

RACISM AND REVOLUTION: A CASE STUDY  
OF ANGOLA

by

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## ABSTRACT

Many Portuguese officials and some apologists have claimed that the Portuguese in their "overseas territories" (in effect colonies) have created harmonious multi-racial societies which do not practise racism. In 1961 two Angolan liberation movements, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and the Governo da Revolucionário de Angola no Exílio Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (GRAE/FNLA), began an armed struggle aimed at freeing Angolans from Portuguese colonial domination. The leaders of the revolution have stated that their respective movements are not racist, that they do not practise racism.

This thesis is a comparative study investigating the validity of the above claims. It compares Portuguese statements and proclamations about racism with the actual social and economic practices of the Portuguese in Angola and it also compares the statements about racism by the liberation movements with their actual practices.

The socio-historical method has been employed in this fundamentally descriptive study. The data was obtained from a wide variety of primary and secondary sources and included mainly official historical documents such as Portuguese laws, published social and economic statistics on Angola, and the manifestoes and newspapers of the

liberation movements, United Nations publications, books including in-depth interviews and personal observations. The research is predominantly qualitative and was carried out exclusively in libraries.

The research question was: What are the mechanisms of Portuguese racism in Angola and their relationship to the revolutionary process?

From the data examined it was shown that Portuguese ideologies such as Lusotropicology, multi-culturalism and multi-racialism and the highly selective and limiting practice of assimilado are, in practice, mechanisms of Portuguese racism in Angola. Portuguese claims that they do not practice racism were found to be greatly inconsistent with the social and economic practices of the Portuguese in Angola. On the other hand, similar claims by the liberation movements were found to be somewhat inconsistent with their actual practices. The leaders of the movements condemned racism and they themselves did not engage in racist practices, but some of their adherents did. However to the extent that one of the movements had a clearly defined anti-imperialist ideology, it was shown that that movement had been able to eliminate racist tendencies within itself. [It was also shown that a dialectical relationship existed between Portuguese colonialism and racism in Angola.

Since the claims of both the Portuguese and the liberation movements were found to be inconsistent with their practices, it was inferred that social and political statements and declarations of policy are inconsistent with the actual practice in Angola.

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## INTRODUCTION

Racism is a social phenomenon characteristic of modern class society. In practice, it is a system of discrimination and prejudice against a population sharing similar biological and/or ethnic characteristics. Ideologically, it is a system of dominant class ideas and myths which claim that one race is inherently superior to another. The ideology has been promoted to rationalize and justify racial exploitation. Racism has been and is profitable to capitalist ruling classes.

Historically, racism developed along with capitalist expansion, slavery and colonial domination. Racism was largely absent in precapitalist society. Racial exploitation and consequently race prejudice developed among Europeans after they began colonizing and enslaving the inhabitants of the Americas and Africa. Neither the Portuguese nor the Africans exhibited any racial prejudice when they first made contact early in the fifteenth century. Racism emerged later with slavery and the enforcement of race-class domination.)

Race-class domination together with a policy of apartheid is an outstanding social phenomenon in southern Africa. The Afrikaner ruling class in the Republic of South Africa enforces that policy. The Portuguese regime and ruling class have proclaimed their rejection of apartheid in Angola. In recent times, Portuguese officials and some apologists have claimed that the Portuguese in their overseas territories have created harmonious multi-cultural societies which do



not practise racism. One of the aims of this thesis is to prove the falsity of such Portuguese claims.

In 1961 liberation movements in Angola began an armed struggle to free the people from Portuguese colonialist domination and racism. The two major liberation movements, the Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola (MPLA) and the Governo da Revolucionario de Angola no Exilio/Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola (GRAE/FNLA) have different views on racism and the course of the war against Portuguese colonialism. Another aim of this thesis is to examine how a colonized people engaged in a war of national liberation deals with racism, both practically and ideologically.

#### THE METHOD

This thesis investigates the relationship and contradictions between proclamations and statements on racism and the social reality of life in Angola. ) Direct observations would have been of considerable value for this enquiry, but it was impossible at this time for me to do field work. I do not speak, read or write Portuguese and the revolution in Angola has made adequate field work impractical.

Research for this thesis has therefore been carried out exclusively in libraries. There is a large body of literature on Angola, written originally in English by

travellers, missionaries and social scientists, such as Perry Anderson, Don Barnett, Ronald Chilcote, Basil Davidson, James Duffy, Sid Gilchrist and Thomas Okuma. There are also English translations of Portuguese Government policy documents and other works by authors such as Américo Boavida, Antonio de Oliveira de Cadornega, Marcelo Caetano, Gilberto Freyre, Henrique Galvão and Franco Nogueira.

Racism is related dialectically to colonial and therefore economic domination. It is manifested overtly and covertly, personally and institutionally in the production, political and cultural relations of the Angolan colony. It is in those relations that the answer to the research question will primarily be sought. The question is: What are the mechanisms of Portuguese racism in Angola and their relationship to the Angolan revolutionary process?

In the first section a brief description of Angolan society, as well as the economy of Portugal and Angola, are given. The purpose is to provide a concrete sociological background for the enquiry.

In the second section Portuguese proclamations and statements on racism are examined and compared with the practices of the Portuguese in Angola. Chronologically, this section is divided into two historical periods: from 1415 to the Berlin Conference of 1884-5, and from that time to the present.

In the third section statements by the liberation

movements and their treatment of and relations with Portuguese and other ethnic or racial groups are investigated.

In the concluding section the findings about the Portuguese and the liberation movements are compared and hypotheses emerging therefrom are formulated, along with theoretical implications and ideas for future research.

## PART I

## PORTUGAL AND ANGOLA: SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Racism, the social phenomenon being investigated, stems from Portuguese colonial domination in Angola. As a product of colonialism, it is:

...the policy by which the "mother country", the colonial power, binds her colonies to herself by political ties with the primary object of promoting her own economic advantages.<sup>1</sup>

One must know the historical and sociological make-up of the "mother country" to fully understand the politics and society of a colony. Perry Anderson wrote of Portuguese colonialism that:

...a precondition of any account of a colonial area is an account of the metropolitan country. Neither the type of colonial system nor the course of decolonialization can be understood without a direct analysis of the specific economy and society of the colonial power.<sup>2</sup>

Portugal covers an area of approximately 35,000 square miles along the western seaboard of the Iberian peninsula. In 1970 the population was 8,668,267. There were 4,138,120 males and 4,530,147 females. The birth and death rates were 18.0 and 9.7 respectively per 1,000 population. The infant mortality rate was 58.0 per 100 live births, the highest

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1 Kwame Nkrumah, Towards Colonial Freedom, London, Reine-  
mann, 1962, p. 2.

2 Perry Anderson, "Portugal and the End of Ultra-Colonial-  
ism," New Left Review, no. 17, (Winter 1962), p. 114.

recorded in western Europe. Life expectancy was 60.73 years for males and 66.35 for females.<sup>3</sup> In 1970 there were 634 hospitals with 54,514 beds, or one bed per 117 people. There were 8,156 doctors, one per 1,181 people. There were 67 dentists, 2,641 pharmacists, 8,928 nurses and 1,072 midwives.<sup>4</sup>

Agriculture, including fishing and forestry, is the primary industry. In 1961 it employed 1,569,120 persons out of the national labour force of 3,196,120. The potential working population between the ages of 12 and 65 was 5,998,923 persons. Economic development depends upon only 53% of the employable population. In 1961, 446,468 persons were not engaged in any economic development activity. That same year the average wage per worker was \$311.20, or 85¢ per day.<sup>5</sup>

Portugal must import large quantities of agricultural products, such as cereals and meat, despite the large number of persons engaged in agriculture, because agricultural techniques are backward and production yields are low. Subsistence farming is widespread. The peasantry is the largest class. A large number of them live in communities of less

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3 United Nations, Statistical Yearbook, 1971, p. 22.

4 Ibid., p. 714.

5 Américo Boavida, Angola, Five Centuries of Portuguese Exploitation, Richmond, Canada, LSM Information Centre, 1972, pp. 53-56.

than 2,000. Myriads of tiny peasant farms are located in the north of the country. In the south a latifundia which resembles a feudal aristocracy wields tremendous influence. According to Perry Anderson:

Ninety per cent of the farms in the north are miniscule plots averaging 2.4 acres of field crops. In the south the average size is 2,500 times as large--5,878 acres. Of all Portuguese farms 94.9% are less than 24 acres in size: 0.3% are over 494 acres. Yet the first account for only 28.7% of the country's total cultivated area--the second for 39%.6

The peasant in the north has no capital to improve his farm while in the south the large landowners are content with their aggregate profit. They do not reinvest to raise productivity, and chronic unemployment prevails in the countryside simultaneously with a cereal deficit. These landowners dominate the country's economy through various personal and institutional means. They form a compact oligarchy which holds interlocking directorships for various industrial enterprises, such as banks and insurance companies.7

Portugal's major exports are textiles, cork and canned fish. Wines, forest products and olive oil are also exported. Small quantities of leather goods, metal products, chemicals, soap, paper, glassware, ceramics, electrical goods and pharmaceuticals are produced for domestic consumption. Heavy

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6 Anderson, op. cit., p. 86.

7 Loc. cit.

industrial enterprises are minimal. Electrical output is small. There is only one steel mill. Small deposits of coal and iron ore are mined. Heavy industrial goods such as machinery, steel, motor vehicles, radio sets, sewing machines, petroleum and coal, and foodstuffs such as grain, sugar and potatoes are imported. Portugal has an adverse trade balance. In 1969 the balance of payments deficit on goods, freight and insurance on merchandise was 678 million U.S. dollars.<sup>8</sup>

Illiteracy is widespread. In 1960, 2,339,516 or 37.2% of persons 15 years and over were reported illiterate. Of that number, 880,011 or 30.0% were males and 1,459,505 or 43.4% were female. This is an improvement over the situation in 1950. At that time 2,622,128 or 44.1% of the same population were illiterate. Males accounted for 981,053 or 35.1% and females for 1,641,975 or 52%.<sup>9</sup> In 1968 the number of teaching personnel and students attending the various educational institutions was as follows:<sup>10</sup>

<u>Type of Institution</u>	<u>Teaching Staff</u>	<u>Students</u>
Pre-primary	65	2,071
First level	7,434	333,767
Second level	2,936	46,061
General	1,726	30,348
Vocational	1,102	14,530

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8 United Nations, op. cit., p. 536.

9 Ibid., p. 589.

10 United Nations, Demographic Yearbook, 1970, p. 753.

<u>Type of Institution</u>	<u>Teaching Staff</u>	<u>Students</u>
Teacher-Training (Normal)	108	1,147
Third level	176	1,252
Special	2	19

Portugal is a colony for finance capital. The industrial, commercial and financial centres are dominated mainly by British financiers. The Anglo-Portuguese telephone company holds the monopoly of the country's telephone system. The urban bus and train services are owned by British families. The Bank of London and South America is well favoured. Approximately half of the insurance houses are foreign owned with the British holding a majority. The British also have strong interests in ship-building and electrical works. The French, Swiss, German, Spanish, Italian and Americans also hold substantial interests. Foreign capital, therefore, plays a major part in whatever economic development takes place in Portugal or its overseas territories.

Portugal's political regime is commonly described as fascist. The country has been shaped in the last forty years by a repressive military dictatorship with sympathies for fascism. "Corporativism", once the official ideology of the Italian Fascist Party, is also the official line of the Portuguese regime. Conformity which benefits the status quo is encouraged while any opposition to the regime is rooted out mercilessly. The regime is fanatically anti-communist. The Portuguese 120-seat legislature is divided



into a National Assembly, which is elected on a restricted suffrage, and a Corporative Assembly which represents different interest groups.

Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, the last Prime Minister, was the architect of Corporativism in Portugal. He took over the old regime after an army coup in 1926. With the support of the military and the Roman Catholic Church, which plays a prominent role in Portugal's affairs, Salazar ruled the country with an iron hand. He established an extensive military and para-military network. At first he invoked the ideology of Corporativism to rally the different antagonistic classes into promoting Portuguese nationalism. As soon as he was entrenched, however, he relied less on popular support and more on the ruling oligarchy, the Church, the military and other organisations of coercion. He was therefore able to preach corporativism but practise dictatorship.

In summary, Portugal is mainly an underdeveloped agricultural country with a dependent economy. The standard of living is very low. Illiteracy and unemployment are higher than in some of the newly independent countries of Africa. Portugal is an imperial power with dependent territories in Africa, yet it must depend on international finance to carry out whatever development occurs at home and overseas. In that regard, Portugal is historically unique in its backwardness.

With chronic unemployment and a very low standard of

living at home, thousands of metropolitan Portuguese have been forced to migrate to the Portuguese territories in Africa. A large number of them have been settling in Angola, the territory to which this study is confined. Angola is situated between 5 degrees and 18 degrees south latitude and between 12 degrees and 24 degrees longitude east of Greenwich. It adjoins the Republic of Congo (Kinshasa) to the north, Zambia in the southeast and Namibia in the south. Angola is the sixth largest political unit in Africa. Covering a land area of over 480,000 square miles, it is roughly fourteen times the size of metropolitan Portugal. In 1960 the population was 4,840,719, with 2,464,775 males and 2,375,944 females.

Angola is a "plural" society with various cultural groups. The African population--the indigenous, mainly Bantu-speaking population--comprises numerous tribes and several major ethno-linguistic groups. These include 400,000 Bakongo; 700,000 Mbundu; 1,700,000 Ovimbundu; 500,000 Lunda-Quieco; 350,000 Nganguela; 150,000 Nyaneka-Humbe; 20,000 Herero and 60,000 Ovambo peoples.<sup>11</sup> Social and economic relations have been amicable among these Bantu peoples. "All of the Bantu peoples of Angola have mixed and intermarried with one another,"<sup>12</sup> writes Douglas Wheeler. There are

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<sup>11</sup> Douglas Wheeler and René Pélissier, Angola, London, Pall Mall Press, 1971, pp. 6-9.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

three non-Bantu groups, the Bushmen, the Cuissi and the Cuepe who number about 6,000.<sup>13</sup> The earliest inhabitants of Angola were the Bushmen and Hottentots. In ancient times they were conquered and their territory peopled by the Bantu who, according to Wheeler, migrated from eastern Nigeria and central Africa between 1000 and 1600 A.D.<sup>14</sup>

The Portuguese population, that is, people from metropolitan Portugal and their descendants, form the dominant minority. Nationals from Portugal have been settling in Angola since the sixteenth century, but never in great numbers until modern times. In 1700 the Portuguese population numbered 800; in 1854, 1830; in 1900, 9000; in 1950, 30,000; in 1960, 78,000;<sup>15</sup> and 250,000 in 1970.

The mestizo population comprises the offspring which result from sexual union between Portuguese and African. Portuguese men were the first Europeans to settle in Angola. Portuguese women were reluctant to go there. A shipment of twelve Portuguese women arrived in Angola in 1595, but for a long time afterwards, feminine immigration ceased. In 1845 the colony of Benguela consisted of thirty-eight white men, one white woman and two thousand Africans.<sup>16</sup> Portuguese

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<sup>13</sup> Wheeler and Pélissier, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>15</sup> Boavida, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>16</sup> James Duffy, Portuguese Africa, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1961, p. 96.

men co-habited with African women. Such unions produced "in effect, a new class and kind of Angolan...the Afro-Portuguese mestizo or mulatto."<sup>17</sup> In 1845 mestizos numbered 179 at Benguela. At the turn of the seventeenth century the mestizo population in Luanda, the first Portuguese settlement in Angola, was estimated at 6,000.<sup>18</sup> In 1950 the total mestizo population of Angola numbered 25,000.<sup>19</sup>

The three "racial" groups occupy distinctive positions within Angola's social hierarchy. Although comprising only approximately 6 per cent of the total population, the Portuguese community holds the privileged social positions, dominating in the economic, social and political life of the colony. The Portuguese control the Angolan state apparatus. In general, the African population, the largest, comprises peasants who live basically on a subsistence economy sometimes supplemented by "contract" wage labour. As the Portuguese population increases, Africans are "forced" off the land and compelled to work at the most menial tasks, often without payment. A small number of relatively well-educated Africans join the mestizos who, as a class, occupy

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17 Wheeler and Pélissier, op. cit., p. 36.

18 C. R. Boxer, Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963, p. 38.

19 Duffy, op. cit., p. 297.

minor positions in the state and public services and in professions such as teaching and nursing.

In Angola race and class are closely associated. Race as characterized by skin colour and hair texture is of primary concern in the social relations of the three "racial" groups, Portuguese, African and mestizo. Race determines the amount of political power particular individuals and groups may wield and the socio-economic positions they may occupy. Race-class features are therefore characteristic of Angolan society.

The historical processes which have shaped Portuguese race-class domination over Angola gained momentum after the Portuguese established colonies at Luanda and Benguela in 1575 and 1617 respectively. Since those times the Portuguese have been settling and entrenching their power over the Angolan colony. But it is only within modern times that the Portuguese regime in Lisbon has embarked upon large-scale colonization in Angola. Portugal's claim to Angola was based on "discovery", trade and effective occupation of tiny sections of territory along the Angolan coast. Portugal's claim was recognized internationally by the Berlin Treaty of 1885, when European imperialist nations carved up Africa for their own economic benefit. Since that treaty, the Portuguese regime has made many military efforts to control the territory. Large-scale colonization is but another method employed to establish domination over the

territory.

When the Portuguese first went to Angola in the 1520's they went in search of silver and other precious metals. When no such metals were found they turned to the lucrative Atlantic slave trade. During the sixteenth century slaves became the most valued commercial New World commodity. Plantation owners in the Americas and the Caribbean required cheap labour to work their estates. The Portuguese were given contracts by the Spanish to supply slaves for their New World plantations. They held the monopoly on slaves, but were soon challenged by the Dutch, the French and the British who followed in the Portuguese' footsteps in West Africa.

Slavery greatly reduced the Angolan population. Walter Rodney estimates that from the arrival of the Portuguese to about 1600 over one million Africans were carried away into slavery.<sup>20</sup> Duffy estimates that from 1580 to 1836 over three million Angolans were enslaved.<sup>21</sup> Thus Angola contributed many of the estimated fifty million Africans who were sent off into slavery in the New World.<sup>22</sup>

The enslavement of Africans had several world-wide

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20 Walter Rodney, West Africa and the Atlantic Slave-trade, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1967, p. 4.

21 James Duffy, Portugal in Africa, Great Britain, Penguin Books, 1962, p. 59.

22 Basil Davidson, Black Mother, Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1961, p. 80.

consequences. The slave trade was the earliest major force which resulted in "the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market."<sup>23</sup> Eric Williams, in Capitalism and Slavery, demonstrated how the slavery of Africans generated capital which financed the industrial revolution in Britain. Karl Marx noted that slavery laid the foundation for international capitalist economy.

The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production.<sup>24</sup>

Williams showed how slavery was abolished when it became a fetter to further capitalist expansion. He described the class struggles which were fought ideologically before slavery could be abolished.

In the struggle for abolition many rationalizations were used both to justify and support as well as to abolish the system. Those who favoured abolition argued that slavery was "contrary to the principles of justice and humanity."<sup>25</sup> From the time the slave trade began until the middle of the eighteenth century, all classes in the slave trading nations

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<sup>23</sup> Karl Marx, Capital, Vol. 1, Moscow, Progress Publishers, pp. 714-715.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 703.

<sup>25</sup> Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery, New York, Capricorn Books, 1966, p. 178.

of Europe were united in their acceptance of slavery. But by the early years of the nineteenth century when slavery had fulfilled its profitable and historic mission, the British capitalists who had gained the most benefits from the slave trade broke European unanimity. The forces which were against abolition claimed that Africans were inferior to Europeans and that the superior race had the right to rule over others. The ideological struggle was given a "racial twist" and racism has since become one of the main consequences of the capitalist slave system. As Williams stated, "Slavery was not born of racism, rather racism was the consequence of slavery."<sup>26</sup>

Slavery was an economic phenomenon which had nothing to do with the integrity of any people. Men do not make history according to the particular ethnic group to which they genetically belong, but according to the dictates of the material conditions of their social life. And that is determined by the degree of development of a society's productive forces. Slavery under capitalism knew no racial barriers. Williams points out that "unfree labor in the New World was brown, white, black and yellow; Catholic, Protestant and pagan,"<sup>27</sup> and:

Negro slavery therefore was only a solution, in

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26 Williams, op. cit., p. 7.

27 Loc. cit.



certain historical circumstances, of the Caribbean problem. Sugar meant labor--at times that labor has been slave, at other times nominally free; at times black, at other times white or brown or yellow. Slavery in no way implies, in any scientific sense, the inferiority of the Negro. Without it the great development of the Caribbean sugar plantations, between 1650 and 1850, would have been impossible.<sup>28</sup>

When Karl Marx analyzed the historical role of slavery, he concluded:

Without slavery, you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that has given the colonies their value; it is the colonies that have created world trade, and it is world trade that is the precondition of large scale industry.<sup>29</sup>

The anti-slavery movement was world wide, but it was strongest in Britain. The government of Portugal was against abolition, but Portuguese humanitarians joined the abolitionist cause. In doing so they brought Portugal into the ideological struggles of the period. In 1807 when the British government abolished the slave trade, it:

...tried to bribe the Spanish and Portuguese governments into abolition of the slave trade--in 1818 Spain was given 400,000 in return for a promise to do so. All to no avail.<sup>30</sup>

The British government then applied economic and military (naval) pressure to force the Portuguese regime to abolish

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28 Williams, op. cit., p. 29.

29 Karl Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy, Moscow, Foreign Language Publishing House, pp. 124-125.

30 Williams, op. cit., p. 169.

slavery. However, it was not until 1878 that Portugal succumbed to British pressure.

In summary, the Portuguese were the pioneers of commercial slavery in Africa. They were mainly responsible for selling the majority of the population of Angola into slavery between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Angola, Guiné and Mozambique have all been slave states for Portugal. The major European nations took a large share of this traffic and benefited greatly from the human commerce. Slavery has had serious world wide consequences, the most lasting of which is racism directed against Africans and people of African descent.

## PART II

## RACISM: PORTUGUESE PROCLAMATIONS AND STATEMENTS

European nations involved in the African slave trade have in general admitted that they have consequently practised racism against Africans and people of African descent. For example, in 1880 a British spokesman, Earl Grey stated:

Throughout this part of the British Dominions the colored people are generally looked upon by the whites as an inferior race, whose interest ought to be systematically disregarded when they come into competition with their own, and who ought to be governed mainly with a view of the advantage of the superior race. And for this advantage two things are considered to be especially necessary: first, that facilities should be afforded to the white colonists for obtaining possession of land heretofore occupied by the native tribes; and secondly, that the Kaffir population should be made to furnish as large and as cheap a supply of labor as possible.<sup>1</sup>

The French attitude about racism has been summarized by Dominique Mannoni thus:

France is unquestionably one of the least racist-minded countries in the world: also colonial policy is officially anti-racist. But the effects of the colonial situation inevitably made themselves felt, so that a marked racist attitude appears side by side with the official attitude, and, indeed, in spite of it. Even the administration officials themselves, although they apply France's pro-native policy humanely and conscientiously, are nevertheless subject to the psycho-sociological laws

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<sup>1</sup> Earl Grey, cited by E. D. Morel, The Black Man's Burden, London, The National Labour Press, Ltd., 1920, p. 30.

and unless they are men of exceptional calibre, come to adopt attitudes which are coloured with racialism. Those outside the administration, of course, have no appearances to keep up.<sup>2</sup>

But the Portuguese, the first European power to exploit Africans as slaves, claim that during five centuries of colonialism in Africa, they have treated Africans much better than any other European power. The Portuguese claim that their policy is one of "multi-racial" integration and that they do not practise racism. They assert that Portuguese policy is based on:

...the concepts of national unity and cultural identity and the creation of a "multi-racial" society, the recognition of common interests calling for coordinated action in the economic and social fields, a degree of administrative and financial autonomy, the acknowledgement of the obligation to protect the indigenous inhabitants and their interests, and to work progressively towards their integration in the Portuguese civilized community.<sup>3</sup>

The Portuguese policy on multi-racialism is contained in statements made by metropolitan Portuguese government officials and apologists for that policy. As early as 1763 a royal order stated:

...it was my pleasure by means of an ordinance dated the 2nd April seventeen hundred and sixty-one to revive the pious laws and praiseworthy customs which have been established in that State whereby all my vassals therein born, being

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<sup>2</sup> Dominique O. Mannoni, Prospero and Caliban, the Psychology of Colonization, New York, Frederick Praeger, 1964, p.110.

<sup>3</sup> United Nations, General Assembly, Report of the Subcommittee on the Situation in Angola, 1962, p. 22.

baptized Christians and having no other legal impediment, should enjoy the same honours, pre-eminences, prerogatives and privileges that the nationals of this realm enjoy.<sup>4</sup>

A close reading of this order suggests that it is, in fact, discriminatory or prejudicial against non-Christians. Since Africans are naturally non-Christians, this early order has a built-in prejudice against them.

In modern times it has been stated that Portuguese colonial policy has always been geared towards "the progress of the native population." When he was in charge of colonial affairs, Dr. Marcelo Caetano further stated:

Hence arises the fact, which has impressed every observer on his way through the Portuguese colonies, of a peaceful and respectful tolerance of living between colonizers and natives. The truth is that there is no colour bar in our colonies.<sup>5</sup>

Dr. Franco Nogueira, a Foreign Minister in Lisbon, stated unequivocally in 1967 the argument that the Portuguese practise multi-racialism. He wrote:

...Portugal cannot, and should not, refrain from stressing that she is the originator of the notion of multi-racialism, which she claims firmly and with some legitimate pride, and that Portugal was the country which centuries ago launched the concept and the expression. Much more important than the mere creation of the word or of the concept of multi-racialism is, however, the creation

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4 Eduardo C. Mondlane, "Race Relations and Portuguese Colonial Policy," Africa Today, vol. 15, 1967-8, p. 35.

5 Marcelo Caetano, Colonizing Traditions, Principles and Methods of the Portuguese, Divisão De Publicações E Biblioteca, Agência Geral Do Ultramar, 1951, p. 43.

of the living reality to which the word is applied. And this merit belongs to the Portuguese as it has for centuries. For it was the Portuguese that took to Africa and planted there the notions of human rights and of equality among races. For centuries she has been guided by these two concepts and has stubbornly held to them while facing the hostility of some, the scorn of others, and the incomprehension of almost all.<sup>6</sup>

A former Portuguese Minister of Colonies, Admiral Lopes Alves, expressed the view that Portugal's colonial policy was geared towards multi-racialism and multi-culturalism. He stated that the aim of the policy was:

...to create the most fraternal, solid and proud union of peoples, with a fusion of races, creeds, languages and customs.<sup>7</sup>

The former Prime Minister of Portugal, Dr. Antonio De Olivera Salazar, concurred with the preceding opinion. He stated:

These contacts have never involved the slightest idea of superiority or racial discrimination...I think I can say that the distinguishing feature of Portuguese Africa--notwithstanding the congregated efforts made in many quarters to attack it by word as well as by action--is the primacy which we have always attached and will continue to attach to the enhancement of the value and the dignity of man without distinction of colour or creed, in the light of the principles of the civilization we carried to the populations who were in every way distant from ourselves.<sup>8</sup>

Other prominent persons who share the Portuguese view of

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6 Franco Nogueira, The Third World, London, Johnson, 1967, pp. 87-88.

7 João Cabral, "Portuguese Colonial Policy," Africa Quarterly, vol. V, no. 3, p. 153.

8 Dr. Antonio De Olivera Salazar, cited in C. R. Boxer, Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963, p. 1.

themselves as a racially tolerant people include members of the professional and intellectual community. For example, Luis C. Lupi, an apologist for the Portuguese government, told the Cambridge University Liberal Club that the Portuguese had:

...a policy of cultural integration and cultural interpenetration, and not the aggressive expansion of the dominant group.<sup>9</sup>

George Martelli, another admirer of Portuguese policy, wrote:

...in Angola, there have never been seen those notices, which are only now disappearing from Kenya and the Rhodesias, announcing 'European only' or 'Admittance reserved'. While no British miner on the copper belt, earning the equivalent in England of a managing director's salary, would think of inviting an African to his house, or be seen drinking with one outside, in Angola black and whites of the lower and middle classes can be seen everywhere working and playing together... It is the belief that they have a unique contribution to make to the building of such societies, that inspires the policy of Portugal overseas, and in the eyes of Portuguese not only justifies, but demands, their continued presence in Africa.

On the philosophy of Lusotropicalism--as they call their own brand of non-racialism--there is an extensive literature.<sup>10</sup>

Ronald Waring is a British resident and instructor at the Portuguese Staff College in Lisbon. He is also a supporter of the Portuguese position on multi-racialism. In "The Case for Portugal" he wrote:

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<sup>9</sup> Luis C. Lupi, Portugal and her Overseas Provinces, Lisbon, 1961, p. 44.

<sup>10</sup> George Martelli, The Future in Angola, London, R. E. Gordon & Co., Ltd., 1962, pp. 8-10.

By law there is no racial discrimination of any sort, and an African can occupy any post in the administration or social or industrial life of the country... Schools, hospitals and social services are all integrated, and it would be quite unthinkable to have segregation on the buses, in restaurants or elsewhere. The African is accepted without question as the complete equal of the white man in the same social and economic level of life... The Portuguese theory of a Luso-African civilisation was working in Angola and more and more Africans were taking their places alongside the Europeans in a society without racial hatred and in which the administrative responsibilities were shared.<sup>11</sup>

A Brazillian sociologist, Gilberto Freyre, has been the most influential commentator on Portuguese integration in the tropics. Between the years 1952 and 1962 Freyre developed his concept of Lusotropicology. According to this Brazillian sociologist, a Luso-(Portuguese)-tropical world comprising the lands occupied or formerly held by the Portuguese in the tropics, differs in its multi-racial integration and orientation from that of other European-influenced lands. Freyre states:

All that flexibility, all that tolerance and all that disposition of experimental kind manifested by the Portuguese in tropical regions seems to justify their attitude toward the tropics being characterized as different from that of the other Europeans: as Lusotropical.<sup>12</sup>

Freyre's hypothesis is that the Portuguese know best how

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<sup>11</sup> Ronald Waring, "The Case for Portugal," Angola, A Symposium: Views of a Revolt, Oxford University Press, 1962, pp. 44-46.

<sup>12</sup> Gilberto Freyre, Portuguese Integration in the Tropics, Lisbon, 1961, p. 75.



to associate with the tropical, non-European populations of South America, Asia and Africa. Where the Portuguese have settled there is an absence of racial tension between the indigenous non-white populations and Portuguese colonists and administrators. Freyre attributes the lack of tension to the fact that the Portuguese, unlike "other Europeans", have no racial or colour prejudice. He stated:

Both the ethics and the aesthetics that have characterized the Portuguese methods of contact with non-Europeans contrast with the ordinarily characteristic methods of contact of other Europeans with non-Europeans. Particularly with those which, in South Africa, reach extremes in the so-called Apartheid policy... the most complete fulfilment until now carried out of the myth of the absolute superiority of the European race and civilizations-- or cultures... a systematic domination of the Bantu people by an intransigently European minority, which persists in not becoming integrated in the African ecology and in keeping itself aloof from any contact with the native population other than that sort of domination exerted manu militari.<sup>13</sup>

Freyre treats at length the inferred quantitative and qualitative difference between the Portuguese and South African regimes in Africa. He uses phrases such as "cultural oppression", "systematic domination" to describe the relationship between the South African regime and the Bantu population. The inference is that the Portuguese treat their native population much better and therefore frown upon the ill treatment of the Bantus by the South Africans. Freyre is not the only

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<sup>13</sup> Gilberto Freyre, The Portuguese and the Tropics, Lisbon, 1961, p. 271.

one to contrast the ways of the Portuguese with those of South Africa. Caetano admits some racial intolerance in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique, but claims that it is spillover from neighbouring South Africa and Rhodesia. He stated:

Only in the colony of Mozambique, at the extreme north or south, due to the influence of the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia, will one notice some trace of racial separation. There is no doubt that in villages there are native quarters where necessarily the way of living is different for civilized and uncivilized people. But once a coloured man has acquired European habits and culture he comes to live among Europeans without any difference at all.<sup>14</sup>

In 1968 Caetano stated that Portugal practised "different racial policies" from South Africa and Rhodesia. He said:

There is often talk in the United Nations General Assembly of a secret alliance between Portugal and the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia. Needless to say, there is no alliance whatsoever, either secret or open, linking these three countries. In any event, we practise different racial policies and the extent to which we are committed to pursuing and perfecting our policy of nondiscrimination and good relations is well known. However, in many respects our interests in Southern Africa coincide, in that we are convinced that progress in that part of the continent requires the stable presence of the white man, who established roots, adapts and becomes attached to the African land and is associated with the native there.<sup>15</sup>

Freyre develops his thesis around the "spirit of Lusitanian identity" by making various historical and socio-cultural allusions but never seriously analysing the socio-economic

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<sup>14</sup> Caetano, op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>15</sup> Marcelo Caetano, cited in Don Barnett & Roy Harvey, The Revolution in Angola: MPLA Life Histories and Documents, New York, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1972, p. 247.

structures in the Portuguese territories. His main point that the Portuguese have treated non-Europeans much better than other Europeans is never demonstrated with concrete evidence. Instead, he employs many generalizations which beg the argument of his thesis. He attempts to make his point by appearing to compare Portuguese methods of colonialism with other European-type colonialism, but he avoids any concrete evidence. [His generalizations include stating that the Portuguese have a "pre-industrial and pre-bourgeois attitude" from which has "resulted a very special system of relations between master and slaves in the non-European areas marked by Portuguese presence."<sup>16</sup> Freyre further stated that the situation created an integrating tendency:

...the tendency for the integration of rulers and ruled, White and coloured people, Europeans and non-Europeans, in a new type of society, and a new type of civilization, characterized by the presence, in that third society and third culture, of coloured peoples and non-European cultures. Not merely presence: participation.<sup>17</sup>

Many writers who laud Portuguese multi-racialism cite the presence of the mestizos as a central point in their argument. They emphasize that Portuguese males have mated freely with African women. For example, Freyre stated:

Sensitivity to the methods, to the techniques and to the values of the tropical peoples seldom was lacking the Portuguese...when they spread

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<sup>16</sup> Freyre, op. cit., p. 279.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 280.

over warm areas, not as passers-by but as residents...who began to take tropical women as companions and even as wives (emphasis mine).<sup>18</sup>

Dr. Caetano stated that one of the aims of Portuguese colonialism was:

...to make black women dignified beings...motherhood has been given protection, childhood has been defended and excessive mortality reduced.<sup>19</sup>

The Portuguese regime has made extensive use of Freyre's thesis of multi-racial integration. It has propagated the ideas and policy surrounding the claims of the Lusitanian spirit at home and overseas. Not only has Portugal encouraged the ideology of Lusotropicalism, but it has used some of those ideas in stating its official colonial policy. For example, Admiral Lopes Alves stated that Portugal's colonial policy was:

To create the most fraternal, solid and proud union of peoples, and a fusion of races, creeds, languages and customs.<sup>20</sup>

An official of the Roman Catholic Church which is directly answerable to the State of Portugal has stated:

...in the political and social fields, Portugal has a strong case to argue for her system, and it is a case which ought to be heard. The whole set-up must be understood against the background of the multi-racial ideal, the sense of missionary purpose, the complete absence of colour bar

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18 Freyre, Portuguese Integration in the Tropics, p. 22.

19 Caetano, op. cit., p. 52.

20 Admiral Lopes Alves, cited in João Cabral, op. cit., p. 153.

sense among the Portuguese. The principle of 'Portugal overseas' is seen as a direct negation of colonialism.<sup>21</sup>

He also stated:

The reason why the Portuguese, unlike the British, refuse to leave Africa is precisely because of their centuries-old belief in their unique capacity for multi-racial partnership. This is not a myth. It is obvious the moment you enter Lisbon. There is Africa on the street and in the architecture, in the features of its people, in its acceptance of inter-marriage.<sup>22</sup>

A supporter of Portugal's policy, F. Clement C. Egerton, subtitled his book Endeavour and Achievement in Portuguese West Africa. In it he quotes and confirms the Portuguese case as follows:

In essence all men are equal; the administration of colonies, therefore, must not be based on racial segregation. But the difference in circumstances, which are found to exist between the living conditions, habits, and cultures of the native peoples and those of the peoples of Europe and America, must be taken into account. These diversities are not imposed by race ipso facto, but result from the long isolation of the African peoples, and from the environment in which they have lived. The complete integration of the natives in the social group of the colonising people is regarded as a process of evolution, and it will be the consequence of a day-to-day contact of the two elements, aided by educative measures of one kind and another, and encouraged by the readiness of the colonisers to accept their black fellow citizens on equal terms.

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<sup>21</sup> Hugh Kay, "A Catholic View," Angola, A symposium: Views of a Revolt, p. 84.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

Such is the theory, and it is completely in keeping with the Portuguese character and tradition.<sup>23</sup>

Egerton had argued earlier that "One of the main differences between the Portuguese and other colonising peoples is that the Portuguese are not hag-ridden by theories." He continued:

They had no particular theories about the ideal relation between blacks and whites; they did not announce to the world that they were in Africa to shoulder 'the white man's burden'; they did not concern themselves with the political problems, in the modern sense, of colonial territories. The idea of a colour bar was completely incomprehensible to them. They lived among the natives, and with them. They accepted the natives as fellow men, and were so accepted by them. There was mutual understanding, mutual respect, and no humbug.<sup>24</sup>

A Canadian missionary who has worked for many years in Angola wrote about the Portuguese conception of themselves thus:

They wholeheartedly believe that they have a unique natural gift for understanding the African, for establishing rapport with him, and for making him an adoring, obedient and grateful ward. One of the supposed proofs of this ability that even high Portuguese officials frequently quote is the enthusiasm with which the Portuguese have always cohabited with African women.<sup>25</sup>

Colonial policies are usually stated philosophically.

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<sup>23</sup> F. Clement C. Egerton, Angola in Perspective: Endeavour and Achievement in Portuguese West Africa, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957, pp. 251-2.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 247.

<sup>25</sup> Sid Gilchrist, Angola Awake, Toronto, Ryerson Press; 1968, p. 60.

They are often divorced from the social reality. J.S. Furnivall, an authority on colonialism, wrote:

...projects of colonial policy lay down the goal at which it ought to aim, but the measures advocated to attain the goal, even if free from unconscious bias and likely to succeed in Europe, often lead in tropical dependencies in a different or even a contrary direction. In policy, as in law, men must be held to intend the natural consequences of their acts, and it is from the results of colonial policy rather than from statements of its objects that its true character may be ascertained. In the study of colonial affairs statements of policy need scrutiny in the light of practice.<sup>26</sup>

Lord Hailey in An African Survey stated, "The character of an administration can be judged more clearly from its treatment of concrete issues than from abstract declarations of policy."<sup>27</sup>

The social and economic practices of the Portuguese in Angola will now be examined. The period from their first contacts with Angolans up to the Berlin Conference will be treated first.

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<sup>26</sup> J. S. Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, New York, New York University Press, 1956, p. 8.

<sup>27</sup> Lord Hailey, An African Survey: A Study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara, London, Oxford University Press, 1938, p. 142.

## RACISM: PORTUGUESE PRACTICE

The king of N'gola sought friendly relations with the king of Portugal.<sup>28</sup> In 1519 he sent some silver bracelets for the Portuguese monarch. The trinkets which were sent through the king of Congo were heartily welcomed in Lisbon, and Portugal subsequently harboured dreams of an empire of precious metals similar to that which the Spanish had in South America. But friendly relations between Portugal and Angola existed only briefly. The Portuguese ruthlessly exploited Angolans and made their territory a colony.

Before 1500 the kings of Congo and Portugal had established fraternal and diplomatic relations. King Afonso had embraced Christianity and Portuguese missionaries were proselytising in his kingdom. However, shortly after they arrived they neglected Christianity and turned their attention to commerce, especially the slave trade.<sup>29</sup> Some missionaries became slave merchants; others meddled in local politics. Such incidents greatly offended and incited the Congolese population and when a civil war broke out in 1561,

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28 A. Da Silva Rego, Portuguese Colonization in the Sixteenth Century: A Study of the Royal Ordinances, Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1965, pp. 50-53.

29 Duffy, op. cit., pp. 41-43.



many Portuguese were killed.<sup>30</sup> Hostilities from the Congolese population and European powers such as Holland, France and England, which were then competing for the slave trade, forced the Portuguese out of Congo and into N'gola whose king had been paying tribute to the king of Congo. That was why the silver bracelets had been sent through him to Portugal.

Following the arrival of the trinkets in Portugal, Manuel Pacheco and Baltasar de Castro were commissioned by the Crown to search the whole West African coast for silver and other precious metals. It was a period in history when a nation's power and prestige were based on the amount of precious metal it had accumulated. Portugal had derived much profit from dealings in ivory and slaves with Congo, but no metals had been found there. Thus Angola was welcomed as the proverbial rainbow with the pot of gold.

De Castro was held under "house arrest" in Angola for six years, during which time he gathered intelligence about silver mines. On his return to Portugal, he said that there were no silver mines in Angola. But the Portuguese still went in search of the precious metals, continuing well into succeeding centuries. They combined commercial activities with Christian proselytism.

The Angolan king, reluctant at first to embrace Christianity, later requested the king of Portugal to assign

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30 Rego, op. cit., p. 53.

Christian missionaries to his kingdom. The Jesuits were chosen. Paulo Dias de Novais accompanied them with gifts for the Angolan king. He accepted the gifts, but showed little interest in the Christian religion. Dias gathered economic data and developed plans for "future economic and colonizing enterprise."<sup>31</sup> He returned to Portugal believing that much silver was in Angola. But he brought a gift of copper and ivory from the king of Angola.

In Lisbon, Dias set in motion plans to monopolize trade in Angola. He wanted a grant of a portion of the Angolan coastal territory as a base for his colonialist activities. He received financial support from his father, a "very wealthy member of the landed gentry of the country. The rest of the capital needed for the enterprise was raised amongst his relatives and friends."<sup>32</sup>

In 1571 the Portuguese Crown granted Dias a Donation Charter which empowered him to conquer and Christianise Angola and commence Portuguese colonization. His position would be similar to that of a feudal lord. Dias arrived at Luanda island with an expedition of over four hundred settlers--workers and missionaries--in 1575 and established Luanda, now the capital of Angola. With the establishment

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31 Rego, op. cit., p. 99.

32 Ibid., p. 100.

of that permanent settlement, Angola became the Black Mother who provided a reservoir of slaves for the plantations of the New World. From Luanda alone it is estimated that 2,500 slaves a year were exported from 1575 to 1587; in the next four years the yearly average tripled.<sup>33</sup> (7)

Dias failed in his attempt to conquer and colonize Angola. In the first few years missionaries preached the gospel, even though the king of Angola, unlike the king of Congo, was not interested in Christianity. Merchants traded across the territory. The trade in slaves increased. The new commercial relations displeased the king of Congo and some of the pioneer Portuguese traders in the area complained to the Angolan king who subsequently terminated the commercial and political arrangements with Dias. By 1580 open hostilities broke out between the Portuguese and the Angolans. Dias obtained military reinforcements from Portugal, from Portuguese living in the Congo, and also from some Angolan chieftains who favoured the Portuguese. Despite such help, however, he failed in his attempt to conquer and subdue Angola.

After the death of Dias, a lawyer, Domingos de Abreu e Brito was sent from Portugal to assess the prospects of Portuguese colonization in Angola. He was very enthusiastic about the project. Among his many recommendations were the

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33 Duffy, op. cit., p. 50.

systematic occupation of the country by force and the establishment of a colonial government in Angola. The first Governor-General, Francisco d' Almeida, took charge of Angola in 1592. By then the old colonists and the Jesuits had entrenched themselves with local power.

The settler colony of Benguela, founded in 1617, was made subservient to the colonial administration in Luanda. The settlement was made up of what Duffy describes as the "first genuine colonizers in Angola." A majority of them were "renegades from the Congo, exiles and convicts from Portugal, criminals from Brazil."<sup>34</sup> They went there in search of "precious metals," but when none were found they turned to farming. They were unable to compete in the slave trade. Benguela developed into a self-sufficient community of small traders, fishermen and farmers. That colony set the pattern for subsequent Portuguese colonization. Those who migrated from Portugal had not done well economically in the Metropole. Historically colonies have always attracted those metropolitan people who suffer from social and/or economic deprivation at home.

The colonial administration in Luanda was weak from the beginning. Lisbon was reluctant to finance the cost of the Angolan government. The governor, administrative staff, and soldiers received very little salary which they augmented by

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<sup>34</sup> Duffy, op. cit., p. 52.

the slave trade. Irregularities to suit personal gain became the pattern of the colonial administration. A head tax which could be paid in slaves was demanded of African chiefs. The steady increases in the tax provoked local wars from which many captives were taken as slaves.

Many governors of Angola were content with the status quo. They overlooked the legal irregularities of the Portuguese population and concentrated their energies instead in subduing uncooperative tribes in the interior. The colonists viewed the temporary administrators with suspicion, especially when they made suggestions that would lessen the colonists' power over the Africans. Sometimes royal edicts were made asking Portuguese officials in Angola to act humanely towards the native population, but the edicts were usually ignored. The colonists argued that it was necessary to use brute force against the Africans, that:

...they feared nothing save corporal punishment and the whip...and it is only by force and fear that we can maintain our position over these indomitable heathen.<sup>35</sup>

António de Oliveira Cadornega resided in Angola for over forty years and compiled his História Geral das Guerras Angolanas (General History of the Angolan Wars) in 1681-3. He described the drastic measures which were employed to keep the Bantu servile. Other accounts corroborate Cadornega's

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<sup>35</sup> António de Oliveira Cadornega, cited by Duffy, op. cit., p. 53.

history. For example, João Fernandes Vieira, Governor of Angola in 1958-1961, reminded the Portuguese Crown that it was an "old and approved usage" never to allow a Negro to lift his hand against a white man, "because the preservation of the kingdom depends upon this obedience and fear."<sup>36</sup>

That and similar opinions held by the Portuguese about the Bantu population were recorded. A memorial of 1694 in the Luanda municipal council described the Africans captured as slaves as being "brutes without intelligent understanding" and "almost, if one may say so, irrational beings."<sup>37</sup>

Portugal had great difficulty conquering and subdueing the peoples of Angola. Thousands of European soldiers died in the battles of conquest. But Portugal had even greater difficulties with the plan of white colonization. Tropical diseases and African hostility took the lives of many of the early colonists. According to Wheeler and Pélissier, during the first century of Portugal's occupation rarely were there more than one thousand Europeans residing in Angola. Would-be colonists shied away from the "white man's grave". Until the twentieth century, the majority of those who migrated "willingly" were known as degradados. They were criminals, political exiles, beggars, prostitutes, etc., generally

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36 João Fernandes Vieira, cited by Boxer, op. cit., p. 27.

37 Boxer, op. cit., p. 29.

people who came from the lowest strata of Portuguese life.

Portuguese men who had financial interests in Lisbon refused to migrate to Angola. And the fact that Portuguese women refused to go added to the males' adamancy. Because of the extreme scarcity of European women, the Portuguese men had sexual relations with African women. Cadornega wrote:

The soldiers of the garrison and other European individuals father many children on the black ladies, for want of white ladies, with the result that there are many Mulattoes and Coloureds.<sup>38</sup>

The mestizos (mulattoes) were treated much better than their full-blooded African compatriots. Race-class distinction became evident. According to the Italian Capuchin friar, Fr. Girolamo Merolla, who resided in Angola in 1691, the mestizos

...hate the Negroes mortally, even their own mothers that bore them, and do all they can to equal themselves with whites, which is not allowed them, they not being permitted to sit in their presence.<sup>39</sup>

The Portuguese relationship with the mestizos was one of "paternalistic acceptance," whereas for the African it was one of "contemptuous exploitation."

Slavery is the most contemptuous form of human exploitation. But in Angola, between the sixteenth and eighteenth

<sup>38</sup> Cadornega, cited by Boxer, op. cit., p. 30. ..

<sup>39</sup> Fr. Girolamo Merolla, cited by Boxer, op. cit., p. 32.

centuries, slavery was the most profitable enterprise. According to Duffy:

In Angola the slave was the only real article of commerce. The principal dealer was usually the governor, whose interest in the trade was not necessarily his own capital, but the power and facilities of his office plus whatever privileges were contained in his regimento. Then there was the contractor, working for himself, or, more frequently, for a corporation of investors, who had purchased the licences permitting them to export an appointed number of Negroes in a certain period of time... The taxes demanded of the chief could be conveniently paid in slaves... It was not unknown for missionary orders to run their programme on the proceeds from the sale of slaves from their estates.<sup>40</sup>

The violence of slavery depleted the native population. Between 1580 and 1836, according to Duffy, over three million Angolans were exported as slaves. The callous violence which accompanied the "commerce in black humanity" evoked some protests from a few liberal Portuguese humanitarians. Some Portuguese anti-slavery tracts appeared in Lisbon during the eighteenth century, but they had very little effect on the large export slave trade or the small-scale domestic slavery. Local slavery, both in Lisbon and in Angola, played second fiddle to the main trade. The elementary life of Angola could not support large-scale slavery. Besides, the African was more profitable when sold for export.

The anti-slavery movement had some effects in Portugal. In 1836 Portugal's liberal Prime Minister, the Marquês de Sá Bandeira, decreed that the slave trade was to cease at the

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<sup>40</sup> Duffy, op. cit., pp. 60-61.



end of that year. But the decree met vigorous opposition in Angola. Even the governor of the colony continued the traffic in slaves. It was the intervention of the British government that brought the Portuguese slave trade to an end.

Duffy states:

Only the blunt and arrogant intervention of the English government, who refused any longer to respect the Portuguese flag and ordered ships of the Royal Navy to patrol the West African coast and to seize Portuguese slavers, and the effective work of Governor Pedro Alexandre da Cunha in 1845, brought about a final suppression by the middle of the century.<sup>41</sup>

Prime Minister Bandeira drafted a law to end slavery outright in 1858. The Angolan colonists were so opposed to the measure that the government had to introduce a compromise. Twenty years later all slaves were to be freed. No more Africans could be enslaved and all children born after 1858 were born free. But the Angolan colonists continued their fight against that measure. Duffy sums up:

The spirit of slavery died hard in the province, and many colonists refused to accept the decision of the government, resisting it both openly and covertly.<sup>42</sup>

Slavery was legally abolished in 1878, but the practice continued in another form. A Native Labour Code promulgated by the Lisbon government in 1878 contained a vagrancy clause

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41 Duffy, op. cit., p. 69.

42 Loc. cit.

which was used to obtain free labour. Whenever the colonists required cheap labour, Africans were declared vagrants and forced to work anywhere for long periods of time.

Portugal began a concentrated interest in Angola following the "scramble for Africa" which culminated in the Berlin Conference of 1885. That conference, which carved up Africa among the European imperialist nations, ceded Angola to Portugal because of Portugal's long-standing presence there. Portugal lost some territory because of the claims of the other European nations. It therefore set out after the conference to consolidate its control over its West African possession.

In summary, during the period under discussion, the Portuguese colonialists treated the peoples of Angola with racial contempt. Angolans were made a commodity to be exploited for Portuguese economic profit. They were later called "brutes" and "heathens". Such Portuguese rationalizations to justify slavery emerged during the early seventeenth century. The Portuguese colonialists exhibited attitudes of conscious racial superiority during and since their first century of Angolan occupation.

Portuguese writers and apologists refer extensively to the fact that Portuguese men mated freely with African women. But they never mention that it was because of the scarcity of Portuguese women in Angola. They are also silent about the fact that, during the early period of contact, Africans

never mated with Portuguese women. It was impossible for them to do so, given the race-class climate of the period. The mestizos were favoured over the Africans. The Portuguese values were dominant. "Multi-racial integration" was not a goal. Cadornega's history illustrates that point. As an eye-witness he was more reliable than the former Prime Minister, Dr. Salazar, who asserted that the Portuguese contacts overseas "have never involved the slightest idea of superiority or racial discrimination."

The period after the Berlin Conference up to the present time will now be examined and analyzed.

The Government of Portugal consciously commenced consolidation of its domination over Angola after the imperialist powers at the Berlin Conference recognized Portugal's sovereignty over the colony. And in the 1890's the Portuguese military embarked on many expeditions to subdue African resistance in the interior of the colony. Portuguese penetration and control of Angola has never been peaceful nor complete. Although they killed many Africans in battle, the Portuguese were unable to curtail African resistance. In 1902 the Bailundu people engaged the Portuguese in an armed conflict now known as the Bailundu War. The history of the Portuguese in Angola has been a history of continual warfare by Africans who on many occasions tried to expel the Portuguese.

After World War II, with the help of the military, Portugal began a concentrated effort to settle many of its

Portuguese nationals in the "Black Mother." | Large-scale  
 colonization schemes engineered in Lisbon became operative  
 and Portuguese emigration to Angola began to show phenomenal  
 increases. Thomas Okuma documents the increase as follows:<sup>43</sup>

1900 -	9,000
1910 -	12,000
1920 -	20,700
1940 -	44,083
1950 -	78,826
1955 -	109,568
1961 -	175,000

In 1958, according to Gwendolyn Carter, an American political  
 scientist who visited Angola that year, the Portuguese popula-  
 tion in Angola was 140,000.<sup>44</sup> Commenting on the Europeaniza-  
 tion of Angola, Carter wrote:

It took me some time to realize what was so fami-  
 liar in the dining room of my comfortable Luanda  
 hotel. The food was delicious; the service excel-  
 lent. Suddenly I realized why I did not feel as if  
 I were in Africa at all. There was not a single  
 dark face in the dining room. Even the trays were  
 carried in by Portuguese waiters. Never before had  
 I felt in Africa that I was in a European enclave  
 completely separated from the distinctive life of  
 the continent.

...the predominant--and most startling--of impres-  
 sions on reaching Angola is that it is fast becoming  
 a European country. Except in the early morning and  
 late afternoons, there are more Europeans on the  
 streets of Luanda than Africans.<sup>45</sup>

Since 1958 the African population has been decreasing as

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<sup>43</sup> Thomas Okuma, Angola in Ferment, Toronto, Beacon Press,  
 1962, p. 7.

<sup>44</sup> Gwendolyn Carter, Independence for Africa, New York,  
 Frederick A. Praeger, 1960, p. 96.

<sup>45</sup> Loc. cit.

Angolans have been seeking refuge from Portuguese colonialism in neighbouring African countries. Meanwhile the Portuguese population continues to increase.

According to Robert Kuczynski, in 1935 the white population in Angola was 30,000<sup>46</sup> and, according to Boavida, it was 250,000 in 1970.<sup>47</sup> When the revolutionary war began in 1961 a contingent of 45,000<sup>48</sup> Portuguese soldiers was dispatched to the colony. Barnett and Harvey give the figure of 80,000.<sup>49</sup>

Metropolitan Portuguese immigration into Angola is encouraged by a Portuguese Colonization Fund which generously aids emigrants. The aim of the scheme is to settle Portuguese peasant farmers in the colony and to consolidate the Portuguese position in Angola. Married farmers over thirty years of age are given from twenty to one hundred hectares of land, some livestock and a longterm loan. An abundance of cheap African labour and the best agricultural lands are made available to the Portuguese emigrants who very often force

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46 Robert R. Kuczynski, Colonial Population, London, Oxford University Press, 1937, p. 22.

47 Boavida, op. cit., p. 46.

48 Douglas Wheeler, Portuguese Expansion in Angola Since 1836: A Re-Examination, The Central Africa Historical Association, Local Series 20, July 21, 1967, p. 16.

49 Barnett and Harvey, op. cit., p. 2.

the Africans off the land. In 1958, 3,500<sup>50</sup> families were settled under the scheme.

With the post-war increase in the Portuguese population social, political and economic relations became more strained and competitive. A larger group of Portuguese nationals had to compete with Africans and mestizos for arable lands and jobs. Competition created situations in which racism became more overt. The changing racial composition of the colony with its caste-like social and economic relations was reflected in Lisbon's laws governing labour, social control and education for the colony.)

Slavery formed the historical background to the labour laws in Angola. It was abolished by law in 1878, but the practice continued to flourish on the illegal black market as well as quite openly at times. Duffy states:

The spirit of slavery died hard in the province, and many colonists refused to accept the decision of the government, resisting it both openly and covertly.<sup>51</sup>

And E. D. Morel noted:

Slavery of the old-fashioned kind, the raiding, kidnapping and purchase of human beings for plantations under white overseers, did not die out with the legal abolition of the trade.<sup>52</sup>

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50 Homer A. Jack, Angola: Repression and Revolt in Portuguese Africa, American Committee on Africa, 1960, p. 13.

51 Duffy, op. cit., p. 69.

52 E. D. Morel, op. cit., p. 148.

In 1878 a Native Labour Code was promulgated by the Portuguese government in Lisbon. The law contained a vagrancy clause which, in effect, permitted Africans to be enslaved. For example, Africans could be declared vagrants under the vagrancy clause and compelled to work for the colonists or the government in Angola wherever and for as long as their labour power was required. But the Native Labour Code was an improvement over slavery. Until the African was declared a vagrant he could withhold his labour power without legal penalty.

In 1893 the Portuguese required much cheap labour. A Portuguese commissioner in charge of recruitment rationalized thus:

We need the labor of the natives. We need it in order to improve the condition of the laborers themselves; we need it for the economy of Europe and for the progress of Africa. Capital...needs workers in abundance who are sturdy and cheap... The Negro is a race which still today, after untold centuries, never produced by its own spontaneous effort a single rudiment of civilization... If we don't know how or we don't want to oblige the Negro...we will have to surrender Africa to those who are less sentimental and more utilitarian than we are....<sup>53</sup>

In 1899 the Portuguese government enacted a new labour code which stated in the first paragraph:

All the natives of the Portuguese Overseas Provinces are subject to the moral and legal

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<sup>53</sup> cited by Marvin Harris, Portugal's African "Wards", American Committee on Africa, 1960, pp. 18-19.

obligation of seeking through work the means which they lack for subsisting and for improving their social condition... They have full liberty to select the mode of fulfilling this obligation, but if they do not fulfill it by some means, the public authorities can impose its fulfillment upon them.<sup>54</sup>  
(emphasis mine)

The new code sanctioned obligatory labour for Africans and the Portuguese carried out both the spirit and the letter of the code. The exploitation of the African population as a reserve army of cheap labour continued. The colonial administration was the official supplier of obligatory labour. Some labour was voluntary, but whenever sufficient volunteers were not forthcoming, African men and women were hunted and forced to work under conditions reminiscent of the days of large-scale plantation slavery.

The continuing enslavement of Africans by the Portuguese in Angola and the cocoa producing islands of São Tomé and Príncipe received worldwide attention during the first quarter of this century. The islands are well-suited geographically for cocoa production, but local labour is scarce. In 1901 São Tomé exported 277,000 cwt. of cocoa and in 1905 the amount was 507,000 cwt.<sup>55</sup>

Labour had to be imported for the islands' plantations, the majority from Angola. Between 1901 and 1905 the official

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<sup>54</sup> Harris, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>55</sup> William A. Cadbury, Labour in Portuguese West Africa, New York, Negro Universities Press, 1969, p. 106.



figure was 18,000<sup>56</sup> for the two islands. In theory, labourers entered into voluntary contracts to work for a period of five years, renewable by mutual consent on the islands. In practice, the supply of labourers was obtained and maintained by the age-old ways of kidnapping, raiding and purchase. The planters wanted labour and would obtain it by any means necessary. And labour was procured and supplied by the method of the old slave trade. Agents employed by the planters went into the interior of Angola and bribed local officials until they received the desired number of labourers, for whom the agent received handsome commissions.

The traffic was lucrative. Open raiding, bribery of native chiefs, encouraging litigation among the natives, stirring up inter-tribal warfare, and using as intermediaries the rebellious Congo Free State soldiery which held the frontier country for more than a decade--these were the chief methods employed.<sup>57</sup>

The captives were shackled and conveyed in caravans along the old slave roads where many of them died. The agents handed the survivors over to employers who took them to a magistrate who signed the "voluntary contract". Having "complied" with the law, they were transported to the islands where many of them died. Lack of sanitary facilities and brutal treatment took many lives. The situation became scandalous at the turn of the century. In 1902 the Bailundu peoples in the interior

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<sup>56</sup> Cadbury, op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>57</sup> Morel, op. cit., p. 154.

organized an armed rebellion against the labour malpractices of the Portuguese. They gained some short-term successes. Some Portuguese slavers were punished, but still the practice continued.)

In 1905 Henry Nevinson travelled through Angola and reported on contract labour which in fact was the slave trade in disguise. He described vividly the existing conditions in his book A Modern Slavery:

The system is only a dodge to delude the anti-slavery people, who were at one time strong in Great Britain, and have lately shown signs of life in Portugal. Except in the eyes of a law which is hardly ever enforced, slavery exists almost unchecked. Slaves work the plantations, slaves serve the traders, slaves do the housework of families. Ordinary free wage-earners exist in the towns and among the carriers, but, as a rule, throughout the country the system of labor is founded on slavery, and very few of the Portuguese or foreign residents in Angola would hesitate to admit it.<sup>58</sup>

Nevinson travelled throughout Angola and observed similar labour practices in every region--forced labourers and shackles.

Slavery exists quite openly throughout Bié in the three forms of family slavery among the natives themselves, domestic slavery to the Portuguese traders, and slavery on the plantations.<sup>59</sup>

Shackles and skeletons were seen throughout the interior.

...the trees on the western edge of the Hungry Country bear shackles in profusion--shackles for the hands, shackles for the feet, shackles for three

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58 Henry W. Nevinson, A Modern Slavery, New York, Schocken Books, 1968, p. 58.

59 Ibid, p. 100.

or four slaves who are clamped together at night. The drivers hang them up with the idea of using them again when they return for the next consignment of human merchandise... You find shackles of various ages--some quite new, with the marks of the axe fresh upon them, some old and half eaten by ants...one often finds the remains of a skeleton beside a shackle ... That path is strewn with dead men's bones. You see the white thigh-bones lying in front of your feet and at one side, among the undergrowth, you find the skull. These are the skeletons of slaves who have been unable to keep up with the march, and so were murdered or left to die.<sup>60</sup>

In 1907 Joseph Burt and Dr. Claude Morton investigated and confirmed Nevinson's report on labour conditions in Angola and the cocoa islands. Their report was commissioned by Cadbury Brothers of England, a major purchaser of the island's cocoa. Among their findings was the harsh practice of corporal punishment meted out to the labourers. Burt noted:

Corporal punishment is prohibited by law, but it is nevertheless extensively practised. (emphasis mine) At times the hand is beaten with a thick, flat, circular piece of wood with a handle, known as a palmatoria. In more serious cases a strip of hide, known as a chicotte is sometimes used, occasionally a thong of thick rubber.<sup>61</sup>

The investigators witnessed numerous beatings, some more cruel than others. While at Benguela, Burt wrote:

Whilst I was there a boy at an hotel was ordered to beat his own wife, at the time pregnant, and did it. A man staying at an hotel in the town heard shrieks in one of the great house yards, still used to enclose servicaes, and common in Benguela, and saw a boy rushing out, bleeding terribly. I myself

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60 Nevinson, op. cit., pp. 112-113.

61 Joseph Burt, cited in Cadbury, op. cit., p. 112.

saw the stains of blood on the road.<sup>62</sup>

In 1924 Professor Edward Ross and Dr. Melville Cramer, after undertaking extensive sociological investigations in Angola, recorded:

Government serfdom is more heartless than the old domestic slavery, which was cruel only when the master was of a cruel character.<sup>63</sup>

Their report was submitted to the League of Nations Temporary Slavery Commission and Portugal was heavily criticized. In 1928 Portugal enacted a new labour code aimed at ending forced labour except for public works and penal correction. It states in part:

The Government of the Republic does not impose nor permit that any type of obligatory labor for private purposes be required of the natives of its colonies, but it does not release them from fulfilling the moral duty...of working to secure their livelihood and of thereby contributing to the welfare of humanity.<sup>64</sup>

According to the code, Africans may be compelled to work on "public works of general and collective interest, the results of which will benefit them, to fulfil judicial sentences of a penal character, and to fulfil fiscal obligations."<sup>65</sup> Africans are obliged to work on public projects whenever

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62 Cadbury, op. cit., p. 115.

63 Edward Ross and Melville Cramer, Report on Employment of Native Labour in Portuguese Africa, New York, 1925, p. 12.

64 cited by Harris, op. cit., p. 20.

65 cited by Jack, op. cit., p. 10.

voluntary workers are insufficient, or during emergencies. They receive wages for obligatory labour, except when working on roads. Road builders have to provide their own tools and food. Sometimes Africans are forced to work in lieu of prison sentences, also to make up payments for taxes. But the code stipulates that:

The Government of the Republic guarantees to the natives of its colonies full liberty of choosing the work which best suits them.<sup>66</sup>

Despite that and similar guarantees in laws such as the Colonial Act of 1930, The Organic Charter of the Portuguese Empire 1933, The Organic Law of Overseas Portugal 1953, The Statute of the Natives of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique 1954 and the Estatuto dos Indigenas 1961, forced labour has continued well into the 1970's. Barnett and Harvey have recorded the life histories of Angolans who have been beaten and forced to work for virtually nothing for the Portuguese. Lucas Malasa Luis, in describing his life, stated:

I used to fish for myself and was often forced to work at the post without pay to avoid imprisonment. At the post we had to clear land and cultivate cassava. We were also forced to work on the roads and build huts, sometimes even the big houses of the Portuguese... My second father's nephew ran away that year to work in Zambia. The Portuguese became more brutal, seizing many villagers and dragging them to the post to pay taxes... The Portuguese chefe do posto was very brutal. He often tortured the villagers, forcing them to drink pili pili (hot peppers) mixed with water--even putting it in their eyes. He also beat them with

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66 Harris, op. cit., p. 20.

his kiboko (rhino-hide whip), arrested them, and sent some to prison.<sup>67</sup>

Forced labour is used extensively, especially in primary industries. Portuguese plantation owners rely on forced labourers for their sugar, sisal and coffee plantations. According to the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA), 260,000 labourers or 57 per cent of the Angolan work force consisted of forced labourers.

Contract labour (contratado), also called forced labour by the Angolans, is widespread. Africans are recruited to work on private or public projects away from home, in São Tomé and Príncipe, as well as in Angola, from six to eighteen months. In 1954 their wage was approximately 14¢ per day.<sup>68</sup> According to Davidson, in 1954 there were 379,000 contratados.<sup>69</sup> But according to Egerton, a supporter of Portuguese policy, the number was 142,674 in 1953 and only 99,771 in 1954.<sup>70</sup> Whichever number is correct, the figure is high. The Benguela railroad had 2,018 contratados in 1954. It also employed 13,454 voluntary workers.<sup>71</sup> Contract labourers are recruited under supervision of local administrators, such as village headmen and chefes do posto.

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67 Barnett and Harvey, op. cit., p. 68.

68 Basil Davidson, The African Awakening, London, 1955, p.210.

69 Ibid., p. 202.

70 Egerton, op. cit., p. 260.

71 Davidson, op. cit., p. 195.

*Armed*

Voluntary labour (voluntário) is contracted directly between the employer and the labourer, usually in areas where the African normally resides. In voluntary contracts, the worker may remain on the job for varying lengths of time. Davidson estimated that there were 400,000 voluntários in 1954.<sup>72</sup> But it is common for labourers to be coerced to work "voluntarily". The Portuguese often pressure village headmen, sometimes by flogging them publicly, to supply quotas of "voluntary" contract labourers.

Naked force in the form of coercion and corporal punishment is used against the Angolan population. Carter wrote:

Africans are not only subject to uncertain conditions of life but also to tight controls and the frequent use of physical punishment. If an employer is dissatisfied with the conduct of an African, he may send the latter to the police station, where his hands are beaten with an unpleasant instrument called the palmeto--a flat paddle with round holes which suck up the flesh. In serious cases, Africans are stripped and beaten. Penalties are usually imposed publicly so as to provide further humiliation.<sup>73</sup>

Rev. Clifford Parsons wrote:

The use of corporal punishment, still defended by some in our own country, has no one to question it in Angola. It is a part of life as everyone knows. The cheeky house-boy, the man who omitted to raise his hat to the chefe do posto, the clumsy labourer, the chief unable to produce the requisite number of 'volunteers'--all have savoured the palmatorio or the chicote. Doctors and nurses of our own missions have tended the hands of people

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72 Davidson, op. cit., p. 195.

73 Carter, op. cit., p. 103.

beaten in this way. I myself have seen the backs of lads whipped in 1959 for no other reason than the suspicion that they might have been discussing politics.<sup>74</sup>

According to Henrique Galvão, a former Portuguese Colonial Inspector and Deputy for Angola in the National Assembly in Lisbon:

...the most shameful outrages are committed, including forced labour of independent, self-employed workers, of women, of children, of the sick, of decrepit old men, etc. Only the dead are really exempt from forced labour.<sup>75</sup> (Italics in original)

In 1947 Galvão prepared a report on the social and economic conditions in Angola and Mozambique. The report was suppressed by the Lisbon government. After giving a detailed description of the labour situation in Angola, Galvão stated:

From a realistic point of view, the situation is at least as inhuman as it was in the days of pure slavery. Yet in those days the Negro, bought as a work animal, constituted a piece of personal property which his owner had an interest in keeping healthy and strong, just as in the case of his ox or his horse. Now the Negro is not bought but is simply rented from the Government without losing the label of free man. The employer cares little whether the man lives or dies, provided he keeps on working while he can; for the employer can demand that another labourer be furnished if the first one becomes incapacitated or dies. There are employers who let as many as 35 per cent of the workers, received from the government agents, die during what is called the work-contract period.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Clifford Parsons, "The Makings of a Revolt," Angola, A Symposium, p. 68.

<sup>75</sup> Henrique Galvão, Santo Maria, My Crusade for Portugal, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961, p. 52.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 53.



Some 2,000,000 Angolans<sup>77</sup> have left their country in search of better conditions in the Congo, the Rhodesias and South Africa. Despite Apartheid in the latter country, Angolans who have gone there "have returned with clothing and money,"<sup>78</sup> as Lucas Malasa Luis told Barnett and Harvey. While Angolans have had to leave their country, the Portuguese have been migrating there in increasing numbers.

In 1955 Portugal came under heavy fire from the Afro-Asian nations who brought the matter of the Portuguese forced labour system into the United Nations. Portugal denied the charges but stated emphatically that the "The Portuguese government is unable to recognize the right of any able-bodied man, African or other, to live in idleness when his labour is essential to the country's progress." (emphasis mine) But the Portuguese do not recognize able-bodied men as such in the colony. They distinguish and discriminate between Portuguese and "others". With increased metropolitan Portuguese immigration to Angola, the Lisbon government passed laws which created, in effect, three different categories of persons distinguished mainly by their racial characteristics.

In 1954 the government of Portugal passed the Statute of the Portuguese Natives of the Provinces of Guiné, Angola and Mozambique, and stipulated legal regulations for indigenas

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77 Hugh Kay, Salazar and Modern Portugal, London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1970, p. 215.

78 Barnett and Harvey, op. cit., p. 71.

(natives), Portuguese citizens and assimilados. According to the law:

Individuals of the Negro race or their descendants who were born or habitually reside in the said provinces and who do not yet possess the learning and the social and individual habits presupposed for the integral application of the public and private law of Portuguese citizens are considered to be indigenas.<sup>79</sup>

Indigenas have very few legal rights. Their lives are controlled by a rigid juridical and administrative system known as the "indigenato", which is based upon philosophical and racial rationalizations. Among them is the belief that a large majority of Africans are culturally, linguistically, morally and intellectually incapable of behaving like Portuguese citizens. Africans are treated paternalistically like little children who need to be nurtured in Portuguese ways. "We Portuguese regard the native as a child and like good parents we have to spank him from time to time,"<sup>80</sup> a Portuguese official told James Duffy.

Indigenas do not have freedom to move from one region to another. Their place of residence is controlled through a legal pass system operated under the Statute of 1954 by the local colonial administration. The Statute makes it mandatory for a person to obtain a permit from the local administration if he wished to travel. Such a permit must be presented on

79 cited by Harris, op. cit., p. 7.

80 Duffy, Portuguese Africa, p. 304.

arrival at his destination.) Indigenas found outside their prescribed area, without a valid pass, are subject to immediate arrest. Doctors are forbidden to treat the sick if they are indigenas without valid passes.

Indigenas are not allowed to exercise any political rights. Such privileges are reserved for Portuguese nationals, mestizos and assimilados. According to former Prime Minister Oliveira Salazar:

Full citizenship should be a noble legal concept and the granting of civil rights should correspond to a genuine and lasting evolution or else the peoples run the risk of regression and a return to tribalism. A law recognizing citizenship takes minutes to draft and can be made right away; a citizen, that is, a man fully and consciously integrated into a civilized political society, takes centuries to achieve.<sup>81</sup>

Portugal has been in Angola for over four centuries. During that time, only a tiny group of Africans have been allowed to rise to the status of Portuguese citizens. The vast majority have been denied their human rights. A United Nations Sub-Committee concluded:

...in spite of the official objectives, some of the legislation and administrative practices in Angola as reported to the Sub-Committee would seem to have had the effect of discriminating against the indigenous inhabitants and of denying to them or restricting enjoyment of many of the fundamental freedoms and human rights.<sup>82</sup>

Some educational provisions have been made for indigenas

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81 cited by United Nations, General Assembly, op. cit., p.23.

82 Ibid., p. 25.

to become assimilated into Portuguese culture. The Portuguese overseas Organic Law of 1953 stated the objective of indigenas education to be their "perfect nationalization and moral uplift." That task was assigned to the Portuguese Catholic Church which is an integral part of the Portuguese state.

The Colonial Act of 1930 states:

Religious missions overseas, being instruments of civilization and national influence, and establishments for the training of personnel for service in them and in the Portuguese padroado, shall possess a juridical character and shall be protected and assisted by the State as institutions of learning.<sup>83</sup>

Both the State and the Church have used what little education they offered to develop and reinforce the historical process of subordination by the Portuguese of the African. Portuguese colonial policy on education proclaims:

The instruction especially intended for indigenous persons shall have as its general purpose the moral, civic, intellectual and physical education prescribed by law and the imparting of work habits and work skills, as determined by the needs of both sexes and by social and regional economic conditions.<sup>84</sup>

The Portuguese government explained to the United Nations Sub-Committee on Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities in 1954 that the special treatment of the indigenas was not based on any racial considerations. The official explanation was as follows:

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83 Okuma, op. cit., p. 112.

84 United Nations, op. cit., p. 31.

The so-called 'rudimentary schools' do not constitute a system parallel to, and distinct from, the primary education system. The purpose of these schools is simply to provide an 'adaptive' education; pupils proceed from the 'rudimentary schools' to the primary schools. This adaptive (rudimentary) education precedes primary school and is therefore 'pre-primary' in character. In this connexion, there is no discrimination whatsoever of a racial character. The criterion applied is a purely educational one; the pupils who attend the 'rudimentary schools' could not, because of their level of education and inadequate knowledge of Portuguese, usefully attend primary schools.

The material conditions for admission to the rudimentary schools are not different from those relating to primary schools.<sup>85</sup>

These explanations are superficial rationalizations. Indigenas children of Africans have to attend rudimentary schools and those schools are less well-equipped than the primary schools which the children of Portuguese and mestizos attend. The level of education at rudimentary schools is low because they have been established for African children. The system has a built-in device which retards the educational progress of African children.

The indigenas have to go through a three-layered school system. Children between the ages of eight and fourteen go through the first stage of a rudimentary education called ensino de adaptacao. They are taught the elements of Portuguese language and history, rudimentary agricultural techniques and hygiene. The aim of the school is to instill Portuguese patriotism in the hearts and minds of the African students.

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85 United Nations, op. cit., p. 31.

African history and culture are ignored. The pupils are taught the legendary glory of the Portuguese Empire and the Catholic Church. African languages are strictly forbidden except for the purpose of learning religion.

The rudimentary schools are usually attached to farms owned or operated by missionaries. The children have to work on the farms. Not many of them go on to primary schools. School attendance increased during the 1950's. In 1952, 17,114 students attended rudimentary schools; 24,618 in 1954 and 49,142 in 1956.<sup>86</sup> The 1956 figure of 49,142 represents only approximately one per cent of the African population. In 1956 Portugal had been in Angola for over four hundred and fifty years. During that period, the Portuguese made no serious systematic attempts to educate the African population.

Indigenas do not automatically go from a lower to a higher school. They encounter many social and economic barriers. Of the 49,142 students enrolled in the ensino de adaptacao, 36,180 passed and were eligible to attend primary school. That year only 21,780 students were enrolled in primary schools. Of the latter number, 13,394 passed and were eligible to attend high school, but only 3,812 were in attendance.<sup>87</sup>

In 1958-59 Angola had a total of 1,706 schools and an

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86 Okuma, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

87 Loc. cit.

enrollment of 96,229, of which 29,824 were girls, including 13,173 in adaptive courses, 12,573 in primary schools and 2,709 in high schools. There were 645 private schools with 29,762 students, 13,226 in primary schools, 13,913 in adaptive courses, 2,335 in secondary schools and 288 in technical professional schools.<sup>88</sup>

According to the Portuguese, 104,000 pupils were attending primary schools and "schooling stations" in 1960. In 1966 the number rose to 225,000 and in 1967 to 363,000. In 1968 there were 34,621 secondary school pupils.<sup>89</sup> According to the United Nations Demographic Yearbook (1970), the educational situation in Angola in 1968 was as follows:<sup>90</sup>

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Students</u>
Pre-primary	65	2,071
First level	7,434	333,767
Second level	2,936	46,061
General	1,726	30,348
Vocational	1,102	14,530
Teacher Training/Normal	108	1,147
Third Level	176	1,252
Special	2	19

In the period 1966-67, according to the Portuguese sources, two-thirds of all school children were either in preparatory schools or in first year. Less than one-fifth were enrolled in second year, barely more than ten per cent in third year,

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88 United Nations, op. cit., p. 31.

89 The Liberation Front, Revolution In Angola, London, Merlin Press, 1972, p. 23.

90 United Nations, Demographic Yearbook, 1970, New York, p. 753.

and only seven per cent in fourth year. No more than fifty-five per cent of the children in primary schools passed their examinations, and of 18,550 enrolled in fourth year, only 4,279 passed the examinations marking the completion of primary schooling.<sup>91</sup> According to the German magazine,

Der Spiegel:

...José Pinheiro da Silva, chief of education services in Angola, has stated that half the children in Angola go to school. But even in a 'model village' in northern Angola inhabited by about 13,000 people, only 200 children are learning how to read and write.<sup>92</sup>

When the indigenas have successfully passed through the school system, in other words, whenever they have become "perfectly nationalized," they are accepted as assimilados if they meet the additional requirements. Duffy cites some:

The applicant must be at least eighteen years of age. He must demonstrate that he earns sufficient income for himself and his family. He must be of good character and possess those qualities necessary for the exercise of the public and private rights of the Portuguese. He must not have evaded military service or have been declared a deserter.<sup>93</sup>

The applicant must furnish various proofs that he has fulfilled the conditions for assimilado before this status is conferred. The vast majority of applicants do not qualify. An applicant must work very hard for many years to meet the

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91 cited by The Liberation Front, op. cit., p. 24.

92 Ibid., p. 23.

93 Duffy, op. cit., p. 295.



stringent conditions. Many Africans bribe the Portuguese local authority to fix their assimilation papers. The United Nations Sub-Committee reported:

Instances were described of payments being made in connexion with assimilation papers; these payments were usually made to a third party whose job it was to arrange such payments. Suitable bribes were also often helpful, it was said, in obtaining the release of persons arbitrarily arrested or wrongfully taken to work as recruited labourers. The most flagrant bribery, however, was said to exist in connexion with recruitment of labour for European companies and settlers.<sup>94</sup>

In spite of bribes, the number of Africans who became assimilados is very low. In 1958 there were only 30,089 Africans classified as assimilados,<sup>95</sup> and 29,000 of mixed blood.<sup>96</sup> Carter estimated that in 1958 there were "no more than between 8,000 and 10,000 true assimilados within Angola." She stated that the Portuguese chefe do posto, when compiling the statistics, had included wives in the same status as assimilado husbands

...though, in fact, there are few African women in Angola who have yet achieved the necessary educational level to admit them to that status. Furthermore, there are almost as many children as adults listed as assimilados in the 1950 census.<sup>97</sup>

According to the United Nations Sub-Committee, of 4,855,219

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94 United Nations, General Assembly, op. cit., p. 25.

95 Cabral, op. cit., p. 145.

96 Carter, op. cit., p. 99.

97 Carter, op. cit., p. 99.

inhabitants of Angola in 1961, only 70,000 persons of mixed or native ancestry had become "assimilated".<sup>98</sup>

The Portuguese make it difficult for indigenas to become assimilados. Portugal's colonial policy limits the social evolution of Africans through discrimination in the education system. Children of indigenas, in their first few years of schooling, attend ensinos de adaptacao, whereas children of Portuguese, mestizos and assimilados attend ensinos official. Between 1954 and 1956, the government and private schools enlarged their facilities to accommodate the increasing number of European children. In 1954 there were 146 schools staffed by 409 teachers in charge 13,212 students. In 1956 the schools had increased to 167, with 536 teachers for 15,186 students.<sup>99</sup> The Portuguese and the assimilados are provided with better educational opportunities which enhances their dominant position in the colonial society.

Education effectively maintains the caste-like race-class relationships. According to the MPLA, "Education in Angola is still the same as ever, racist, paternalist, obscurantist, and anti-national, and of poor quality."<sup>100</sup> Education and

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98 United Nations, op. cit., p. 23.

99 Okuma, op. cit., p. 42.

100 The Liberation Front, op. cit., p. 24.

the policy of assimilation create a "socially superior minority"<sup>101</sup> among Africans. By implication, the policy says it is socially better to be Portuguese than to be African. This is reinforced by the fact that the Portuguese ruling class, incorporating a few African assimilados, controls the society. Yet assimilation has contradictory tendencies. It promotes a few Africans, while simultaneously making the majority inferior. Portuguese values are entrenched and praised while those of the Africans are debased.

Education is a key for entry into the public service. Candidates recruited in Angola must have five years of secondary education. The educational system previously described makes it very difficult for many Africans to qualify to enter the service. Minor positions such as village headman and local police are given to them. Metropolitan Portuguese nationals are selected for the higher jobs in the public service in preference to the assimilados. The Sub-Committee found that:

...in Angola preference in the recruitment for public services has generally been given to persons born in Portugal and that there has been discrimination against Africans who had become assimilados. In particular, it was pointed out that most of the administrative posts at and above the chefe do posto level were by custom and practice held by Portuguese. There were complaints that Angolans were restricted in the public competitions both for civil service posts as well as careers in the army. It was said,

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101 United Nations, op. cit., p. 23.

for instance, that non-assimilated Africans could not rise above the rank of lance corporal.<sup>102</sup>

According to a supporter of the Portuguese government, in June 1961, 40 per cent of administrative officials were non-whites.<sup>103</sup> This spokesman said that the percentage was sometimes higher and sometimes lower, but it never fell below 30 per cent. The non-white population accounted for more than 80 per cent of the population. Since 1961, "a few Angolan functionaries have been promoted and their pay has been increased," and "two or three Angolans have become 'deputies for Angola in the Portuguese Assembly'."<sup>104</sup>

Africans are not only denied quality education and easy entry into the public service, they are deprived of medical facilities as well. "The African's need for (medical) assistance is as desperate as it is for education, and less adequately provided for," states Duffy,<sup>105</sup> and Davidson confirms that:

Medical services practically never reach the villages; and preventive medicine seems to be limited to erratic efforts to inoculate for small-pox and sleeping sickness. Malnutrition is general, and its main effect is in spreading tuberculosis.<sup>106</sup>

In 1960 the life expectancy of Angolans was 33.5 years.<sup>107</sup>

102 United Nations, op. cit., p. 24.

103 cited by United Nations, op. cit., p. 24.

104 The Liberation Front, op. cit., p. 25.

105 Duffy, op. cit., p. 316.

106 Davidson, op. cit., p. 222.

107 United Nations, Demographic Yearbook, p. 119.

For the metropolitan Portuguese, it was 60.73 for males and 66.35 for females.<sup>108</sup> In 1969, in Angola, there were 183 midwives, 2,011 nurses, 524 physicians and 74 pharmacists. There was one doctor per 10,363 population and one hospital bed per 405 population.<sup>109</sup> In 1958 the infant deaths per 1,000 live births were 226 for the "civilized section" (i.e. Portuguese and mestizo). In 1954 the infant mortality rate among the indigenas was estimated to be 50 to 60 per cent.<sup>110</sup> Discrimination exists in medical facilities. According to Jack, "Government and company hospitals are segregated. There are separate wards and operating rooms in Luanda Hospital."<sup>111</sup>

Discrimination exists in education and health. It exists openly in those areas where skill African labour is purchased. A Portuguese chauffeur in Luanda receives approximately £31 per month; an African about £15.<sup>112</sup> The following table indicates that European skilled workers earned three times the wage of Africans doing the same work in 1958.<sup>113</sup>

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108 United Nations, op. cit., p. 122.

109 United Nations, Statistical Yearbook, 1971, p. 711.

110 cited by United Nations, General Assembly Report, p. 34.

111 Jack, op. cit., p. 16.

112 Antonio de Figueiredo, Portugal and its Empire: The Truth, London, 1961, p. 155.

113 Okuma, op. cit., p. 37.

Monthly Wages of Skilled Workers in Angola

	Europeans		"Natives"	
	Escudos	Dollars	Escudos	Dollars
Compositors, manual	4.500\$00	\$157.50	1.560\$00	\$54.60
Compositors, mechanical	5.000\$00	175.00	1.200\$00	42.00
Carpenters	3.120\$00	109.20	1.690\$00	59.15
Cooks	3.334\$00	116.69	500\$00	17.50
Servants	1.500\$00	52.50	450\$00	15.75
Electricians	3.080\$00	107.80	1.030\$00	36.05
Plasterers	3.640\$00	127.40	1.560\$00	54.60
Office Workers	2.500\$00	87.50	1.800\$00	63.00
Stokers	4.000\$00	140.00	450\$00	15.75
Drivers of light vehicles	2.500\$00	87.50	1.200\$00	42.00
Stonecutters	2.860\$00	90.10	1.300\$00	43.50

The demand for skilled African labour has been affected by the mass introduction of Portuguese settlers, many of whom remain idle in the cities. According to Perry Anderson, the newspaper, Le Monde reported that in 1960 there were 20,000 white unemployed persons in Angola. The Portuguese claimed that the figure was 7,000. The Observer estimated that in 1961 there were 10,000 unemployed Portuguese in Luanda.<sup>114</sup>

Mass Portuguese immigration affects everyday social relations. All-white towns and colonization projects have been built. Portuguese immigrants have been competing with Africans for such jobs as drivers, bus conductors and hotel workers. According to Carter, "Not only the waiters but also the chambermaids and even the porters in my hotel were Portuguese."<sup>115</sup> Competition takes on a racial character in such a colonial situation. The immigrants are mainly peasants and many of

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114 Anderson, op. cit., p. 102.

115 Carter, op. cit., p. 96.

them are as illiterate as the unschooled African. In 1960 Portugal had 2,339,516 or 37.1 per cent of its population who were fifteen years or older illiterate. In 1950 the figure was 2,622,128 or 44.1 per cent.<sup>116</sup> The Portuguese population in Angola increased from 9,000 in 1900 to 79,000 in 1950 and 175,000 in 1961.<sup>117</sup> In 1958, according to official documents cited by Cabral, 23 per cent of the total Portuguese population in Angola was illiterate.<sup>118</sup>

The immigrants can easily identify with the local Portuguese ruling class. Physically, they look alike. Even the illiterate Portuguese peasants expect preferential treatment, including preference for skilled jobs over qualified Africans in Angola. Portuguese expectations are based on racial and class consciousness, which, in the colonial context, are intertwined. Historically, the Portuguese--as an ethnic group and as a social category--have exercised the privileges of first choice in Angola since they started the large-scale enslavement of Africans. They are now accustomed to preferential treatment based on their distinguishable racial characteristics.

But in some places, racism becomes even more overt. In towns such as Luanda, zoning laws and high rents keep out

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116 United Nations, op. cit., p. 714.

117 Okuma, op. cit., p. 7.

118 Cabral, op. cit., p. 156.

the Africans and thereby lead to residential segregation.

Segregation also occurs in socializing activities. As Duffy states:

Signs on the doors of Angolan restaurants reading "Right of Admission Reserved" are not accidental phenomena any more than are the creation of almost exclusively white towns and colonization projects in the interior.<sup>119</sup>

Even the Church practises racial segregation, both at the level of administration and at ordinary mass. Cabral notes:

...there are separate drinking houses or different doors of the same house, one for the black and another for the white. In the church, an early mass is for Africans.<sup>120</sup>

Africans do not hold any of the positions in the higher echelons of the Roman Catholic Church. Those positions are held mainly by the metropolitan Portuguese nationals. What Cabral writes below of the civil service is true also of the Church.

The administration is a Portuguese affair with no Africans in the higher ranks of the civil service. A few people of mixed descent and assimilados are seen at the lower levels of the administration.<sup>121</sup>

When the revolutionary war began in 1961, there were 452 priests, of whom only 72 were Africans. There were 38 black Brothers and 88 black nuns.<sup>122</sup> An agreement between the state of Portugal and the Pope in 1940 stipulates that all bishops

119 Duffy, op. cit., p. 299.

120 Cabral, op. cit., p. 157.

121 Ibid., p. 165.

122 Kay, op. cit., p. 102.



must be Portuguese-born. Exceptions can be made only under extraordinary circumstances, such as acute shortages. There were two Goan assimilado bishops in Angola in 1961. Portuguese Catholic missions are not subject to the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, which governs the Roman Catholic missionary world from Rome. Instead, they are responsible to their national diocese and the State of Portugal.

The Church retards the progress of its African charges in much the same way as the State. A literary and official spokesman of the Church admits that the number of Africans at the administrative level in the Church is very small, but goes on to rationalize the situation using racist terms. He wrote:

These numbers are nevertheless woefully small, and the reason is Portugal's failure to educate more than a small proportion of the native population. Her own great poverty accounts for it in part. Moreover, the Angolan does not tend to be bright, and most of those who are educated 'stick' at the second year.<sup>123</sup>

The Church is both an instrument and part of the oppressive state apparatus. Jesuit missionaries were sent with Paulo Dias, on the first state-sponsored colonizing expedition in 1575. Since they arrived in the colony with the grandson of Bartholemew Dias, the famous explorer, the missionaries and

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123 Kay, op. cit., p. 102.

the Church have been further entrenched there. "Portuguese Catholic missions overseas and those establishments preparing personnel for that service--shall be protected and aided by the State as institutions of instruction and assistance and instruments of civilisation,"<sup>124</sup> states Article 140 of the Portuguese Constitution. Portugal's Colonial Act of 1930 gives special powers to the Church as an "instrument of civilisation and national influence."

The Church uses its privileged position to support the metropolitan government's policy and to promote its own version of ethno-centrism. "Portugal's multi-racial traditions are not Salazarist formulas for the justification of a continuing colonization,"<sup>125</sup> wrote the prominent Catholic and second British journalist allowed by Portugal to enter Angola following the start of the revolution. He further stated:

...while the Catholic Church in most mission countries seeks to build on indigenous cultures, baptising and purifying them, and marrying them to Christian civilisation, Portugal still works on the basis that the best way to Christianize is to Europeanize.<sup>126</sup>

The state apparatus, like the administration of the Church, is controlled by the Portuguese. Angola, as an "overseas province" of Portugal, is controlled directly from Lisbon through

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124 Anderson, op. cit., p. 105.

125 Kay, op. cit., p. 100.

126 Ibid., p. 101.

a Governor-General in Luanda. He is assisted by thirteen Portuguese governors, each of whom controls a district. These districts are subdivided into different levels of administration, the lowest of which is assigned to a Portuguese official, the chefe do posto. "So complete is the system of direct administration in Angola that all responsibility for settling their own affairs has been taken away from the Africans,"<sup>127</sup> wrote Carter. But a few Africans (assimilados) are to be found in the lower ranks of the civil service and in the police force. Africans who become assimilados achieve some civil rights. Assimilado status is obtained by Africans who, through education, become Portuguese in language and culture.

Education has been used to a large extent by colonial powers, such as Britain and France, in efforts to Europeanize a sizeable portion of their colonial subjects. Although education was used as a means to control their subjects, some benefit was derived by the indigenous people encompassed by the British and French systems. Many of them became well-educated and rivalled their former masters. Education has great revolutionary potential. De-colonization occurred rapidly in the British and French colonies which had a fairly high standard of education. But "educational fitness" as determined by the Church and the State of Portugal as well as

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127 Carter, op. cit., p. 98.

lack of educational facilities have been used effectively for social, political and economic control in Angola. In the Portuguese system, the colonial subjects benefit only minimally from the educational system. The small numbers of educated and assimilated Africans result directly from a colonial policy which necessarily thwarts the advancement of Africans. And the Church actively participates in the state machinery which retards the progress of the colonized. It has been given the task of educating them or, as the spokesman said, "to Europeanise".

Europeanisation, both in principle and practice, is antithetical to multi-racialism, the professed philosophy of Portuguese colonialism. The concept of multi-racialism is based on the historical fact that Portuguese men in the early period of colonialism mated freely with African women. But Portuguese women in Angola were scarce in those days. They refused to emigrate on a large scale. Twelve went to Angola in 1595, but for a long time after that feminine emigration ceased. According to Duffy, even the governors of Angola seldom took their wives with them. In 1845 the colony at Benguela consisted of thirty-eight white men, one white woman, one hundred seventy-nine mulattoes, and two thousand two hundred negroes, half of whom were slaves.<sup>127</sup> "As late as 1902 there were only one hundred odd white women living in

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<sup>127</sup> Duffy, op. cit., p. 96.

in the capital of Luanda, of whom all but eight were degradadas (wives of deported criminals)."<sup>128</sup> Because of the scarcity of European women, the Portuguese men followed their sexual instincts and mated with African women. They did not do it because of any multi-racial philosophy--that developed post facto and has formed the basis for the prevalent celebration of mixed unions between the Portuguese and others.

Prof. George Dias, the Portuguese anthropologist, has written:

The Portuguese, led by healthy instinct, mixed with the various populations of the world and contributed highly to racial fusion. It was from the free exercise of this impulse, that leads him to consider men as his equals and makes him love women of all colours.<sup>129</sup>

But the incidence of such unions has been decreasing relatively with the influx of European women. Anderson estimates that in the middle of the nineteenth century the mestizo population was twice that of the Portuguese. The following table illustrates the relative decrease of the mestizo population.<sup>130</sup>

Population of Angola

	1910	1920	1940	1950	1955
Europeans	12,000	20,700	44,083	78,826	109,568
Mestizos	9,500	10,500	28,035	29,648	30,453
Africans	2,900,000	3,000,000	3,665,829	4,836,687	4,222,117

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<sup>128</sup> Richard J. Hammond, Race Attitudes and Policies in Portuguese Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Indiana University, 1966, p. 3.

<sup>129</sup> George Dias, cited by Okuma, op. cit., p. 96.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

According to Carter, in 1958 the mestizo population was approximately 30,000.<sup>131</sup>

The following table indicates the marital pattern--the Portuguese (white) show an overwhelming preference for marriage partners in their own social grouping.<sup>132</sup>

Marriages in Angola

Men	Women	Number of Marriages	
		1950	1958
White	White	113	154
White	Mulatto	18	20
Mulatto	White	1	4
Mulatto	Mulatto	15	23
Mulatto	Negro	1	3
Negro	Mulatto	2	1
Negro	Negro	8	20
Negro	White	-	1

One could elaborate on the fact that only one marriage between an African male and a Portuguese female was recorded in 1958. But the Portuguese have never claimed that their type of multi-racialism involved the mating or marriage of African men with Portuguese women. Indeed, the Portuguese have always stressed the point that Portuguese men take African women. They use this fact as proof that they are not racist. But as C. R. Boxer has stated:

The Portuguese male might and did mate freely with the Negress, whether bond or free; and, given the extreme scarcity of white women in Angola, he

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<sup>131</sup> Carter, op. cit., p. 96.

<sup>132</sup> Anderson, op. cit., p. 111, and Parsons, op. cit., p. 60.

was almost bound to marry, if he married at all, with a Mulata or (more rarely) with a Negress. But it did not follow from this readiness to mate with coloured women, that the Portuguese male had no racial prejudice.<sup>133</sup>

Rui de Pinto, a mestizo, explained how the Portuguese treated him in school in Portugal and in Angola.

At Oporto I went to school for the first time. I remember the day when my mother and the woman we were staying with took me to the school and introduced me to the teacher. She was glad to have me there; said I was the first Angolan to go to her school. All the children gathered around me, looking at me, asking questions--wanting to know if there were any lions in Angola and so on. After a while, when they got to know me better, they started calling me "Preto de Guiné", "Black from Guiné", or "Little Black One". They would run up behind me on the road calling "Preto de Guiné, lava cara con café", "Black from Guiné, washes his face with coffee". It was a form of racism, but the kids liked me, they just weren't used to seeing black people in Portugal. In Angola it was different, but even there it was mainly the older people, not the children, who were concerned about race. I had lots of friends, white and black, and don't remember a single case of racism among them. But I recall that sometimes one of the white parents would say to their little boy: "Oh! Are you playing with those black people again?"<sup>134</sup>

From Oporto, de Pinto returned to Angola where he enrolled in a state school where:

The Portuguese teacher was a real racist. She put all the mestizo and African students in the back desks and didn't even try to teach them anything. So my mother withdrew me from the state school and put me in a Catholic school, a private parochial school.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Boxer, op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>134</sup> Don Barnett, The Making of a Middle Cadre, Life Histories from the Revolution: Autobiography of Rui de Pinto, Vancouver, 1973, unpublished, p. 4.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-6.

In summing up its findings, the United Nations Subcommittee on the Situation in Angola noted the race-class composition of that colony:

...in spite of the objectives of Government policy regarding a multi-racial society, in Angola race and place of birth had come to determine, in practice, many rights and privileges. It was said that in Angola there were in practice five categories of inhabitants. First the Portugal-born Portuguese; second, the Portuguese actually born in Angola; third in line was the mestizo (mulatto); next was the African assimilated; and finally, the great majority of the Africans.<sup>136</sup>

The race-class system which has been described in the preceding pages precipitated the racist Portuguese culture in Angola. Racism was absent from that society until the arrival and entrenchment of the Portuguese. The Portuguese who for centuries enslaved the Africans have come to think that Africans are inferior beings. "The clear majority of whites regard the Negro as inferior and accept his inferior social position as irrefutable proof of the fact,"<sup>137</sup> writes Harris about the Portuguese in Mozambique, another Portuguese African colony struggling for its freedom from colonial domination. But the Portuguese say that they do not practise racism. They point to Lusotropicology, the concept invented by Brazilian sociologist, Gilberto Freyre, who asserts that it is a national characteristic of the Portuguese to create multi-racial

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136 United Nations General Assembly, op. cit., p. 24.

137 Harris, op. cit., p. 35.



societies overseas.

Fanon states:

Race prejudice obeys a flawless logic. A country that lives, draws its substance from the exploitation of other peoples, makes those peoples inferior.<sup>138</sup>

The Canadian missionary, Dr. Sid Gilchrist, who spent many years in Angola wrote:

Certain basic assumptions and convictions seem ingrained in almost all Portuguese colonists, professional people and administrators, newly arrived or African-born, lofty or lowly. One of these is that the African is mentally and morally inferior to the Portuguese. This is expressed many times in every conversation by the use of certain terms when the African is referred to or when his culture is mentioned.<sup>139</sup>

On the eve of the revolution, a Portuguese official told the above writer that:

"The French and British have been intimidated by the ignorant black gentiles. They never were any good as colonizers. But we understand the Africans, and they obey us as children obey their parents. They adore us! There will never be any trouble in our colonies, my friend!"<sup>140</sup>

The missionary also recorded the following incident, which illustrates the internalization of racist attitudes which are prevalent in racist cultures.

Two or three days before we left Angola, with several white men standing around, in front of the

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138 Frantz Fanon, Toward the African Revolution, New York, Grove Press, Inc., 1969, pp. 40-41.

139 Gilchrist, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

140 Ibid., p. 61.

Post Office in Bela Vista, Angola, a Portuguese businessman whom I have known for many years, said to me, "Well, when you get to Rhodesia, give my greetings to Ian Smith!" "Sorry," I replied, "We're not going to see him. We expect to go to Zambia, not Rhodesia. I am not likely to have the honour of greeting Kenneth Kaunda, the head of that nation." "What?" exclaimed my Portuguese friend, "that black! They'll eat you if you go there!" I am sure that the standers-by passed on some delightful interpretations of this conversation.<sup>141</sup>

Portuguese racist attitudes formed during the sixteenth century developed further during the nineteenth century anti-slavery crusade. During those years, many racial rationalizations were put forward to justify the enslavement of Africans. A Portuguese official in the 1890's expressed his views about the African thus:

It is true that the generous sould of Wilberforce (the English anti-slavery crusader) has not transmigrated into my body, but I don't believe I have in me the blood of a slaver: I even feel an inner fondness for the Negro, this big child, instinctively bad like all children...though docile and sincere. I do not consider him something to be exterminated because of the necessity for the expansion of the white race, although I may believe in natural inferiority.<sup>142</sup>

The writer, Pro-Consul for Mozambique in 1893, was against multi-racialism. Unlike Freyre who celebrates the African woman as an agent of lusotropicology, António Ennes slanders her. In an official memorandum, he stated:

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<sup>141</sup> Gilchrist, op. cit., p. 122.

<sup>142</sup> cited by William Minter, Portuguese Africa and the West, Great Britain, Penguin Books, 1972, p. 19.

Going native is a species of reversion of civilised man to savagery, and its main agent is the negress. Africa charged the negress with avenging her conquest on the European, and it is she, the hideous one--for there is no negress that is not hideous!--who causes the proud conquerors of the Black Continent to fall victim to the sensuality of the monkey, to the base and inhuman practices of the slavemonger, to the delirium of alcoholism, to all the brutalizations of an inferior race, and even to the teeth of the hyenas scavenging in the graveyards.<sup>143</sup>

The historian, Oliveira Martins, writing about the same period stated:

It is as utopian to transform blacks into citizens and equals of the whites, as it is to encourage Portuguese emigrants to go work with the hoe in Africa in competition with the blacks. Whites and blacks have different roles, indicated by nature and the facts of life, which cannot be altered.<sup>144</sup>

The writer rationalized his views by drawing on the findings of physical anthropology which, at that time, related cranial capacity to intellectual ability. He was influenced by the German historian Gercinus, who in 1866 wrote that "all the lessons of history are lost on one who continues to attribute the same aptitudes to all the races of man," and who cited the "pedagogical results yielded by the mixed schools of the New England philanthropists, wherein coloured children never go beyond the limit of intellectual development set by their race."<sup>145</sup>

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143 cited by Hammond, op. cit., p. 8.

144 Ibid., pp.5-6.

145 Loc. cit.

In more recent times, a Colonial Minister and High Commissioner in Angola, whose collected works has been published under official auspices, Vincente Ferreira, wrote:

The so-called 'civilized natives', as all colonial sociologists have recognized, are no more, in general, than grotesque imitations of white men. With rare exceptions, in which miscegenation, though not apparent, has produced a certain change in aptitudes, the 'civilized native' preserves his primitive mentality, ill-covered by the phrases, gesture, and raiment copied from the European... The development, albeit very slow, that has been observed in certain black societies, established in prolonged contact with Europeans as for instance in America, may be attributed, possibly, to the tiny percentage of European blood introduced into the group by miscegenation. (emphasis in original)<sup>146</sup>

Ferreira was against the principle of assimilating educated natives or mestizos with Europeans. "Logically, these people should be forced to establish themselves in special communities, regulated by laws peculiarly suited to their mentality,"<sup>147</sup> he wrote:

Like Ennes before, Ferreira was against Portuguese men mating with African women. To prevent or lessen such incidents he recommended to the Portuguese government in 1944 the large-scale settlement of white families in Africa in areas climatically suitable for them to engage in agriculture. He also

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146 cited by Hammond, op. cit., p. 11.

147 Loc. cit.

recommended that African labour should be outlawed on white settlements. The aim was to minimize opportunities for miscegenation. Cella, a white colony in Angola, incorporates the Ferreira principles. The scheme negates the concept of a multi-racial society.

In 1945 when he was Minister for the Colonies, Portugal's Prime Minister Marcelo Caetano stated:

...on one point only should we be rigorous with respect to racial separation: namely marital or casual sexual mixing of blacks and whites, the source of serious disturbances in social life, and of the serious problem of race mixing; serious, I say, if not from the biological point of view, so controversial and on which it's not for me to take a position, then at least from the sociological point of view.<sup>148</sup>

This contrasts sharply with what he wrote in 1951.

Hence arises the fact, which has impressed every observer on his way through the Portuguese colonies of a peaceful and respectful tolerance of living between colonizers and natives. The truth is that there is no colour bar in our colonies...once a coloured man has acquired European habits and culture he comes to live among Europeans without any difference at all.<sup>149</sup>

On February 4, 1961 the Angolan revolution began when "a crowd of Africans from Luanda's sand slums attacked the capital's chief prison."<sup>150</sup> Their principal aim was to free

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<sup>148</sup> Marcelo Caetano, Alguns Discursos, cited by Minter, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>149</sup> Caetano, Colonizing Traditions, Principles and Methods of the Portuguese, p. 43.

<sup>150</sup> Davidson, In the Eye of the Storm, Great Britain, Longman, 1972, p. 189.

political prisoners. The Portuguese regime had been imprisoning African nationalists and anti-Salazar Portuguese in the colonies between 1957 and 1960. According to Duffy:

In Angola wholesale arrests of dissidents, real and suspected, took place. Forty-five Africans and assimilados, men and women, with seven Europeans, were arrested in 1959 and brought to trial the following year, in June, on a charge of subversion. Another fifty-two Africans...were arrested in June 1960... Among the Africans arrested in June was Agostinho Neto, a doctor and poet and the President of the (MPLA), a clandestine nationalist movement. Hundreds of villagers from Dr. Neto's birthplace in Bengo and from the nearby small town of Icolo decided to march to the administrative centre of Catete to protest against Dr. Neto's arrest. They were met there by Portuguese troops. Thirty of the marchers were killed and 200 wounded; the two villages were then destroyed by the soldiers, and more of their inhabitants killed or arrested.<sup>151</sup>

During the attack on the prison, seven Portuguese policemen were killed and forty Africans were "machine-gunned".<sup>152</sup> The following day "armed European civilians leaving funeral services for the seven policemen turned on African bystanders... chased them into a sawmill and shot them down."<sup>153</sup> On February 10, Angolans raided another prison. Seven persons were killed and seventeen wounded during the operations. And subsequently, according to John Marcum:

Portuguese vengeance was awesome. The police helped civilian vigilantes organize nightly slaughters in the muceques. The whites hauled

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<sup>151</sup> Duffy, Portugal in Africa, p. 213.

<sup>152</sup> John Marcum, The Angolan Revolution, vol. 1, The Anatomy of an Explosion (1950-1962), Cambridge, Mass., The M.I.T. Press, 1969, p. 129.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., pp. 128-9.

Africans from their flimsy one-room huts, shot them, and left their bodies in the streets. A Methodist missionary in Luanda at the time testified that he personally knew of the deaths of almost three hundred.<sup>154</sup>

On March 15 another up-rising occurred in Northern Angola. The militants killed European civilians and even African assimilados indiscriminately. But Portuguese retaliation was greater. Davidson wrote:

Throwing off all restraint after the UPA massacre of European civilians, the settler militias and their army protectors replied with a counter-massacre infinitely larger. In these months they went far to eliminate the whole assimilado community, not only in the north but in other regions too...

The Portuguese massacre of Angolans, whether black or mulatto, continued well into June, but not only in the north. There came a bloodthirsty hunt for every African with any kind of education, however minimal: a 'poor white' onslaught on black competitors that was eagerly seconded by the army and political police.<sup>155</sup>

A British Baptist missionary who was in Angola at the time wrote:

I was myself the confidant of those who were witnesses to the nightly murder of innocent Africans in the outer suburbs. At that time there was no fighting within a hundred miles of Luanda, yet wanton killing went on in this way, and even in broad daylight. The educated were again the chief object of attack and the brother of the chauffeur of the British Consul, a male nurse in a Government hospital was one of those dragged from his home and shot. I had opportunities of interviewing high officials of the State and they were fully cognizant of what was taking place. It was clear however that they were

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154 Marcum, op. cit., p. 129.

155 Davidson, op. cit., p. 196.

not prepared to take the risk of protecting the Luanda Africans lest they should provoke the antagonism of the white community.<sup>156</sup>

Parsons has stated that the Portuguese regime sought to excuse itself by claiming that it was Portuguese civilians who were engaged in the massacre of Angolans and not the government. But Parsons points out that:

...civilians were the spearhead of Portuguese counter-action, but they had been armed by the Government and the Government cannot exonerate itself from responsibility. The radio and press fermented race hatred and directed...Protestant missions.<sup>157</sup>

In 1951 Caetano pointed to the "peaceful and respectful tolerance of living between colonizers and natives" in the Portuguese territories. By 1961 the revolution in Angola had begun. The "racial" basis of Portuguese colonial culture was challenged.

Portuguese culture in Angola, the result of the production-relations, contains many contradictions. Two ideological streams emerge from Portuguese colonial culture. First is the Portuguese self-concept that they believe in the theory and practice of multi-racialism. This concept implies that the society is composed of multiple racial or ethnic groups who intermarry freely and who have racial, social and economic equality, in theory and in practice, before the law.

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156 Parsons, op. cit., p. 72.

157 Ibid., p. 73.



It has been documented that the Portuguese have never treated Africans with equality. They have treated them with "the rooted conviction that the Negro could legitimately be enslaved and hence was indisputably an inferior being to the white man."<sup>158</sup> Between 1658 and 1661 a mestizo who became governor of Angola reminded the Portuguese crown of the "old and approved usage" that one must never allow a Negro to lift his hand against a white man, "because the preservation of the kingdom depends upon this obedience and fear."<sup>159</sup>

The second stream in Portuguese colonial theory is openly opposed to the concept of multi-racialism. Portuguese officials, at different periods in African history, have advocated a policy which is overtly racist. Ideologists who favour this stream strongly believe in the natural inferiority of the African. The advocates of the first stream, while they do not express the belief that the African is inherently inferior, treat him as if he were in fact inferior. This helps to perpetuate the inferior status of the African.

In the colonial situation, Portuguese class behaviour is re-enforced by laws relating to indigenous peoples that are couched in racial terminology. For example, indigenas

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158 Boxer, op. cit., p. 40.

159 cited by Boxer, op. cit., p. 27.

are defined as "persons of the Negro race or their descendants." The Portuguese have a saying that "God made white men, God made black men, but mulattoes were made by the Portuguese."<sup>160</sup> Portuguese literature is pregnant with racial terms such as limpesa or puresa de sangue (purity of blood) and raças infectas (contaminated races). The preceding citations indicate that the Portuguese are aware consciously of social distinctions based on race.

In 1923 Professor Edgar Prestage stated:

It is to the credit of Portugal that, slaves and Jews apart, she made no distinction of race and colour and that all her subjects, once they had become Catholics, were eligible for official posts.<sup>161</sup>

As was documented earlier, the Catholic Church makes racial distinctions about who is eligible for its official posts. Only Portuguese-born Catholics may become bishops, except under extraordinary circumstances, such as if no Portuguese-born bishops are available. Prof. Boxer, commenting on Prof. Prestage's previously quoted statement, points out:

Since Negro slaves and persons of Jewish origin both formed, in their different ways, very important segments of society in the Portuguese empire, this admission goes a long way to undermine the simultaneous claim about the absence of race and colour prejudice.<sup>162</sup>

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160 cited by Okuma, op. cit., p. 156.

161 cited by Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire: 1415-1825, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1969, p. 249.

162 Ibid., p. 249.

The ideology of multi-racialism has won the battle of the two contradictory streams of colonial thought in Portuguese culture. Multi-racialism, the official ideology of the Portuguese ruling class, is perpetuated through various mechanisms which the dominant class controls in Angola. These mechanisms include the State, the Roman Catholic Church, the education system, assimilation and miscegenation. Multi-racialism, as practised by the Portuguese, means the domination of Portuguese culture and sublimination of any other culture in the Portuguese empire. To promote this kind of multi-racialism, every racial or ethnic group over which the Portuguese State has control must commit cultural suicide by adopting the Portuguese way of life. In effect, this jingoistic ethnocentrism negates the principle of multi-racialism and leads to racism in Portuguese colonial Africa.

The Portuguese have been able to camouflage their racist practices in Angola by pointing to the ideology of multi-racialism and by citing a few instances where Africans who became assimilated were allowed to participate, though minimally, in Portuguese society. But multi-racialism and assimilation are mechanisms of Portuguese racism in Angola. The other mechanisms include corporal punishment, discriminatory wages, forced labour, the curtailment of freedom of movement and the separate and unequal educational system--all of which have been documented and discussed in the preceding pages.

In the section which follows, statements about racism by the liberation movements are examined and compared with their social practice.

## PART III

## RACISM: STATEMENTS BY LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The liberation movements with which this study is concerned are the Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola (MPLA) and the Governo da Revolucionario de Angola no Exilio/Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola (GRAE/FNLA). The MPLA was founded in December 1956, with the merger of nationalist political groupings such as the Party for the United Struggle of Angola (PLUA) and the Movement for the Independence of Angola (MIA). In 1958 the Movement for the National Independence of Angola (MINA), another nationalist political group, joined forces with the MPLA.<sup>1</sup> From its inception, the MPLA has been emphasizing and advocating a united front against Portuguese colonialism. The MPLA founding manifesto stated:

Portuguese colonialism will not fall without a fight, and this is why Angola's people can liberate themselves only by revolutionary struggle. This struggle can be won only by a united front of all Angola's anti-imperialist forces, irrespective of their colour, social situation, religious beliefs or individual preferences: it can be won only by a great movement of liberation.<sup>2</sup>

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1 The Liberation Front, op. cit., p. 8.

2 cited by Davidson, op. cit., p. 278.

In 1972 the members of the liberation movement stated:

Only the national unity of the Angolan people will reliably guarantee the preservation of Angola's independence against attacks by the political and economic forces which are seeking to divide them.<sup>3</sup>

On February 4, 1961 the MPLA began military operations aimed at liberating the national territory of Angola from Portuguese domination. The MPLA attitude towards racism has been stated publicly on many occasions, in the organization's long term programme and in the speeches and writings of its leaders. In its published manifesto the MPLA outlines some of its aims and objectives thus:

The sovereignty of the Angolan state must belong entirely and uniquely to the Angolan people without distinctions based on ethnic groups, class, age, political and religious beliefs.<sup>4</sup>

In 1972, writing about their "General Political Line", the Liberation Front stated:

The fight against racial and religious intolerance and against tribalism and regionalism is an essential aspect of its programme of action. In independent Angola there will be a place for all ethnic groups and religious beliefs... The MPLA makes a clear distinction between the struggle waged against Portuguese colonialism and the Portuguese people themselves. Therefore, it has always encouraged the Portuguese opposition in its fight for the overthrow of the fascist regime.<sup>5</sup>

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3 The Liberation Front, op. cit., p. 10.

4 Okuma, op. cit., p. 113.

5 The Liberation Front, op. cit., p. 10.

The MPLA has pledged equality before the law for all Angolan nationals. It states:

All Angolan citizens--without distinction of nationality or tribe, of sex, social classification, cultural background, profession, wealth, religious belief or philosophical convictions--will have the right to vote at the age of eighteen years and the right to be elected after twenty-one years of age.<sup>6</sup>

In the introduction to this study, it is stated that racism is a product of imperialism and colonial domination. The MPLA has said that one of its aims is the "liquidation in Angola by all available means of Portuguese colonial rule and all traces of colonialism and imperialism."<sup>7</sup> It also states that "the struggle waged by the MPLA is also an anti-imperialist one."<sup>8</sup> The MPLA officials have been even more precise on the question of racism. In May 1968 the head of MPLA's Military Commission, Spartacus Monimambu, told Barnett during an interview:

We are not racists in the MPLA... You will see many mulattoes in our party. We know that tomorrow there will be Portuguese, Americans, and others who will have the right to live in our country. But we must choose who is good and who is bad, who is friend and who is an enemy, with regard to our objectives... We are ready to welcome those who are good, those who are our genuine friends; and the enemy is an enemy, whatever his color, and he must be treated as such.<sup>9</sup>

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6 Okuma, op. cit., p. 114.

7 Ibid., p. 112.

8 The Liberation Front, op. cit., p. 10.

9 Barnett and Harvey, op. cit., p. 27.

The President of MPLA, Dr. Agostinho Neto, in a broadcast over Radio Tanzania, stated on the programme, "The Voice of Angola in Combat" on June 6, 1968:

In our countries we are not making a racial war. Our objective is not to fight against the white man because he is white--we fight those who support the colonial regime...we do not seek support only in the countries of Africa south of the Sahara, called Black Africa, where the skins of the inhabitants are more dark; but we also go to look for the aid of countries of North Africa, where the people have a light skin. We go to Europe to look for political, diplomatic and material help from countries where the majority of the population have a white color, and in other continents where racial differences are also evident.<sup>10</sup>

In 1969 the President wrote:

We consider that the assimilated and the non-assimilated, the mestizos and the non-mestizos, the blacks and the non-blacks are all Angolans, and that all of them must fight, all must have the right to fight, for the liberation of the country. We go even further: the democratic Portuguese, those who are anti-colonialists and who live in Angola, if they wished to contribute to the liberation of our country, they could count on the collaboration of the MPLA in the pursuit of this aim.<sup>11</sup>

In his message to MPLA militants on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the MPLA military operations, President Neto stated:

Our political programme clearly indicates that the MPLA is opening the way to broad and genuine cooperation between men of different races. We are not against the white man simply because he is white. We are against racist and colonialist

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10 Agostinho Neto, cited in Barnett and Harvey, op. cit., p.30.

11 Agostinho Neto, "Angola: People in Revolution," Tri-Continental, vol. 12, 1969, p. 72.



whites. For us independence does not mean eliminating the white man from our country.<sup>12</sup>

At the first MPLA Eastern Regional Conference held in 1968, that political-military organization adopted an anti-racist position. Harvey, who attended the conference, reported that:

One of the items discussed and ratified was the decision to accept whites born or presently living in Angola as active MPLA supporters. The reason for this decision is simple: the MPLA is not fighting white people, but rather the Portuguese colonial structure and imperialist neocolonial penetration.<sup>13</sup>

Davidson, a writer with first-hand knowledge of the revolution in progress, states:

...the Moxico conference of August 1968 stated its goodwill towards 'individuals of white race born or resident in Angola' who showed their sympathy and wish to serve the cause of Angola's people, proposing that they be accepted as membros simpatizantes of the MPLA.<sup>14</sup>

The leadership of the MPLA recognizes that racism is a stubborn social force. It emphasizes that the MPLA "is dedicated to the thesis that class, not racial conflict, should be the core of Angola's revolution."<sup>15</sup>

The Governo da Revolucionario de Angola no Exilio was

<sup>12</sup> Agostinho Neto, "President's Message," Angola in Arms, vol. 3, 1972, pp. 1-2.

<sup>13</sup> Barnett and Harvey, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>14</sup> Davidson, op. cit., p. 283.

<sup>15</sup> John Marcum, Africa Reports, vol. 12, 1967, p. 8. "

founded on April 3, 1962 as a political coalition between the União das Populações de Angola (UPA) and the Partido Democrático de Angola (PDA). In March that same year those nationalist political groupings had entered into a military alliance which was named the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA). Originally called União das Populações do Norte de Angola (UPNA), the UPA was formed during 1954 among the Bakongo people of northern Angola. The PDA was formed in 1961 out of the Zombo Peoples Alliance (ALIAZO), a political and mutual aid organization which had been established among the approximately 750,000 Zombos, a people who live near the Congo border of northern Angola.

The UPA-PDA coalition became the GRAE-FNLA organization. It is dominated by the UPA personnel. Most of the statements which are examined in the following pages were issued by the leadership of the UPA, but now reflect the official position of the GRAE-FNLA political military group. On the question of racism, the leadership of GRAE-FNLA has made several statements, proclamations and denials. The UPA was defined by its founders as "a political organisation formed for all Africans, natives of Angola, without discrimination as to sex, religion, age, ethnic origin, or domicile."<sup>16</sup> The terms "Africans" and "natives" need not carry racist overtones. UPA's

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<sup>16</sup> John A. Davis and James K. Baker (ed.), Southern Africa in Transition, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1966, p. 169.

manifesto was "a call to the peasants, the unemployed and the forced labourers, the women, the tribal chiefs, the youth and the Portuguese to join in establishing a democratic regime."<sup>17</sup> (emphasis mine)

A declaration of the Steering Committee of UPA addressed to the Portuguese Colonists in 1960 stated:

The Union of the Populations of Angola is not the enemy of the Portuguese but it is against a system of spoliation which robs our land of all existence as a nation and which condemns 4,500,000 inhabitants to illiteracy, humiliation and famine. The Union of the Populations of Angola is fighting with all its force against this system. It begs you not to stand in opposition to the advance of history.

Certain of your members have established colossal fortunes on the backs of the Angolans. They must be made to understand that the hour has come when they must make restitution to the Angolans for their land and their resources.

As for the others, the Union of the Populations of Angola tells them that they may remain in Angola in new found peace so that together we can work for the establishment of an Angolan Republic, democratic and socially just.<sup>18</sup> (emphasis mine)

Continuing, the declaration states unequivocally that the UPA will pursue an egalitarian path. It proclaims:

Every man and every woman inhabitant in Angola, regardless of nationality, race or religion, will have the same rights as individuals, and the same rights will be respected in relation to their belongings.<sup>19</sup>

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17 Davis and Baker, op. cit., p. 169.

18 Okuma, op. cit., pp. 12-121.

19 Loc. cit.

In a major policy statement published in 1963 the leaders of UPA said:

Our struggle, like all those it follows and resembles, is not a war which will result in a military victory, any more than it is a racial war. We are waging a usury war, with the colony's agricultural capital as one of the objectives. Our fighters will continue to destroy the Portuguese economic system... The main objective of our struggle may be expressed thus: the independence of the Angolese Nation, with restoration of democratic principles, respect of human rights, sweeping agricultural reform and new relations with Portugal based on liberty, equality and (why not) co-operation.<sup>20</sup>

At a press conference on March 15, 1961 the leader of UPA, Holden Roberto, stated that:

...if the Portuguese settlers resist to the end the independence of Angola, then their land will be taken away from them and redistributed. If, however, independence comes through negotiation, the settlers will be accepted as citizens with the same rights as any Angolan.<sup>21</sup>

According to Patricia McGowan Pinheiro, "the UPA programme published in 1960 condemns racial oppression and discrimination in Angola."<sup>22</sup> The leader of the GRAE-FNLA combination, Holden Roberto, has repeatedly emphasized that the organization is against racism. He implies that his group would banish racism, that divisive social phenomenon from Angola. He told a New York press conference:

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<sup>20</sup> "Angola Casebook," Présence Africaine, vol. 17, 1963, pp. 163-164.

<sup>21</sup> Davis and Baker, op. cit., pp. 169-170.

We do not say to the Portuguese colonialist, "You are a foreigner: go away!" We do not say to him, "We are going to take over the running of the country and make you pay for your crime and those of your ancestors." We do not want to supplant a hatred for the black with a new hatred for the white. We say to him, "We are Angolans; banish from our lands all racism, all forms of oppression, of injustice, all attempts to keep our people in ignorance, and let us work together for the flowering of mankind and the enrichment of humanity."<sup>22</sup>

In a broadcast over Radio Léopoldville, Roberto stated, on August 3, 1960, "We assure all those who support us that our people are not motivated by hatred for the Portuguese."<sup>23</sup>

In the preceding pages it has been demonstrated through quotations that the two major liberation movements in Angola, the MPLA and the GRAE-FNLA, have taken a public stance against racism. They have stated emphatically and unconditionally that they would not condone racist practices. In the following pages the practices of each group is examined in the light of its proclamations. Much emphasis is placed on the ethnic and/or racial composition of such groups and the groups' dealings with one another. The practice of the MPLA is examined first.

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<sup>22</sup> Davis and Baker, op. cit., p. 172.

<sup>23</sup> cited in Marcum, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

## RACISM: MPLA PRACTICE

In 1956 the leaders of several nationalist organizations merged and formed the Movimento Populár de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) as "a mass political organisation working inside Angola."<sup>24</sup> MPLA's founding members belonged to the main racial and/or ethnic groups in Angola. African, Portuguese, mestizo and mulatto intellectuals formed the nucleus of the new movement. At first, the MPLA was based mainly in the urban areas, especially Luanda, but it gradually expanded in the countryside.

According to Marcum, metropolitan Portuguese were members of some of the organizations which merged into the MPLA. In 1956 those Portuguese who were clandestine members of the metropolitan communist party working in Angola helped in the formation of an Angolan Communist Party (PCA).<sup>25</sup> Among the early members of the PCA were prominent mestizo intellectuals such as Viriato da Cruz and Mário Pinto de Andrade. The communist party was outlawed, and some of its members formed a "nationalist front party, the Partido da Luta dos Africanos de Angola (PLUA), which adopted an action programme similar to

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<sup>24</sup> Patricia McGowan Pinheiro, "Politics of a Revolt," Angola, A symposium: Views of a Revolt, p. 108.

<sup>25</sup> John Marcum, op. cit., p. 29.

that of the PCA."<sup>26</sup> According to Patricia Pinheiro, PLUA was:

...the first revolutionary political party which planned to operate as an illegal mass organization. A manifesto was issued calling on Africans to join underground groups and unite in a broad movement for the liberation of the colony.<sup>27</sup>

The PLUA was one of the organizations which merged into the MPLA. According to Cabral, the MPLA was organized on a "non-racial and non-tribal basis." He said the membership included (in 1961) "a few white settlers" and a number of university graduates.<sup>28</sup> Writing about MPLA's membership, Ronald Segal stated:

A few Europeans are members. Seven Europeans were among those arrested in 1955 and tried in June 1960 for threatening the integrity of the State by advocating independence for Angola.<sup>29</sup>

According to Michael Samuels:

When the (MPLA) was founded in 1956, it originally included a number of white Angolans, but it has remained largely a mestiço party. As such, it might be seen as the contemporary incarnation of the earlier mestiço, assimilado protest.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Mario de Andrade, "Et les colonies de Salazar?" Démocratie nouvelle, vol. 14, no. 9 (Sept. 1960), p. 35, cited by Marcum, op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>27</sup> Pinheiro, op. cit., p. 108.

<sup>28</sup> João Cabral, "Portugal's Rotting Empire," The Nation, vol. 192, no. 9 (Mar. 4, 1961), p. 182, cited by Marcum, op. cit., p. 45.

<sup>29</sup> Ronald Segal, Political Africa, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1961, p. 302.

<sup>30</sup> Michael A. Samuels, "The Nationalist Parties," Portuguese Africa: A Handbook, ed. David M. Abshire and Michael A. Samuels, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969, p. 389.

Two of the founding members of the MPLA, da Cruz and Andrade, had developed, in the late 1950's, an international reputation for writing political literature as well as a reputation for internationalism. Influenced by their broad world outlook, they led the MPLA away from narrow political ethnic and/or racial interests. Da Cruz was the founding editor of Mensagem, a cultural magazine which was suppressed by the Portuguese regime. He graduated from secondary school in Luanda and taught there for two years, after which he became a clerk in the administrative section of the Government Education Department. In 1952 "he was sacked from his job because of political activity."<sup>31</sup> In 1958 da Cruz attended the Conference of Afro-Asian Writers in Tashkent and the following year, the Conference of Negro Writers in Rome. In 1960 he attended the second All-African Peoples Conference in Tunis and the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Conakry. Da Cruz has been associated with the influential Afro-European academic journal, Présence Africaine. According to Segal, he is "intelligent, sophisticated" and a "poet and writer of quality."<sup>32</sup>

Before the revolution had begun, da Cruz, using poetry placed African liberation within the international context.

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31 Segal, op. cit., p. 62.

32 Loc. cit.



He wrote:

Voices in all of America. Voices in all of Africa.  
 Voice of all the voices, in the proud voice of Langston,  
 In the fine voice of Guillen...  
 Generating, forming, announcing  
 --The time of moisture  
 THE TIME OF MAN...<sup>33</sup>

Another poet and mulatto, Mário Pinto de Andrade, received secondary schooling in Luanda and later studied philosophy at Lisbon University. He was among the:

...small but growing Angolan student contingent (that began) arriving at Portuguese universities for the first time in the late 1940's. Most were sons of civil servants. They were from relatively privileged assimilado or mulatto families, not from the muçiques. The government housed most of them together in Lisbon and Coimbra at the Casas dos Estudantes do Império, where they were soon caught up in the climate of intellectual radicalism that dominated Portuguese student and anti-Salazar politics. Some functioning under the guise of a cultural group created in 1951, the Centro dos Estudos Africanos, applied themselves to a theoretical study of revolution through an examination of the cultural bases of liberation.<sup>34</sup>

Later Andrade studied Social Science at the Sorbonne. In Paris, he "moved easily in French intellectual circles, ably articulated the cause of the MPLA and contributed much to establishing his party's positive intellectual image in Europe."<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> cited in Marcum, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>34</sup> Segal, op. cit., p. 229.

<sup>35</sup> Marcum, op. cit., p. 41.

Andrade and da Cruz have been associated with the outlawed Angolan Communist Party.<sup>36</sup> Speaking about the MPLA in 1962, Andrade told a press conference, "We are not pro-Communists."<sup>37</sup> Both men, however, have a record of participation in left-wing politics. Both, according to Marcum:

...became involved in left-wing European politics developed relations with French, Soviet and Chinese Communists... Andrade in particular contributed a number of articles and interviews to Communist publications.<sup>38</sup>

Dr. Agnostinho Neto, an Mbundu, physician and poet, son of a Methodist pastor, was among the clandestine founders of the MPLA. He was chairman of that liberation movement's steering committee.<sup>39</sup> He was one of the few privileged Africans who completed their secondary schooling at the Liceu Salvador Coeeeia in Luanda. He went on to study at the Universities of Lisbon and Coimbra with the aid of a Methodist Church scholarship. Between 1947 and 1958, while a student, he took an active part in Portuguese opposition politics for which he was jailed several times. But he completed his M.D. in 1958 and returned to Angola in 1959. He married a Portuguese woman, whose brother, Desidério da Graca, was elected to the MPLA executive with responsibility for "finance and

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36 Marcum, op. cit., p. 28.

37 cited by Marcum, op. cit., p. 220.

38 Marcum, op. cit., p. 42.

39 Ibid., p. 39.

economy."<sup>40</sup>

From its inception, MPLA members have come from various racial and/or ethnic groups. Membership in and leadership of that organization has never depended upon biological or genetic characteristics.

The first president of the MPLA was Ilidio Tomé Alves Machado, an Mbundu postal clerk who received a Junior Secondary education in Angola. He became influential as a leader of the Liga Nacional Africana, a political and cultural organization which was also suppressed by the Portuguese regime in the 1950's. According to one critic, the Liga Nacional Africana was a "predominantly mulatto organization pressing for economic and social advancement for the educated and assimilated."<sup>41</sup> Machado was jailed in 1960 following a wave of arrests in 1959 by the Portuguese secret police, the Policia Internacional de Defesa de Estado (PIDE). PIDE had infiltrated opposition political groups in Angola. According to Marcum, "Those indicted were almost all assimilados, mulattoes, and Europeans, as evidenced by the striking absence of traditional African (as distinct from Portuguese) names."<sup>42</sup>

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40 Marcum, op. cit., p. 300.

41 Richard Gibson, African Liberation Movements, London, Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 207.

42 Marcum, op. cit., p. 33.

Among those arrested were Dr. Neto and Andrade's brother, Father Joaquim Pinto de Andrade. Between 1957 and 1960, Portuguese repression almost decimated the membership of the MPLA. Repression forced the leadership into exile. The general secretary, Viriato da Cruz, on hearing about a warrant for his arrest, fled to France where he joined Mário Pinto de Andrade, who became the acting president of the MPLA. With other "mulatto intellectuals such as Lucio Lara, son of a wealthy sugar plantation owner, (he) formed the active nucleus of the MPLA leadership in exile."<sup>43</sup>

In January 1960 the MPLA leaders participated in the Second All-African Peoples Conference in Tunis. There they joined the late Guinean patriot, Amilcar Cabral, and his followers in forming the Frente Revolucionária Africana para a Independência Nacional (FRAIN), in an attempt to fight jointly against Portuguese rule. Guiné-Bissau and Mozambique were also struggling for liberation from Portuguese domination. At the All-African Conference, MPLA leaders approached Holden Roberto, leader of the União das Populações de Angola (UPA), another large liberation movement, and tried to persuade him to join the common front, but:

...he parried their efforts to get him to join a united front. He similarly side-stepped common-front pressures brought to bear by the Ghanaian and Guinean governments.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Marcum, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

Roberto signed an agreement with the MPLA leaders, acknowledging the need for coordinating their anti-colonial activities. A report on Political policy presented to the MPLA's First National Conference in 1962 stated:

...two MPLA leaders signed a fundamental agreement with the main responsible person from the UPA (at the Tunis Conference, January 1960), establishing the need for coordination of the fight against Portuguese colonialism.<sup>45</sup>

In February 1960, with the consent of the Sékou Touré government, the MPLA established an office in Conakry, Guiné. From there, the MPLA leadership launched a programme to "unite all exiled Angolan nationalists into a common front."<sup>46</sup> In June 1960 Rosário Neto (not related to Dr. Neto) refused a request from Mário de Andrade to assume responsibilities for the MPLA in the Congo.<sup>47</sup> Neto, a Catholic Mbundu from Luanda, was among the thousands of Angolan refugees living in the towns and adjoining villages of the Lower Congo.

A short-lived united front, consisting of MPLA, UPA, ALIAZO and a small movement from Cabinda, the Association des Ressortissants de l'Enclave de Cabinda (AREC) became a

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45 Marcum, op. cit., p. 43.

46 Loc. cit.

47 Ibid., p. 93.

reality in November 1960 when representatives of the four organizations met in Léopoldville and arrived at an accord de principe regarding a common front. It was agreed that the existing parties would remain autonomous, but would "closely coordinate their activities."<sup>48</sup> The front was formed while Roberto was in New York lobbying for support in the United Nations. The major accomplishment of that front was the writing of a letter to the President of the United Nations General Assembly concerning Portuguese colonialism. Roberto pulled UPA out of the front on his return from New York. Following UPA's withdrawal, MPLA's Conakry headquarters censored their Léopoldville committee for exceeding their authority in negotiating the front. The remaining two-party alliance was therefore broken. In late 1961 Andrade and da Cruz moved MPLA's headquarters from Guiné-Conakry to Léopoldville, where they continued efforts to persuade Roberto and UPA to join in a common front.

The MPLA initiated "armed struggle" against the Portuguese regime on February 4, 1961 when its militants launched a series of armed attacks aimed "primarily at freeing political prisoners held in the town's (Luanda) police stations and prisons."<sup>49</sup> On March 15 the same year, UPA followed suit when its followers started an armed up-rising in Angola's

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48 Marcum, op. cit., p. 95.

49 Barnett and Harvey, op. cit., p. 2.

north. Subsequently, the two liberation movements began a military competition for the leadership of the revolution. Many MPLA guerrillas have been killed by UPA's militia. When he resigned from UPA, Marcos Kassanga, once that organization's Vice-President, told a press conference:

Some days after the beginning of the Angolan people's revolution against Portuguese domination and slave exploitation, it was turned into a carnage fermented by the leadership of that party whose chief is Roberto Holden... In all of its aspects the armed struggle unleashed in the north of Angola is a real fratricidal struggle. A figure approaching 8,000 Angolans were savagely massacred by tribalist elements of UPA... This inhuman massacre effected by Angolans against Angolans is born of a blind tribalism which presents itself in four aspects: religious, linguistic, ethnic, and ideological...

(Among those thus killed) we must distinguish the case of Commander Tomas Ferreira and his squad of 21 men sent into the interior by the MPLA... (they) were captured by the UPA militants and barbarously hanged.

Now there is the sad death of Commander Baptista, Chief of Military Operations in the interior of Angola, a member of the UPA general staff. His death by treachery was motivated by his disagreement with the extermination of Angolans by Angolans, by his not speaking Kikongo, by his not being a native of São Salvador, and by his not being a Protestant...<sup>50</sup>

Despite such killings, the MPLA leadership continued its quest for a united front. In December 1961 students and young militants of the MPLA, ALIAZO and UPA formed a "Rassemblement Démocratique de la Jeunesse Angolaise." The UPA members were

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<sup>50</sup> Davidson, op. cit., pp. 211-212.

"ordered by their leaders to withdraw."<sup>51</sup> The alliance collapsed. In August 1962, at the initiative of Dr. Neto, a meeting of FNLA and MPLA representatives was convened to negotiate a basis for unity between the two movements. Dr. Neto, who had escaped from Portuguese custody the previous month, proposed three possible formulas for unity. The first called for rapid fusion by stages into a single movement; the second favoured "close collaboration" in political-military action under the auspices of a common body; and the third proposed a joint military command over all Angolan forces under a national council.<sup>52</sup> These proposals were not considered seriously because each side accused the other of bad faith. Still the MPLA persisted in its attempts to achieve unity. In 1966, under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), two representatives of GRAE and four representatives of MPLA signed an agreement to end "the fratricidal strife" and initiate united action against Portuguese domination. The main points of the agreement were:

1. Immediate end of all forms of hostile propaganda, and supervision of all publications (of the two movements) by OAU representatives.
2. Immediate freeing of members of the two movements detained by one side or the other.

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51 Davidson, op. cit., p. 212.

52 Marcum, op. cit., pp. 264-265.



3. Setting up of a military commission of inquiry of the OAU to re-evaluate the situation in Angola and make recommendations to intensify a joint and more effective armed struggle.
4. Following immediately on the end of the commission's work, the setting up of a joint committee of MPLA and GRAE (Holden's "government"), under OAU auspices to study the possible basis for cooperation between the two movements, whether in military or political activity.<sup>53</sup>

Roberto denounced the agreement the day after it was signed. He said that the UPA delegates had no authority to sign the agreement. Thus once again success eluded the MPLA advocates of a united front. But they continued to pursue their aim and eventually they succeeded.

On December 13, 1972 the first stages of unity between the two principal liberation movements was achieved when the two leaders, Dr. Neto of the MPLA and Roberto of the FNLA, signed an agreement in which both parties agreed to participate in a Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola (S.C.L.A.), a Unified Military Command (U.M.C.), and a Political Council of Angola (P.C.A.). According to the agreement, the MPLA and the FNLA have agreed to:

1. the establishment of an atmosphere of Peace and fraternity among their respective forces;
2. the immediate cessation of any acts of hostility and of attacks through the press, radio, television and all other means of communication;
3. the fact that henceforth, with a view toward the step-by-step achievement of unity, their press-releases and other commiques, documents and

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<sup>53</sup> Davidson, op. cit., p. 214.

propaganda will all emphasize the newly created organs (the S.C.L.A., U.M.C., and P.C.A.) so as to make them well known to the Angolan people.<sup>54</sup>

The Organization of African Unity played a major role in getting the two liberation movements to settle differences and sign that agreement. The "peace" meeting was held under the auspices of the OAU.

The MPLA had been seeking some form of collaboration, not only with Angolan and African organizations, but with socialist countries and progressive international groups as well. In 1960 an MPLA delegation visited China as the guest of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. That year, the liberation movement opened an office in London. In December the same year, da Cruz, Andrade and Américo Boavida, an African doctor and member of the external affairs committee of MPLA, attended a conference of Nationalist Leaders from the Portuguese Colonies in London. The conference was held under the auspices of the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

The MPLA has had sympathetic ties with Portuguese political opposition parties. In 1962 Dr. Neto told General Delgado, leader of a coalition of Portuguese political exiles, that the MPLA considered the Portuguese opposition members "as allies in the war against the fascist government of

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<sup>54</sup> Interview with Paulo Jorge, Director of MPLA's Department of Information and Propaganda, LSM Information Centre, Richmond, Canada, 1973, p. 35 (appendix).

Salazar."<sup>55</sup> Delgado's Patriotic Front of National Liberation had recognized the right to self-determination of the people of the Portuguese territories, and in January 1963 Manuel Lima, a former officer of the Portuguese Army, carried out a raid for the MPLA into Cabinda. Nineteen Portuguese soldiers were killed in the operation.<sup>56</sup>

At their annual conference in 1963, the MPLA ratified support for the Portuguese opposition. There was some collaboration between the leadership of the MPLA and Delgado's movement in the timing of the February 4, 1961 Luanda uprising.<sup>57</sup> On January 22, 1961 Captain Henrique Galvão, acting for Delgado's Front, seized the Portuguese luxury liner "Santa Maria" in the Caribbean. It was arranged to hijack the liner to Luanda where the up-rising was timed to coincide with its arrival. In 1962, when Dr. Neto assumed the presidency of the MPLA, he wrote conditions for negotiations to settle Angola's national question with Portugal. In that year he visited the United States "to seek financial assistance."

In 1968, during the course of a broadcast over Radio Tanzania on the programme, "The Voice of Angola in Combat,"

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55 cited in Davis and Baker, op. cit., p. 167.

56 John Marcum and Allard Lowenstein, "Force: Its Thrust and Prognosis," Southern Africa in Transition, p. 253.

57 John K. Cooley, East Wind Over Africa, New York, Walker and Co., 1965, p. 125.

Dr. Neto said:

During the course of the war in Angola the MPLA has had occasion to admit to neighboring countries some Portuguese who had deserted. And there, in various countries, some of them are actively engaged in struggle against the Salazar regime (in Portugal), while others go about their work so that they and their families may live in peace.<sup>58</sup>

Dr. Neto appealed to the Portuguese army to desert and join the liberation movement. He said:

...we invite the Portuguese, the sons of Portuguese people, who are in uniform and armed in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), to desert the ranks of the colonialist army...with their arms and cross to the side of the nationalists...<sup>59</sup>

In 1969, writing about MPLA's attitude towards the Portuguese,

Dr. Neto stated:

...the democratic Portuguese, those who are anti-colonialists and who live in Angola, if they wished to contribute to the liberation of our country, they could count on the collaboration of the MPLA in the pursuit of this aim.<sup>60</sup>

The MPLA has friendly relations with North American groups such as the Liberation Support Movement (LSM) in Richmond, British Columbia. This group has been sending material support, such as medicine, clothing and printed materials<sup>61</sup> to

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58 Barnett and Harvey, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

59 Ibid., p. 31.

60 Agnostinho Neto, "Angola: People in Revolution," Tri-Continental, vol. 12, 1969, p. 72.

61 LSM in Richmond, B.C. prints many pamphlets on the MPLA as well as reprinting that movement's official bulletin, Angola in Arms.

the liberation movement. Members of support groups have attended MPLA conferences in Angola. Don Barnett and Roy Harvey of LSM attended MPLA's Moxico Conference in 1968 and have described the MPLA's social attitudes towards them. Roy Harvey, a photographer, describes how some villagers greeted him:

When another meeting did occur, I managed to climb a small tree in order to get good footage of the event, but it was useless. Some of the villagers climbed the tree to greet me, saying, "Boa dia, camarada!" I don't pretend to know what they thought of me in my tree, but before many people climbed up the tree, I climbed down; I never got really good pictures of these beautiful events--the coming together of the peasants and the guerrillas and the MPLA leadership.<sup>62</sup>

Don Barnett wrote:

...everywhere we stopped, the people accepted me warmly. They know the Portuguese are being helped by the American government and that most of the aircraft used against them are "Made in USA". They also know, however, that there are some progressive Americans who support them in their struggle against Portuguese colonialism and the imperialists.<sup>63</sup>

Basil Davidson, the British author who has had "the opportunity of personal experience" of the revolution in progress, records "much hospitality in Angola" in his book, In the Eye of the Storm. He has visited Angola twice and has authored many articles about the revolution.

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62 Barnett and Harvey, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

63 Ibid., p. 53.

The MPLA's hospitality towards and friendship with North American and European social groups is indicative of the MPLA's official policy of non-racism. But the official attitude has not always prevailed, nor does it penetrate automatically throughout the rank-and-file membership of the MPLA. Sometimes racist tendencies and controversies develop around the presence of mulattoes and whites in the movement. Mário de Andrade has had to defend the presence of the mulattoes in the movement, according to Marcum.

...referring obliquely to charges that the MPLA was dominated by a mulatto leadership, Andrade pointed out that the existence of some tens of thousands of mulattoes in Angola was the result of Portuguese appropriation of African women since the fifteenth century and asked: "But are they not fully Angolan?" He argued that only a few mulattoes lived as privileged members of the colonial order, and that most first-generation mulattoes were abandoned by their European fathers. He made it clear, moreover, that the MPLA regarded any reservations about a political role for Angolan mulattoes as constituting a form of African racism.<sup>64</sup>

In his June 6, 1968 broadcast over Radio Tanzania, Dr. Neto devoted much time to "the problem of racialism" and the MPLA membership. He stated:

One of the more debated problems of recent times is the presence in our territories of Portuguese, or descendants of Portuguese, whose ideas coincide with ours, whose lives have been dedicated to the struggle against fascism in Portugal, and who understand and accept the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to regain independence and self-government, like any other

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64 Marcum, op. cit., p. 208.

sovereign people.

On this point we have sometimes observed negative reactions on the part of some of our combatants and of our friends. It is those negative attitudes which can prejudice the success of our struggle for freedom. I speak of the problem of racialism.<sup>65</sup>

Dr. Neto stressed the point that MPLA must not be racist, that the liberation struggle must be placed "outside the narrow limits of racial prejudice." Continuing, he exhorted the MPLA membership:

...if there still exists in some of our combatants the idea of a war against the white man, it is necessary that it be immediately substituted by the idea of a war against colonialism and against imperialism; a war against oppression, for the liberty and for the dignity of all men in the world.<sup>66</sup>

In 1969 Dr. Neto, when writing about racism and the revolution in Angola, mentioned that the presence of mestizos in the liberation movements has posed racial problems. After stating that mestizos were liquidated by another liberation movement, Dr. Neto wrote:

As a reflection of the activities against the assimilated, this matter also came up within our own movement. Some individuals, some militants of our organization, brought up the same problem. Evidently, we could not allow such a tendency to develop. Today it has been completely eliminated.<sup>67</sup>

Rui de Pinto, a "mestizo born of middle class parents

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65 cited by Barnett and Harvey, op. cit., p. 30.

66 Ibid, p. 32.

67 Agostinho Neto, "Angola: People in Revolution," Tri-Continental, vol. 12, 1969, p. 72.

in Luanda," a "middle cadre" who has worked for the MPLA's Department of Information (DIP) has related how the MPLA's rank-and-file membership treated him shortly after he joined the liberation struggle. It is appropriate to quote him at length.

At the beginning, when I first arrived in this area, the people didn't know me and they called me the "White Man". Then I would say to them: "I'm not white; I could be, but I'm not." Many times they asked, "Do you eat njima? Do you eat this? Do you eat that?" And so forth. I just said, "Yes, of course, why not?" So, after a while they started treating me just like any of the other comrades.

Once I went with another member of DIP, a comrade named Ginapu - who was also a mestizo - to hunt near a Kimbo close to the Luena river. It was not very far from our base. At first, the chairman of the action committee was bit concerned or anxious. He asked us if we would be able to sleep on the ground, because they had just shifted their village down on the river - so that they could fish - and they had not built huts or beds there. He also asked if we could eat the food they had. We told him, "Yes, of course," and later he explained that the road passed close to their village and the Portuguese officials - when they came to collect taxes, workers for the road, and so on - would demand all kinds of comforts and bring special foods with them. We said that it was quite different with us and, after a long discussion, he was very happy. "These men," they are guerrillas." Then the people treated us very well. I think this situation happened because we were the first metizos in the MPLA to work in that part of the Third Region. Now I think all our people know that the MPLA has militants of various colors - and there are no problems at all.<sup>68</sup>

De Pinto, a student of agriculture and art, studied in Lisbon and Paris where he had been living with his French girl friend,

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68 Don Barnett, op. cit., p. 84.



Danielle, for more than a year. They had developed a "serious relationship" before he joined the MPLA and the revolution in Angola. While he was a student in Lisbon, de Pinto had many Portuguese friends in the Portuguese opposition parties.

The MPLA organizes "revolutionary" schools in the liberated areas. Primary and secondary subjects are taught in those schools. Socio-dramas are put on by the pupils who act out the workings of such abstract themes as imperialism and racism. The dramas create an atmosphere in which the students:

...re-live situations in which there are manifestations of these reactions, which are often subtle and which can greatly affect our personal behaviour. Instead of blaming tribalism, racism or fetishism in an abstract way, one tries to show the way in which they reveal themselves, their mechanisms and their harmful effects. These are some of the important principles of our ideological work, the consistent aim of which is to create the new man.<sup>69</sup>

Angolan men and women are responsible for the operation of the revolutionary schools. Social distinctions based on sex are frowned upon in the movement. Social equality exists for the sexes. Women actively participate in "all tasks" of the revolution. The Organization of Angolan Women (OMA) is among the "mass organisations" set up in the liberated areas

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<sup>69</sup> "Concept of Revolutionary Education," Angola in Arms, People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, vol. 3; no. 1 (January/February/March 1972), p. 16.

by the MPLA. The leader of the OMA in the eastern liberated districts in 1970, Luisa Caetano, told Davidson:

I have been in the struggle since the beginning, since 1961. I am from Dembos... My father was killed by the Portuguese because he was a Protestant pastor. Before killing him, they tortured him by cutting off his limbs...too they bombed our village, including our house. I was in the bush of Dembos, after that, for four years, then I got away and went to Kinshasa. You need courage to win and rake revenge.<sup>70</sup>

In Angola women receive military training similar to the men. According to de Pinto:

Before going to Cuba for training there had been a number of women in our camp. They were also receiving military training and left in another column for the First Region before we returned to Brazzaville. So our MPLA women trained just like the men and they were, and are, treated with respect as comrades. This made it easier to understand and respect our regulations about sex and marriage.<sup>71</sup>

Women aspire to political leadership. Christine Chipenda, a fourteen year old guerrilla nicknamed "Marsha" told Barnett:

When we gain our independence, I want to be a political organizer. Then I will be able to teach the young girls and boys, and also the old people, and in this way help to build a new and beautiful Angola. Even when I get married, I won't give up my political work among the people.<sup>72</sup>

In summary, the MPLA's membership is comprised of various ethnic and/or racial aggregates. The MPLA is opposed to

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70 Davidson, op. cit., p. 194.

71 Barnett, op. cit., p. 69.

72 Barnett and Harvey, op. cit., p. 152.

racism or any racist tendencies within it. In the 1960's some rank-and-file members had "negative reactions" about the presence of non-Africans in the movement. Political education has helped the members to understand the mechanisms of racism and has helped to eliminate racist tendencies within the movement. The rank-and-file members follow the example and precepts of their political and military leaders. The MPLA has ties with and has collaborated politically with various ethnic and/or racial groups. Membership in and leadership of the liberation movement is not based on any racial or biological considerations. Women participate on an equal basis with men in the struggle for liberation. Class and ideological considerations as opposed to racial considerations are primary concerns of the movement.

The social practices of another liberation movement, the União das Populações de Angola (UPA), will now be examined.

## RACISM: UPA'S PRACTICE

In the preceding section it was noted that for a long time the União das Populações de Angola (UPA) was reluctant to unite with the MPLA forces in a common front against Portuguese colonialism. It was also noted that the UPA engaged in military actions against the MPLA, killing many of its adherents. But UPA's forces also killed European civilians, African assimilados and mestizos indiscriminately.

The UPA began its phase of the revolution on March 15, 1961 when many Bakongo peasants, joined by Portuguese plantation "contract" labourers in northern Angola, seized control of large areas surrounding the coffee-growing district of Carmona.

They overwhelmed European farms, trading settlements, police posts. They blocked access by felling trees across roads, breaking bridges, sinking ferries. Thousands were engaged. For a while, Portuguese authority more or less disappeared.<sup>73</sup>

The rebels then proceeded to attack civilians, "murdering and sometimes mutilating European men, women and children to a total never securely known, but probably around the three hundred mark."<sup>74</sup> According to Segal, the rebellion resulted in "some 900 settlers killed and some 20,000 Africans killed

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73 Davidson, op. cit., p. 192.

74 Loc. cit.

in consequent Portuguese repression."<sup>75</sup>

John Marcum wrote, "Caught by surprise, perhaps 250 Portuguese civilians were killed during the first few days of the up-rising, a figure which may have been closer to 750 by the end of three months."<sup>76</sup> It was a scene reminiscent of the civil war in Congo in 1561, in which "black and white citizens perished with surprising lack of discrimination."<sup>77</sup> Rev. Clifford Parsons, a Protestant minister who was stationed in Angola, commented on the Angolan killings: "It was a chilling demonstration of what the release of long pent-up feelings can do."<sup>78</sup>

The leader of the UPA, Holden Roberto, disassociated his organization from the wanton killings. In an interview published in The New York Times on March 20, 1961, Roberto stated, "We are deeply sorry that women and children have been killed."<sup>79</sup> He deplored the "extreme violence" against the Portuguese settlers, but said that it was an "expression of desperation against Portuguese terrorism over the past five hundred years."<sup>80</sup>

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75 Segal, op. cit., p. 233.

76 Marcum, op. cit., p. 143.

77 Duffy, op. cit., p. 43.

78 Parsons, cited in Marcum, op. cit., p. 144.

79 Roberto, cited in Marcum, op. cit., p. 142.

80 Loc. cit.

After the insurrection had begun, the forces of the UPA also killed many African assimilados and mestizos. Punza, an African assimilado, witnessed some of the killings. He testified:

...I set about organising a small group for escape into the Congo. When we were still forty kilometres from the frontier, the UPA were sowing panic, killing assimilados, whites, Catholics in the senzalas who were their own people. It seemed to me a total confusion. At first I thought that all this was spontaneous. But then I noticed that the UPA leaders came and gave orders to do those very things.

If I saved my own life it was only because I found people who disagreed with those orders, and who hid me.<sup>81</sup>

Kubindama, an African assimilado who witnessed UPA's attacks on the MPLA, told Davidson:

Our commander was Benedicto. We attacked the Portuguese who were there in the territory of Nambuanguo. For six months we practically drove them out of there. We killed no women or children or unarmed civilians. But the UPA had no clear programme. They didn't act as a political party. They killed European civilians at Holden's orders.

The Portuguese came in six months later. Before that, just before that, the UPA tried to attack us, because we were against the UPA policy of hunting down Europeans, and hunting down Africans too. They were in the zone of São Salvador and we were in the zone of Nambuanguo. When we tried to get to Congo/Kinshasa to make contact with our leaders, they began to attack us...

The Portuguese army came from two directions, beginning with bombardment. At first our positions held, while the Portuguese were only in their barracks and garrisons. But the UPA attacked us, and our strength fell, and the Portuguese retook the territory we had liberated.<sup>82</sup>

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81 Davidson, op. cit., p. 193.

82 Ibid., pp. 194-195.

In November 1961 the UPA's forces captured and killed Tomas Ferreira and a squad of twenty MPLA militants who were going to Nambuanguongo to support Angolans penned-in by Portuguese troops.<sup>83</sup> Ferreira's party was captured while passing through a UPA-held village. At first the leadership of UPA denied the "massacre". It later suggested that any such act was committed by the Portuguese. But Holden Roberto, UPA's leader, subsequently confirmed that he had given orders "to intercept and annihilate MPLA columns that were trying to infiltrate into Angola."<sup>84</sup>

On March 3, 1962 Marcos Kassanga, UPA's Chief of Staff, informed a press conference that Holden Roberto had ordered the death of the Tomas Ferreira column as well as that of his own field commander João Batista. Kassanga accused northern Bakongo tribalists of waging a "fratricidal" war. Roberto denied the charges. A trade unionist, André Kassinda, Secretary-General of the Liga Geral dos Trabalhadores de Angola (LIGTA), has stated that the UPA had prevented thousands of Angolan workers from joining the LGTA because they were not of the UPA-São Salvador.

Rui de Pinto described how UPA forces operating from inside the Congo attacked his MPLA group enroute to Angola.

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83 MPLA's note, cited by Marcum, op. cit., p. 213.

84 Roberto's interview in Révolution Africaine, cited in Marcum, op. cit., p. 214.

Just outside Songololo, as they [MPLA's men] were preparing to enter the village, a group of UPA commandoes arrived by truck. They jumped out with their rifles, running toward our comrades and shouting for them to give up their weapons and surrender. When the leader of our detachment refused, the UPA men started shooting. None of our comrades was hit and in the combat that followed, three UPA men were killed.<sup>85</sup>

A detachment of Congolese soldiers arrived and requested the surrender of the MPLA group. Rui de Pinto stated:

...we surrendered and they started escorting us down the road to Songololo village. On the way, one of our comrades became very sick from the heat. The soldiers put him in a taxi, but the driver was an UPA man. He picked up a few friends and they started beating our comrade very badly. Finally, they drove him to the small hospital in the town and just as we approached it we heard a shot. Later they told us that the UPA man had shouted: "You killed three of our comrades, so now you must die!" And they shot him, just like that.<sup>86</sup>

UPA's military attacks against MPLA adherents increased during 1966 and 1967, when MPLA forces took control of the Dembos and Nambuanguo regions north of Luanda. According to Wheeler and Pélissier:

The GRAE resented the reinforcement of MPLA potential in the Dembos and Nambuanguo; it stepped up its ambushed of MPLA guerrilla bands and, in 1966-67, intensified arrests and partial liquidation of the opposing militants, both in Angola and Congo-Kinshasa.<sup>87</sup>

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85 Barnett, op. cit., p. 70.

86 Ibid., p. 71.

87 Wheeler and Pélissier, op. cit., p. 217.



On February 21, 1971 the Luanda news magazine Noticia, reporting on military operations in the Cuanza Norte region of Angola, stated:

The UPA has undertaken the job of eliminating them... Effectively the UPA gives the MPLA here in the north one hell of a life.<sup>88</sup>

The alleged premeditated killings of Portuguese civilians, African assimilados and mestizos by UPA forces, and the fact that UPA's popular support is confined largely to the northern districts, have led many commentators to state that UPA is motivated by Bakongo tribalism. For example, George M. Houser wrote:

The UPA was formed in 1954 as an organization of the Bakongo people. Its original name was the Union of the People of Northern Angola (UPONA). Its tribal base and its essential purpose were the same as those of Ngwizako [a tribalist organization] at that time.<sup>89</sup>

Patricia McGowan Pinheiro stated:

UPA is largely a peasant party and its strength is confined to the northern area of Angola, its ties with the people of these areas being tribal rather than political.<sup>90</sup>

According to Michael Samuels, when UPA was formed it "was

<sup>88</sup> cited by Davidson, op. cit., p. 220.

<sup>89</sup> George M. Houser, "Nationalist Organizations in Angola: Status of the Revolt," in Davis and Baker, op. cit., p. 167.

<sup>90</sup> Patricia McGowan Pinheiro, "Politics of a Revolt," Angola, A Symposium: Views of a Revolt, p. 115.

clearly a tribal organization reflecting an all-Bakongo nationalism."<sup>91</sup> And Antoine Matumona stated that "UPA grew out of disagreement within the São Salvador tribe."<sup>92</sup> But tribalism is only one of the components which influences UPA's conduct in the revolution. To fully understand the other forces it is pertinent to describe the origin and ideology of UPA, its composition and the class background of its leaders.

In 1949 Simão Toco of the Zombo "tribe" of northern Angola was preaching messianism in the São Salvador Kongo region. Toco, a Baptist, was educated in the western Belgian Congo. He preached the imminent coming of a messiah who would relieve Africans from their miserable plight. Immediate justice would be given: "All whites would become black and all Tocoistas would become white, foreign rule would end, exploitation of the African would cease, and the African would finally rule his own land."<sup>93</sup> The Belgians "deported" Toco and handed him over to the Portuguese authorities, with some of his disciples. The Portuguese held the Tocoistas in Southern Angola, compelling them to work by day and locking them up at night. Many of the disciples escaped and returned to the north where they

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91 Michael A. Samuels, "The Nationalist Parties," Portuguese Africa: A Handbook, p. 390.

92 Antoine Matumona, "Angolan Disunity," Angola, A Symposium: Views of a Revolt, p. 120.

93 cited by Marcum, op. cit., p. 81.

spread their religious beliefs. In 1959 Tocoistas in Leopoldville formed the Alliance of the Zombo People (ALIAZO), a mutual aid society for the Zombo people. The ALIAZO combined messianic and political ideas, and later merged to form a political organization, the Partido Democrático de Angola (PDA).

The Ntotela king, Dom Pedro VII of the São Salvador tribe of the Bakongo region of northern Angola, died in 1955. A politico-religious struggle developed over the selection of his successor. Dom Pedro had been a Catholic. Influential tribal leaders such as Barros Necaca and Eduardo Pinnock wanted an assimilated, educated Protestant to succeed the Bakongo kingship. They recommended the nephew of Dom Manuel Kiditu, a former king whom they thought would introduce social reforms. But the Portuguese regime appointed a Catholic. "They forced through the election of their own candidate, Dom Antonio José da Gama, who was duly enthroned in August 1955."<sup>94</sup>

According to Samuels, "One result of the government selection was a strong split between Protestant and Catholic Bakongo, and UPNA took on a clearly Protestant image."<sup>95</sup>

Necaca's nephew, Holden Roberto, an ambitious young man who grew up in the Congo, encouraged Pinnock and his uncle

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94 Davidson, op. cit., p. 204.

95 Samuels, op. cit., p. 390.

to seek international support for their grievances against the Portuguese regime. In 1955 they sought help from the United States Department of State.<sup>96</sup> In 1957 they founded the Union of the Peoples of Northern Angola (UPNA) and petitioned the United Nations General Assembly, seeking support for the restoration of the Congo kingdom. They claimed that the Congo, unlike Angola, was never conquered by the Portuguese.<sup>97</sup> In 1958 the leaders of UPNA, Necaca and Pinnock, asked the American Committee on Africa to help it restore the Ancient Kingdom of the Kongo,<sup>98</sup> but the committee discouraged them, arguing that monarchy was a reactionary institution.

In October 1958 Roberto was sent to make contacts on behalf of UPNA with the leaders of the politically independent countries of Africa. In Ghana Roberto had discussions with Pan-Africanist leaders such as George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah. In December Roberto attended the First All-African Peoples Conference which was dedicated to the cause of decolonization. The Pan-Africanists told Roberto that any restoration of the Kongo Kingdom was a "tribal anachronism". According to Davidson, at the conference Roberto adjusted rapidly to new ideas and responded "with a manifesto calling for the

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96 Davidson, op. cit., p. 205.

97 Marcum, op. cit., p. 62.

98 Houser, op. cit., p. 168.

liberation of all of Angola."<sup>99</sup> He changed the name UPNA to Uniao das Populacoes de Angola (UPA). According to Houser, "A tribal group had been transformed, in intention at least, into a modern nationalist movement."<sup>100</sup> But, according to Davidson:

The UPA remained in all substance what it had been before, a pressure-group designed to induce the Portuguese to admit reforms, and capable of operating only within the range of Kongo cultural loyalties...

Separatist but reformist, loyal to the conservative traditions of the old Kongo hierarchy, standing aside from any radical stream of thought, the leaders of the UPA might well have continued as a mere pressure group, like others of their kind with bases in the Congo, had it not been for the impulse of the times.<sup>101</sup>

In 1960 Roberto sent Kongo workers into northern Angola to work clandestinely for a planned up-rising.<sup>102</sup> That year Roberto attended the Second All-African Peoples Conference in Tunis and was elected to the conference's Steering Committee. At the conference he refused to unite with the MPLA delegation headed by Viriato da Cruz and Lucio Lara. From Tunis, Roberto returned to Ghana where he renewed acquaintance with Frantz Fanon, an advocate of revolutionary violence against colonialism.

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99 Davidson, op. cit., p. 206.

100 Houser, op. cit., p. 168.

101 Davidson, op. cit., p. 206.

102 Marcum, op. cit., p. 141.

Roberto had met Fanon at the conference the previous year, when Fanon was writing about the necessity of violence for national liberation, national renaissance, the restoration of nationhood to a people as well as personal liberation. Fanon wrote:

At the level of individuals, violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect.<sup>103</sup>

Roberto came under Fanon's influence. "Without bloodshed liberation is not possible,"<sup>104</sup> wrote Roberto to his cousin, echoing Fanon's statement, "Liberation must, and can only, be achieved by force."<sup>105</sup> Fanon was writing that colonialism "is violence in its natural state and it will only yield when confronted with greater violence."<sup>106</sup> Colonization destroyed traditional society. The coming of the settler, Fanon argued, meant "the death of the aboriginal society". To revitalize that society, violence was necessary. It was also necessary if the native was to take the "settlers place". Revolutionary violence has as its goal the destruction of the barriers which keeps the native "in his place". Fanon states:

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103 Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, New York, Grove Press, Inc., 1968, p. 94.

104 Roberto, cited by Marcum, op. cit., p. 68.

105 Fanon, op. cit., p. 73.

106 Ibid., p. 61.

The native who decides to put the program into practice, and to become its moving force, is ready for violence at all times. From birth it is clear to him that this narrow world, strewn with prohibitions, can only be called in question by absolute violence.<sup>107</sup>

Roberto met Fanon when he was representing the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) of Algeria in Ghana. Fanon "convinced him of the need for armed struggle in Angola."<sup>108</sup>

According to Roberto, he:

...saw much of Fanon in Accra in the spring of 1960 and then again that summer in Léopoldville, where Fanon attended an emergency meeting of African states, occasioned by the post-independence upheavals in the Congo. Fanon urged him not to repeat Patrice Lumumba's mistake of overextending himself politically before he had built a solid political organization behind him.<sup>109</sup>

Fanon thus became Roberto's and, thereafter, UPA's mentor.

According to Anders Ehnmark:

...the philosopher of the Algerian revolution, Frantz Fanon, is widely read and studied in Angolan military circles. His advocacy of violence as an indispensable means of decolonization had a lot of influence on Holden Roberto at the time of the 1961 uprising.<sup>110</sup>

Fanon had counselled the leaders of the MPLA and UPA about the need to use revolutionary violence against the Portuguese regime. But, according to Davidson, "The MPLA rejected

107 Fanon, op. cit., p. 37.

108 Marcum, op. cit., p. 135.

109 Roberto, cited by Marcum, op. cit., p. 135.

110 Anders Ehnmark and Per Wästberg, Angola and Mozambique; The Case Against Portugal, London, Pall Mall Press, 1963, p. 82.

his advice, Roberto accepted it."<sup>111</sup> Fanon worked to unite Angola's two competing liberation movements, the UPA and the MPLA. He was instrumental in getting Roberto to the conference table with representatives of Frente Revolucionária Africana para a Independência Nacional (FRAIN). The MPLA was a founding member of that organization. Fanon encouraged Roberto to sign a "declaration of compromise" in January 1960. But Roberto reneged on the agreement. He "eluded many other attempts at winning common action and substantial unity."<sup>112</sup> In 1960 Roberto also refused a request from ALIAZO leaders to merge UPA with their organization. Roberto offered ALIAZO officials, André Massaki, Emmanuel Kunzika and Ferdinand Dombele, membership in UPA "on an individual basis."<sup>113</sup>

The membership of UPA included a few assimilados such as Rosario Neto, a Catholic Mbundu from Luanda, José Kiasongo Manuel Peterson, João Batista, Jonas Savimbi and assimilado Protestant ministers Rev. Julião Webba and Rev. Fernando Pio Amaral Gourjel. Mestizos and Portuguese were not encouraged to join. According to Roberto in 1961, UPA's membership is exclusively Angolan," and "our fighting force is composed of Angolans, is directed by Angolans."<sup>114</sup> In September 1960

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111 Davidson, op. cit., p. 207.

112 Loc. cit.

113 Marcum, op. cit., p. 85.

114 Roberto, cited in Marcum, op. cit., pp. 344-345.



Anibal de Melo, member of a prominent and wealthy (coffee growing) family in Luanda, "was one of the few mulattoes in UPA leadership ranks."<sup>115</sup> He became the party's political director. Alexander Taty from Cabinda joined UPA as a second vice-president.

UPA has had some cordial relationships with non-Angolan groups, such as the American Committee on Africa. American journalist Ron Matthews visited UPA-held territory and wrote:

I, as a white, was warmly welcomed. This was true in the villages as well as later among rebel troops. Holden Roberto and his colleagues had told me in numerous interviews that they were not leading an anti-European movement. The revolution is not anti-white; it is simply--and brutally--anti-Portuguese.<sup>116</sup>

Roberto tried to collaborate with Portuguese anti-Salazar democrats, led by General Humberto Delgado. Roberto met with the Delgado group but they would not declare unequivocally that Angola had a right to self-determination.<sup>117</sup> At the first meeting of the All-African Peoples Conference the radical Senegalese leader Majhemout Diop asked Roberto to collaborate in bringing Portuguese communist students from France to Angola where they could help organize against the Portuguese regime. Roberto refused.<sup>118</sup>

115 Marcum, op. cit., p. 87.

116 Ron Matthews, cited in Pinheiro, op. cit., p. 116.

117 Marcum, op. cit., p. 138.

118 Ibid., p. 68.

In stating its political ideology, Roberto and the UPA have emphasized that UPA is "non-aligned", meaning that their liberation movement is neither pro-communist nor anti-communist. However, UPA's political programme appeals for American support:

We can only say to the Americans: our ideals are your ideals, our hopes are the same that you had once for yourselves. If you help destroy us, you are only destroying a part of yourselves.<sup>119</sup>

When it was founded, UPNA had American official sympathies. And when the name was changed to UPA its alliances with the United States became more firm. In a letter to the Readers Digest<sup>120</sup> Roberto emphasized that he had no communist connections.

In summary, there is considerable evidence that UPA was founded largely to express northern Angolan Bakongo nationalism. Many of UPA's members were followers of the messianic leader Simão Toko. The liberation movement tried to broaden its base nationally, but only on the terms set out by its leaders. Holden Roberto has emerged as a strong, dictatorial leader who often ignores UPA's collective decisions. Fanon's theory of violence influenced UPA's leaders in their decision to turn to armed struggle for Angola's freedom. But immediately following the March 15, 1961 up-rising, UPA militants

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119 cited by Marcum, op. cit., p. 224.

120 Ibid., pp. 344-345.

killed many Portuguese civilians, mestizos and African assimilados who did not belong to their party.

Whether Fanon's theory led to the indiscriminate killing of European civilians, mestizos and African assimilados by UPA followers is not known. Roberto knew of Fanon's ideas about the cathartic effects of violence and could have transmitted them to his followers. Many UPA adherents had been influenced earlier by Tocoistas messianism. Fanon's ideas, too, could have influenced them, and led them to commit indiscriminate acts of violence. This is speculative, but it is known that Fanon's writing has been a source of inspiration for UPA's adherents.

The leadership of UPA is based in Kinshasa (Congo) and its followers are mainly from the rural areas of northern Angola. The killing of the Portuguese civilians is in keeping with UPA's anti-Portuguese policy. The killing of the mestizos follows from that policy. Mestizos, the product of the sexual relations between Portuguese men and African women, represent total Portuguese domination. They serve to perpetuate Portuguese rule. The Portuguese point to them as proof of Portuguese multi-racialism. And mestizos lord it over Africans. Besides, mestizos sometimes emerge as leaders of African protest in Angola. As a class, they receive more education than the Africans. Since UPA's leadership is based in Kinshasa, the liquidation of the mestizos would make it

easier for UPA to lead the revolution. The killing of the African assimilados must have been designed to deprive the revolution of local African leadership. In the absence of African assimilado or mestizo leadership, Holden Roberto and UPA would emerge as the leaders of the Angolan Revolution.

In the final section which follows conclusions will be formulated in the form of hypotheses viz-a-viz our research question: "What are the mechanisms of Portuguese racism in Angola and their relationship to the Angolan revolutionary process?"

## CONCLUSION

Racism comes into being when a population sharing similar ethnic and/or biological traits dominates another population with different ethnic and/or biological traits; and racist ideology when the ruling class of the dominating nation uses arguments based on the above differences to justify its colonial and other forms of domination. Racism is prevalent in southern Africa. Apartheid is the official policy in the Republic of South Africa. There, "the native learns to stay in his place, and not to go beyond certain limits."<sup>1</sup> Apartheid is one of the most discriminatory forms of social control in the colonial and neocolonial world.

Colonial powers, including the Portuguese, have condemned apartheid. ( The Portuguese praise their system based on "assimilation" (assimilado) of Africans into Portuguese culture, and claim that they do not practise racism. To prove their claim, they point to the mestizo population and the fact that a number of assimilados and mestizos work in the Portuguese civil service.

It has been demonstrated in the preceding sections that the assimilado system was but thinly disguised racism which rationalized complete Portuguese control over its African colonies. As such, it had similar effects to the apartheid

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<sup>1</sup> Fanon, op. cit., p. 52.

practices of the South African regime. The Portuguese gave assimilado status to a few Angolans who, in order to achieve that privilege, had to become "completely Portuguese in language and customs."<sup>2</sup> The vast majority of Angolans are kept systematically as "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the Portuguese. Both mestizos and African assimilados are discriminated against socially, economically and politically. With greatly increased Portuguese immigration over the past decade, this discriminatory practice becomes even greater.) Official policy openly favours the Portuguese settlers.

Europeans began to move in and compete for jobs, and government policy, though claiming to practice no discrimination, began to restrict entry into certain jobs in the bureaucracy by raising educational requirements. Under a law passed before 1901, in order to qualify for the position of telegraphist, Angolans had to have certificates in the subjects of Geography and Latin--neither of which was then taught at that level in Angolan schools.

Nor was this the end of restrictions. In 1911 a government decree set new educational requirements for entry into the lower ranks of the bureaucracy by requiring five years of secondary schooling; assimilados were naturally in trouble since there was no regular secondary schooling until 1919, when the first liceu (high school) was established in Luanda.<sup>3</sup>

It has been concretely demonstrated that the Portuguese regard the African as intellectually, socially and spiritually

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2 Carter, op. cit., p. 99.

3 Wheeler and Pélissier, op. cit., p. 97.

inferior. The Portuguese interpret their domination of the African as proof of the latter's inferiority. But political and economic domination do not imply, in any sense, the inferiority of the dominated. The intellectual and moral attributes of an individual as well as the national characteristics of peoples in general are not determined by racial or biological qualities. Rather, they are the products of social and economic development. Men do not make history according to the particular ethnic group to which they belong, but according to the material conditions of their social life. And that is determined by the degree of development of a society's productive forces.

Racism develops out of the economic, material conditions of society. In certain historically determined social situations, the concept of race has served merely to identify a particular group of people. At other times, it has been used to systematically exploit them. Capitalism is based on the exploitation of labour, and racism has served to oppress those who could be easily and collectively identified. Racism ideologically is a form of social justification for economic exploitation and domination. It has been closely related to capitalist expansion over the past five centuries and colonialism.

Racism and socio-racial relations emerged at the dawn of capitalism during the first colonial settlements in the

Americas and the European slave trade in Africa. Racism, therefore, has its roots in economic relations. The ideology surrounding race, and hence racism, developed during the mature period of the Atlantic slave trade. Since that time racist ideology has been used to justify the methodical and ruthless exploitation of one people by another. Apartheid and "assimilation" are extreme forms of racism.

Racism is manifested in the social and economic relations of society. Revolution often seeks to change and restructure those relations. And, according to Fanon, revolution also revolutionizes man. He was concerned mainly with the liberation of oppressed and colonial people. He understood and wrote about the mechanisms of colonialism, racism and violence and their dialectical relationship.

From the study of "Racism and Revolution: A Case Study of Angola" the following ideas and hypotheses have emerged.

1. The developing economic forces have been the decisive factors in Portuguese-Angolan relations.

The Portuguese made first contact with Africans in the Congo during the fifteenth century. At that time, neither they nor the Africans exhibited any racial prejudice. The Portuguese were expelled from the Congo after they began kidnapping Africans and making them slaves. The Portuguese then went to Angola to sustain the supply of slaves for the New World.



2. Political and economic domination do not imply, in any social sense, the inferiority of the people dominated.

Slavery as an economic institution knew no racial barriers. Eric Williams, in Capitalism and Slavery, developed that thesis. He argued that "unfree labour in the New World was brown, white, black, and yellow; Catholic, Protestant and pagan," and that "racism was the consequence of slavery." Since the abolition of slavery, racism has been expressed in many institutional, overt and covert, ways. It functions through many mechanisms.

3. The assimilado system is the chief mechanism of Portuguese racism in Angola. Other mechanisms include the ideology of Lusotropicology, multi-racialism and multiculturalism.

To achieve civil rights in their homeland, Angolans had to become "assimilated" into Portuguese culture. This meant they had to be educated to renounce their African culture and to become "Portuguese", socio-culturally. Only a tiny fraction of the African population attained assimilado status. The unavailability of Portuguese education qualitatively and quantitatively limited the social "progress" of Africans. Educational instruction is in Portuguese, and the Portuguese regime does not provide the schools necessary for large-scale assimilation. But that was never their aim. It would be difficult for Portuguese colonialism as a system of "racial"

domination in Angola to continue if all Angolans were to become "Portuguese". That would end the source of cheap labour now provided by non-assimilated Africans. Colonialism thrives on scapegoatism and therefore requires an "inferior" race or class to justify its exploitation.

The Portuguese gave assimilado status to a small number of Africans and mestizos. Some members of those two race-class aggregates found jobs in the lower levels of the Portuguese State bureaucracy. The Portuguese have used that and the presence of the mestizo population, though small, to develop ideologies of Lusotropicology, multi-racialism and multi-culturalism. In practice, these mean the domination of the African by the Portuguese and their culture and, simultaneously, the death of the African culture. The Portuguese do not "go native", the natives have to become Portuguese or be condemned to slavery or forced labour, which is virtually the same.

The Portuguese ideologies have been developed post facto and do not conform to the realities of social life in Angola. Concrete evidence has been given in this study to show that the Portuguese practise a vast system of discrimination against Africans and mestizos. Race is the most decisive determinant of power in Angola. Racial discrimination is embedded in that colony's socio-economic structure. But the Portuguese have tried to mask their racist practices with official ideologies. Here, then, is the main hypothesis of

this study. The assimilado system is but the main mechanism of Portuguese racism in Angola. And it is closely tied in with the ideologies of Lusotropicology, multi-racialism and multi-culturalism. This finding is related to the Angolan revolutionary process in the following way. The revolution is led by educated African and mestizo assimilados, themselves the product of the racist system they are attempting to destroy. Through education the assimilado system contained the seeds of its own destruction. Education contains the dynamics which can support either the oppressor or the oppressed, the colonizer or the colonized. The assimilados who are leading the Angolan revolution are supporting some of the most "wretched of the earth".

4. The ideology and practice of racism is a dominant force affecting wide aspects of social life in Angola.

The Portuguese have been practising racism against the Angolan people for over five centuries. At first, it was necessary for them to rationalize and justify their racism. But the practice is so entrenched in the fabric of the Angolan colony that it is no longer necessary to give reasons or justifications for it. People in general, and the Portuguese in particular, have forgotten the economic origin of racism. That phenomenon is rooted in the social structure. People copy racism from prejudiced people, and the children copy adults never-endingly. And the economic system reinforces

racism. But the Portuguese still proclaim that they do not practise racism. They claim that, in that respect, they are unique among colonial powers. The falsity of their claims has been concretely demonstrated.

5. The ruling ideas of a particular time will outlive the society that gave rise to them.

Racist ideology developed with slavery and the Atlantic slave trade approximately three hundred years ago. The capitalist and Christian nations of Europe which were the leaders in the commerce of black humanity had to justify and rationalize their inhuman activities. At first, their justification was based on religion. It was argued that Africans were heathens and therefore could be enslaved. But when Africans accepted Christianity, that justification was no longer valid. Another had to be found. The claim that Africans were racially inferior was subsequently propagated.

Slavery and the slave trade were legally abolished in the Portuguese African colonies approximately one hundred years ago, after they had fulfilled their economic mission in generating capital for the industrial revolution, especially in Britain. But the racist ideas of the Portuguese and others about the "inferiority" of Africans have persisted up to the present time. Ideas are, therefore, a stubborn social force which linger and affect society long after the forces which gave rise to them.

6. Racism as a social phenomenon affects revolutionary movements.

Although racism is rooted in colonialism, it does not follow automatically that with drastic changes in socio-economic relations racism will end. Racism is so pervasive in the social and economic relations of the Angolan colony that it influences the liberation movements' attitudes towards non-Africans. The MPLA and the UPA have declared their opposition to racism, but some of their adherents do, in fact, engage in racist practices. A people which has been the victim of five centuries of racism does not automatically adopt non-racist ways. But to the extent that the MPLA has a clearly defined anti-imperialist ideology, it has been able to move toward eliminating racist tendencies within itself. Thus ideology is a powerful force and has played a major role in the Angolan Revolution.

7. The Portuguese and the liberation movements' ideologies and declarations of policy are, in general, inconsistent with their practice.

The Portuguese practice has been shown to be greatly conflicting and inconsistent with its stated ideologies and declarations of colonial policy. The MPLA practice has been, in general, consistent with its ideology and declarations of policy. The UPA's practice has been shown to be conflicting and inconsistent with its declarations of policy.

8. Different and competing classes will unite, but only temporarily, against a common enemy.

In general, the leadership and following of the MPLA and the UPA came from different classes and have different aspirations. Many early attempts to form a united front failed. In the tradition of African nationalism, the UPA wants political independence for Angola. It seeks the paraphernalia of a modern (capitalist) state. The MPLA, on the other hand, wants social and economic independence as well. It aims to restructure Angola's economy and make it develop along socialist paths.

The two liberation movements engaged in hostilities against each other. The Portuguese were benefitting from the liberation movements' "fratricidal war". That fact has greatly influenced the movements' recent decision to cooperate with one another in the armed struggle against the Portuguese regime in Angola. Race consciousness plays a role in the fight against colonialism. But the movements have different and contradictory political ideologies. If and when they win the colonial war, the basis for their unity will have vanished. They will then engage in political struggle for leadership of the revolution. This is obviously speculative, but it could be the topic of a future research project.

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