly appreciated that the "fight for complete independence" requires constant study and a scientific understanding of class relationships within modern imperialist society as well as competence and bravery on the battlefield.

*Major portions of this speech, delivered over Radio Tanzania on the program *The Voice of Angola in Combat*, can be found in THE REVOLUTION IN ANGOLA, Barnett & Harvey, Bobbs-Merrill, New York 1972, pp. 30-38.

The translation into English of Dr. Américo Boavida's ANGOLA: FIVE CENTURIES OF PORTUGUESE EXPLOITATION was undertaken by the Liberation Support Movement at the request of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola. The work of translating, editing, proofreading and producing this book was a genuinely collective effort by the full-time staff and volunteer workers of the LSM Information Center.

Don Barnett
Vancouver, Canada
August 25, 1972

PREFACE to the BRAZILIAN EDITION

No matter how close the links that bind Brazil to Africa, Brazil continues to be ignorant of Africa. Starting in the late 1950's the awakening of African consciousness was followed with interest and sympathy, but not even for that was there processed a sensitive actualization of the distorted image of the motherland of the former slaves. Today Africa is acknowledged a present but, in general, is still denied a past. There are many Brazilians who see the black African as a man born out of the darkness of barbarism. This attitude does not differ, incidentally, from that adopted by Western Europeans who, according to Basil Davidson, imagine Africa south of the Sahara to be "a continent where men never elevated themselves by their own efforts much above the level of animals."

The last generation of historians came to dispel those groundless convictions, rooted as they were in the shade of colonialist ideology. Africa is in reality a continent without memory; but not without a past.

For many centuries on both the western and eastern coasts there flourished African civilizations that in many respects were the equals of their contemporary European and Asian counterparts. Before archaeology and sociology were able to assist modern historians in reconstructing a forgotten past, old Arab and Portuguese chronicles had opened an unfathomable perspective on the grandeur of that past. Although many things still remain in shadows, there is today sufficient knowledge about the medieval empires of Songhay, Ghana, Mali, Kanem and Benin for them to be viewed with great respect, be it with regard to the social organization of these African societies before the coming of the European or the appreciable development in them which technology and art had achieved. On the other side of the continent, along the eastern coast, what the Portuguese found on their route to India exceeded all that Europe could conceive of as existing in that region of the world. From Cape Guardafui to Sofala, along a coastline stretching thousands of kilometers, was spread a chain of great cities. Brava, Kilwa, Malinde, Kua, Songo Mnara were at that time city-states which would not have cut a bad figure next to many of Renaissance Europe. From the personal log of Vasco da Gama and the descriptions of Duarte Barbosa, who travelled in the armada of 1501, one gathers that it was not a barbaric world which

flashed into view of the surprised eyes of these European pioneers. They found ports filled with ships, large and beautiful stone buildings, a prosperous commerce and a culture tending toward unity, the instrument of which was Swahili, a language in which Arabic functioned as an element of fusion of the old indigenous idioms, playing a role of importance similar to that of Latin in Western Europe. Did that Africa, perchance, live isolated from the rest of the world? No. Only our inveterate tendency to confuse the history of mankind with that of the history of Western Europe explains the absurdity of still teaching in the schools that eastern Africa was discovered at the dawn of the 16th Century by the Portuguese. The emirates of the Arabian peninsula had maintained slight relations with her for centuries, and India and China had knowledge of that part of the world from an early date. An active commerce tied the maritime African cities to the ports of the former, and the latter more than once sent its fleets, in peaceful missions, to the coastal fronting of the Mozambique Canal. In 1415 the king of Malinde even sent an embassy to the emperor of China, and in the archives of Peking there are documents relating to the voyage that the large fleet of Admiral Tcheng Ho accomplished at the beginning of the 16th Century to western Africa, where yet today the most refined Ming porcelain abounds among ruins which are the silent witnesses of a dead greatness.

That world collapsed. The memory of it remains along with some few calcinated stones from ancient temples and burial mounds. The monopoly of Oriental commerce was at stake. The destruction of the west coast African maritime cities was one episode in a struggle which began with the arrival of the Portuguese in Calicut. Chaos and stagnation established themselves where previously there was a teeming of life and riches in the field of a commercial world perhaps vaster than the European of that time.

The historic culpability of the Portuguese is a relative matter. They were men of their times the same as the French, Spanish, English or Dutch. Not worse, nor better, only a little more sincere. They were brutal men, as accorded with the spirit of the epoch. In opposing the Africans and Asians they had in their favor a superiority of artillery and a violent tradition linked with a religious fanaticism then at its peak. A far cry from the mythical and romantic image of the European Renaissance soldier which certain deformers of history delight in presenting us.

The reality, however, was something else. St. Francis Xavier in 1545 set well the morality of the time in a brief commentary on the Indian *conquistadores*: "The robbery is so open and so common that it shocks no one's conscience and hardly is viewed as such."

In Europe the record of the African past, prior to the coming of the first navigators, was itself vanishing. Africa had become a reservoir of ivory, gold and slaves. It was confronted simply as such. For four centuries Western Christendom deprived the black continent of its essential productive force. About 190 million Africans were torn from their land and taken to America. History has no record of a comparable crime. From a fifth of the world's population in the 15th Century, the Africans were reduced to a mere one-fifteenth of the world total.

With the advent of the industrial revolution, the world was changing its attitude toward Africa. Commercial control was being superseded and the export of slave labor to America was coming into conflict with British imperialist interests. The era of the trading post was closing, giving way to a period of conquest. Contrary to what is thought in Brazil, Africa was then a world to be occupied. That colonization had existed for many centuries is no more than one of many colonial myths. When the Berlin Conference of 1884-5 began to partition Africa, almost nine-tenths of the continent had never been occupied by the European powers. But the tendency to consider the black man as a primate divorced from the civilizing process had already been strongly implanted in Europe. In 1872 a second European saw the ruins of Zimbabwe in the heart of Mashonaland, where the Rhodesian racists of Ian Smith rule today. He was so surprised that he mistook the Acropolis for a replica of King Solomon's Palace and the Eclipse for a replica of the Queen of Sheba's Palace. The same thesis was asserted by the first British pioneers who shortly thereafter occupied the country, then a virgin to contact with the white man, and a whole literature arose identifying the legendary Ofir with the enigmatic Zimbabwe. Today there is no longer any doubt that those magnificent structures record a large and genuinely African civilization whose collapse, in addition, was inseparably bound up with the destruction by the Portuguese of the rich east coast cities. The marvelous gold jewels found in 1932 in Mapungubwe Hill brought only further confirmation of the fact that a large black culture had flourished in central southern Africa, a culture in which not even the artistic refinement molded in delicate

jewelry works was missing.

But for nascent European imperialism, at a time when Disraeli and Bismark looked upon Africa as a zoological park and mineral reserve, ruins such as Zimbabwe simply couldn't have had African roots. It was preferable to resort to mythology and accept the dogma that the blacks were never capable of creating a great civilization...

For many decades the Portuguese brutalities of the Quinhentos era were repeated and expanded upon to an enormous degree. The conquest of Africa, realized around the time of our grandparents, was a monstrous succession of crimes. Whether the colonial force was English, Portuguese, German, Belgian or French, the phenomenon which occurred at every point where the Europeans arrived in number was the despoilation of the black by the white. Driven from their lands, the Africans were treated like wild animals. The vandalism of the conqueror destroyed everything, beginning with the social structures. And the primary objective was clearly the degradation of the "natives", the elimination of the black as a present or future interlocutor, rather than the satisfaction of immediate economic needs. The deliberate impoverishment of the Africans was of greater concern to the colonial proconsuls and chancelleries than the enrichment of the white colonists. In contemporary Rhodesia, for example, as recently as 1957, only one million one hundred thousand acres of the forty-eight million occupied by white farmers were actually being cultivated. What was important was to obtain, through the misery of the Africans, a cheap labor force for the European mines and plantations.

The destruction of African subsistence agriculture thus became, chiefly in the rich mineral regions of the south, the number one objective of imperialist policy. When the alienation of lands was not sufficient in itself to break up the old self-sufficiency, a head tax was introduced as the *coup de grâce*. Before, the land had no price, nor was it sold; individual property was unknown. With the arrival of the "civilizers" everything changed. And wherever European laws ran into unexpected resistance, military force was used to guarantee the plunder. Turning the pages of recent African history we come across cases such as that of the Wameru people in what was then Tanganyika. After being expelled from lands which were theirs for centuries, the Wameru struggled for 16 years in order to buy them back only to face a cruel

massacre a decade later when they refused to respect a new expulsion order...

In Africa, as in almost every place where economic underdevelopment is a reality, the predominance of foreign capital signifies that production is oriented towards export. And who makes the law, who dictates prices, is the tentacled branch of imperialism which dominates the country - be it still living under colonial status or having ascended to a more or less effective political independence.

If imperialism is by definition exploitative, it is easy to imagine the extremes it reached in southern Africa, which some have compared to a "fabulous nugget". The ensemble of the Congo-Zambia-Rhodesia-Malawi-Mozambique-South Africa-Angola (with the subsoil of Malawi and Rhodesia being much less rich than that of the others) constitutes the largest mineral empire in the world, the most formidable concentration of metals on the planet. Those mines of legend produce half of the diamonds, half of the aluminium (bauxite), a third of the copper and chromium, sixty percent of the gold and cobalt, forty percent of the manganese, fifteen percent of the lead and tin and ten percent of the uranium of the world. And to ensure that nothing is left out, known deposits of petroleum are considerable, especially in Angola. Hence, the immense power of the gigantic monopolies which control the prodigious accumulation of wealth is obvious. Some of their annual profits, such as those of Anglo-American Corporation, American Metal and Soci t  Generale, are represented by sums equivalent to the growing Brazilian federal budget. It is not strange, therefore, that such Goliaths are able to foment wars, organize coups-d'etat, make and unmake governments. And it is always Africa which loses. No matter how great the contradiction of interests between the various imperialist powers, and despite their quarrels and differences, there exists among them, as Medhi Ben Barka has said, a fundamental unity: of the colonizers against the colonized, of the oppressors against the oppressed.

The survival of the "holy Alliance" in southern Africa, Salazar-Verwoerd-Ian Smith, constitutes the most flagrant proof of the hypocrisy of the great imperialist powers. In the United Nations Organization (UNO) London and Washington are able to

tolerate, though with the greatest reservations, resolutions being passed which condemn the more obviously inhuman practices of the Salisbury, Lisbon and Pretoria regimes. But in practice, they are opposed to all concrete measures of solidarity with the national movements of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and South Africa which are fighting for the liberation of these countries. As for the large mineral monopolies, their support of colonialism is ostensive and insolent. They openly confess their preference for the inhuman structures of regimes of colonial slavery.

Paradoxically, Africa is today the continent with the most numerous representation in the UNO. This fact not only expresses the success of the various national liberation movements, it reveals also a change in attitude on the part of imperialism. As Sekou Touré stresses, there came a moment when the more brutal form of colonialism, which treated the Africans like animals, was in a general way replaced by a more flexible policy. Colonialism began to present itself as the supreme expression of justice, culture and civilization. This was a brief phase, preceding the advent of neocolonialism. In a half dozen years, the African map was filled with new States. England, France and Belgium understood that within the new correlation of forces established in Africa and throughout the world, all their plans to eradicate the national liberation movements were doomed to inevitable failure. The independence of many of those former colonies is more apparent than real, but nonetheless the process of transformation of their political, social and economic structures ceased being a mere appendage of imperial policy.

Only one of the traditional colonial powers intransigently refused to concede independence to its African colonies. Precisely the most backward, the one which was, and is, simultaneously both a colonial and a colonized country: Portugal. The response of Salazar to the wind of liberty blowing over Africa was of a bureaucratic nature; he no longer designated the "colonies" as such, but forthwith called them "Overseas Provinces".

The Africans under Portuguese domination then began, by force of arms, trying to achieve that which had been denied them through negotiations. Three colonial wars were the result of the criminal blindness of Portuguese fascism: in Angola, Guiné-Bissau and

Mozambique.

This book contains an explanation of the first of these wars. It is the first work of an Angola intellectual revolutionary ever published in Brazil.

Américo Boavida belongs to a generation whose existence is being modeled in an inexorable way by the awakening African conscience. A generation which, for Africa, is of the same significance as that of Bolivar, San Martin, O'Higgins, Miranda, Morelos and others for America. Their comrades in struggle, leaders such as Agostinho Neto, Mario de Andrade, Amilcar Cabral and Marcelino dos Santos, have reached the stage of history a decade after the arrival of men like N'krumah, Sekou Touré and Modibo Keita. The task which history has imposed upon them is incomparably more difficult than that assumed by those who conquered independence at the conference table. Portuguese colonialism is the most retrograde, the most implacable, the most blind of colonialisms. Salazar, its supreme priest, is an inquisitorial figure, turned toward the past, with eyes shut to even the most obvious evidence of the historic process. Whenever he decided to modify or reform the system of exploitation, this has had the effect of aggravating things for the Africans. The means which colonial reformism makes use of today, as Dr. Boavida points out, "makes it an enemy all the more dangerous for the Angolan people".

Anyone who, by chance, has any doubts regarding the opportunity or the justice of the cause which has taken the Angolans to armed insurgency, will lose them in the course of reading this book. It is a work of demystification and an unanswerable critique against the most obscurantist of all colonial regimes. Its chapters were composed in the brief leisure moments which the author found in his revolutionary life.

Américo Boavida is a doctor. His experience as a militant in the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola - MPLA) put him into particularly intimate contact with the sufferings of the Angolan people. During his period of exile as a freedom fighter, which was marked at various stages by travels reaching as far as Conakry and Rabat, he witnessed the Congolese frontier tragedy of the northern Angolan population exodus, when in '61 and '62 the repressive fury of Salazarist colonialism was unleashed against an innocent people. Founder

and president of the Comitê Voluntário Angolano de Auxílio aos Refugiados (Angolan Voluntary Committee for Refugee Aid), he observed on a day-to-day basis the encampments of great misery, of hunger and of pain, that were the price of the courageous option of a people in their fight for liberty.

With brilliant understanding, Américo Boavida knows how to distinguish between the Portuguese people and Portuguese fascism. He does not hold the former responsible for the crimes of the latter.

Portugal is paying very dearly for the irresponsible and criminal policy of Salazar. Its youth is being thrown into monstrous wars, pushed into performing atrocities of which the nation does not approve. "The liberation of the Portuguese colonies," as Alvaro Cunhal writes in *Rumo à Vitória*, "is not only just for the respective colonized peoples. It is also an imperious necessity for the liberation of the Portuguese people. And the sooner the better. If Portugal wishes to be free, the Portuguese colonies must be free. To defend the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to independence signifies, in the literal sense of the term, the defense also of the right of the Portuguese people to true national independence."

It is this, unfortunately, which many Brazilians have not yet understood. At this moment, to love Portugal is not to defend the bloody colonial wars: it is being in solidarity with the African patriots in the fight they are waging against Salazarist colonialism. The criminal fascist policy is carving an abyss between Portugal and the colonized peoples, reducing the possibilities for friendly relations between the Portuguese State and the future independent States of Angola, Mozambique and Guiné-Bissau. The exercise by the peoples of these colonies of the right to independence is thus one of the essential political objectives of the democratic and national Portuguese revolution.

In the early days of the 19th Century there were many Portuguese who added their strength to the efforts of the Brazilian patriots who were fighting for independence. Some died fighting for the freedom of Brazil. To them goes my respect. Following their example, and proud of that Portuguese tradition, my solidarity is not going to the pilots and paratroopers of Salazar, assassins of defenseless populations: it is directed, openly and warmly, to the

anonymous heroes who, in the forests and swamps of Angola, Guiné-Bissau and Mozambique, fight against the military-fascist machine of terror and genocide, living again the deeds of Kankan Moussa and Samory Touré. Those who in Africa are pointing out the road to progress, those who incarnate man's eternal fight in defense of liberty, are patriots such as Américo Boavida and not the desperate generals and proconsuls of a moribund colonialism.

Miguel Urbano Rodrigues
São Paulo, September 1966

"You will work to know where that silver comes from, and also any other metals; and if they exist and are to be found in their own land or another's and how far away; and if they are looked after, and if it is hard to get them out, trying to bring us samples of them all."

The King, D. Manuel^{*}

* Extract from the Regimento of 16 February 1520 to Baltazar de Castro, on the silver mines of Cambambe - Kingdom of Angola. (Cited by José Ribeiro da Cruz in *Geography of Angola*, from the Angola Archives, vol. 11, pp. 9-10.)

INTRODUCTION

Multi-racialism constitutes the most recent mystification in the history of Portuguese colonialism employed to justify the particular nature of its parasitism. The process of mystifying and obscuring the true nature of colonialism in general, and of Portuguese colonialism in particular, is a long one. It consists of formulating and utilizing various themes of an apology capable of sensitizing and deceiving the masses, themes which pretend to embrace the formal ideals of a civilization in permanent contradiction.

In the first phase, under the panegyric of Christianizing the savages, the Portuguese rulers conscripted for their armies and caravels the ignorant peasants, criminals and adventurers in order to defend the conquests of a civilization said to be menaced by barbarians and infidels.

Later, under the banner of "Extending the Faith and the Empire", an attempt was made to justify a policy of expansionism and conquest which arose subsequent to Portugal's independence. The progress of science and technology in Europe provided conditions which facilitated the task of "giving new worlds to the world"--when its people set out in search of gold and spices.

Under the imperative of defending a heritage and territories in which the civilizing mission had not yet been completed, the Portuguese occupied by war and by force countries and territories which constituted solely a market of forced laborers and slaves for the mines and plantations of the New World.

And now it is "the divine mission of an elect people", bastion of Western civilization in the war against communism, which serves as justification for the financial oligarchy in Portugal and her allies. It is this anti-communist mystique which is used to touch and manipulate the naive mentalities of the Portuguese people, so as to remove them from their lands and send them to the colonies to collaborate in the oppression and exploitation of peoples who have risen against foreign domination.

Along with the splitting of the atom and the conquest of space, we are witnessing in this second half of the 20th Century the affirmation of principles of a new humanism, imposed by the

conquests of science upon the conscience of all humanity.

Obscurantism and superstition are impotent in the face of scientific enlightenment among the people. The conspiracy of silence which favored ignorance and superstition disappears when confronted with the Press, Radio, Cinema, Television and so many other means that science places at the service of culture and human progress. It is no longer possible to mystify the factors which condition Ideas, Morality, Logic and Reason. Today all peoples have within their reach those elements furnished by the contradictions of a social system which permits them to know and to interpret historic facts.

Opposition to colonialism, including the opposition of the Portuguese people, is becoming greater each day. At this crossroad of history, Portuguese colonialism, because of the particular nature of its infrastructure and underdevelopment, struggles in a context where two positions are clearly defined: on the one hand, peoples and countries with a highly developed science and means of industrial production, and on the other hand, peoples and countries with raw materials but with neither the scientific knowledge nor the industrial means for transforming them.

In its death agony Portuguese colonialism has desperately and simultaneously sought, first, an ideological weapon which will enable it to confuse popular consciousness as regards the economic and financial interests of the Portuguese oligarchy in the colonial adventure and, second (and this is yet more difficult), an economic and technological development capable of thrusting it into the mainstream of industrialized powers which are contending for the technical and financial "aid" to the territories and underdeveloped countries emerging from colonial status.

In the Portuguese "colonial reforms", the new Rural Work Code is projected ideologically so as to perpetuate the mystique and justification of the Portuguese "civilizing mission"; it also represents a desperate attempt by the Portuguese regime to adapt itself to the new conditions created by the irreversible movement of national liberation.

The new and immature concepts of autonomy, self-determination and multiracial integration which the agents of super-national groupings are advancing will not be able to withstand the criti-

cisms which are laying bare their true objectives: the continued and joint exploitation and dividing up of the riches of the colonized Portuguese territories.

But if, on the one hand, the nature and fundamental objectives of colonialism, and of Portuguese colonialism in particular, are very well known, the means it employs in vainly attempting to survive its historic last gasp, and the ways in which it attempts to disguise itself so as to justify and benefit from a possible tolerance, make it an even more dangerous enemy for the Angolan people.

Put forward as an example by the defenders of classical colonialism, and utilized as a means of penetration by the powers of modern colonialism, Portuguese colonialism in its particular form of underdevelopment and parasitism adds to a first phase, characterized by the liquidation of the political, social and economic structures of the kingdoms and peoples which it subdued by force, a second phase of collective exploitation of these territories.

At a time in history when humanity worries and struggles toward a solution of economic and social problems "in the interest of the overwhelming majority of the world's population, the necessary facts thrust themselves forward in order to elaborate the principles and the forms of organization which will guarantee this natural development."

The agreements ratified in the name of the Angolan people by successive colonial governments in Portugal--monarchist, republican, liberal or totalitarian--confront the true and legitimate representatives of the Angolan people in a qualitatively different context. Defense of the genuine interests of the vast majority in the country demands that the clauses as well as the spirit of the agreements signed with the monopolies and governments which exploit the people of Angola and the riches of their territory be denounced. In relating directly, as interlocutors, with these monopolies and governments, the people's representatives are responsible for defending the freedom and progress of the oppressed and exploited population of Angola, and for guaranteeing their right to participate in the profits and benefit from the wealth of their country.

The prophylaxis for the convulsions of decolonization presuppose new patterns being established in the relationships with the industrialized powers, patterns distinct from existing ones with the former colonizers. The dialogue with countries which control

the technical and financial means for exploiting the riches of the Angolan territory presupposes from the start that the scope of activities in both *time and space* be defined specifically for each country or power. In the economic field, the problems of common planning and of exchanges of "regional economic complexes" which form the base of joint defense and rational exploitation of the raw materials and foodstuffs of neighboring territories; the problems of obtaining and utilizing industrial equipment which will enhance diversification in traditional areas of production and manufactures imposed by colonialism; the problems of obtaining credits for economic and industrial development without jeopardizing or limiting our sovereignty or engaging in military pacts contrary to the interests of the country;--these considerations will force new conditions upon our relationships with all powers capable of assisting us in the realization of these objectives.

In the cultural field, the common history of the pre-colonial epoch will lead to close collaboration in the renaissance of the ancestral civilizations which flourished in urban centers and among populations with common borders.

In the social field, a whole vast operation will be oriented toward bringing the various populations together in educational campaigns which will liberate them from complexes, from myths and inhibitions which characterized the relationships imposed by the privileged minorities upon the oppressed and exploited majorities.

And, finally, public health. In contrast to the practice of the colonial administration, we shall have to give priority to solving the medical and sanitation problems in the countryside, among rural populations remote from urban centers. We shall have to create the conditions necessary for the complete extermination of endemic diseases which yearly take the lives of thousands of Angolans.

Parasitism and privilege cannot survive within the new relationships of complete equality and mutual respect among the communities, governments and countries, large and small, which *qualify* to collaborate in the reconstruction and progress of Angola.

Américo Roavida

PART ONE

The Political Context

CHAPTER

1

The New Rural Labor Code

*It is as yet impossible to distinguish the earthquake from its cause: whether it is the tyranny, the dominating oppression, or the people, the freedom which is rising up.**

Jorge Amado

The New Rural Labor Code, in effect since 1 October 1962, brought into being by Decree-Law No. 44309 on 27 April 1962:

1 --- Makes no distinction in establishing for "...the whole national territory and for all persons, the general rules which discipline the right to work, whose fundamental basis is in the Political Constitution of the Portuguese Republic and in the Statute of National Labor";¹

2 --- Confirms Article No. 106 of the Portuguese Constitution;²

3 --- Reinforces the principle that places the economy of the colony in direct subordination to the necessities of Portugal and in the formal condition of supplier of raw materials, thus continuing in the liquidation of peasant social and economic structures;

4 --- Fails to restore to the peasants the lands from which

*Jorge Amado, *ABC de Castro Alves*. Livraria Martins, São Paulo, 1957.

they were driven by the occupation and, to the contrary, through the Settlement Boards proceeds in a massive distribution of additional lands to European colonizers sent from Portugal expressly for this purpose;

5 --- Promotes the compulsory settlement in new agricultural areas of soldiers belonging to the colonial army;

6 --- The new Code of Rural Labor officially acknowledges that after five centuries of "honorable Portuguese experiment...the task of occupation and development of the overseas territories implied acceptance of the fact that the African population, because of its economic weakness and correspondingly little-developed division of labor, was not in a condition to effectively defend its rights and interests within a system characterized by wages";³ thus was formulated the rationale for repressing the activities of institutions such as trade unions, the free exercise of democratic and political activities, and other means of socially organizing the proletarian and peasant masses.

7 --- It permits itself, with the irresponsibility and impunity which police and repressive structures guarantee to the fascist Portuguese government, to state that "...by Order No. 17,771 of 16 June 1960, we make uniform for all of the national territory the criteria for determining minimum wages and we establish the rule of absolute contractual freedom to determine wages beyond the legally guaranteed minimum."⁴

8 --- It adds, in the above mentioned Rural Labor Code, that "...the task which today is called social advancement, or rural well-being, or community development, depends on the collaborative attitude of the population."⁵

9 --- And, lastly, we must note the contempt which the Portuguese Government has shown for the decisions of international organizations, especially for the resolutions of the United Nations Organization.

We are forced to conclude that:

--- the slave-based policy of the Portuguese government is contrary to resolutions 15.14 (XV) and 15.42 (XV), which deal with the granting of independence to colonized peoples and countries,

and contradicts the right of self-determination of the Angolan people solemnly proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1960: -- "Angola, including Cabinda, non-self-governing territory under Portuguese administration, is a non-self-governing territory covered by the resolutions of the Charter of the United Nations, Chapter XI";⁶

--- "It is incompatible with the principle of equal rights for all Portuguese citizens," proclaimed by the Portuguese Government;

--- "The part played by the majority of 'rural' Africans will be to provide manual agricultural labor";⁷

--- The Angolan peasants continue not being free to dispose of their persons or their lands - given that "...the official point of view does not hold that it is necessary to proceed with agrarian reforms";⁸ --- there were constructed, "actually as a first measure, ten villages in the region of Uije which will receive families coming from Portugal and ex-servicemen (...) who will receive all the help necessary to cultivate their lands and initiate cattle-breeding"⁹ --- The Portuguese Government intends to use the Angolan peasantry as a "means of perpetuating the bonds of colonialism" contrary to the spirit of Resolution No. 15.14 (XV) of the U.N. General Assembly;¹⁰

--- It aims to confuse the question of rural Angolan wage-earners, since "two so-called Portuguese citizens," one black and the other European, both illiterate and employing their own labor to cultivate similar crops (millet, sweet potatoes, etc.), and though *governed by the same provision of the Rural Code*, receive different wages: the black gets \$0.60 and the European \$4 a week for the same work;

--- The spirit of mystification was clearly defined by the Sub-Committee of Five, charged with enquiring into the situation in Angola. In its Final Report to the U.N. General Assembly the Sub-Committee states that: "The reforms announced up to this time by Portugal are not of a nature to satisfy the political demands of the Angolan people. (...) The Portuguese Government does not take into consideration the resolve of the Angolan nationalist to continue the struggle";¹¹

--- The increasingly great and aggressive preparations to

continue its genocidal war in Angola constitute incontrovertible testimony that the slave-based colonial government of Salazar, through false propaganda revolving around social and economic reforms and laws in Angola, intends to indefinitely retain its colonial domination over the above mentioned territory;

Thus, "the *Diário do Governo Português* published in January 1963 a report strongly approving and setting out the respective budgets for the Air, Land and Naval Forces of the Angolan Province. The totals, in dollars, were \$10,805,130.00, 2,336,360.00 and 884,060.00 respectively."

In addition, "according to an Order of the Overseas Ministry, in the section dealing with 'National Defence - Armed Forces', a special credit of \$420,133.00 was made available to Angola";¹²

In the General State Budget for 1964, the items devoted to expenditures for national defence and public security were increased by more than 15.5 thousand contos in comparison with the year 1963; that is, to 2,593.4 thousand and 2,609.3 thousand contos respectively.¹³

Finally, to crown this whole insane policy, the Portuguese National Assembly passed a motion which undercut all possibilities of a dialogue with Lisbon. More specifically, the Portuguese National Assembly at its meeting of 11 January 1964 "... unanimously approved without discussion" the following motion introduced by five deputies:¹⁴

"The National Assembly, conscious of legitimately representing the will of the Portuguese People, and entirely identified with the Government in its firm and unwavering decision of defending to the maximum limit of their resources the integrity of the Fatherland, so gravely menaced,

a) whole-heartedly supports without reservation the policy of intransigent defense of the patrimonial territory and of national unity, along with the means adopted for its realization - which are considered to be the only adequate means,

b) conveys to the venerable Chief of State the gratitude of the Country, which he himself so nobly personifies, for his timely visit to the overseas provinces of Angola, São Tomé and Príncipe,

and at the same time for the superior criterion with which he has overseen the determination and execution of the above policy,

c) manifests to the President of the Council full applause for the actions undertaken and re-affirms full confidence in their continuation,

d) assures the Government of the certainty that it is interpreting with absolute fidelity the sentiments of the Nation,

e) expresses its acknowledgement to the Armed Forces for the manner in which they are defending the national territory and pays homage to those who sacrificed and gave their lives for the Fatherland."

CHAPTER

2

The Pseudo-Reformism of the Colonial Portuguese

Contact with the new culture and the new civilization carried by those Portuguese who reached the mouth of the Congo River at the end of the 15th Century sparked among the more enlightened chiefs of neighboring kingdoms the idea of initiating a new era of progress and cooperation with distant kingdoms in the north of the African continent and in Western Europe - of whose existence they had earlier come to know well.

The Portuguese colonial adventure was thus able to take advantage of the goodwill of kings and nobles in these newly discovered lands, leaders who at other times had to be faced arms in hand because of the general discontent among their subjects caused by the presence of European foreigners.

The abusive interjection of missionaries and Portuguese slave-traders into the internal affairs of life of these people, contrary to the aims used to justify their presence in these territories, was of decisive importance in creating this climate of discontent.

On the other hand, the real intentions of the Portuguese crown vis-a-vis these lands were assuming a clearer shape as relations between them were being defined by ambassadors from Lisbon and the African chiefs. All technological, material, economic, cultural and religious powers were employed against the kings, the nobles and what were to become the "Angolan" populations, with the aim of establishing relations the basis of which consisted of nothing save the commercial and mercantile exploitation of all the wealth of these countries and the physical exploitation of the African himself.

The Portuguese were never sidetracked by obstacles in the path

of consolidating the results of their "crusade". And today, five centuries later -- the liquidation of traditional Angolan tribal and clan structures appears to us as the principal reflex of a "civilizing mission" spanning an epoch of five centuries.

Indeed, with the passing of centuries, these were the sole "benefits" brought to the Africans by the Portuguese presence in Angola. When the Portuguese kings of the early 15th Century ordered their ambassadors "to load the ships...with cargos of copper, ivory and slaves", or when they advised their subjects "to act in such a manner that there were no blacks who knew how to work with stone and lime, or with iron...so that they should not become powerful", or again, when the traditional chiefs were obliged, under force, to renounce for the exclusive benefit of the Portuguese Crown "the mountains of gold and silver"... "the mining island of Luanda", etc.¹⁵ -- it could not have been otherwise for the fundamental and traditional structures of the Angolans.

In a second stage, at the end of the 19th Century and beginning of the 20th, the abuses of colonization to which the traditional institutions were subjected--crowned in 1928 by the Natives' Statute and the Forced Labor Code--caused the disintegration of the economic, social and political architecture of Angolan genius in the period and accelerated the regression of productive forces. Portuguese colonial policy consisted in nothing else than securing the commercial and mercantile exploitation of lands which they had just finished "pacifying".

In our time, and in a new stage, Portuguese colonial policy has oriented itself around the pretence of reformism. The Colonialist Portuguese, in effect, through fraudulent propaganda, have endeavoured to gain acceptance for the falsehood that the new projects and the new institutions brought into being these last years -- and which are no more than a consequence of the armed rebellion of the Angolan people -- have as their objective to bring about the participation of the indigenous population in the administrative, political, economic and social life of the country.

Thus, for example:

-- Decree No. 44,111, published in the *Boletim Oficial* No. 5, 31 January 1962 authorized "the creation of the Institute of Labor, Planning and Social Assistance in Angola";

-- Ministerial Resolution No. 19,004, published in the *Boletim Oficial* No. 17, series 1, of 25 April 1962, ratifies "Convention No. 81, regarding the inspection of labor in industry and commerce, adopted by the 30th General Conference of the International Labor Organization, which met in Geneva";

-- Decree-Law No. 44,309, published in the *Boletim Oficial* No. 22, series 1, of 31 May 1962, eliminates "the Indigenous Labor Code, the Provincial Statute, and all resolutions, writs and complementary legislation brought into effect by Decree-Law No. 16,199";

-- Ministerial Resolution No. 3,301, published in the *Boletim Oficial* No. 37, series 1, of 15 September 1966, authorizes "the establishment of the Social Action Fund of Labor in Angola";

-- Legislative Act No. 3,280, published in the *Boletim Oficial* No. 30, series 1, of 18 July 1962 and 27 July 1962, establishes a new "regulation on the concession and occupation of lands";

-- Ministerial Resolution published in *Boletim Oficial* No. 1, series 1, of 5 January 1963, regulates "the supplementary conditions of labor of the indigenous workers";

-- Legislative Act No. 3,339, published in *Boletim Oficial* No. 6, series 1, of 9 February 1963, establishes "base wages and supplementary wages for workers in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd classes under Legislative Act No. 2,812 of the Indigenous Labor Code of 27 February 1957";

-- Ministerial Order No. 12,986, published in the *Boletim Oficial* No. 49, series 1, of 7 December 1963, confirms the "Statute of the Sanitary Assistance Fund" for the natives;

-- Decrees Nos. 15,361 and 15,362 published in *Boletim Oficial* No. 50, of 14 December 1963, establishes, in accordance with the General Conference of the International Labor Organization, of the Society of Nations, "the rule of eight hours of work per day and forty-eight hours per week, in all industrial establishments";

-- Resolution No. 13,052, published in the *Boletim Oficial* No. 52, series 1, of 28 December 1963, decrees the "recommendations of the Rural Labor Code for the alimentary regimen of indigenous

workers";

Etc., etc., etc..

Nevertheless, the colonialist Portuguese persist in refusing the Angolan peoples and populations *the right to be Angolans*, and have also imposed through a new statute Portuguese citizenship on all indigenous peoples.

In truth -- and due to facts imposed by its own industrial underdevelopment -- Portugal is seeking to evade the contradictions it must face, and create in Angola a special structure which will allow it to continue its commercial and mercantile secular vocation.

The new system which the Lisbon government has instituted in Angola, a type of open zone for the free employment of capital and international investments, constitutes the final encroachment upon the sovereignty of the Angolan people, and unmasks the real intentions of the pseudo-reformist colonial Portuguese which we are witnessing.

It is common knowledge that almost all of the traditional Angolan societies one encounters are in a state of primitive communalism. Agriculture, cattle raising and fishing remain today the essential characteristics of social organization; and barter is the fundamental feature of exchange relations among these people.

Well, the Governor General, who presided over the session of the Angolan Legislative Council in Luanda on 9 November 1965 announced "that a Ministerial Legislative Resolution has just forbidden exchange through bartering throughout the country, whether in markets, shops or rural establishments".

This measure of revolting cynicism has as its main objective stimulating the flow of indigenous agricultural reserves to the European colonizers... and puts the attentive observer on the real tracks of the maneuvers of the Portuguese colonialists and their allies in Angola. And, as if these measures were not enough, the liquidation of the remaining timid presence of indigenous culture and traditions is being completed. Thus it is that the African Associations -- which were already totally dominated, depersonalized and utilized by colonial authorities as means of propaganda

and of exalting the "civilizing mission of the Portuguese" in Angola -- are being progressively restricted. The Regional Association of Native Angolans has just been eliminated. "In its place there appears the Beneficent and Cultural Association of Angola."¹⁶

Even the designation "African" is an abuse to the civilizing work of the Portuguese in Africa! And... it won't be long now before even the proper name of this "overseas province" will cease to be officially recognized in Portuguese colonial nomenclature....

The new associations, being designed to "defend and preserve the integrity of the Portuguese Nation and the principles of Christian morality traditional in the country",¹⁷ delineate very clearly what is in truth hidden by the much heralded colonial reformism... in typical Salazarist fashion.

CHAPTER

3

Natural History of the War in Angola

There arrives a moment in history when the colonized, the exploited African, becomes conscious of his condition and of himself; but it is not possible for him to be conscious of his situation without revolting against it, because revolt is the only human reaction to the recognition of an inhuman condition. Oh, the exploited man doesn't separate his destiny from that of others. His individual misfortune is, in fact, a collective misfortune; it is due to the economic, political and social structures of the society in which he lives.

Unity of action and a revolutionary will appear, then, as the logical consequence of the acquisition of consciousness by the African, whose individual revolt becomes, through the force of event, a collective revolt.

*Jean-Paul Sartre**

* Quoted by Jean Ziegler (ed). in *The Counter-Revolution in Africa* Payot, 31 December 1963. Page 26.

The Portuguese first reached the mouth of the river Zaire in 1482. The general discontent with the foreign presence was immediate. The court was divided long before the mission conducted by Rui de Souza, in 1490, established first contact "with the powerful black king MUENE-E-CONGO-A-CUUM, Lord of the Congo, who lived with his court in Ambassy, many days journey into the interior from the mouth of the river."¹⁸

And, "the first armed rebellion took place in 1491"¹⁹ under the command of Panzo-A-Nginga, who refused to receive baptism and the new laws imposed by the missionaries and military personnel coming from Portugal.

During the five centuries of foreign presence, the N'Golas never ceased their resistance to the European invader. The heroic deeds of the peoples and populations of Angola in the Resistance to the invader and in the Struggle for FREEDOM have already become legend. The English explorer Mr. Barth, in 1788, refers to the fact of their being "permanently in rebellion and of their never being dominated except by force and with the pouring of blood".

In the course of two centuries of slaving, "when they didn't manage to revolt before reaching the Americas, they revolted after reaching land".²⁰

The unforgettable exploits of Queen N'Ginga, "who for thirty-six years personified the armed Resistance of the whole Angolan people against the European invader";²¹ the epic struggle of the N'Golas of the Palmares Republic in the interior of the Brazilian Northeast, where for nearly seventy years they laid the foundations of a free and prosperous territory; and the revolts of Angolans in São Tomé, for Liberty and Independence--are but aspects of the permanent state of war against Portuguese domination.²²

"To demonstrate this truth, it is important to remember that even as late as the second decade of the 20th Century certain tribes, almost at the doorstep of Luanda, such as the Dembos, opposed with victorious tenacity our occupation of their territories."²³

The historical meaning of the war in Angola, where the Angolan people oppose the Portuguese colonial forces and their allies, is explained in the framework of a class struggle. This is a war of an oppressed community against an oppressing minority. A war between

slaves and slave-holders, of forced laborers in the countryside against the colonial masters of plantations and farms, of factory workers and apprentices against employers and foremen. It is a war against the oppressive apparatus of a European minority in an African community, with contradictory and irreconcilable economic interests.

The contradictions of the capitalist system which have "set the Angolan territory in the center of a controversy of Western World level",²⁴ have aggravated the existing relations between the Portuguese administration and the natural desire of the Angolan people for socio-economic independence. The Portuguese Government, obliged to strengthen the oppression of its exploitative system in Angola, seeks to satisfy the insatiable appetite of the imperialist powers which collectively share the wealth of the Angolan subsoil. And it struggles, impotently, before the demands of all the oppressed, exploited and discontented classes, which constitute the element upon which rests the system of Portuguese slavery as well as the whole collective neocolonial structure of the imperialist powers in Angola.

The war for self-determination, for the guaranteed right of existence as a State, for the right to utilize all the means which sovereignty confers--for the total liquidation of the economic, social and political structures, MAINTAINED THROUGH FORCE BY A FOREIGN POWER, is legitimate, just and a defense of the "inalienable, inviolate and immutable" rights of the Angolan community.

The police system employed in Angola by the Portuguese authorities makes difficult the task of Angolan nationalists, as it has hindered from the time of its imposition their gaining a knowledge of the most appropriate methods to employ in the process of decolonization. The armed struggle, at the same time as it requires a dispersion of technical cadres and impedes the natural evolution toward the future exercise of sovereignty, forces these same cadres, on the other hand, to go beyond such stages and to face the responsibility of building more advanced social formations.

In the external sphere, the war of the Angolan people moves parallel to the progress achieved in the international field in the area of decolonization--thanks, above all, to the more enlightened action of the MPLA militants. At the internal level, the gains achieved are less well known.

It is imperative, from the start, that Angolan ethnologists, sociologists and economists come to grips with a knowledge of those primitive and pre-capitalist societies which earlier characterized the social formations of the populations and kingdoms of Angola. Upon such Angolan nationalists falls the responsibility of uncovering the history of institutions which will reveal to the light of scientific knowledge the stages of development attained by the various communities and kingdoms of Angola.

This study is even more necessary because the success of the measures to be applied on the road to progress for that 99.3% of the population exploited by the colonial administration depends on it.

The experience of countries which have rid themselves of the colonial yoke shows that the new rulers are not able to count on the collaboration of the masses in reconstructing the country when the new social and political measures are not in accord in each region with the historical stage reached by the respective communities and kingdoms in the pre-colonial epoch.

The development of agriculture and animal husbandry, of local industries, fishing and the cultural heritage of the territories and populations coming out of the colonial night, implies a *rigorous scientific* adaptation of new structures to the social conditions and knowledge achieved within each one of these regions in the spheres of agriculture, fishing, cattle raising, crafts and culture.

Even if contemporary social conditions are within the domain of foreign ethnologists and specialists who have come to terms with the problem, the latter have nevertheless not come to know of the achievements and technical knowledge of these civilizations, so strongly defended by the Africans throughout the colonial period "profaned" by the European invader.

CHAPTER

4

The Psychological Factor

in the Colonial War

The psychological factor of the colonial war in Angola has manifested itself profoundly in the mentality of the Portuguese people. The nature of the war, and the sacrifices which it imposes upon the enslaved and impoverished populations of the countryside and factories, has increased the discontent and antipathy of the Portuguese people for this Salazarist adventure.

The progressive and democratic forces which are fighting fascism in Portugal have contributed decisively to the demystification of the Portuguese people and to their becoming conscious of the real nature of the wars in Angola and the other Portuguese colonies.

Desertions and clandestine emigrations are increasing without let-up. One of the strongest currents of emigration is toward France (which constitutes for many the sole possibility of escape), and it is stimulated by the desire to escape from the general mobilization decreed by the fascist militarists.

After a long and painful journey across the whole of the Iberian Peninsula, Portuguese numbering "from 460 in 1954, to 6,716 in 1961 and 12,916 in 1962"²⁵ have entered France clandestinely.

In order to deal with this exodus, "a convention on emigration was signed between Portugal and France on 31 December 1963 in the Portuguese capital. It states that the French National Department of Emigration will open a permanent mission in Lisbon on terms agreed with by its Portuguese counterpart...According to official French statistics for 1962, 9,428 Portuguese were working in France; that is, 42% more than in 1961. In 1963 there were an additional

1,358 temporary workers and 6,108 permanent workers accounted for."

"...Aside from this controlled and legal emigration, there exists the clandestine one. The number of Portuguese who, in this latest period,²⁶ leave their country so as to take refuge in France, is calculated to be between 4,000 and 5,000 per year."²⁷ The demographic survey carried out in mid-1962 estimated the number of Portuguese residing officially in France to be 49,700 persons.²⁸

Equally important is the clandestine emigration from the southern frontiers of the country via the Atlantic Ocean. The number of Portuguese in Morocco went from 18,000 in 1950 to 30,000 in 1960.

The situation developed in such a serious manner that in order to fight against this rising psychological state, the Portuguese Government reinstated capital punishment, which had previously been abolished in the country.

The *Diário do Governo* of 17 October 1963 published a Decree-Law in which are found regulations regarding the conditions under which servicemen, in time of war, can be shot, e.g., certain acts overseas²⁹ supporting desertions or acts of cowardice among the Portuguese troops -- actions which themselves are products of the colonial war:

"Article I. -- As in time of war, the crimes foreseen in the penal military legislation will be punished in the overseas provinces when military or police operations are being carried out with the purpose of combating threats or menaces directed against:

- a) public order, security and tranquility;
- b) the integrity of the national territory.

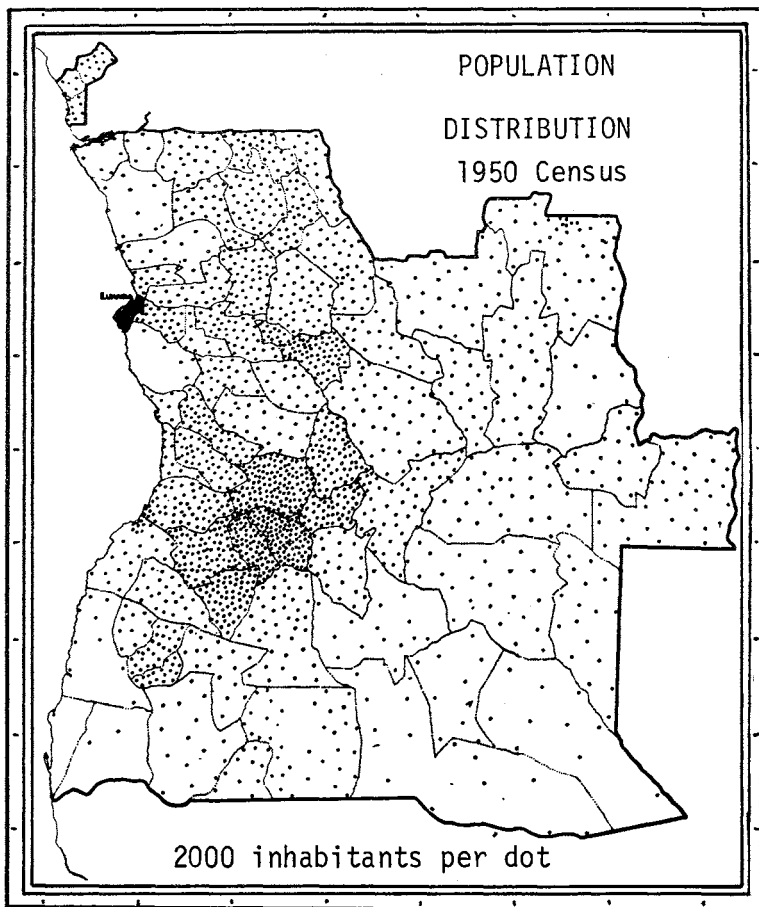
"Article 2. -- Infractions committed by military personnel who are ordered to render service in the armed forces in the above-mentioned provinces, or who have been mobilized or recruited for that purpose -- starting from the moment in which they have knowledge of the order, will be handled in the same manner as set out in Article I".³⁰

Even regarding emigration to America, whose control is more effective, the psychological factor of the colonial war in Angola

has weighed heavily on the minds of those with greater chances of being called up in the mobilizations. And even the percentage migration to Brazil, "...still the principal destination of our emigration, in which peasants, commercial employees and processing industry workers constitute the dominant occupational groups", ³¹ has suffered noticeable changes. Thus, the percentage migration to Brazil, which was 38.6% of the total Portuguese migration in 1960, went up to 47.9% in 1961 -- the year of the armed uprising of the Angolan people. Due to the measures taken to prevent this psychosis, the number of Portuguese migrating to Brazil in 1962 was 13,565, a figure corresponding to 40.5% of total Portuguese migration for that year. In the years 1953-1962, the number of Portuguese emigrants to Brazil reached 195,641 -- a figure representing 57.6% of all emigration which is controlled by the Portuguese authorities.

PART TWO

The Historical Context



CHAPTER

5

European Settlement and Genocide

*...to oppress a class, it is necessary at least to be able to guarantee it conditions of existence that will allow it to live in servitude.**

Karl Marx

Angola, with 1,660 kilometers of maritime coast dotted with numerous small islands and inlets, has a traditional fishing industry which has always been prominent in the economies of the various local populations. Luanda Island, with an area of 140 square kilometers and located about half a kilometer from the mainland, was from the 15th to the 17th Century one of the most flourishing centers of Angolan kingdoms. Among the most important activities of the epoch were the minting of coins, fishing and a developed craft industry.

"...this island is a mint for the coin which is used by the Congo King and by peoples in the neighboring regions."³² "On this island the people use sailboats made from palmtree trunks tied together in the manner of a ship, with a bow and stern and moved by oars and sail.³³ They venture as far as the high seas fishing for the whale, whose oil is used for their ships."³⁴

Luanda, which was founded in 1605 and achieved city status in 1755,³⁵ had in 1854 about 1,830 Europeans,³⁶ the major part of whom lived on top of the hill near the military fortress of São Miguel.

*Karl Marx, *Selected Readings*, Editions Sociales/Paris.

The fishermen of the island supplied the city market as well as some points in the interior with sea products and traded with Europeans in the "high city". The Portuguese traded food products, which reached Luanda in the empty holds of slave ships, in exchange for slaves -- who for over four centuries constituted a major "item" of commerce in Angola.³⁷

In 1878, the possibilities for Africans to engage in small-scale, independent economic activities and commerce were strongly curtailed by the promulgation of the first Native Labor Code, which created the practical conditions under which the Angolans were to be left with forced labor as their sole "legal" means of subsistence.³⁸

With the emergence of fascism in Portugal in 1928, the principal characteristic which, through the centuries, constituted the nature of Portuguese colonialism in Angola was accentuated: Settlement and Genocide. More than ever, Angola came to be a penal colony, and in the first years of the Salazar regime the European population was comprised of common criminals and others "dressed in dark blue serge clothes marked with the inscription D.D.A. in white on both chest and arms".³⁹

If until 1900 the European population in Angola was made up almost exclusively of clergymen and administrative and military personnel, with the restoration of fascism in Portugal the colonization plans became systematized and executed in every detail by the Lisbon government, which structured the methods of colonial exploitation. These methods find no equivalent in the colonial history of Africa after the First World War: "It is possible with some exactitude to compare them with the occupation programs of the Italians in Libya and Ethiopia in the 1920's and 1930's. These plans, in brief, amounted to the administrative transplanting of peasant communities from their countries of origin to the colonies, where they reconstructed conditions of life as similar as possible -- even down to the finest detail -- to those of the abandoned community villages."⁴⁰

Angola also became, along with some of the other territories under Portuguese domination, a refuge for metropolitan unemployed and discontented republicans, liberals and deserters whom the Salazar regime was incapable of embracing within the social and economic life of Portugal.

On the other hand, the massive emigration of fishermen to An-

Angola

CHART COMPARING BLACK AND WHITE POPULATIONS

Year	Pre-Colonial Period	Colonial Period						
		Slavery			Forced Labor			
		1550	1700	1850	1930	1950	1960	1970
Blacks	18,000,000	8,000,000			2,000,000	3,300,000	3,319,300	4,642,000
Whites	—	—	800	1,850	9,000	30,000	78,000	250,000

Estimates for the precolonial period and the slavery period are approximate.

gola virtually eliminated fishing activities among the Africans. If the Colonial Act in 1930 ended all forms of autonomy previously enjoyed in Angola,⁴¹ this fact was refined by the Portuguese Government publication of decrees and laws which liquidated, one after another, the traditional trading and manufacturing activities, placing the African in a position of direct dependence upon the European.

With the issuing, in 1958, of the decree prohibiting fishing on the high seas from other than motorized ships, the colonial administration again tried to place the Africans, night and day, in the situation of having to work for European fishermen. With this decree disappeared the last independent sector of the traditional African economy!

The number of Europeans throughout the areas "occupied" by the Portuguese was estimated to be 1,832 in 1830.⁴² It reached 9,000 in 1900; 30,000 in 1930; 78,000 in 1950, and 200,000 in 1960. Thus, European settlement increased by 21,000 from 1900 to 1930; by 48,000 from 1930 to 1950; and by 121,174 between 1950 and 1960. In only the last ten years, the number of European settlers has tripled! And in 1962 alone, there were 12,282 more Portuguese settled in Angola, not counting the increasing number of expeditionary troops.⁴³

By contrast, the Black population "decreased" sharply in relation to the growing European population. In a period of sixty years, the African population "shrunk" by 7.3% in relation to Europeans within the total population.

African historians and ethnographers have estimated the Angolan population in the middle of the 15th Century to have been somewhere between sixteen and eighteen million people -- a figure including the Bantu-speaking peoples of the whole, vast Zaire Basin.⁴⁴

The genocide promoted by the slave trade contributed decisively to the blood-letting and extermination of the Angolan people. Thus is it that a Portuguese historian recently calculated that 1,389,000 slaves were forcefully taken from the Angolan coast between 1486 and 1641. This number represents almost 9,000 slaves removed per year!⁴⁵

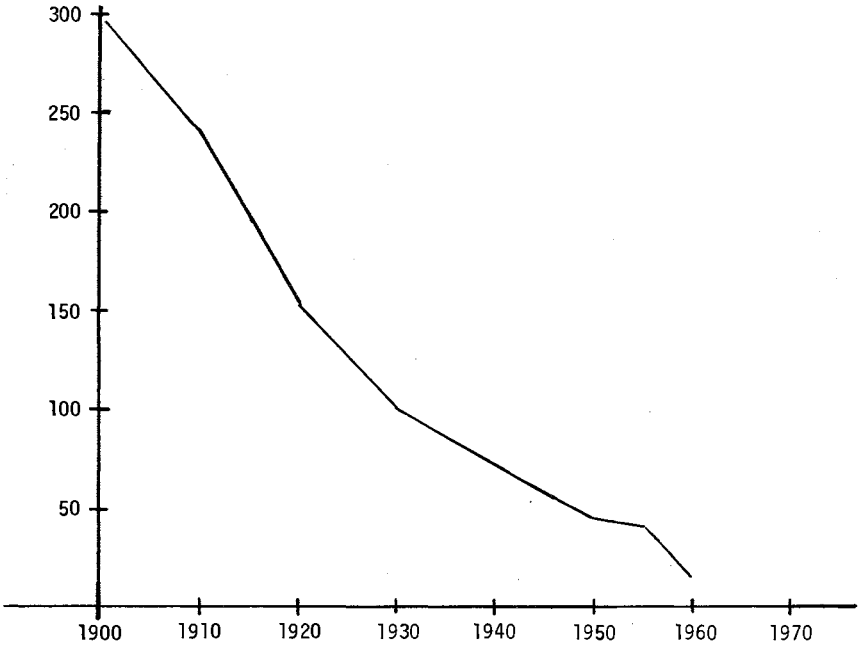
From 1580 to 1836, the date when slavery was finally abolished, more than four million men, women and children were taken from Angola and the Portuguese Congo.⁴⁶

Angola

EVOLUTION OF THE PERCENTAGE BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES

Year	Percentage		Year	Percentage	
	Whites	Blacks		Whites	Blacks
1900	1	300	1940	1	83
1910	1	241	1950	1	51
1920	1	149	1955	1	38
1930	1	110	1960	1	22

Declining curve of Black population in relation to White population



Source: *Anuário Estatístico do Ultramar*, Ed. Agência Geral do Ultramar, Lisbon, 1961

In the 17th Century the contradictions between the maritime and commercial powers of the epoch were to contribute to making this gloomy picture even more sombre. The slave trade between Angola and Brazil, up till then in the hands of the Portuguese, was altered by virtue of the enforced treaty of peace and alliance signed in 1660 by Portugal and England. There followed a period of open competition between the Dutch and English in which the supply of slaves to the other American colonies became greater each year. Angola was truly transformed into a great market supplying Black "hands" through its ports of Zaire, Luanda, Cuanza and Benguela.⁴⁷

There were years in which almost 100,000 slaves, originating from Mina, Congo and Angola, reached the customs-house on the island of Príncipe for embarkation in the holds of slave ships destined for all the colonies of America.⁴⁸

Besides slavery, other factors converged to form this panorama. The peculiar nature of the slave-based Portuguese colonial system -- simultaneously the most barbarous and the most primitive, and of a brutality and intensity never equaled elsewhere on the continent⁴⁹ -- reflects the underdevelopment of a colonial power which never managed to attain economic relations of transformation and, therefore, never exported appreciable quantities of fixed capital to its colonies.⁵⁰

In addition, and of no less importance, there was the exodus of the African populations. "African emigration, legal or illegal, is greater from the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique than from any other region in the whole of Africa. Official estimates mention 500,000 émigrés from each of these territories." (Marcelo Caetano). Angolan émigrés are found in the former Belgian Congo, the former French Congo, Northern Rhodesia and South-West Africa.⁵¹

On the other hand, Europeans were settled in cities where their presence has deprived Africans of opportunities which they would have had in the absence of these immigrants. Those who went to the small towns and rural areas, particularly to the coffee regions of the north, usually appropriated lands near the roads, whether cultivated or not, thus depriving the Africans of their traditional inheritance and forcing them to seek lands ever deeper into the forest.⁵² In the Angolan district of Cabinda, whose total area is 727,000 hectares, the white settlers possess 639,000 hectares of land.⁵³

The Sixth Inter-African Conference of Labor (Abidjan, 1961) called attention to some of the most important forms of organized emigration, such as that which took place in 1958 when 75,000 emigrants from Mozambique and 102,000 from Angola were channeled to South Africa.⁵⁴

And then, fundamentally, there is Forced Labor! This form of slavery is implicit in Article No. 136 of the Portuguese Constitution: "The State can force indigenous peoples to work in Public Services of general interest to the collectivity."⁵⁵

"...each year the laborer works three or four months for the exclusive benefit of the colonial administration."⁵⁶

In 1954, in the Department of Native Affairs in Luanda, the total number of "contract laborers" was no less than 379,000 -- which is to say, one-tenth of the entire African population of the territory.⁵⁷

The character and the methods used in this practice have constituted, since the time when Portuguese military power-imposed itself on Angola, one of the basic causes of the terrifying picture of the population exodus into bordering countries.

There exist, principally, two bilateral conventions; one dating from 1926 and the other from 1934. The first contains the signatures of the Republic of South Africa (still in 1926 the Union of South Africa) and of Portugal; the second, of the two governments of Southern Rhodesia and Portugal. Both were renewed on a year to year basis by tacit agreement. According to these two treaties, Portugal committed itself to sending each year 160,000 Black workers to the mines of Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa. Those who died, whether on the trip or in the mines, had to be freely replaced by the Portuguese authorities.⁵⁸

And, finally, the Portuguese repression designed to kill the national liberation movement constitutes the last aspect in the picture of the "real and progressive diminution" of the Black population in Angola.

The genocide perpetrated by the colonial troops against the peoples in the regions affected by the military operations⁵⁹ will be the subject of another study; however, according to the official news

agency, ANI, some 302,647 Angolans were listed as dead or missing by the end of 1962⁶⁰ -- a figure representing no less than 8% of the country's total population.

As regards the mestizos, in the mid-19th Century their population in Angola and Mozambique was double that of the white population -- 6,000 to 3,000. At the end of the 1920's, the number of mestizos in Angola was estimated at 25,000; thirty years later, this number remained unchanged.⁶¹

In 1954, the official estimates give us figures in the order of 30,240 mestizos, which amounts to an annual demographic increase of approximately 1,000 individuals.⁶²

PART THREE

The Economic Context

CHAPTER 6

The Economic Underdevelopment of Portugal

*...It is poverty, the lack of work, which forces the Portuguese worker into exile.**

Angel Marvaud

The Portuguese national economy is seated essentially in agriculture. Portugal, with a working population of 3,196,482 persons out of a total population at the last census of 8,510,240, absorbs more than 1,569,120 inhabitants in agriculture. This sector thus contains 49.1% of the national labor force. Yet in spite of so high a percentage in comparison to other sectors of the economy, Portugal is deficient in cereals, which it imports from abroad: 150,000 tons between 1953 and 1955, and \$7,560,000 worth in 1960.⁶³

Consumption continues, nevertheless, to be greater than production, involving the continuing importation of meat, which even increased in relation to the previous year (1959).⁶⁴

The deficit in the Portuguese balance of trade increased by more than 45% in relation to 1960. Analyzing this increase shows it to be the result of rising imports, which increased by nearly 20%, somewhat more than did exports.⁶⁵

The deficit noted above has reduced Portugal's gold and foreign exchange reserves. By the end of 1961, gold reserves amounted to \$443,000,000 and foreign exchange holdings to \$249,000,000 as against, respectively, \$552,000,000 and \$242,000,000 in December 1960.⁶⁶

**Le Portugal et ses colonies.* Étude Politique et Économique, Paris, 1912.

This picture, which is unique in Europe and has few parallels even in the underdeveloped countries of Africa and Asia, makes Portugal, in both this and other respects, one of the backward countries of Europe.

Portugal, which has not yet laid the basis for a planned industrialization, maintains the economic structures of an underdeveloped country, whose budgetary balance rests on a colonial parasitism *sui generis* and completely opposite to that of a modern imperialist economy -- e.g., exporting semi-raw materials, which required only a minimum of technical intervention, and importing manufactured products.⁶⁷

This underdeveloped economy has direct repercussions on the level of life of both urban workers and peasants.⁶⁸ The purchasing power of the workers is so low that, e.g., one kilogram of meat is the equivalent of 14 hours of skilled labor.⁶⁹

Following is a breakdown of the wage-earning population according to their distribution in the various non-agricultural branches of the economy:

- Processing Industries (food, textiles, etc.),
592,778 workers;
- Extractive Industries, 75,075 workers;
- Public Works and Transportation, 271,933 workers;
- Administrative Services (commerce, insurance and
public administration), 731,634 workers;
- Miscellaneous & Undefined Activities, 5,954 workers.

Industry thus absorbs 27.8%, administration 22.7% and miscellaneous categories 0.4% of the total work force.⁷⁰

Of the employed population, 1,473,356 are found within the corporative organizations.⁷¹ Trade unions comprise 976,687 registered or affiliated members, who are recruited principally from the fields of commerce and industry. The People's Houses (*Casas do Povo*) contain 436,329 persons, mostly rural laborers. The Fishermen's Houses (*Casas dos Pescadores*) are comprised of 60,340 people belonging to different sectors of the fishing industry.

According to official statistics, more than half of the population linked directly to economic activity in the country, some

55.91%, were left uncovered by any of the organizations which, in 1960, developed any sort of social action. Existing agencies of social action programs handled the following number of people: 719 agencies of educational and recreational activities benefited 4,257 persons, and through 529 medical assistance agencies, 909,123 medical consultations were carried out.

The same year, 1960, total expenses of the corporative organizations were \$3,939,333 while receipts totaled \$4,364,100.

Agriculture, which itself employs almost half of the country's labor force, is nevertheless unable to produce sufficient basic foods for general subsistence. The utilization of very rudimentary agricultural methods, and the incapacity of the Government to carry out agrarian reforms, are fundamental factors in the general picture of labor in Portugal.

In the general picture of the Portuguese economy, the sector of "Agriculture, Forestry, Cattle-Raising and Fishing" constitutes the key element in the formation of the gross national product. Industrial production is seated in the processing industries, especially the sectors of "Metallurgy, Mechanical and Electrical industries" and Civil Construction, which constitute a less important element in the gross national product. Extractive industries play only a small role in the industrial complex of the country.

Financial investment proceeds in a timid and anarchical manner, given the reduced availability of manual labor in the country, and considering technological factors as integrated in capital formation.⁷²

The natural resources of the subsoil are found to be almost totally unexplored. Though the Portuguese territory has a considerably rich hydro-electric power potential, only 2,868,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity were generated in 1962 and 3,069,000 in 1963.⁷³ Among the minerals, as yet but little exploited, there are found in the Portuguese subsoil iron, copper, wolfram (tungsten), tin and coal.⁷⁴

According to official statistics, coal was exploited by forty-four companies, of which six employed motorized equipment and had an annual product, for 1961, valued at \$27,637,000. Iron ores, exploited by 110 companies, had a production for the same year valued at \$680,800. Metalliferous ores, with the exception of iron, were ex-

ploited by 2,190 companies, of which 77 were equipped with electrical machinery and had a production worth \$4,973,900. Stone, clay, gravel and sand, valued at \$2,794,000, were exploited by 1,597 firms, 120 of which used mechanized equipment. Salt and other chemical industry minerals were extracted by 57 companies, 15 being mechanized, with a product valued at \$3,756,900. And, lastly, non-metal-liferous minerals (unspecified) valued at \$117,700 were produced by 50 companies, of which six were mechanized.

The total labor force employed in these industries was 20,667 workers. The total wage packet, before deductions and including overtime wages, paid holidays and bonuses⁷⁵ was \$6,532,000. The average wage per worker for the year (1961) was \$311.20 -- which represented 85¢ per day!

In comparison with the salaries of extractive industry workers in industrialized countries such as England, the United States, France or Belgium, where wages constitute some 60% of the national income and profits and interest 30% to 40%,⁷⁶ salaries in Portugal represent only 39% of national income and profits 61%.

Official figures report a potential working population, between the ages of 12 and 65, of 5,998,923 persons. The development of the country is tied to those 3,196,482 inhabitants who are directly linked to production in the various branches of economic activity. Economic development in the country, then, depends on only 53% of the employable population.

The number of unemployed has reached 91,970 persons, of whom 12,428 are women; disabled persons number 123,611, including 61,340 women; individuals with no recognized economic activity or occupation number 230,883, of whom 78,888 are women. The total number within the population which does not collaborate in the development of the country is thus 446,468.⁷⁷

In an underdeveloped country, supply and demand as regards the labor force are not congruent. Thus, we find a more or less important, recognized unemployment, without even taking into consideration the always existing hidden unemployment. This is a general characteristic of underdeveloped countries, and it cannot be explained in terms of high or low population densities among the various underdeveloped countries.⁷⁸

Underdeveloped countries do not possess the social and economic structures which would permit them to be self-sufficient. It is through external commerce that they must seek the equipment necessary, whether in the form of foreign aid, credit or barter. Trade or barter allows these countries to pay for imports by means of an equivalent increase in their exports and, it follows, through an increase in production. The commercial basis which permits the strengthening of structures, in the sense of an increase in productivity in the life of the developing economy, must be founded on a reduction in the export of consumer goods in relation to an increasing export of manufactured goods.

Countries which receive foreign aid are faced with problems linked with external trade agreements. The import of production goods constitutes an arena of decisive battle, without success in which it is not possible to build the foundations of an industrialized economy.

The industrial development of underdeveloped countries demands of them that they modify the manner in which national income is distributed.

External trade as regards imports, in the 1961 Portuguese trade balance, was \$628,757,900. The analysis of statistical charts showing the principal import items reveals that only \$133,706,000 were distributed and related to economic sectors directly linked to production.

Fascist spokesmen confirm this picture when, in official publications, they affirm that between 1958 and 1962 the "agriculture, forestry and fishing" sector, which sustained a "reduced volume of investments and of the qualified labor force", registered an average increase of barely 2.4%. The more optimistic estimates foresee, in 1963, "a slight diminution in the global value of the aggregate product in the agriculture and cattle-raising sector", as a result of an unfavorable cereal harvest and a meager production of wine. Indeed, with regard to the latter, "a production figure some 23% lower than that of the previous year is foreseen".⁷⁹

During the first six months of this same year (1963), oil production increased by 35%, while in the same period fishing reached a total of 78,620 tons, which amounts to a decrease of 16.2% relative to the previous year.

Over the same period mentioned above, from 1958 to 1962, "industrial production experienced an average annual rate of increase of 6%". In the first quarter of 1963, the recession already outlined in 1962 was accentuated. Then, in the second quarter, "it appeared as if a noticeable recovery in industrial activity had begun", exemplified by "an increase of 5.7% of the average seasonally corrected indices, respectively, in relation to the previous three months".⁸⁰

"The customary negative balance in the movement of goods and services between Portugal and the outside world, which until 1961 had maintained itself without any marked variations, suffered in this year a drop of 65%." In the current year, "although a deficit in the balance of trade in commodities is foreseen..., it is thought that the improvement in the balance of accounts from tourism, transportation and government operations would be able to compensate, in large measure, for the above-mentioned deficit".⁸¹

From January to October of 1964 the Portuguese balance of trade deficit was \$184,700. For the first ten months of this year, imports amounted to 4,189,000 tons as against 2,826,000 tons of exports. In terms of tonnage, then, imports exceeded exports by a figure of 1,363,000.

CHAPTER

7

The Economic Value of Angola

*...It is potentially the richest country in Africa.**

Cunha Leal

The economic value of Angola, in the context of colonial domination of the African continent, is seated in the exploitation of diamonds, iron ores, manganese, copper and oil.

Diamonds: Exploited since 1912 in the northeastern region of the colony, in the district of Lunda, prospecting has been intensified and extended throughout the whole of the colony since that time, with very optimistic results.⁸² Diamonds have constituted the greatest source of wealth for the colonial administration, with annual values reaching as high as fifteen million dollars. Angola is the third ranked producer of diamonds in Africa, behind South-West Africa and Congo-Leopoldville.

Annual production reaches values in the order of 1,500,000 carats.

Petroleum: The littoral zone in the region of Lunda has shown itself to be very rich in petroleum. "In the last year, Angola produced 800,000 tons of petroleum. The refinery in Luanda processed 475,000 tons of crude oil, from which it obtained 453,000 tons of derivative products (59,775 tons of gasoline, 114,000 tons of diesel fuel, 139,000 tons of fuel-oil, 89,000 tons of *bunker C*)".⁸³

Besides the littoral zone, a new oil complex was recently prospected in Puaça, near Cabo Ledo in Quiçama.⁸⁴

**Coisas do Tempo Presente - Ilusões Macabras*, Author's Edition, Lisbon, January 1964

Oil production in Angola is estimated to be 1,200,000 tons per year.⁸⁵

Iron Ore: The hills of Cuíma and Cassinga (Nova Lisboa) and the Malange district (Mounts Saís and Tumbi) are the two areas of active iron ore exploitation.

Iron ore products in Angola, for the first quarter of 1964, consisted primarily of iron tubing and sheet iron, and will realize profit from some 20,000 tons of railroad track.

Production of this mineral is in the order of one million tons a year. The approximate content, in useful iron, is calculated to be 35%.

Copper: The richness of the subsoil in this mineral, in the whole of the northern zone of the colony (district of Uíje), is exemplified by its high percentage of pure copper. Industrial production, in comparison to the rest of Africa, is insignificant, reaching some 10,000 tons per year. Rhodesian production is in the magnitude of 165,000 tons, and Katanga produces 270,000 tons.

The approximate content, in useful substance, is in the range of 12.5% of the copper ore, but as regards ingots the figure reaches 93%.

Manganese: The regions of Malange, Cazengo and Kitosão are the zones where this mineral is exploited. Annual production is 45,000 tons, which ranks very low among the trusts and monopolies dealing in this specialty. The richness of the manganese ore is estimated at 45%.

It is due primarily to the export value of these minerals that Angola occupies an important place in the world's raw-materials market.

Within the ambit of a plan embracing the rational utilization of the country's natural resources, the Angolan subsoil would be able to yield even uranium, lead, tin, cobalt, etc.

Zinc: Exists principally throughout the agricultural region in the district of Congo (Maquela do Zombo) and its exploitation is made difficult by the previous agreements of the colonial adminis-

tration with the small-scale, European farmers of the region.

Exploitation has reached an average of ten tons annually. The zinc content of the ore is estimated at around 43%.

Tin: Prospecting for this mineral has been carried out in the Benguela plateau area (Vila Mariano Machado), where wolfram has also been discovered.

Phosphates: The enclave of Cabinda is extremely rich in phosphates, especially in the Luango River basin and in Baía de Lândana. On the mainland, the region of Ambrizete is the most important.

According to the latest official information, the Lisbon Government had begun negotiations in 1964 with a North American financial group for the exploitation of phosphate sites in the littoral of Angola.

Among the agricultural products whose international position is of a nature to interest the colonial administration and foreign monopolies and trusts, coffee, cotton, sisal and millet rank as the highest.

Coffee: Is cultivated primarily in the districts of Congo, Cuanza-Sul and Cuanza-Norte. Production has reached an average of 150,000 tons per year, the equivalent of 15.4% of total African production.

From this production the amount absorbed by Portugal is minimal, since its market consumed no more than 3,000 tons in 1963. The United States, on the other hand, absorbs almost the total Angolan production. In 1964 the value of coffee exports was \$95,303,800. In 1965 exports reached, by the end of October, 137,850 tons.

Coffee exports from Angola over the last five years were:

1960-1961	122,807 tons
1961-1962	138,974 tons
1962-1963	194,642 tons
1963-1964	154,713 tons
1964-1965	139,096 tons

Cotton: Is cultivated exclusively by the indigeneous peoples in the regions of Congo, Lunda, Malange, Cuanza-Norte, Cuanza-Sul and Luanda. Present production is in the order of 5,000 tons and corresponds to only one-fifth of the 1960 production figure.

The total amount is absorbed by the "metropole", and Angolan cotton today represents 5.5% of the total value of Portuguese imports of this commodity -- which reached some 72,000 tons in 1963.

Sisal: Is cultivated in the high plains of Benguela and Huambo. The world market price for "Portuguese" African sisal, on 5 March of the current year, was 11.67 escudos per kilo.

Production of sisal in the colony is in the range of 60,000 tons per year, which represents 10.5% of total exports.

The Benguela region, which itself produces 66.5% of the country's sisal, profited from the construction in 1964 of a decortication factory. Official estimates put this company's 1965 - 1966 production at a figure of 5,000 tons of sisal fibre.

Millet: The climate and terrain, in a large part of the territory, are favorable for the cultivation of this cereal. Its exploitation is carried out principally in the districts of Benguela, Huambo, Bié, Cuando-Cubango and Malange.

Annual production is, on the average, 300,000 tons and represents some 4.6% of the colony's total exports.

On a smaller scale the large concessionary companies in Angola export or utilize, in the colony's processing industries, appreciable quantities of palm oil, tobacco, beans, sugar cane, rice, etc. Most significant among these in terms of value is *sugar cane*, grown in Tentativa (Luanda) and on the high plain of Benguela. Production of refined sugar amounts to 68,000 tons per year. The Portuguese market consumed 155,000 tons in 1963.

The area planted to sugar cane in Angola comprises some 9,000 hectares (22.5 million acres) of land.

Palm Oil is extracted from plantations in the districts of Luanda and Benguela. Production averages 20,000 tons a year. The

quantity of both crude and refined palm oil exported in 1962 and 1963 was, according to official figures, 15,087 and 16,733 tons--worth approximately \$2,393,000 and \$2,830,400 respectively.

Tobacco, cultivated in the districts of Malange and São da Bandeira and with a cured product of nearly 2,000 tons, is consumed in large part within the colony. Total exports of tobacco, both cured and packaged, reached 947 tons (\$543,500) in 1962 and 1,469 tons (\$928,300) in 1963.

Beans are cultivated mainly in the high plateaus of Bié, Benguela and Malange, and in the districts of Zaire and Uíge. The annual harvest averages 120,000 tons, of which between ten and twelve thousand tons are exported yearly.

Rice is grown in small quantities in various scattered parts of the colony...in the regions of Malange, Bié, Cuando-Cubango and Cuanza-Sul. Production is in the neighborhood of 15,000 tons.

Of less importance for external trade and within the internal market is the cultivation of bananas, oranges, pineapples, sweet potatoes and manioc, and forestry products within the interior of the country.

Wood: The export of wood derives from the forests of Cabinda, Congo and Luso. Amounts exported reach 190,000 cubic meters, and it all goes to Portugal. Official figures totaled 51,169 and 82,811 tons, both logs and cut timber, which were exported in the years 1962 and 1963. This represented \$1,848,100 and \$3,100,200.

Among the products processed through local industries, beer, cement, fish derivatives, textiles, paper, etc., have economic value in Angola.

Beer: In breweries in Luanda and Nova Lisboa fifteen million liters are produced annually.⁸⁷ In 1963 and 1964 the production of beer in the colony reached, respectively, 29,500,000 and 31,900,000 liters.

Cement: Factories have been built in Luanda and Lobito. Annual production in these two cities is around 180,000 tons, totally absorbed within the colony. Official figures are: 194,000 and 214,000 tons respectively for the years 1963 and 1964.

Ceramics: Production units have been installed in Luanda, Malange, Sã da Bandeira, Lobito and Benguela. The total value of production in 1960 was one million dollars.

Among *fish derivatives*, fish meal and canned fish are the most important. Fish factories are located in Moçãmedes and Benguela, but fisheries are scattered all along the coast, principally close to the urban centers (Pôrto Amboim, Ambrizete, Luanda, etc.).

In 1964 fish meal production was, to be exact, 54,600 tons (\$5,860,000); and fish oil, 7,400 tons.

Canneries, found in the above-mentioned regions, achieve production figures averaging some 1,500 tons a year.⁸⁸ And dried fish, about 25,000 tons.

Textiles: Textile mills are located in the capital and yield an insignificant product relative to the country's possibilities in cotton and other vegetable fibres. Production of textiles is in the order of 13,500,000 meters. Cotton cloth production was estimated at 7,500,000 meters in 1964, and crude sack-cloth at 6,800,000 meters.

Paper: Factories located in Luanda were absorbed by the construction of cellulose and paper plants in Alto Catumbela (between Benguela and Nova Lisboa) in 1963. In this year, multi-sheet sack-cloth worth \$1,650,000 was produced. Cardboard and packing paper paste was calculated at 24,400 tons and 3,100 tons, respectively, in 1964.

Processing industries of considerably less economic importance are aluminum, India rubber, salt, bread and biscuits (1,500 tons in 1960), soap (7,500 tons in 1959), plastics and alcohol (3,000,000 liters).

The potentialities for hydroelectric, coal and oil energy are immense.⁸⁹ The hydroelectric potential in Africa is calculated to be around 40% of world reserves⁹⁰ and this is on the basis only of already known and published data. Hydroelectric potential in Angola represents some 18.3% of the estimated total for the whole of Africa, following only Congo-Kinshasa, with 41.9%.

Complementing the richness of its subsoil in raw materials and the varied potentialities of its rich agriculture (e.g., animal husbandry has simply been abandoned by the colonial administration),⁹¹ the economic value of Angola is *equally* shaped by its geographic situation.

Located on the west coast of Africa, between 4°22' and 18°23' parallels in the southern latitude and 11°41' and 24°05' meridians east (of Greenwich), and having an Atlantic coastline of 1,650 kilometers, Angola is the "natural" outlet to the sea for the Republic of Congo (Leopoldville)--with which it shares a land border of 2,395 kilometers--and the Republic of Zambia, which it borders for 1,264 kilometers.

The celebrated *Copper-belt*, which extends from the Rhodesias to Katanga (Congo), encircling the northeast part of Lunda, makes Angola a vital sector in one of the world's most fabulous mineral regions.

And, if we realize that the large Western trusts and monopolies dominate and direct the corporations and companies in the Rhodesias, in the Congo and in Angola which exploit copper, diamonds, uranium and cobalt, as well as controlling the banks and world markets--we will have some idea of the value which Angola represents in the chess game of the world economy.

CHAPTER 8

Economic Relations between Angola and Portugal

*Although Portugal decided to abolish slavery in 1858,... it has been regressive in comparison to the majority of States having responsibilities in Africa in respect to the abolition of forced labor; it has maintained a critical attitude toward the adoption by the International Conference of Labor of the convention on forced labor in 1930, and did not ratify it until 26 June 1956.**

The export trade of Portugal sets in motion, as is customary, a great diversity of products,⁹² given that administrative and customs protection assures to Portuguese products--even if of inferior quality and rudimentary manufacture--the *débouché* of the Angolan market, and at prices vastly superior to the real value of the merchandise.

Wine and textiles again hold the top spots among exports, with \$12,142,857 and \$9,321,428, respectively.⁹³

In 1960, 82.7% of Portugal's raw cotton imports had their

**Official Bulletin, International Office of Labor--Vol. XLV, No. 2, Supplement 11, April 1962, page 262.*

origin in the colonies and 35.8% of her cotton textiles were exported to these same countries. Without this equilibrium between supply and demand, maintained through administrative measures, the Portuguese textile industry, inefficient and unable to compete with other countries, would rapidly disappear.⁹⁴

Portuguese industrial underdevelopment lies at the base of Angola's export trade. Of the colony's total exports, \$24,839,000 worth went to Portugal and \$98,065,300 went to "foreign" countries (1965), representing, respectively, 231,913 and 967,431 tons. Portugal bought, at ridiculously low prices (compared to world market prices), 19.23%, as against 75.94% by "foreign" countries. On the other hand, *and this is the most revolting aspect of Portugal's parasitism*, it receives in foreign currency (dollars) credits stemming from the exports of the colonies, and then, for example, repays Angola in Angolan escudos--after a double conversion: dollars/Portuguese escudos, then Portuguese escudos/colonial escudos. Finally, it re-exports to Angola foreign manufactured products which its own underdeveloped industry is in no position to process locally, in Portugal.

The Portuguese Government controls not only the exchange, the imports and the exports, but also the prices which are paid for them *to the Portuguese*.⁹⁵

Portugal sold to Angola goods valued at \$47,722,200 (148,384 tons), as against goods from "foreign" countries valued at \$57,430,160 (304,805 tons) in 1961.⁹⁶ That is, Angola bought at an extremely exaggerated price--enforced as a means of administrative protection for Portuguese industry--43.81% of its total imports from Portugal, as against 52.73% from "foreign" countries.⁹⁷

Only in this manner can it be explained that in the Angolan balance of trade, in the interchange Angola/Portugal and Angola/"foreign" countries, there was a favorable balance of \$40,630,000--with the last year being almost double the previous one--and that in the exchange with Portugal alone there was an unfavorable balance of \$22,800,000.⁹⁸

The accumulation of capital and the exchange rate of Portuguese currency are the products essentially of banking operations, in which the profits and revenues are maintained through the loan of capital and not by its investment--a direct reflex of Portuguese

industrial underdevelopment.

An examination of official statistics shows that, contrary to the low prices which competition imposed on "metropolitan" export goods, Portugal sold us, and continues to sell us, the products of its industry and agriculture at much higher prices than similar products which could be imported from "foreign" countries.⁹⁹

The public debt in Angola as of 31 December 1961 amounted to \$81,334,200--and the estimated charges already encountered in 1962 are estimated at a deficit of \$3,582,366.

Of particular interest are the data on the principal "creditors" of the colony as regards the Public Debt. A loan of \$3,600,000 was made by the Companhia dos Diamantes (DIAMANG), of which \$229,100 was projected for 1962; a credit of \$2,457,500 was extended by the Caixa Geral de Depósitos, Crédito e Previdência (General Fund of Deposits, Credit and Providence), of which \$103,800 was projected for 1962; a loan of \$5,000,000 by the Caixa Geral de Depósitos (General Deposits Bank) for the Social Welfare Fund, of which \$334,226 was projected for 1962, with an interest debt of \$2,564,066!!!¹⁰⁰

In 1963, the "debt" of the colony to DIAMANG reached \$10,019,682.54!¹⁰¹

The debtor position of the colony was increased even more by the credits granted by the Monetary Fund of the Escudo Zone, which amounted to \$18,114,000 in 1964 and \$6,806,000 in 1965, to which must be added \$8,300,000 of automatic credits granted by the Monetary Fund to Angola, plus \$3,300,000 from the Special Loan extended under the provisions of Article 41 of Decree No. 44,703; etc., etc., etc.!!!

The public debt of Angola constitutes another of the more characteristic aspects of Portuguese colonialism, in as much as the principal means of financing development programs comes--in 95% of the examples--from receipts of local origin, in the form of a budget balance.¹⁰²

On the other hand, the public debt constituted a line item in which were debited, along with the periodic loans granted to the Lisbon Government by the large Portuguese corporations and by

foreign capital designed to finance economic and financial plans in Portugal: the military costs of the colonialist troops; the money used to pay for Portugal's participation in military bases and airfields financed by Federal Germany and the United States, such as those recently installed in N'Gage, some thirty kilometers from Uíje, and in Henrique de Carvalho and Luanda; the co-participation of the "Portuguese State" in corporations and undertakings of foreign capital, established in Angola to exploit the riches of the country; etc., etc..

Thus the Portuguese colonial administration, through the "Public Debt", at present compromises the economy of the colony in a system of self-destruction, and places the future of the country in mortgage to the "acquired rights" of Portuguese and foreign capital.

Angola suffers the weight of a monstrous exploitation which stifles the immense possibilities of wealth from the subsoil, from agriculture, cattle raising and fishing. Sales made to Angola by Portugal represent half of that country's overseas exports,¹⁰³ a fact which places this territory in a central position with respect to the budgetary equilibrium of a Portuguese national economy in permanent *deficit*.

Notwithstanding a loss of \$7,936,000 relative to 1960, Portugal ranks as the number one exporter of goods to Angola, with sales valued at \$40,096,000. If we compare this figure to those of the countries occupying second and third place, i.e., England with \$13,800,000 and the United States with \$11,300,000, and analyse the industrial development of those countries and that of Portugal, we will have a correct measure of the nature of administrative and customs protection imposed so that an underdeveloped country such as Portugal can sell its industrial goods in the Angolan market.

Portugal, from January to November of 1962, imported \$75,730,000, \$72,430,000 and \$44,030,000, respectively, from Federal Germany, England and the United States. Angola appears in fourth place, with barely \$24,600,000.

In the meantime, during this same period, Portugal exported \$41,760,000, \$37,560,000 and \$24,030,000, respectively, to the United States, England and Federal Germany. Angola, with \$37,600,000, ranks second in the Portuguese market.¹⁰⁴

The economic exploitation of Angola became even heavier in 1963. From January to November of this year, Portugal imported \$80,433,000, \$75,866,000 and \$51,566,000 from Federal Germany, England and the United States, respectively; and bought only \$31,233,000 from Angola. And, again during this same period, she exported \$45,300,000, \$40,533,000 and \$25,200,000, respectively, to England, to the United States and to West Germany. Angola was obliged to buy \$45,233,000 from Portugal--and came to occupy, along with England, first place in Portugal's export accounts.¹⁰⁵

For the year 1964, Portugal imported (January through November) \$97,600,000 from Federal Germany, \$86,100,000 from England, \$69,830,000 from the United States and \$50,360,000 from Angola.

The positions of Angola and England with respect to Portuguese exports remained just about the same during the period from January to November 1964: England and Angola, with \$65,560,000 and \$61,200,000 respectively, followed by the United States with \$44,730,000 and Federal Germany with \$31,430,000.

The deficit in the Portuguese balance of trade reached \$171,630,000 in 1962.¹⁰⁶ If we deduct the co-participation of Angola in re-establishing the equilibrium in Portugal's chronic budget deficit, the national Portuguese *deficit* reached a figure of \$184,630,000 in 1962 and \$216,400,000 in 1963.

Portuguese economic parasitism in Angola consisted merely of \$13,000,000 in 1962, \$14,000,000 in 1963 and \$10,840,000 in 1964!

And if we take into account the "contribution" of Mozambique (second-ranking colony in the scale of Portuguese colonial parasitism), amounting to \$2,430,000 in 1962 and \$5,600,000 in 1963,¹⁰⁷ and the fact that Guiné and São Tome also "contributed" to Portugal's budgetary recovery, we will have a fairly good picture of the importance of the overseas territories in the Portuguese economy. In 1964, the external trade deficit of Portugal amounted to \$210,130,000.

This picture of ultra-colonial relations between Portugal and its "overseas possessions" has earned the most explicit and damning condemnation from almost every country, even including some of Portugal's partners in the joint exploitation of these territories.

Constrained by the irreversible evolution of African nationalism, by the explosion of the Angolan people against a system of exploitation and rapine without parallel in the history of colonialism, Portugal, however timidly, launched a new arrangement for the economic exploitation of Angola. The Portuguese colonial administration seems to forget that its financial capabilities are already too small for it to be able to cope with the consequence of economic crises in its two largest African colonies, especially when these crises are the result of structural factors.¹⁰⁸

The "economic reforms", advanced precipitously in order to solve the colonial problem, represent a clear acceptance of the inconsistency of the foundation and of the myths of the Portuguese colonial system, and a desperate attempt to preserve the Portuguese presence in Angola through new veiled forms of parasitism and pillage.

Solely by means of strong special measures regulating Portuguese imports in the colonies and through permitting new and significant investment of foreign capital, has the Salazar regime managed to avoid total disaster.¹⁰⁹

On the other hand, Angola struggles under the weight of tribute and taxes which stifle all economic and industrial activity in the country.

Duties on exports constitute another means by which the colonial administration fetters the development of the country and enriches European coffers. Agriculture and ranching and the mineral riches of the subsoil comprise the core of the countries' exports. But, while from agriculture and cattle raising the colonial administration levies, besides customs charges, additional special taxes on export products such as coffee, millet, sugar, etc., whose sums reach many millions of escudos,¹¹⁰ and taxes regulated by the agencies of economic co-ordination which amount to as much as 5% of the value of the affected products¹¹¹--the riches of the subsoil, controlled by the giant international corporations of which the Portuguese government is but a vassal, are exported duty-free, as in the case of diamonds.¹¹²

Among agricultural and animal products, millet, rice and cotton are grown almost entirely by African cultivators. The remote possibility of their gaining economic independence through the direct

export of these products is legally prohibited by the Portuguese colonial administration, which forces the indigenous people to sell the surpluses remaining after personal consumption to European merchants and settlers located in their region, or to the huge monopolistic companies--at a fixed price and in a non-competitive system.

By contrast, imports are benefited through legislation--oriented toward reducing duties on imports and increasing the costs of local products, by imposing taxes on certain consumer goods--which facilitates the dumping of Portuguese industrial products.¹¹³

Only in this manner has "the low productivity, the limited dimensions, the poor quality of products, the inferior equipment" of an industry which has proceeded for "several decades under the banner of customs privileges and bureaucratic protectionism"--as the picture of Portuguese industry has been painted¹¹⁴--been able to survive.

Still, the colonies are not permitted exchange relations with foreign countries with which they maintain an active trade. The United States, England and Federal Germany are the principal customers of Angola in its export balance and, taken together, averaged about 53.5 million dollars for the years 1958 to 1963--an amount which could have resolved all of Angola's exchange and budgetary problems. The exchange disequilibrium of Angola is structural.¹¹⁵ "Within present conditions, Angola's abundance or lack of the means of external payment is always in the realm of metropolitan escudos, considering that the province does not maintain exchange relations with foreign countries. The dollars, pounds, francs, kronas, florins, liras, pesos, etc., which Angola obtains vis-a-vis exports are not and cannot be converted into Angolan escudos. They must be converted into metropolitan escudos, which in turn are converted into the currency of the province. Payments to foreign countries are made by converting escudos from the Bank of Portugal into the currencies of the respective countries"¹¹⁶--under protectionist measures of such proportions as guarantee the stability of Portuguese currency in the world market.

The *debtor position of Angola*, calculated by the monthly balance of accounts payable opened by its agent Bank, has been elaborated by the Board of Directors of the Monetary Fund of the Escudo Zone and made public through the yearly report for 1963 of the Bank of Portugal.

Through these documents, the debtor position of Angola is figured at \$23,318,000.

Through the incorporation of its various "overseas possessions"--Guiné and Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola and Mozambique--these same documents establish that Portugal itself is a creditor to the tune of \$49,657,200!¹¹⁷

CHAPTER 9

The War — Economic Aspects

Those of us who take a position regarding life; those of us who take a stand before a reality to which we are not resigned and against which we rebel.

*...those of us who know how to comprehend a moment of social change, the necessity of this transformation.**

Fidel Castro

The war which, since 4 February 1961, has pitted the Angolan nationalists against the Portuguese colonial system, has come to constitute a new and disturbing factor that has influenced, in a general manner, the economic life of the colony.¹¹⁸

"The balance of trade of Angola presented, in the first quarter of the current year, a deficit of \$4,466,000, while for the same period in the previous year there was a favorable balance of \$15,000,000."¹¹⁹

The overseas exodus, particularly to the Republics of the Congo (Leopoldville and Brazzaville), of some 350,000 refugees, and the extermination of more than 100,000 of the Angolans who comprise the agriculturally productive population of the northern

*Speech on "The Position of Doctors in the Socialist Revolution", in *Obra Revolucionaria*, Ed. National Press of Cuba, No. 44.

region of the country--these phenomena, on the one hand, precipitated "the breakdown of economic activity in the colony",¹²⁰ and on the other hand had a reaction which was strongly felt in the external commerce of Portugal.

The agricultural sector in Angola was naturally the most deeply affected by this sharp drop in manpower. And, although the colonial administration had taken emergency measures in order to salvage the crops of greatest economic importance in international trade (coffee, sisal, etc.),¹²¹ mobilizing workers from regions not directly engaged in the armed struggle and utilizing mercenaries from the Union of South Africa and Katanga, the overall results were of little compensation.

Thanks to these "salvaging" measures, the export of specific products was even increased; for example, the export of coffee and millet rose by 35.43% and 36.73%, respectively, over the previous year. Significant, however, is the drop in other agricultural products of less importance to the export balance, such as rice (whose production was down by 15.31%), raw cotton (down by 38.23%), etc., which were sacrificed to the economic interests of the large settlers.

The theatre of war comprised the whole northern part of the country, namely, the districts of Congo and Malange, which constitute the regions of the large coffee, cotton, millet, etc., plantations.

If the forced concentration of laborers which, under threat of arms by soldiers of the slave-like colonial army, "saved" the harvests and the profits of the great feudal landlords in the north of the colony, other districts producing cotton, rice, beans, etc., namely, Cuanza-Sul, Bié and Cuando-Cubango, were left unprotected ...their products being of much less value in the sphere of exports.

One of these products, raw cotton, sunk below any figure reached in the decade 1952/1961. The greatest amount of raw cotton exported was 8,890 tons in 1960 and the lowest figure for this decade was 5,033 tons exported in 1958. In 1961, however, only 4,120 tons were exported--that is, some 50% less than the figure reached in 1960, a year in which 87% of Portugal's raw cotton imports originated in its colonies.¹²²

This picture manifested itself profoundly in the Portuguese textile industry, where from 1957 to 1959 the value of Portuguese textile exports to Angola and Mozambique was almost equal to that of raw cotton imports from these same territories.¹²³ As indicated above, the latter figure dropped off sharply in 1961.

In 1960 Portugal's sugar imports rose to 160,500 metric tons; Angola and Mozambique together furnished about 90% of this amount. In 1961 sugar imports had dropped 21.93% in relation to the previous year. And the same thing occurred with other agricultural products such as beans, which fell 19.7% from 1960 to 1961. In the districts of Zaire and Uije bean production was predicted at 34,200 tons for 1961. As it turned out, barely 17,200 tons were harvested, a drop relative to the previous year of almost 50%.¹²⁴ Cuanza-Norte, with 79,000 tons out of a total of 118,122 tons, contributed some 66.8% of the total export of this product.

In addition to the agricultural sector, the industrial sector also felt the consequences of the armed struggle of the Angolan people. Just as it had done with the agricultural sector, the colonial administration adopted emergency measures to save a situation which was considered catastrophic.

As regards the extractive industries, while the production of oil, iron ore and diamonds suffered no appreciable loss, and even registered increases (oil, 90,517 tons, an increase of 35.4% over 1960 figures; iron, 812,138 tons, an increase of 23.2%, and diamonds, 1,147,439 carats, up by 8.6%), this was due to the fact that the powerful concessionary companies extracting these products constitute veritable States within the Angolan territory. Such companies maintain recognized borders, their own police and military departments, security service, health and propaganda services, etc., which make it extremely difficult for the Africans to flee from the conditions of forced labor under which they live, to unleash a strike or armed action, or to swell the ranks of the nationalists in arms.

In the first eight months of 1963 there was a sharp increase in the production of petroleum which, in the first quarter of this year, doubled in comparison with the same period in 1962, reaching 164,000 tons.¹²⁵ On the other hand, a relative decrease was registered in the extraction of some minerals, particularly copper and iron.¹²⁶

Thanks to the new facilities granted to German investment capital in the colony, we find in operation sheet-iron and steel mills. Several other projects, the most important of which is an installation for the manufacture of iron ingots, are in the process of realization.

Conditions are very much different, however, as regards the major processing industries of the colony such as the brewing of beer, the manufacture of tobacco products, of paper, fish derivatives, refined sugar, etc., whose production dropped considerably (beer--400,999,586 liters, but 51% of the previous year's output; cigars--1,279 tons, down 40.8%; paper--729,339 kilos, down 14.1%; fish derivatives--canned fish--1,024 tons, down 32%; refined sugar--4,901 tons, down 66.6%, etc.).

This is explained by the fact that these industries have their plants in the large urban centers of the colony and draw their labor force from the African proletariat of the cities, which constitutes the second largest revolutionary force in Angola after the rural workers. It was in the urban centers, in the factories and offices of Luanda, Lobito, Malange and Nova Lisboa, that police repression has been most strongly felt. It is amongst the proletarian masses of the cities, the most conscious and generous, that Angolan nationalism has most to lament the brutal tortures and assassinations perpetrated by the PIDE against our most noble Children of the People.

The economists of fascism do not conceal this picture when they write: "Thus, agricultural production as a whole suffered some setbacks.¹²⁸ Forestry activity diminished considerably.¹²⁹ Industrial production, however, increased in the sphere of extractive industries--in the production of diamonds, iron ore and oil. In the field of transforming industries there was a rise principally in the production of sugar, beer, tobacco and textiles...There was a decline also in civil construction, as well as in related industries. The fish derivative industry continues in crisis.¹³⁰ In the animal industries sector, there was a considerable increase in beef, but a decline in the production of dairy products."¹³¹

On the other hand, the investment of private capital in Angola "has decreased in the last three years as a consequence of the economic, political and social instability resulting from the armed struggle. In 1960, 400 new firms were formed, with a total capital of \$3,018,900. Of these, there were 11 joint-stock-companies with a

capital of \$476,260; 351 corporations, with \$2,335,560; 32 nominal collectives, with \$147,300; 3 cooperatives, with \$5,400, and three others with \$54,300. In 1961, the number of companies formed dropped to 276 (a reduction of 124), with a capital of \$1,589,760--some \$1,429,130 less than in 1960. In the past year, from January to November, there have been established barely 196 firms, with a capital of \$1,267,500".

"...in these eleven months of this past year, Luanda counted 88 new companies, followed by the district of Benguela (including a majority from Lobito) with 29, Huambo with 20, Mocamedes 11, Cuanza-Sul 10, Huila 7, Cuanza-Norte and Bié 6 each and the district of Moxico with 5."

The capital invested in the 88 firms in Luanda amounted to \$656,460, and that in Benguela to \$234,860.¹³²

In the meantime the Portuguese colonialists, during 1962 and especially in 1963, besides receiving political and psychological support from their allies in NATO and international organizations where the problems of decolonization are debated, received that financial and other economic aid which permitted them to withstand the initial phase of the nationalist explosion in the colonies--and even to face the future with some optimism.

This assistance given by the Western powers, members of NATO, continued through 1964 and is expected to become even more important in 1965. Thus, in order to meet the extraordinary expenditures foreseen for 1965, the General State Budget contains: \$53,400 in loans; \$45,500 in foreign credits; \$41,100 in special repayments, etc., totalling more than \$140,000. And this without counting a loan of \$30,000,000 extended on 2 November 1965 through the General Government of the Colony to all Departments of Finance and to the Banks of Angola, e.g., *Fomento Nacional* and *Comercial de Angola*, and the Postal Economic Fund (*Caixa Económica Postal*) and Fund of Agricultural Credit (*Caixa de Crédito Agropecuário*). Nor does it take into account the new external loan of \$600,000--called the "Foreign Loan of 5 3/4%"--to be repaid by 1985. And there are many others which the public does not know about. The United States, for example, granted a loan of \$20,000,000 (Decree-Law No. 244:250), etc.¹³³

It is thus that official publications have estimated an

increase in Angolan oil production from 164,000 tons in 1963 to "1,200,000 tons per year",¹³⁴ an expansion of iron ore exports in the course of the year,¹³⁵ and even the building of industrial complexes for the processing of bananas and millet and, also, of "automobile assembly lines", etc.¹³⁶

By the end of 1964, and thanks to this aid, progress in the exploitation of certain products became evident and significant: e.g., crude oil, whose production for the first time reached more than one million tons; iron ore, whose extraction also for the first time surpassed one million tons,¹³⁷ and coffee, the production of which ought to exceed, by the end of the year, a value of two million "contos" - or \$60,000,000.¹³⁸

Certain products thus attained a growth and development never known before in Angola.

And if, "from January to May of the current year (1963), exports rose by nearly 39% in relation to the same period in 1962, while imports remained at virtually the same level"¹³⁹ - the cost of living, nonetheless, "revealed, in the first part of 1963, a sharp rise, especially in Luanda, as a result primarily of the increase in residential property rents."¹⁴⁰

The balance of financial losses suffered as a result of the war, as brought to light by the end of 1961, is frightening. The whole economic structure upon which Portuguese colonial exploitation rests was severely affected by the war in Angola. The damages inflicted by the nationalists upon agricultural, industrial and commercial targets during the first phase of the war in the northern part of the country amounted to a loss of "not less than \$13,085,000".¹⁴¹

And this refers only to the district of Uíge. The affected areas in the districts of Luanda, Cuanza-Norte and Malange are not included. These figures, "pertaining only to those areas recaptured from the nationalists by the colonial army - given that there are still some locals where it was not possible to gather data enabling us to make a complete estimate"¹⁴² - can only give us a rough idea of the financial losses suffered.

According to official figures, only recently made available

to the public,¹⁴³ the damages caused to agriculture, commerce and industry in the district of Uíge were as follows:

Agriculture -- in destroyed estates, \$1,683,000; in damaged farms, \$2,500,000; in destroyed and damaged equipment, \$1,000,000; in crops lost, 30,000 tons of commercial coffee, valued at 23¢ a kilo or \$7,000,000 -- giving a total of \$12,833,300.

Commerce -- in property destroyed, \$200,000; in property damaged, \$83,300; in recovered merchandise, \$566,600 - giving a total of \$850,000.

Industry -- in property destroyed, \$23,300; in property damaged, \$11,600; in equipment, \$16,600 - totalling \$51,600.

Deprived of primary materials, which it was unable to obtain from Angola, Portugal's trade balance was unfavorable to the tune of \$22,860,000.¹⁴⁴

And, as a reflex of colonial parasitism, consumption continued nonetheless to exceed production;¹⁴⁵ the *deficit* in Portugal's balance of trade increased by over 45% in relation to 1960. Analysis shows this fact to have resulted largely from an increase in imports, which rose by close to 20%.

Since Portugal was unable to re-establish its budgetary equilibrium with products from the colonies, particularly from Angola, and was forced to increase expenditures for political repression at home, for the war in Angola and for military preparations in Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, the magnitude of the trade balance *deficit* reacted decisively on the balance of payments, constituting the principal reason for the exceptional swelling of this deficit experienced in 1961¹⁴⁶ a *deficit* which reduced the total reserves of gold and foreign exchange.¹⁴⁷ These reserves represented a value of 443 million dollars in gold and 249 million dollars in foreign exchange, as against, respectively, 552 million and 242 million in December 1960.¹⁴⁸

"Inflation continues to grow. In the last six months the country's reserves have fallen from 251 million pounds to 212 million pounds, while the circulation of paper money during the same period rose from 175 million to 203 million pounds."¹⁴⁹

In the first half of 1963 there was an excess of out-going as opposed to in-coming exchange amounting to \$30,733,000, a figure representing a contraction of \$10,566,000 in the balance of liquid currency as contrasted to the same period in 1962.¹⁵⁰

The Bank of Portugal revealed a negative balance of \$19,600,000 at the end of August 1963. And, if in the first half of 1963 the trade *deficit* of the "metropole" in its dealings with foreigners experienced an increase of 9%, the increase in currency in circulation underwent a new and significant alteration as a consequence of the balance of payments disequilibrium and various other accidental factors of a merely psychological character.

If the trade balance of the country is traditionally negative, with the start of the war in Angola on 4 February 1961 it was aggravated to such an extent that by the end of this year the deficit had increased some 65%. This was due exclusively to a 20% increase in imports of goods and services from abroad, an increase which hardly corresponded to the rise of only 4.3% in exports.¹⁵¹

The total available liquid capital in gold and foreign currency of the Bank of Portugal shrunk by some \$16,333,000 in the first six months of 1963.¹⁵²

Ordinary expenditures increased, having reached a total of \$322,400, of which more than \$78,700 were destined solely for the "defense of the integrity of the national territory": Army - \$35,300; Navy - \$24,100; Police - \$11,300.

Extraordinary expenditure projected for 1965 reached a sum of \$200,900 - \$28,000 more than in 1964 - which was to be almost totally absorbed by the colonial wars.

The public debt showed a rise of some \$4,570,000 in 1963.¹⁵³

The situation becomes more difficult every day. This situation, which reflects the agony of Portuguese colonialism in light of the decisive victories of our brothers in Guiné - thanks to the enlightened orientation of the PAIGC - deteriorated even more with the opening of armed struggle in Mozambique on 25 September 1964,¹⁵⁴ and the climate of uncertainty which FRELIMO has created all over the country.

The Portuguese economy is affected by this progressive deterioration caused by the war, not only in Angola, but also in Guiné (Bissau) and in Mozambique, and the rising insurrection in São Tomé.

Thus, in the General State Budget for 1965, direct and indirect taxes total \$25,900,000 - which represents almost two-thirds (65.8%) of the ordinary receipts of the State.

The situation took such a serious turn that the Extraordinary Tax for the defense of Angola, created in 1963, was extended to all persons - individual or collective, national or foreign - residing in the territory and having a declared income of more than \$16,500 per year.

PART FOUR

International Aspects

CHAPTER 10

A Form of Collective Colonialism in Angola

*When we Africans denounce imperialism and its last stage, neocolonialism, we are not doing so simply because we believe that Africa belongs to Africans and must be ruled by them, but also in the interest of universal peace, which is so essential to our development and to our freedom.**

Kwame N'krumah

After the First Great World War, the imperialist powers proceeded to a new partitioning of Africa. Defeated Germany had lost its territorial claims and found itself driven out of south Angola, enabling England, the United States and France to carry out a new partition of the Angolan subsoil. The German capitalists being outside the competition and the French being preoccupied with West Africa, British imperial interests began to find Mozambique and Angola, in the 1920's, both politically and economically useful.¹⁵⁵

Foreign capital, in the classical form of monopoly concessions, has been represented in the Portuguese colonies since the 19th century.¹⁵⁶ But beginning with 1957--year of the formal condemnation of the Salazar regime's colonial policies, even by its NATO allies--we have witnessed on the part of the Portuguese Government a careful effort to enlarge the sphere of foreign invest-

*In *L'Afrique Doit S'Unir*, Paris 1964, ed. Payot, p. 234.

ments in Angola.

The underdevelopment of Portugal does not allow it to match the transforming evolution which has taken place in the bosom of the great industrial powers, an evolution which has yielded a new form of economic exploitation of the colonial territories.

In order to combat the rise of nationalism in Angola, the Portuguese colonialists have embraced international finance capital, encouraging a large participation of non-Portuguese investments in the economy of Angola--a fact that, besides attesting to the economic underdevelopment of Portugal, places this colony in the center of an economic struggle for power within the Western World.¹⁵⁷

The old colonial powers of Europe--France, Belgium, Holland and (West) Germany--within the framework of the European Economic Community (EEC), together with England and the United States in the context of the Atlantic Community, are assured in Angola the penetration of all fields of economic, financial and industrial activity in the country.

The Portuguese Government grants concessions to corporations financed by foreign exchange, guaranteed by foreign banks, and directed by foreign managers.¹⁵⁸ And thus, vast sectors of the economy, especially of the Angolan economy, are in the hands of foreign enterprises.¹⁵⁹

The fascist theoreticians in Portugal do not hide this reality, however, when they state: "Considering the economic space of Portugal as an economic unit, particularly in the case of relations between the Metropole and our Overseas Provinces, in the strictly economic sphere, it can be classified as international."¹⁶⁰

The economic interests of the great capitalist powers are shaping *the process* of vassalizing Africa, of transforming it thus into another Latin America as it exists vis-a-vis the United States--of turning it into the preferred supplier of iron ore, of energy for the aluminum of continental Europe, etc.¹⁶¹

The European Economic Community (EEC), through the European Fund for the Development of Overseas Countries (FEDOM), throws

into relief the increasing internationalization of industrial and financial capitalism.¹⁶²

The principal objective of the agencies and systems of European economic integration, "through European collaboration in the solving of overseas problems, is essentially African. For this reason, these agencies are assisting the European Community in becoming the essential vehicle of aid from Europe to Africa."¹⁶³

From the economic and financial power of the Common Market countries, whose combined "aid" total for the 1958-1962 period reached \$581,000,000, more than two-thirds of the latter figure was earmarked for the politics of collective colonization in Africa.

Portugal, which up to now has not obtained *de jure* participation in the agencies of the European Economic Community, is the "poor partner"¹⁶⁴ among the countries of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). Its economic and industrial underdevelopment underlies particular clauses in the accords signed, which are of a protectionist nature and are characterized by the special privileges they confer to Portugal.

The "overseas territories" under Portuguese domination constitute the security in arrangements of economic association between Portugal and the countries of great industrial development and strong monopolistic concentration.

Once again it is the colonial markets which Portugal represents, and the political guarantees and all types of privileges which are generously offered by the Lisbon Government to industrial/financial capital, which explains why the great European economic systems open their doors to Portugal, despite her backward industry and weak financial capability.

The Economic Development Commission of EFTA officially recognized the economic backwardness of Portugal when, at its first meeting held in Geneva in March 1964, a work group was formed to study the necessary expansion of the machine-tool industries in Portugal and the establishment of contacts with such undertakings in the more developed countries. Again, a work group was created in order to assist Portugal, particularly as regards the sending of specialists; and, "given its incapacity to participate in plans

for the financing of the Association", Portugal was itself permitted to draw upon the Association until 1980, so as to satisfy its needs for agricultural technicians and industrial specialists in order to professionally train its own technicians!

This is the price paid for the presence in Angola, and in the other "overseas territories" under Portuguese domination, of a collective colonialism made up on the one hand of international organizations and associations, and on the other of that particular form of colonial parasitism represented by the Lisbon Government.

CHAPTER 11

Neocolonialist Penetration in Angola

The penetration of foreign capital in Angola operates through Committees, Banks and Associations of the great international trusts and monopolies which dominate the Portuguese Government. The essentially pre-industrial infra-structure, as it were, seated in the regime of feudal property¹⁶⁵ which characterizes the Portuguese economy, constitutes the most effective instrument used by these organizations to obtain all sorts of privileges and benefits granted to them in Angola.

Following are the agencies which represent the Western powers and monopolies in Portugal and her African colonies.

(1) The International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), an organization which finances the industrialized countries, members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). This OECD, founded in Paris on 14 December 1960, comprises the members of the European Organization of Economic Cooperation (OECE) and two American powers. More specifically, the members of OECD are Federal Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Greece, Ireland, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, Norway, Holland, Portugal,¹⁶⁶ the United Kingdom, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey, along with the United States and Canada. The United States holds 30.63% of the subscribed capital and has 27.89% of the votes. The small countries--Portugal, Greece, Luxemburg, Iceland, etc.--whose share is insignificant, have to join forces in order to make up one vote.

The World Bank, as the IBRD is also called, is the most important intermediary in the export of private capital and financial means within the capitalist system.¹⁶⁷ It completed its twentieth year of existence on 25 June 1966. On the date of its birth,

subscribed capital was ten million dollars.¹⁶⁸ The export of private capital in 1960 reached the sum of 3.1 billion dollars.¹⁶⁹ At present (1965), subscribed capital is 21.9 billion dollars and gross annual profits amount to more than one billion dollars.¹⁷⁰

(2) The Agency for International Development (AID), an organization created on 24 September 1960, joins the member nations of the OECD with Japan, Australia, Finland and the Union of South Africa. This Agency is linked with the World Bank and is administered by the same directors and staff as the latter.

The function of AID is to finance high priority development projects in cases where the terms for the recipient country may be less costly, as regards their balance of payments, than the classical form of loans.¹⁷¹

In 1960, the AID invested a grand total of 189.9 million dollars in loans to "developing countries". These loans have to be repaid at the annual rate of 1% for the first ten years and 3% over the remaining thirty years, plus an annual service charge of 0.75%. In this manner, the countries advancing the loans through AID realize 122.5% of the capital advanced over a period of forty years!!¹⁷²

All of the countries in the OECD have joined AID with the exception, up to now, of Belgium, Greece, Luxemburg and Portugal.¹⁷³

(3) The International Finance Society (IFS), made up of the industrialized countries of the OECD plus Japan, has a special juridical statute which permits it to "acquire financial participation"¹⁷⁴ outside of the World Bank. The IFS granted in the five-year period 1956-1961 loans valued at 44.4 million dollars and bearing an interest rate of 7% per annum.

(4) The Development Assistance Committee (DAC), set up under the aegis of the OECD in 1960, is comprised of the United States, Canada, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, Great Britain, Japan and Australia. The Committee granted "aid" totalling 7.7 billion dollars in 1960, of which only 2.9 million dollars went into private capital funds.

(5) Etc., etc.

The ever increasing dependence of countries with pre-industrial

infra-structures and regimes of feudal property upon the industrialized members of the OECD is clearly manifest. The industrialized countries alone, in 1960, controlled more than 95% of all moveable capital!

Portugal is linked to most of these international organizations through the World Bank. In this way, besides the amounts obtained from leasing "their" colonial territories, the Portuguese capitalists participate in the profits garnered by these same organizations through capital loans, etc.

And at the same time as they guarantee the economic dependency of Portugal vis-a-vis its *partners* in the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (IBRD), AID, IFS, DAC, etc., they mortgage the colonies to the economic and financial interests of all of the OECD countries and Japan.

The historical instinct of Portuguese colonialism, with its economic underdevelopment, found in this new aspect of the world capitalist system new forms of parasitism and of exploitation of the peoples in its colonies.

CHAPTER 12

The Partition of the Angolan Subsoil

*...our "colonialism" is the foreigners who reap the profits and we who pay for the improvements.**

Oliveira Salazar

The trusteeship of international capitalism in Angola is a reflection of the dependency of the Lisbon Government vis-a-vis the great foreign trusts and monopolies. "Portugal, in order to carry forward its fight in Angola, obtains moral and material support from its NATO allies who, through the economic and investment interests they hold, are the real bosses of important sectors of the Angolan economy."¹⁷⁵

"...the economy of Angola is conditioned to the needs of the 'metropolises' and the international monopolies. Portuguese capital is clearly invested in agriculture. The international monopolies invest in the extractive industries, of which they are the exclusive owners."¹⁷⁶

"After 1932, the Portuguese State did not grant any credit to its overseas territories..."¹⁷⁷

By Decree-Law No. 42,558, of 21 October 1960, Fried KRUPP of Essen (West Germany) was granted, in exchange for 43.3 million dollars, the right to exploit all the mineral wealth of the Angolan

*Speech by Professor Oliveira Salazar, head of the Portuguese Government to the "representatives" from Angola, being honored in Lisbon on 12 April 1966. (In the daily *O Comércio*, April 14, 1966.)

subsoil except for diamonds, oil and bituminous and hydrocarbon products. In terms of this accord, Fried KRUPP holds a monopoly in exploration, transport and construction financing, including the installation of transport material for the railroad from the mining regions of Cuima¹⁷⁸ and the building and exploitation of the Moçâmedes harbor, etc.

In December of this same year, "Hjgaard & Schultz A/Z of Copenhagen signed a contract with the Lisbon Government to exploit, transport and export iron from Angola in association with Fried KRUPP of Essen".¹⁷⁹

By Decree-Law No. 45,651, of 9 April 1964, another contract was signed between "Fried KRUPP" of Essen, the Mining Company of Lobito (Companhia Mineira do Lobito) and the Bank of Angola for 10 million dollars of financing for the construction of railways, industrial structures, warehouses, etc., related to the Cassinga mining project.

And in July 1965, negotiations were undertaken which resulted in the collaboration of "Construction Promotion, Ltd. of London" with Fried KRUPP for equipping the Cassinga iron mines.¹⁸⁰

In terms of Decree-Law No. 38,832, of 23 May 1952, the Overseas Minister was authorized to conclude with the Fuel Company of Lobito (CARBORANG) a concession contract for two vast zones in the districts of Congo and Cuanza with the aim of prospecting for beds of solid hydrocarbonates, liquid and gaseous petroleum, rock-oil, brimstone, helium, carbon dioxide, salt substances and other similar products.

The contract was signed on 24 March 1953 and CARBORANG began its prospecting, having recourse to the experience of the Belgium Petroleum Finance Company (PETROFINA), holder of 70% of CARBORANG stock.¹⁸¹

Decree-Law No. 40,416, of 3 December 1955, ascribed 55% of the corporate capital of 30 million dollars to Portuguese shareholders and 45% to foreign corporations or individuals. To execute the contractual provisions, the Fuel Company of Lobito, on 22 October 1957, proceeded to constitute a prospecting company which it named the Petroleum Concessionary Company of Angola (COPA).

Portuguese shares in COPA are held by the Bank of Angola, the National Overseas Bank, the Banco Espirito Santo & Comercial of Lisbon, and the Burnay Bank.

Under the juridical cover of the Mining Company of Lobito, SARL, German capitalists acquired "the exclusive rights to survey and exploit for their profitability all mineral deposits, with the exception of diamonds, petroleum and those minerals which exist in those areas of the Province of Angola as are marked I, III and IV on the following map. Also, the exclusive rights of prospecting and exploiting deposits of coal and solid fuels found in that area of the Province of Angola designated region number III".

Again, under cover of the Sociedade do Lombige (the Lombige Company), "the rights of prospecting and profitable exploitation of all mineral deposits, except for diamonds, petroleum, mineral oils, bituminous products and hydrocarbon gases, found in the area of the Province of Angola marked region number V on the map" were granted to these same German capitalists.

The corporate capital of this company (Sociedade do Lombige) is found to be entirely in the hands of German, Danish and Portuguese capitalists.

The total area involved in the territorial concessions granted to the Mining Company of Lobito and the Lombige Mining Company amounts to some 277,000 square kilometers--precisely three times the surface area of Portugal.

A Decree-Law of 18 July 1922 granted to the Diamond Company of Angola (DIAMANG) exclusive prospecting and exploitation rights of diamonds over the whole of Angola.

"The diamond exploitation rights alone encompass an area of 390,000 square miles in Angola--which has a total area of 481,351 square miles--under a fifty-year guarantee beginning in 1921."¹⁸²

According to this agreement:

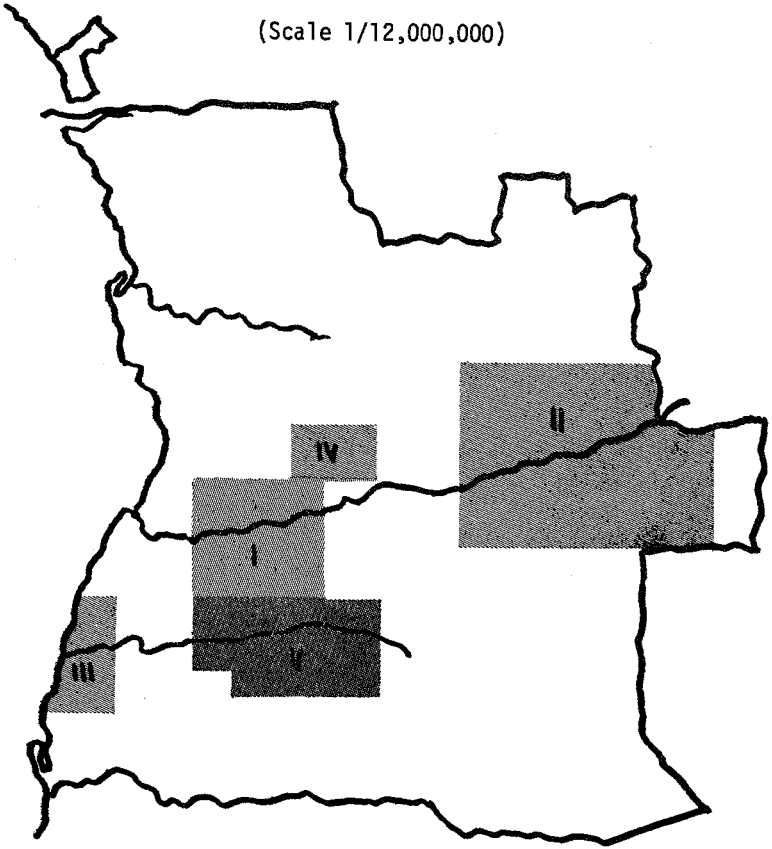
- the United States of America, through the Anglo-American Corporation of South-Africa the Anglo-American Ltd., the Oppenheimer Group, the Morgan Bank and the Ryan-Guggenheim Group;
- England, through the British South Africa Company, the

Angola

Boundaries of concession areas of

COMPANHIA MINEIRA DO LOBITO
&
COMPANHIA MINEIRA DO LOMBIGE

(Scale 1/12,000,000)



Source: *Jornal Português de Economia e Finanças*, Lisbon, 15 May 1963.

De Beers Investment Trust, The Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa and the Guaranty Trust Bank;
--Belgium, through Forminière and the Union Minière of Haut Katanga;
-- Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa, through the Anglo-American Corporation of South-Africa;
-- and Portugal,

divide among themselves the profits from diamond exploitation in Angola.

"...in spite of its name, the Portuguese hold only minor interests in the Company...nevertheless, half of the net profits go to the Colonial Government of the territory. In 1959, for example, the Government received nearly 106 million escudos from this precious source."¹⁸³

In 1961, DIAMANG announced a new record production of 1,147,589 carats.¹⁸⁴

Global production of diamonds over the five-year period 1959/1963 reached: 1,015,687.90 carats in 1959; 1,056,826.76 carats in 1960; 1,147,589.90 carats in 1961; 1,081,104.14 carats in 1962, and 1,083,571.08 carats in 1963.¹⁸⁵ The above mentioned profits garnered by DIAMANG in 1963 were in the order of \$14,954,023.¹⁸⁶

And the value of diamond exports during the first ten months of 1964 reached 19.3 million dollars in the trade balance of the colony.

In January 1963 an individual corporate entity requested a concession territory of 221,000 square kilometers designated as State Reserve in the littoral zone of Angola, from the Cunene toward the north and embracing the district of Moçâmedes, for the exploitation of diamonds.¹⁸⁷

The Portuguese Government granted to the English company, Benguela Railways, SARL, founded in 1902, a monopoly over the construction and ownership of a railroad which was to run from the region of the Rhodesias and Katanga, across 1,348 kilometers of Angolan territory and up to the Pacific Ocean at Benguela.

The project began with 838 miles of track, which was completed

in 1928, but the link-up with the section of rail from Katanga was not opened until 1931.¹⁸⁸

The Benguela Railway has as its principal shareholder the powerful Tanganyika Concessions Company, which holds 90% of the stock. The other 10% belongs to the Portuguese Government. The Tanganyika Concessions Company is linked with Rhodesian, South African and North American interests, as well as with French interests, namely the Rothschild group and the Lazard Bank.¹⁸⁹ In 1959... "the profits of the gigantic British concessionary corporation, Tanganyika Concessions, amounted to 4.4 million pounds. Of this enormous sum, not a cent went to the Africans of Angola. 2.3 million pounds went to pay for mining exploitation in Katanga; 613,000 pounds went for crown rights in various mining concessions; and no less than 1.2 million pounds went to the Benguela Railroad for transporting minerals from Central Africa to the port of Lobito on Angola's southern Atlantic coast."¹⁹⁰

The Benguela Railway Company had a capital, in 1957, of 23 million dollars.¹⁹¹ According to preliminary figures, global receipts for the first nine months of 1961 reached \$15,047,300, as against \$14,318,430 for the corresponding period in 1960. The costs of exploitation in Africa were established over the same periods at \$8,097,000 and \$7,189,160, respectively, leaving a margin of gross profits at \$6,949,500 and \$7,129,270.¹⁹²

Decree-Law No. 43,601, of 3 May 1961, authorized the Overseas Ministry to negotiate with the Benguela Railway Co. a contract for the construction and management of a trunk line for transporting iron ore from the Cuíma mines.¹⁹³

Another Decree-Law, on 10 July 1957, gave the Cabinda Gulf Oil Co. an oil and derivatives exploitation monopoly in the enclave of Cabinda--three years for prospecting and fifty years of exploitation.

The Gulf Oil Co., Mexican Gulf Oil, Chase National Bank and the National City Bank of New York constitute the major subsidiary shareholders in the Cabinda Gulf Oil Co. Corporate capital already subscribed to this company is in the order of 1.5 million dollars.

English interests are represented through the intermediary Companhia dos Combustiveis (Fuel Company), a British enterprise which has a large oil installation in Lobito.

In the same year, 1957, the Portuguese Government gave monopoly exploration and development rights regarding oil and its derivatives, up to December 1962, to the Petroleum Company of Angola (Companhia de Petroleos de Angola--PETROANGOL). With assets of 25.5 million dollars, PETROANGOL holds, through the Belgian Petroleum Financing Company (Compagnie Financière Belge de Pétroles--PETROFINA), 45% of the capital; the Belgian Société Générale, 15%. These companies are very closely connected to the Union Bank of Paris (Banque Union Parisienne).

Belgian interests in this branch of the Angolan Economy represent more than 60% of the total capital invested in oil by all the other Western powers. Since the revolution began in 1961, there has been an increase in non-Belgian oil rights and investments in Angola --by companies such as Gulf Oil, Royal Dutch, Socony Mobil, Shell Transport and Standard Oil. PETROANGOL, however, in 1965 signed another contract with the Portuguese State for new prospecting, drilling and enlarged exploitation rights over Angolan petroleum beds.¹⁹⁴

More recently, and as a reflex of the economic expansion of France--whose industrial production over the past five years has increased 29%¹⁹⁵--the Portuguese Government has granted to this country a monopoly over the prospecting and exploitation of aluminum in Angola.

French capital is represented by Pechiney, one of the world's great chemical corporations, which specializes in the exploitation of aluminum and electro-chemicals (graphite, special metals, etc.). To get an idea of this type of corporation, it is sufficient to say that:

"The capital of Pechiney is 430 million francs. The number of transactions reached 902 million in 1962; amortizations were 125 million as against 117 million, and the gross profits were 44.2 million francs."¹⁹⁶

The industrial installations of Pechiney in Angola for electrolysis and lamination are located in Dondo, and French technicians have guaranteed to provide alumina--the raw material for the production of aluminum--for a period of ten years.¹⁹⁷

In addition, the *Société Nationale des Pétroles d'Aquitaine* of

Paris has asked for exclusive rights to prospect for hydrocarbon beds in certain regions of Angola.

In 1944 the Copper Company of Angola (*Empresa do Cobre de Angola*) obtained from the Portuguese Government a concession of 60,000 square kilometers in the district of Congo for the prospecting and exploitation of all minerals excepting diamonds, oil, and hydrates of carbon solids or gases and their derivatives. This company is dominated by American, English and Belgian capital.

The copper mines in Mavoio (Angola) produced, in 1959 and 1960 respectively, 9,940 and 9,580 tons.

The major African producers of copper are the Rhodesias, through the Rhodesian Selection Trust and the Rhodesian Anglo-American, and the former Belgian Congo by the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga. In 1962 and 1963 copper exports from Katanga reached 270,000 and 295,000 tons, respectively.¹⁹⁸

In 1949 a concession of 16,700 hectares of land in the region of Malange was granted to the *Companhia Louise A. Thérèse Berman* for the exploitation of manganese and iron-manganese. American, German and Swiss interests are linked to this branch of the Angolan economy.

The United States was, up to a few years ago, the only country receiving manganese exports from Angola. These reached 70,000 tons in 1955. West Germany has recently obtained a share of the country's production, having imported some 45,000 tons in 1959.

A Japanese commercial mission, headed by M. Shozo Hotta, visited Lisbon on 12 November 1963 with the aim of negotiating "new forms of cooperation, such as capital investments, the creation of industries with mixed capital and the sending of Japanese technicians to work in Portuguese factories...and finding new modes of investment for Japanese capital in Angola and Mozambique."¹⁹⁹

A Portuguese commercial mission headed by Dr. A. Paula Coelho, Secretary of Commerce, visited Japan on 18 January 1964 with the aim of establishing the bases for an expansion of trade between the two countries and the conditions for Portuguese acquisition of new Japanese industrial equipment. This mission also studied the possibilities of exporting to Japan more coffee, sisal and iron from the Portuguese colonies.²⁰⁰

More recently, and under the patronage of the Bank of Japan, a Japanese industrial group obtained an accord from the Portuguese Government for promoting investments in several sectors of the Angola economy; the amount agreed upon was 120 million dollars, to be repaid in from five to ten years.

Finally, it must be noted that though there are no official statistics on the production of uranium, a strategic raw material, there are several African producers, namely, the former Belgian Congo (whose reserves are in the process of being exhausted), Rhodesia, Angola and the Union of South Africa.

The huge multinational corporations exploiting uranium are the Anglo-American Corporation, the Anglo-Transvaal Group, the Goldfields Group, the Central Mining Co., the Johannesburg Group and the General Mining Co. Together, these corporations control the exploitation of the principal uranium deposits in the Union of South Africa and the Rhodesias and are beginning the prospecting and exploitation of this mineral in Angola.

Conclusions

*"MUNGU MBA WUNGURINA 'NGOLA
UONDO BILUKA."**

The position of the colonialist countries before the irreversible march of History is significant.

The great colonial powers used their colonies as an export market for their industrial products. The colonies were for these powers a factor in the development of their industries. The more industry became perfected, the more the "indigenous" peoples of the colonies were obliged to evolve in order to purchase the products sold by the metropolis. In expanding their external markets, these powers were also increasing their production.

The underdeveloped colonial countries of Europe utilized the colonies as a field for plunder, an essential factor in maintaining the equilibrium of national finance. The richer these colonies were, the poorer their peoples were to become. The basis of the colonial economic and social system created, linking the metropolises and the colonies, was parasitism. These colonial powers had to exploit and oppress the peoples of these territories in order to gain vast wealth and profit.

The great colonialist powers expanded along with the political and social development of Human Thought. They were in the vanguard of those great social epochs which impelled the Abolition of Slavery, the National Independence of the American Colonies and, today, the irreversible march toward the liquidation of colonialism. By contrast, the underdeveloped colonialist countries always opposed everything which might put an end to the parasitism of the slave-

*"Tomorrow, or sometime after tomorrow, there will be change in Angola." (A popular expression among the Angolan people.)

based colonial system which they had implanted in their colonies. The abolition of slavery, the independence of the American colonies and the end of colonialism implied transformations in the social, political and economic life of their own countries which their very underdevelopment prevented them from dealing with quickly without at the same time gravely endangering both their national and foreign monopolies.

Today as yesterday, the great ideas of social progress are born in the industrial centers. Today as yesterday, the defenders of the oppressive and exploitative colonial systems are the underdeveloped colonialist countries.

Portugal was one of the last slaving countries to sign the International Convention for the Abolition of Slavery and only did so in the face of an ultimatum from the international organizations of that period.

Portugal fought desperately to retain its hold over Brazil as the wind of liberty swept over the American continent in the 19th century. And while the first republics appeared ready to break the colonial yoke in 1810, it was only in 1889 that Brazil in fact became free.

Portugal is today, still a country which is groping to find a way to stop the irreversible course of historic change, refusing to acknowledge the right of self-determination and independence of the peoples which it exploits and oppresses. Making use of all stratagem and every kind of deceit, Portugal struggles to perpetuate the parasitic condition to which it has grown accustomed and upon which depends its entire economy and social structure.²⁰¹

While there is not the slightest doubt in our minds regarding the inevitable result of the conflict which pits us against the Portuguese Government and its allies--a result which can be nothing other than INDEPENDENCE--this is not the case as regards the *content* which will characterize that Independence.

It was precisely our concern with the essence of that content which, in a clearly cause-and-effect manner, drove us to study (despite the limitations and inadequacies which we possess) the

fundamental elements which appear as the possible basis for a new form of colonial dependency: the economic formation and relationships of Angola.

Political Independence is but a reflex of Economic Independence, and the latter is the result of conquests by the laboring masses of peasants and workers, students and intellectuals, in their struggle against the privileges and profits of the corporations and their beneficiaries which represent and defend in Angola the economic and social interests of Western monopolies and trusts.

The impasse in the external dispute regarding the Angola problem arises, in large part, from organizational deficiencies within the country, among workers in the industrial complexes of the great urban centers--who are more generous and more advanced in their revolutionary consciousness.

The Nationalist Movements, and the democratic and progressive forces, regard as a fundamental task of the present moment the redoubling of efforts to more efficiently organize the laborers on the large coffee plantations in the north of the country, in the agricultural regions of C.A.D.A. in Pôrto Amboim, on the sugar estates and plantations in Cassaque, on the cotton concessions of COTONANG in Malange and Catete, etc. And to gain the active solidarity of the brewery workers in Luanda and Nova Lisboa, the cement workers in Lobito, the paper and cellulose factory workers in Alto Catumbela, the rubber industry workers in Luanda, etc.; to organize the railway workers in Luanda and Benguela, the employees and apprentices in the automobile assembly plants and offices, in the sheet-metal and saw mills, the fisheries, etc. And, finally, to extend support to the abandoned workers in the huge mining concessions.

Through the concerted mobilizations of workers in these sectors of the economy, the vital interests of the companies and agencies which directly exploit the riches of the colony will be sorely affected, and this will produce negative ramifications for the international monopolies and trusts which these companies and agencies represent in Angola.

The hour will then have arrived when Unilever, the United States Steel Company, the Société Générale de Belgique, the Anglo-American

Corporation of South Africa and Pechiney--which stand at the top of the pyramid of great Western multinational corporations and control *all of the wealth of Angola*--will be forced to negotiate, through the juridical facade of the Lisbon Government, the first phase of decolonization: Political Independence.

We will then be able, with our base in the trade unions and other embryonic organizations born during the liberation struggle, to create the conditions for establishing a Government which will represent and guarantee the democratic and popular conquests achieved during the armed insurrection against the yoke of Portuguese colonialism and its allies.

Rabá, February 1964

Final Note

If we have taken it upon ourselves, during the free time in our professional activities, to study the panorama of the partitioning of the Angolan subsoil by the great neocolonial powers, it was our modest intention to throw into relief the nature of those relations which link the giant Western trusts and monopolies to the Portuguese Government--and oppose their interests to the vital interests of the Angolan People in their struggle for National Independence and the right to share in the profits and privileges stemming from the riches of their country's subsoil.

We consider it urgent that other Angolans, more qualified and with better data, dedicate themselves to the study of these relations so as to achieve for us a more profound understanding of the economic, financial, social and political implications which result from them.

It remains here to present my acknowledgement to all of my friends and comrades in struggle whose advice, assistance and collaboration were of invaluable help to me in the publication of this book.

To all of them I extend my most sincere gratitude.

Américo Boavida

Appendix I

LIBERATION SUPPORT MOVEMENT INTERVIEW

WITH

*DR. AMÉRICO BOAVIDA**

LSM:

What brings you to Dar es Salaam at this time, Dr. Boavida?

Dr. Boavida:

I've come here for two reasons. First, to discuss future medical requirements in the Eastern Region following the Central Committee's decision to shift its HQ to Angola. And second, to recuperate and recover some of the weight I lost during my two years inside the country.

LSM:

What, at present, are your major medical problems and needs within the Eastern Region?

Dr. Boavida:

When I was in the liberated and semi-liberated areas of Angola, in addition to practicing medicine, I carried out a study of the medical needs in each zone which people and military must cope with. Many diseases, you know, are specific to particular regions. In Moxico and Cuando Cubango Districts the major endemic diseases are malaria, sleeping sickness, leprosy, tuberculosis and African syphilis. There are many others, but these are the ones primarily responsible for the terrible death rate in this area. Life expectancy there is 20 to 30 years and infant mortality is extremely high. This helps to explain the very sparse population in the Eastern Region, which is only about 0.4 persons per square kilometer. Our major needs, therefore are very basic: vaccines and serums to inoculate the people against endemic diseases and locally trained medical cadres to administer our programs of

*Dr. Boavida was interviewed in the Dar es Salaam office of MPLA in May 1968 by Don Barnett, current Director of the LSM Information Center, and J. Roy. The interview, conducted in French, was later translated into English and published as part of an LSM pamphlet.

inoculation. We've begun to bring malaria under control, but we lack the medical supplies to deal properly with the other sicknesses. Cadres are the other problem. We must train medical cadres to deal with the specific diseases in each area. At present we can't train them to handle all the diseases but we can give each student a knowledge of the diseases in the particular area where he will work. This is what we started to do in 1967. Intensive medical and nurses-aid courses were given, lasting from three to six months, after which the students were assigned to a particular zone, preferably in their home area.

LSM:

Perhaps you could give us a little more detail on the structure of your medical program.

Dr. Boavida:

Our liberated and semi-liberated regions are divided into zones, each having its Center for Revolutionary Instruction and medical center. In addition, there are smaller medical dispensaries in each zone to serve both the freedom fighters and the local population. In every area where military or political action is taking place we have a dispensary. But we are still very short of medical cadres and supplies. The areas under our control, you see, are very large and are continuing to grow, along with the population. Transportation and the storage of medicines also create difficulties. Supplies have to be carried a long distance by our people and we have no storage or refrigeration facilities. You know the people still live in very primitive conditions, so even elementary hygiene is a big problem. Again, there are many different and widespread diseases--eye diseases, skin diseases, etc. I've had 15 years of experience and have practiced in several African countries, but I've run across cases in Angola which I wouldn't have thought possible before. The Portuguese provided absolutely nothing for these people in the way of medical services.

LSM:

Where at present do you get your medical supplies?

Dr. Boavida:

We take some from the Portuguese but most comes from outside. I can't tell you exactly from where, but a good deal of it comes through the OAU. When I was inside I would prepare my reports for the Central Committee and it was then their responsibility to try

to get the supplies which I requested.

LSM:

What happens, from a medical standpoint, when a guerrilla is wounded or falls ill deep inside enemy-held territory?

Dr. Boavida:

We have several zones which the Portuguese dare not enter; these are truly liberated areas. We also send medical-aids out with the guerrilla detachments to serve on the "front lines". They can administer first aid and handle simple cases. If someone is seriously wounded or ill he will be taken by stretcher back to a medical center for treatment.

LSM:

Do you have any problems of morale with those who are wounded?

Dr. Boavida:

You can't imagine what happens to a person who has been forced to live an almost animal existence when he sees his oppressor before him. He may be frightened but when he is wounded he experiences a sense of liberation, of having given something of himself for the revolution, for the people. No, I have not found morale to be a problem among the wounded. In fact, their major preoccupation is to know if they will be able to fight again, to continue the struggle. Occasionally there will be someone whose wounds I can't treat--because we don't have the necessary facilities to perform major surgery. And when I tell him that he must go outside for treatment he will usually plead with me to let him stay. "You can help me Doctor", he'll say, "it's not that serious", ...any reason which will allow him to remain with his comrades. During the recuperation period in the interior the patients' time is fully utilized. There are political education courses, guard duty, mail to be given out--there are many small tasks they can perform, always some useful job they can do according to the degree of their invalidity. One of my tasks is to determine what each patient can do to occupy himself usefully, to see to it that the patient never has a chance to believe that he is of no use.

LSM:

Have you had any military training yourself?

Dr. Boavida:

I haven't actually been trained to fight like our guerrillas. But I have had some training inside, enough to cope with emergency situations.

LSM:

MPLA intends to move its HQ into Angola. How will this affect your medical department?

Dr. Boavida:

I learned this over our radio broadcast while inside the country. Of course, this will mean added responsibilities for us. We shall have to speed up our plans for building a hospital inside, capable of handling the more difficult cases, major surgery, etc.

LSM:

Do you now have people studying medicine abroad?

Dr. Boavida:

Yes, we have many cadres studying outside Angola. This year a couple of medical doctors are due to return. We are waiting patiently.

LSM:

How could politically progressive medical personnel, from Europe or North America, for example, help you inside the country?

Dr. Boavida:

This is a difficult matter. Under present conditions anyone who was not Angolan, who lacked the Angolan's intense hatred of the Portuguese regime, would find it next to impossible to accept the conditions under which we are now forced to live in Angola. The climate itself is a big problem. The Eastern Region is on the high plateau. In the dry season, from July to October, it gets very cold, dropping sometimes to -2 degrees C. During the rainy season the flatlands become flooded and we sometimes have to march considerable distances with water up to our necks. Some of our comrades have been stricken with asthma. Again, it would be difficult for a European to live on a steady diet of cassava and unpurified water. He might not be able to stand the lack of proteins and vitamins, and he has no natural defenses against the local

diseases. In some cases even preventives are of no use. For example, we have three types of malaria in this region. Anti-malaria drugs may protect you against one type but not the others. The Angolan who was born in a particular area and has managed to live for more than a few years, has naturally acquired the vaccines which protect him against certain local diseases. But I'm afraid a European travelling around the Eastern Region as much as some of our people have to, might not survive the first five or six months. To manage at all he would have to take every medical precaution, bring in some of his own food and remain in the particular area whose diseases he has been inoculated against. It could be done, but it would not be easy. At present, given our primary needs, it is more urgent to train local medical cadres to treat the basic diseases and handle simple cases.

Appendix II

A TRIBUTE TO DR. AMÉRICO BOAVIDA*

The Executive Committee of the MPLA, expressing the feelings of all its militants, pays a high tribute, full of emotion, to Dr. Américo Boavida, who died in combat in Angola as a result of a bombing raid in one of the combat areas where he worked as director of the Medical Assistance Services.

Américo Boavida came from Luanda, where he was born on 20 November, 1923. Overcoming all the difficulties imposed by the racially oppressive colonialist regime, he successfully completed his primary and secondary schooling and was one of the first Angolan graduates of the Liceau de Luanda, where Agostinho Neto was also a student. He represented the local athletics club as an athlete and made an effective contribution to the sporting successes carried off by that group.

In 1952, he obtained a degree in medicine from the University Medical Faculty in Porto and Lisbon, followed by degrees in tropical medicine and hygiene. In both 1954 and 1958 he worked in the clinical hospital of the Medical Faculty of the University of Barcelona, and in 1965 he specialised in gynecology and obstetrics at the Institute for Post Graduate Medical Studies in Prague.

He practiced his profession in Angola, in the town of Luanda, where he lived from 1955 to 1960, becoming known for his qualities, both professional and nationalist. He earned enormous prestige and the esteem of his compatriots.

His nationalist feeling led him to give up his professional activities and to devote himself entirely to the struggle for the national independence and freedom of his people.

In August 1960, he joined the MPLA, where he worked as a member of the Department of Foreign Relations, as President of the Angolan Volunteer Corps for Assistance to the Refugees (CVAAR) in Kinshasa and as a member of the National Committee. He was one of the first Angolan doctors to respond to our movement's call to go and fight inside our country.

Throughout his life as a doctor and fighter he had the affection

*This tribute by the MPLA Executive Committee was first published in *Angola in Arms*, in January 1969.

and friendly counsel of his wife, a teacher of Portuguese nationality. The just nature of our struggle made her support and accompany him with courage in all his activities. His widow has made an active contribution to the development of our struggle and devoted herself with all possible enthusiasm and effort to the liberation of both the Angolan people and the oppressed Portuguese people.

Deeply concerned about the evolution of the social and political problems of the Third World, Dr. Boavida made a profound analysis of the Portuguese colonial system, strongly condemning it in various articles published in the international press and in his outstanding book, *Angola: Cinco Séculos de Exploração Portuguesa*, published in Brazil by Editora Civilização Brasileira S.A., Rio de Janeiro.

The Executive Committee of the MPLA considers that Dr. Américo Boavida gave services of inestimable value on the Eastern Front, making himself specially noted for the setting up of a number of dispensaries there, for the way in which he insured the medical care of the local population and also for the scientific analysis he made towards a solution of the health problems in Angola.

A well-known figure internationally, Dr. Américo Boavida stands immortal at the side of all the heroes who have died for the Liberation of Angola from Portuguese colonial domination. His example will not have been in vain. Paying with his life for his feelings as a nationalist and revolutionary, Dr. Américo Boavida will remain a symbol to all Angolan patriots who are wholly dedicated to the task of transforming Angola into an independent, democratic and free country.

Appendix III

WE SHALL NOT MOURN THE DEAD*

On the earth that covers you
Comrade
We shall not drop tears
or flowers
The liberation of the Motherland requires blood
On the earth that covers you
Comrade
We shall let the children play
with their wooden rifles
with their wooden rifles
The liberation of the Motherland requires blood
The blood of her best sons
We shall let the children play.

We shall let feet hardened
by rough walking
without end
pass over the earth that covers you
Comrade
and follow the path
of the fields
where cassava swells

We shall let feet hardened
by rough walking
without end
pass over the earth that covers you
Comrade
The liberation of the Motherland requires blood
The blood of her best sons
We shall let the grass grow
high
to the height of the savanna.

We shall let the rains fall.

We shall let the rains fall
and may the earth that covers
you
Comrade

*This poem, dedicated to Dr. Boavida, was written by an MPLA comrade and published originally in *Angola in Arms*, January 1969.

give out that smell good
and warm,
that free smell
which is the smell of damp earth
which is the smell of fertile
earth.

The liberation of the Motherland requires blood
The blood of her best sons
On the earth that covers you

Comrade
We shall let the Children play.

We shall let feet hardened
by rough walking
without end
pass over the earth that covers you
Comrade.

We shall let the wind blow.

We shall let the grass grow
high
to the height of the savanna.

We shall let the rains fall.

On the earth that covers you
Comrade
We shall not drop tears
or flowers.

On the earth that covers you
Comrade
We shall follow the example
of your heroism,
of your valour,
in order to advance
as much as possible
as quickly as possible

and,
thus,

make your heroism
useful to our people
On the earth that covers you
Comrade

I shall not speak
of those who necessarily fall

in the struggle
I shall not speak

Comrade!

But on the earth that covers you

Comrade

great,
with the immense greatness
of the liberation of Angola

every hour
every instant
I shall utter the cry
the cry

which was your last cry
and which resounded
in the hearts
of the comrades
who were attacking
beside you
the last enemy barracks
you destroyed,
the cry

which was your last cry
and which resounded
in the terror
of those
who thought
they had killed you,
the cry

which was your last cry
and which resounded
in the immensity of the earth
and raised thousands
of other cries
like yours.

Every hour
every instant
I shall utter the cry
the cry
which was your last cry

MPLA ADVAAAAAANCE...

Notes

1. Decree-Law no. 44,309, line 2, p. 579 (*Diário do Governo*, supplement ser. I, no. 95, 27 April 1962).
2. "The State can force the natives to work in public services for the general interests of the collectivity."
3. Decree-Law no. 44,309, *op. cit.*, line 3, p. 580.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 580.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 581.
6. U.N. Information Bureau, Foreign Relations Division, *Africa Guide*, annex A-166, 62/08/897, April 1962.
7. *Report of the Special U.N. Committee on the Territories Administered by Portugal*, A/5/160, 25 August 1962, p. 170, para. 436.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 107, para. 336.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 105, para. 331.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 110, para. 334.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 580.
12. *O Comércio*, Luanda, 2 January 1963.
13. *Diário de Luanda*, 2 February 1963.
14. The motion was signed by Deputies Soares da Fonseca, Veiga de Macedo, Jesus dos Santos, Carlos Alves and Alexandre Lobato (*O Primeiro de Janeiro*, Pôrto, 11 January 1964).
15. George Balandier, *La vie quotidienne au Royaume du Congo du XVI au XVIII siècles*, ed. Hachette, Paris, 1965.
16. *Diário de Angola*, 25 May 1966.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Império Ultramarino Português - Angola*, p. 14.
19. Ralph Delgado, *História de Angola*, ed. Municipal Chamber of Benguela, 1948, p. 48.
20. Basil Davidson, *L'Afrique avant les blancs*, ed. Presses Universitaires de France, p. 123.
21. Francesco Castelbranco, *História de Angola (1482-1910)*, ed. A. Lusitana, Luanda, p. 125.

22. Clóvis de Moura, *Rebeliões dasenzala*, Edições Zumbi Ltd., São Paulo (Brazil) 1959.
23. Cunha Leal, *Ilusões Macabras*, ed. author, Lisbon, January 1964.
24. Mario de Andrade, *Liberté pour l'Angola*, ed. Maspero, Paris 1963.
25. K. Christitich, "Ces portugais qui arrivent clandestinement en France," *Le Monde*, 25 May 1963.
26. Underlined in the original text.
27. "Un accord d'Immigration a été signé entre la France et le Portugal," *Le Monde*, 2 January 1964.
28. *Le Monde*, 17-18 November 1963.
29. *Diário de Lisboa*, 17 October 1963.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Nuno Simões, "Emigração portuguesa para o Brasil em 1962," *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, Pôrto, 28 March 1964.
32. Duarte Lopes and Filipe Pigafetta, *Relação de Reino do Congo e das terras circunvizinhas*, trans. Rosa Campeans, ed. Agência Geral do Ultramar, Lisbon, 1951, p. 30.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
34. *Ibid.*
35. José Ribeiro da Cruz, *Geografia de Angola*, ed. Sociedade Industrial Tipográfica, Lisbon 1940, p. 155.
36. *Revue Partisans*, no. 7, November/December 1962, Paris, p. 70.
37. James Duffy, "La presence portugaise en Angola", in *Presence Africaine*, 2nd quarter, 1962, no. 41, Paris, p. 72.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Depósitos dos Degredados de Angola (D.D.A.), Exiles Prison of Angola, was the name given to the prisons and fortresses of São Miguel and of Barra, where the exiles and political prisoners from Luanda were sent.
40. Duffy, *loc. cit.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Revue Partisans*, *loc. cit.*
43. *Fichas de Informação do MPLA*, no. 1, April 1963.

44. Artur Ramos, *Culturas Negras no Novo Mundo*, 2nd Brazilian ed., vol. 249, ser. 5a, Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, p. 61ff.
45. Basil Davidson, "Angola 1961", in *Presence Africaine*, 3rd quarter, 1961, Paris, p. 122.
46. Duffy, *loc. cit.*
47. Henrique Galvão and Carlos Selvagem, *História de Angola*, 3 vols., Lisbon 1952, p. 13.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
49. René Dumont, *L'Afrique Noire est mal partie*, Paris 1962, ed. du Seuil.
50. *Ibid.*
51. Duffy, *op. cit.*
52. Basil Davidson, *Angola: Views of a Revolt*, London, Institute of Race Relations, Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 63.
53. Jean Ziegler, *La Contre-Revolution in Afrique*, October 1963, ed. Payot, Paris, p. 174.
54. Gay Hunter, *The New Societies of Tropical Africa: a selective study*, London 1962, ed. Institute of Race Relations, p. 201.
55. Basil Davidson, *Angola: the oldest alliance faces a crisis*, London 1962, ed. Institute of Race Relations, p. 201.
56. B.I.T. Bulletin, vol. II, no. 2, *Ibid.*, p. 174.
57. Davidson, *Angola: the oldest...*, *op. cit.*
58. Ziegler, *op. cit.*
59. See - *A guerra em Angola*, by Mário Padua, a Portuguese medical official.
60. *Courier d'Afrique*, Leopoldville, 23 March 1963.
61. Perry Anderson, *Le Portugal et la Fin de l'Ultracolonialisme*, Paris 1963, ed. Maspero, p. 83.
62. Beginning in 1960, the Department of General Statistics, in its official publications, in the demographic chapter of their Annual Statistics on Angola, started to refer to the total population relative to sex and no longer made reference to "somatic type - white, black and others" (sic!). This fact prevents us from making in the present study a graph of the demographic evolution of mestizos in Angola after 1960. (Author's note.)

63. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
64. *Relatório e Contas do Banco de Angola*, 1961, p. 13.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
66. *Ibid.*
67. Anderson, p. 54.
68. *Revue Cahiers Internationaux*, Paris, July/August 1961, no. 119, p. 71.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Anuário Estatístico de 1961*, vol. I, *Metrópole*, ed. National Institute of Statistics, Lisbon.
71. Census of 1960.
72. "A Lei dos Meios para 1964", in *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, Pôrto, 25 November 1963.
73. *Jornal Português de Economia e Finanças*, year XI, no. 126, Lisbon, 15 January 1964.
74. Antônio Branco, *Geografia de Portugal*, Edição, oficial, Pôrto, p. 79.
75. *Anuário Estatístico de 1961*, *op. cit.*
76. Peter Fryer and Patrícia McGowan, *El Portugal de Salazar*, ed. Ruedo Ibérico, Mundo Contemporâneo, p. 105.
77. *Anuário Estatístico de 1961*, *op. cit.*
78. Negro Ponti, "Delivanis, Le développement économique et la repartition du revenu national", in *Revue Tiers Monde*, Paris, October 1962, ed. Presses Universitaires de France, vol. III, no. 12, pp. 565ff.
79. "A Lei dos Meios para 1964", *op. cit.*
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*
82. Recently formed were the Angola Exploration Company, Ltd., the Sociedade de Diamantes e Pedras Preciosas de Angola and the Sociedade Mineira do Cunene, in *Jornal Português de Economia e Finanças*, no. 128, 15 March 1964, p. 103.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

84. *Ibid.*
85. "A Lei dos Meios para 1964, Ultramar - Evolução Geral da Conjuntural, Angola", in *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, Pôrto, 25 November 1963.
86. In Luanda a factory was constructed for the selection by means of an electronically based system which operated at the rate of 7,000 beans per second. In *Jornal Português de Economia e Finanças*, no. 127, 1964.
87. These factories started production in Nova Lisboa in May 1959. (Report of the *Banco de Angola*, 1960.)
88. A company named the South Africa Angola Investment Company Ltd. has just been formed with the aim of exploiting the fishing industry in the Angolan seas and exporting lobsters, shrimp and crab by air to Johannesburg. In *Jornal Português de Economia e Finanças*, no. 126, 15 January 1964, p. 80.
89. Th. Munzer, "De l'émancipation Nationale à la Révolution Socialiste en Afrique Noire", in *Cahiers du Centre d'Etudes Socialistes*, no. 2 Paris 1961.
90. *Ibid.*
91. See: "Cattle production", in *Relatório e Contas do Banco de Angola*, 1960, p. 121.
92. *O Comércio*, Luanda, 10 January 1963.
93. *Relatório e Contas do Banco de Angola*, 1961, p. 30.
94. Anderson, *op. cit.*
95. *Ibid.*
96. *Relatório e Contas do Banco de Angola*, 1961, p. 31.
97. *Ibid.*
98. *Ibid.*
99. José de Figueiredo, *Economia de Angola*, Luanda 1962, ed. author, p. 44.
100. *Relatório e Contas do Banco de Angola*, 1961, p. 491.
101. *Relatório e Contas da Companhia dos Diamantes*, 1964.
102. *Bulletin Economique pour l'Afrique*, United Nations, Addis Ababa, June 1962, vol. II, no. 2, p. 48, table 4.
103. *Relatório e Contas do Banco de Angola*, 1961, p. 38.

104. *Jornal Português de Economia e Finanças*, year X, no. 114, Lisbon, 15 January 1963, p. 4.
105. *Ibid.*, year XI, no. 126, 15 January 1964, p. 4.
106. *Ibid.*, year X, p. 4.
107. *Ibid.*, year XI.
108. *Ibid.*, year X.
109. Basil Davidson, *Angola: Views of a Revolt*, ed. Oxford University Press, London, p. 11.
110. José de Figueiredo, *Economia de Angola*, Luanda, 1962, ed. author, p. 44.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
114. Statement by Deputy Alfredo de Brito in the Portuguese National Assembly on 12 December 1963. (In *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 11 December 1963.)
115. Figueiredo, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
116. *Ibid.*
117. *Jornal Português de Economia e Finanças*, *op. cit.*, no. 128, 15 March 1964, p. 31.
118. *Bulletin Economique pour l'Afrique*, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
119. *Jornal ABC - Diário de Angola*, 15 December 1962. (Statement in the Portuguese National Assembly by the "Deputy for Angola" Lieutenant Colonel Jacinto Medina.)
120. *Relatório e Contas do Banco de Angola*, Lisbon, 1961.
121. "In September 1962 sisal, after a long period of stability, began to show an upward tendency which it still maintains. The A.O.I. no. 1 went from £104 on 2 October to £110 on 2 November and £127 on 4 January. A rise of 20% in little more than three months, and of 45% compared to the lowest figures over the past two years." (In *Jornal Português de Economia e Finanças*, 26 January 1963.)
122. *Revue Partisans*, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
123. *Report of the Special U.N. Committee on the Territories Administered by Portugal*, *op. cit.*, 1962, p. 72.

124. *Relatório e Contas do Banco de Angola, op. cit.*, p. 98.
125. "A Lei dos Meios para 1964", *op. cit.*
126. *Ibid.*
127. *Ibid.*
128. *Relatório e Contas do Banco de Angola, op. cit.*, p. 19.
129. *Ibid.*
130. *Ibid.*
131. *Ibid.*
132. *O Lobito*, Angola, 22 May 1963.
133. "A Dívida Pública do Estado," in *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, Pôrto, 30 December 1963, p. 11.
134. "A Lei dos Meios para 1964", *op. cit.*
135. For the mining project of Cassinga, financed by Fried KRUPP of Essen, an investment of more than \$50,000,000 was foreseen for the years 1965-1966, aimed at producing an increased amount of iron in this region. An export of some 1.4 million tons was predicted.
136. "A Lei dos Meios para 1964", *op. cit.*
137. During the period from January to September of 1964, Angola exported one million tons of iron ore. An additional 400,000 tons is expected to be exported by the end of the year. (In *Jornal Português de Economia e Finanças*, no. 135, 15 October 1964.)
138. *Ibid.*
139. "A Lei dos Meios para 1964", *op. cit.*
140. *Ibid.*
141. *O Lobito*, Angola, 29 May 1963.
142. *Ibid.*
143. *Ibid.*
144. *Relatório e Contas do Banco de Angola, op. cit.*, p. 26.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
146. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
147. *Ibid.*

148. *Ibid.*
149. Davidson, *Angola: Views of a Revolt*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
150. "A Lei dos Meios para 1964", *op. cit.*
151. *Ibid.*
152. *Ibid.*
153. "Orçamento Geral do Estado", in *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, Pôrto, 30 December 1964.
154. *Revolution Africaine*, Algiers, no. 90, 17 October 1964.
 "...military expenditures for the defense of the overseas territories rose to 160 million dollars", declared the Portuguese Minister of Finance in Lisbon on 14 July 1966. (In *Le Monde*, 16 July 1966.)
155. Davidson, *Angola: the oldest...*, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
156. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
157. Andrade, *op. cit.*
158. Anderson, *loc. cit.*
159. Dumont, *op. cit.*
160. "Reflexões sôbre o desenvolvimento econômico de Angola" by Prof. José Pizarra Beleza, 12th lecture in the Extension Course on Angolan Culture, Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Política Ultramarina, 19 November 1963.
161. Dumont, *op. cit.*
162. Munzer, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
163. "A Doutrina da Euráfrica", in *Euráfrica* - review by Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Euro-African Common Market, January 1964, p. 10.
164. In statement by a Deputy of the Portuguese National Assembly in the session 10 December 1963 on - "...our policy of integration in the sphere of European Economics". (In *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, Pôrto, 11 December 1964.)
165. Anderson, *loc. cit.*
166. Portugal became a member of IBRD in 1961.
167. *Les Moyens Financiers mis à la disposition des pays en voie du développement économique en 1960*, ed. by the Organization of Economic Cooperation, Paris 1962.

168. Micheline Paunet, "La Banque Mondiale". in *Le Monde Diplomatique*, June 1966.
169. *Les Moyens...*, *op. cit.*
170. Paunet, *op. cit.*
171. *Les Moyens...*, *op. cit.*
172. *L'abolition de l'exploitation Imperialiste*, ed. Ministry of Economics, Havana, Cuba, September 1960, p. 20.
173. *Ibid.*
174. *Ibid.*
175. *First National Conference of the MPLA*, Leopoldville, December 1962, p. 10.
176. *Ibid.*
177. Zeigler, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
178. On 9 November 1965 there was opened in Kaala "the first section of rail line which will link the general line of the Benguela Railways Co. to the mines of Cuíma". (In *O Comércio*, 10 August 1962.)
179. *O Comércio*, 17 December 1960.
180. On 9 November 1965 Alfried Krupp, President of "Fried KRUPP - Essen", arrived in Luanda accompanied by Conde Ahlefeldt and the general director of KRUPP in Angola for a two-week visit to the Cassinga Mining Complex. (In *Actualidade Económica*, year I, no. 10, Luanda, November 1965.)
181. Basil Davidson, *A reprint from Angola*.
182. Davidson, *Angola: Views...*, *op. cit.*
183. Davidson, *A reprint...*, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
184. *Diário de Luanda*, 23 December 1962.
185. *Report for 1963*, from the Companhia dos Diamantes de Angola.
186. *Ibid.*
187. *Diário de Luanda*, 16 November 1962.
188. Davidson, *A reprint...*, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
189. *Diário de Luanda*, 9 February 1962.
190. Basil Davidson, *Tomorrow's Africa?*, London, July 1962.

191. *Angola - Exploitation Esclavagiste - Resistance Nationale*, ed. MPLA, June 1961.
 192. *Le Monde Economique et Financier*, 15-16 December 1963.
 193. *Boletim Oficial de Angola*, no. 18, ser. I, 3 May 1962.
 194. *Economia e Finanças*, no. 151, February 1966.
 195. *Le Monde Economique et Financier*, "Des records de la C.E.E.", 5-6 January 1964.
 196. *Ibid.* 15-16 December 1963.
 197. *Fichas de Informação do MPLA*, April 1963, no. 1.
 198. *Le Monde Economique et Financier*, 19-20 January 1964.
 199. *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, Pôrto, 14 November 1963.
 200. *Ibid.*, 21 January 1964.
 201. Excerpt from an article by the author in *Vitória ou Morte*, Information Bulletin of MPLA, no. 18, 27 April 1963.
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BOX 338. RICHMOND. B.C., CANADA

LIBERATION SUPPORT MOVEMENT