

UNION OF THE POPULATIONS OF ANGOLA

U. P. A.

THE STRUGGLE FOR
THE INDEPENDENCE
OF ANGOLA

Declaration of the Steering Committee of Union of
the Populations of Angola

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LUCIO LADA

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DECLARATION

The year 1960 is the year for Africa. This continent, where the imperialists have been entrenched for centuries and where hundreds of millions of human beings have gone hungry, been belittled and humiliated, has unexpectedly awakened from its long sleep.

After the liberation of Ghana, Guinea, Cameroons, Togo, Congo and Somaliland, European colonialism has withdrawn in giant strides. Because of this no African people can mark time or set back with the dominating powers. Portugal, still dreaming of the perpetual subjugation of millions of Africans, must realize, like other European States, that the Angolan people and the others under their control are going forward to their destiny, knowing full well that liberty is an inalienable right which the Creator gave to all his creatures so that they might find happiness during their earthly sojourn.

This is why the UNION OF THE POPULATIONS OF ANGOLA, conscious of the present political conjuncture, considers it necessary to bring to the knowledge of all responsible elements of the population of the territory of Angola, and of world opinion, what follows concerning the battle which it has joined for the immediate independence of Angola.

Situated on the west coast of Africa, Angola's frontiers are as follows: on the north by Congo and the Republic of Congo in the French Community, on the east by Congo and Northern Rhodesia, on the south by South West Africa under trust to the Union of South Africa, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean.

The official area is 1,246,700 square kilometers, or 14 times the size of Portugal itself. The African population is made up of four ethnic groups of a total of slightly more than 4,500,000 inhabitants.

The territory has several cities, for example the capital Luanda, Lobito, Huambo, Benguela, Malange, Mocamedes, Uige. These many cities exist because of the riches of the country which produces coffee, cotton, cocoa, maize, sugar, palm oil, sisal, etc. Moreover, Angola possesses immense resources in minerals such as copper, diamonds, petroleum, manganese, iron and coal.

It was in the second half of the fifteenth century of the Christian era that Angola was occupied by the Portuguese after its discovery by the navigator Diogo Cão in 1482.

But in spite of this very early occupation, the native peoples of this vast country are still to this day forced to submit to the feudal regime which was practised in Europe in the Middle Ages. For example:

For years the Portuguese colonialist policy has been, to send to Angola all the poverty stricken, the failures from the metropolitan areas, the poor and illiterate peasant families of Portugal, so as to establish them as colonists on this land wrested from the native peoples; so that these people, to whom the land rightfully belongs know only the blackest misery.

The influx of peasants has brought competition between Portuguese and African workers. To reduce the number of unemployed Portuguese, the colonial administration accords them a monopoly over all kinds of labour: taxi drivers, waiters in hotels and restaurants, street sweepers, clerks in shops, all such work is reserved to Portuguese workers. In construction work the

foremen and artisans are all Portuguese while only the unskilled labour is left to the Africans. Because of this gross discrimination the Portuguese labourers are better paid and enjoy all the social advantages which are denied to their African colleagues.

All the Africans who fail to find work, either in the cities or in the country, are recruited with or without their consent as *contratados*. Thus it is that today, in spite of the abolition of forced labour by the International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1931, Portuguese colonialism upholds a slave economy of which Angola is an outstanding example.

The forced labour market supports and undermines at the same time the economy of the country. Continued recourse to slavery is determined by an essential factor, the present day state of agrarian and pre-industrial economy of Portugal, the shortage and lack of Portuguese capital in the control of colonial resources. All sectors of Angolan activity are supported by a labour market based on contracts furnished by the official authorities.

Forced recruitment constitutes in itself a soul-searing sight, which recalls that of the days of trade in black slaves inaugurated on the coasts of West Africa by these same Portuguese people following the example of the Carthaginians. No selection is made, no social position is taken into consideration; households with children are recruited and separated and assigned to different regions. At the end of a term of forced labour, which is never determined in length, because it is left to the discretion of the colonist, the members of a family may not be able to reunite because of death, assassination and often deportation, in cases of disobedience as been practised by the feudal masters, that is the colonial administration and the colonist.

The upkeep and construction of roads and bridges is affected under the same conditions, with the enforced recruitment of old people, women in all conditions and children. This labour force must even furnish its own tools and furnish its own food. This is what determined the deputy, Henrique Galvao, to write in his report after his investigation for the Government of Lisbon in 1951:

“The condition of these workers is worse than the conditions of the slaves, for their masters can replace them easily by request to the State, and take no trouble to keep them alive.”

There is no point in emphasizing that forced labour brings on depopulation. The experiences in the two Americas, by the English puritans and the Catholic Portuguese and Spanish with forced labour in mines and cotton plantations decimated the Red-Skins to the point where it was necessary to have recourse to trade in black slaves, which trade depopulated the major part of Black Africa.

THE UNION OF THE POPULATIONS OF ANGOLA is obliged to confirm that the educational policy of the colonial Government has placed the territory in a position of total obscurantism, that is to say that it is unfavourable to Angola's emancipation either social or political. No effort has been undertaken to give to all African children the education which with a favourable economy would form the basic nourishment for the evolution of the people. Public instruction is divided into two categories: for the “civilized” and for the “uncivilized” which results in there being practically no education for the African community. This situation is fundamentally proven by the fact that the total number of pupils in the primary schools of the colony of Angola amounts to only about 40,000 and that there

are only four or five students from Angola in the universities in Portugal. Statistics concerning agricultural training are equally revealing: there is not a single African enrolled in the one agricultural training school of Angola.

After all, Portugal, which is among the most illiterate of European countries (44 per cent illiteracy according to the statistics of the United Nations in 1958) and which is moreover an *under-developed* country, is it in a position to claim today to be civilizing Angola?

There is no doubt, as the case shows that the interests of the people of Angola have been prejudiced to a certain extent.

* * *

THE UNION OF THE POPULATIONS OF ANGOLA cannot admit the untruthful theory of the Government of Portugal according to which the native peoples of Angola enjoy the same liberties and political rights as the metropolitan Portuguese. As is well known, all the fundamental rights of man, as they are defined by the universal Declaration of the Rights of Man of 10th December, 1948, all public liberties (liberty and respect of the individual, equality before the law, liberty of speech, of press, freedom of association, secrecy of private correspondence, of postal communications, telegraph and telephone, freedom of movement, rights of property, inviolability of the home, liberty of conscience and freedom to practise ones religion, right to work, protection of youth against exploitation) are violated, reduced to nothing by fascist laws. It should be pointed out that the constitutional rights of persons living under the Portuguese flag are not all the same, for Portuguese legislation has instituted different statutes: a statute for the "civilized" and a statute for

the "non-civilized". Thus the "civilized" are the inhabitants of Portugal, the Azores, Madeira, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, Goa in the Independent State of India, Macau and Timor. As a result of the distinction between persons who are "civilized" and those who are "non-civilized," the "non-civilized" are only those of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, and more particularly the persons of the negro race inhabiting these territories, who must bear the yoke of forced labour, of illiteracy, of corporal punishment by the *palmatorio* and the *whip*. The Africans who are illiterate and do not have the status of "civilized citizen" are juridically and automatically classified in the category of "indigenato," a lowly status which reflects on political rights as well as social and economic rights (if such rights exist) in an entirely different manner than the laws relating to the so-called "civilized citizen."

Economically and socially the activities of each native are strictly controlled by the local administration. Nor is there any separation of powers. Thus within the borders of his area of jurisdiction the territorial administrator executes all the public functions, police and judicial; the law gives him the right to arrest, to judge and to sentence any Negro, without having to give an accounting of his decision to any other authority.

No native is permitted either to depart from or return to his region of residence without the permission of the administrator, and he may not exercise any special trade except with the express authorization of the administrator.

In short that is the *native status* which was applied by France in its Empire but entirely dropped at the same time that forced labour was outlawed by the Mouttet Law of 29th April, 1946, after the intervention of the

African members of Parliament at the first French constituent Assembly and replaced by the Lamine Gueye Law which accorded French citizenship to all people native to Overseas France, inspired by the edict of Caracalla of the year 212 B.C. which attributed *de plano* the rights of citizenship to every subject of the Roman Empire, even to his horse.

The true significance of the distinction between "civilized" and "non-civilized" persons instituted in its colonies by Portugal, heir to the discriminatory policies of the Roman Senate, can be appreciated only if one studies the manner of the application of the two statutes, and the manner in which they create division and expansion or the stagnation of the class of "civilized" persons.

Angola has a population of 4,500,000 souls, of whom 98 per cent are of the Negro race, and for that reason fall under the status of indigenato. Of this vast majority of the population, only 30,000 or about 00.7 per cent of the Negro population benefits from the status of "civilized" persons, even now, after 500 years of Christian civilization and Latin culture.

So it is clearly revealed that according to the 1950 constitutional decree of Salazar more than 98 per cent of the Africans of Angola are unable to participate in the public life of their own country.

The absolute control of Portuguese colonialism over the political, economic social and cultural lives of the Angolan populations is the formal denial of the allegations of the Portuguese Government that their colonies are independent along with the independence of Portugal.

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no historical community, no territorial community, no community of economic interests, no community of language, nor is there any intellectual or cultural community.

What exists is antagonism, aggravated day after day by racial discrimination by inequality of even the most elementary rights, by cynical exploitation and oppression unequalled in colonial annals. What exists is a growing revolt of the Angolese people (a revolt which the Portuguese colonialists are determined to smother) against this ferocious and backward policy of frantic exploitation, pillaging, cultural and economic oppression, topped off with deportations, exile, tortures, assassination and murder.

Because of this state of affairs several hundreds of thousands of Angolans have had to leave their own country to find refuge in neighbouring territories. The Congo shelters more than half a million.

No less grave in its consequences in countering national movements in Africa is the dictatorial attitude adopted by the fascist Portuguese in relation to the great principle of self-determination proclaimed by the French General La Fayette, during the War of Independence of the thirteen English colonies of North America in 1786, confirmed by the American President W. Wilson in fourteen points, which have become the basic rule of post bellum law. For example, Mr. Pimenta, in the semi-official newspaper "Diario de Noticias" of Lisbon, in November 1959, wrote as follows: "The danger of self-determination menaces us in Africa. To combat this danger, he suggested that Portugal should heavily populate its African colonies with Portuguese from the metropole. In pointing out the advantages of such a policy, criminal as it is, the author indicated that young Portuguese have the

greatest difficulty in finding profitable employment or establishing themselves in business, but on the other hand there are all kinds of possibilities in the colonies established by and for the metropolitan Portuguese. Concluding his article, the colonialist of *Diario de Noticias* states: The greater the population we plan for the greater will be the assurance of our tranquility concerning the eventual reply to the question of self-determination”.

And so in spite of the lessons of history, the fact that ever since the early days of the Roman Empire and up to the present day national aspirations have triumphed through the political support given either by certain states to certain tribes or tribal groups, or the support of the people given to local political parties intent on liberating their land from foreign domination (support given in early Europe by Julius Caesar to the Eduens, by Hannibal to the Gauls, by France to the insurgents of the thirteen English colonies of North America in 1786, by France to Belgium in 1830 and to Italy in 1889, by Great Britain to Syria and Lebanon in May and June 1945, by the United States of America to Indonesia in 1947 and 1948, by the peoples of Ghana to the C.P.P. of Dr. Nkrumah, by Tunisia to the Neo-Destour of President Bourguiba, by Morocco to the Istiqlal, by Guinea to the Parti Democratique of President Sekou Toure, by Cyprus to the Movement of Liberation of Monseigneur Makarios, etc) in spite of the important address of Mr. Harold MacMillan, Prime Minister of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty before the Parliament of the Union of South Africa on 8th February, 1960, when he stated that: “the idea of any sort of inherent superiority of one race over another” is to be rejected, and that the colonial powers must take into account “the wind of independence” which blows now across Africa, or they will upset the balance between

East and West on which depends international security and peace, in spite of all this, Portugal on the contrary still intends on her part to reverse the African liberation movement by relying steadfastly on the ancient colonial pact and continued practice of her policy of domination, racial discrimination, repression, inequality, exploitation, spoliation of the African land, obscurantism, etc.

Thus, because the people of Angola have reacted against the colonialist policy which is well known, and because of the fact that this policy which is contrary to the laws of civilized nations has been publicly denounced at the United Nations during the 14th Session of the General Assembly, the Portuguese colonial authorities are arresting the nationalists of the country in increasingly large numbers and re-enforcing their military strength in order to nip in the bud any desire for independence. The Portuguese for this reason and particularly since 1959, in view of the disturbances in the Congo have taken systematic action against patriotic citizens of Angola, in the form of the deployment of air forces (using napalm bombs) in the Angola sky with a view to intimidating the people by sending several infantry units escorted by armoured vehicles and parachutists to re-inforce the local defences, occupy the territory militarily and in short supervise the Congo frontier, through diplomatic methods, carried out in concert with the supporters of Apartheid in South Africa. And so the Portuguese Minister for the Colonies, the vice-admiral Vasco Lopes Alves declared when he visited South Africa in 1959: "We are accomplishing a parallel task in our territories and, given the fact that Western civilization is threatened on this continent, South Africa and Portugal should work together."

Meanwhile the Portuguese have organised a real man hunt, imprisoning all nationalists who resist colonial oppression.

It is an illusion to talk about the relaxation of international problems, whilst certain colonial Governments such as Portugal, employ the most inhuman methods of constraint, physical and mental torture, in order to stifle the voice of the colonial peoples who aspires to freedom and independence.

There is no need to emphasize that this is a challenge to the struggle of the African peoples, a threat to international peace and security, an obstacle which Africa in her path of destiny runs the risk of encountering.

It is evident that, with the conditions existing in Angola, the IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE of the Territory would appear to be the normal solution, appropriate to the solution of all the problems of the Angolans. Independence would bring to the country: internally, the country would become its own master, that is to say Angola would form an autonomous State, establish its own democratic, responsible Government, conforming to the traditions and needs of the land, a government fully competent to direct public affairs, organize public services, national economy, education, public health, in the best interests of all its citizens and excluding all foreign interference; and in external affairs; Angola would appear on the international scene to participate in world government and in the building-up of the United States of Africa in support of the resolutions of the Conferences of African Peoples held at Accra and Tunis.

THE UNION OF THE POPULATIONS OF ANGOLA, conscious of its responsibility and the rights of the peoples of Angola, declares that it is devoted in its activities to the realization and acquisition of the

immediate independence of the people, moreover to its acquisition by pacific and democratic means. It will spare itself no sacrifice.

In consēquence:

PEASANTS,
UNEMPLOYED,
FORCED LABOURERS,

Your duty is clear. You are the most downtrodden. It is you who suffer most from colonial oppression. That is why you have the greatest interest in the re-establishment of the Angolan nation. For the past five centuries your ancestors, your parents and you yourselves have been condemned to exert all your efforts for the enrichment of only the Portuguese colonialists. You create the riches but you have not the right to profit from them. Your sweat is the grease of the colonist; your blood is sucked by the colonial vampire, and you are left to languish in misery and humiliation.

THE UNION OF THE POPULATIONS OF ANGOLA formally pledges to bring an end to this mortal sickness of the territory of Angola. It calls on you all to contribute to the liquidation of Portuguese colonialism in the national territory of Angola.

WOMEN

The women of Ghana, Guinea, Cameroons, Togo, Congo and Somaliland all participated in the heroic combat against colonialism. The hour is past when the women remained at their firesides and were mere spectators of events. Your husbands are not paid, your children are not fed nor given schooling; they serve only as machines to permit the colonists to live an increasingly easy life at the cost of the misery of the peoples of Angola. You have the same rights as the men.

THE UNION OF THE POPULATIONS OF ANGOLA is determined to establish a democratic regime which will, without distinction of sex, permit each individual to develop his personality and contribute to the development and productivity of the Angolan nation.

Most of the time now you are requisitioned and forced to work on forced labour projects. The pitiless colonialist beast requires of you the most inhuman and vile of labour.

THE UNION OF THE POPULATIONS OF ANGOLA considers that this scandal has lasted too long already, that the hour has struck when you should have a respectable and dignified lot in life. Wherever you are, organize, prepare to take up and spread the orders of the UNION OF THE POPULATIONS OF ANGOLA.

Erase fear and submission from your lives. You must prove to the occupying power that you are conscious of the justice of your cause.

TRIBAL CHIEFS

Certainly your position is difficult. For a long time you have unknowingly served the colonialist interests and permitted the exploitation of the people. Although your mission as chiefs was to protest and serve the people of Angola. Certain members of your group have become instruments of colonialism. They have permitted the recruitment of forced labourers and have supported the policy of heavy taxation, and in a great portion of Angola their position has made them traitors.

The Union of the Populations of Angola is not ignorant of the terrible pressures you have suffered from colonialism, but it knows also that at this time, when a great movement is shaking Africa you must not stand idly by. You must fully realize that the moment has come for you to make your choice between your

country, your sons, your brothers on the one hand, and the colonists on the other. That is why we ask you to think carefully.

During the year 1960, all the African peoples are to unite their efforts for the eviction of colonialism from Africa.

The African peoples and the people of Angola will be pitiless for the men who have not been able to choose the side of justice and truth.

From today onward, the people are judging you. All that you do against the people will be held against you. This is no longer the time when a chief could be ordered by an European and blindly strike and punish his subjects at any moment and under any circumstances.

The end of the arbitrary has come. You must understand.

YOUTH

You are the seeds of Angola, it is toward you that we all turn our hopes and our concerns. It is to you that we all look for new values, values which will bring Angola's voice to be heard immediately in the concert of nations.

You must develop your national conscience and your human conscience. You must erase from your soul all traces of inferiority complex. You must no longer permit yourselves to be beaten down; you must take in your hands the destiny of your land and of your people. And you must stand ready as the determined reserves to come to the aid of your elder brothers who are so enthusiastically setting in motion the battle for national liberation.

PORTUGUESE COLONISTS

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 take 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.

PORTUGUESE PEOPLE

You know, you are not ignorant of the lamentable state in which the people of Angola find themselves. Colonists who have come from Portugal, supported by the Army and a pitiless administration have brought an unbelievable reign of terror to a population of 4,500,000 people.

The Union of the Populations of Angola calls upon all the democrats, workers, Christians and men of good faith of Portugal to unite their efforts to work against this disgrace to the twentieth century, which dishonours and disgraces the name of Portugal.

PORTUGUESE STATE

The regime which the Union of the Populations of Angola will establish in Angola will be democratic. It will be democratic because the power will be exercised by the people for the people. It will be socially just

because it will be exercised directly and specifically by the most needy masses. The lands will be distributed to those who work them.

The Union of the Populations of Angola will abolish all the special privileges and exceptions established by your representatives. The women will also have the right of vote.

Privileges will be abolished, each person will have an equal right to education. Unemployment will be declared a national emergency and every force will erase this situation.

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.

The emancipating movement of the colonial peoples is strongly developed. It has acquired extraordinary power in numbers and today is irresistible.

Men who refuse to recognize take into consideration the prodigious wave of independence which is sweeping the world are unrealistic and irresponsible.

The people of Africa, from ALGERIA to the CAPE, have come to their feet with the cry and the warning: "AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS."

The Union of the Populations of Angola is certain than you will fulfill your responsibilities. As for ourselves, we have already undertaken our own, and any resistance to the Movement is destined to be a total failure.

AFRICAN PEOPLES

Our continent, which is in the shape of an interrogation point, has in its heart the destiny of all present day mankind. For so long in bondage, it is commencing to

make its voice heard in the concert of nations. No African can remain indifferent to the existence of colonialism on our continent. Each one of us has a definite duty to perform: to liquidate the colonial regime, the colonialist spirit, the colonial ideal, and to establish democracy in Africa, to construct the United States of Africa on the foundation of the autonomy of the democratic units which will compose it.

Taking into consideration the resolutions adopted at the Congresses of Bandung, Cairo, Accra, Tunis and Conakry, and taking into account the watchwords of Liberty, Independence and Action in Africa, the Union of the Populations of Angola is determined to join the African Anti-Colonialist Front and to join battle against Portuguese colonialism and continue the fight to total victory. It expects all the Independent African States to aid and support its movement unconditionally. It expects all men, all women, to give their full support for a free Africa is the common undertaking of the 200,000,000 souls who make up the population of this great continent.

INTERNATIONAL OPINION

The Union of the Populations of Angola pledges itself to spare no effort in bringing the occupying power which controls the human and economic interests of the Portuguese to a pacific solution.

Are not the people of Angola essentially a peace-loving people?

In spite of repression, torture, oppression, exploitation, humiliation, in spite of slavery, the Angolan people have always given proof of absolute pacifism, not out of moral weakness, but because of their firm belief that between men there is always the possibility of pacific solution to any problem. And today it is time for the Portuguese to respond to this call.

The Union of the Populations of Angola calls the world to be its witness.

The solidly entrenched camp of colonialism which is Angola today, is a disgrace to all of humanity. It is the duty of every man worthy of the name to participate in the restoration of human dignity in Angola.

The Union of the Populations of Angola calls upon all international organizations and bodies, for them to bring pressure on Portugal so that the regime of exploitation and wilful *genocide* in Angola shall cease, and that the territory shall recover its independence of ancient days.

LONG LIVE FREE AND INDEPENDENT

ANGOLA

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF AFRICA