



Angola: Secret Government Documents on Counter-Subversion

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Angola: Secret Government Documents on Counter-Subversion

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Annexes: Vatican-Portuguese, Documentation

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ANGOLA

SECRET GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS
ON COUNTER-SUBVERSION

An extraordinary insight into the administration of Portugal's African colonies as presented, not by outside groups or commentators, but by the officials who were responsible for framing and implementing the policies which have led to the present situation.

ANGOLA

SECRET

ON

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS COUNTER-SUBVERSION

Annexes: Vatican-Portuguese Documentation

translated and edited by

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and

William Jerman

idoc

1974

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SOUTHERN AFRICA

REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE

ANGOLA

MOZAMBIQUE SWAZI LAND

LESOTHO

ANGOLA

Congo

Zaire

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Introduction

Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands, Sdo Tome and Principe are what remain in Africa (plus Macau and Timor in far-distant Asia) of the transcontinental colonial empire that Portugal dreamed for centuries to create for itself, beginning with its seafaring conquests in the 15th century. Other claims it had in Africa were lost in the 19th and 20th centuries; Brazil in 1825; Goa, Damau and Diu in 1961.

The first permanent Portuguese settlement in Angola

- itself 14 times the size of Portugal - was made by Paulo Dias de Novais, with a small group of soldiers and settlers in Luanda, the present capital, in 1575. There has been an uninterrupted Portuguese presence and hegemony from that date to the present, with the exception of the years 1641-1648 when Dutch forces held the city.

The principal concern of the Portuguese for some 250 years in Angola was the slave trade, largely among coastal tribes: an estimated 3 million Africans were shipped off to Brazilian sugar plantations until slavery was finally abolished in 1875.

With the loss of Brazil, Portugal was more determined than ever to carve out an empire for itself in Africa, but national and international problems prevented expansion until the 1940s. Then increased capital investments were made and immigration of Europeans was intensified. Still, according to the official 1960 census, Angolan blacks number 4,400,000 out of the total population of 4,600,000.

Discontent among blacks, sharpened especially by Portugal's forced labor policies, and the general spread of African nationalism, led to the outbreak of armed rebellion by black liberation groups in 1961.

After years of warfare in its African colonies, and the cost in terms of human lives and resources (approximately half of the Portuguese annual budget is spent on the colonial wars), opposition to them has grown in Portugal over recent years. Government repression of criticism was swift, massive and largely effective. The internal opposition, especially among military figures, which surfaced in March 1974 represented the most serious threat to the Portuguese government since 1926 when António Salazar took over power. After a short period of apparent government control, the military, under the direction of seven army officers, took matters into their own hands on 25 April, sending President Américo Tomás and Prime Minister Marcelo Gaetano to exile in Madeira, and thence to Brazil.

At the eye of the threatening cyclone in March was the book *Portugal e o Futuro - Análise de Conjuntura Nacional*, by General António de Spínola, former commander in Portuguese Guinea and one of the central figures in the military takeover that put an abrupt end to nearly fifty years of fascism in Portugal. Gen. de Spínola has since been named president of Portugal.

One of the main theses of his book is that Portugal will never gain, or regain, by military means alone, total control and stability in its African colonies. That such a thesis by itself should have astounded or disturbed the Caetano regime is beyond comprehension: its colonial governments have been making concerted efforts, both military and non-military, in this direction since at least 1967, as the present volume, among many other sources, makes abundantly clear.

As early as 1967, after 6 years of guerilla warfare and with large areas in the north and east of Angola under guerilla control, the colonial government realized that military operations alone would never solve their problems. It set up that year a General Council for Counter-Subversion, Conselho Geral d Contra-Subversão. On 10 July 1968, the Council announced its decision to hold a ((Symposium on Counter-Subversion ,, to begin

later that year. Top figures in the Portuguese army, various Angolan police and information services took part in its preparation. Participants were grouped into six Sections, as spelled out in the introductory chapter which follows. They produced 25 written reports to be submitted to the Symposium for discussion and planning. In addition, each Section drew up a report of its discussions, held during the actual sessions of the Symposium, from November 1968 to March 1969. Together with some introductory statements, the total number of texts deriving from the Symposium was 38, plus appended material (letters, directives, etc.). Most of the documents were stamped < secret >, (confidential >,, and, from internal evidence, it is obvious that all were understood to be strictly for internal use only. In fact, the documents remained in their intended secret state until late 1972 when a nearly complete set (36 out of 38 basic texts) was <(liberated)) and delivered to the Angola Committee, Amsterdam, a non-government, documentation/action group that has worked for years to alert Dutch public opinion to injustices in southern Africa. The Angola Committee first studied this unexpected treasure-trove of documentation; then it translated extracts, arranging

them into thematic groupings, together with its own commentary. This work was published, in Dutch, in 1973.

IDOC was then approached to make and publish an English translation of the same basic texts (Portuguese) and commentary (Dutch), making what additions and deletions it judged suitable, based on the documents put at its disposal and its own resources.

The language of the documents offered not a few translation problems, because of the ((syncopated ,, phraseology which specialized groups can use among themselves, bewildering to outsiders, and the technical and other terms which government and military authorities could presume their counter-parts would understand without explanation. It also sheds some light on their psychology; e.g. the armed liberation movements are, of

course, never referred to in those terms; instead they are almost always referred to as (the IN ,> - an acronym, we thought, that puzzled us a long time. Then we realized that o IN >, came from the first two letters of the Portuguese word for (< enemy ,>, inimigo.

IDOC has also added its own English translations of two official Vatican-Portuguese documents - the Concordat and the Missionary Accord (both dating from 1940)

- and the Portuguese government's Missionary Statute (1941). None of these is a secret document; all three were duly published by official organs. But an English translation of these texts in their entirety seems never to have been published before. Finally, we reproduce a statement of the All Africa Conference of Churches (1973), illustrative of the protest that the first three documents have aroused.

The greatest value of the texts which follow is, simply, that they are what they are. It is one thing for an antigovernment group, at home or abroad, to issue statements of protest over alleged injustices; it is fully something else to read what the alleged perpetrators of injustices say among themselves in presumed secrecy, how they disagree among themselves, what they consider their assets and deficits, how they think they can cope with (the enemy , and other forces (e.g. the Christian churches) which exert a certain influence over the population, how they formulate their plans.

It is interesting, in addition, to notice, in general, two distinct attitudes to the problems which white administrators face in a country where they represent a tiny minority: there are those who have no real concern for what would be the best for the blacks, and they make no attempt to conceal it; but then there are others who show genuine concern for the under-privileged situation of the blacks and determination that their lot should be

improved: better housing, better education, better-paying jobs, etc. But their underlying motivation will perhaps come as a surprise to the reader: they want to improve the lot of the blacks in the expectation that the appreciation and collaboration of (< developed >> blacks will consolidate the white presence and hegemony. As comes out in at least one report contained in the present volume,

this strategy has had considerable success with the Umbundu tribe, said to be the most industrious and resourceful in Angola.

IDOC wishes to thank the Angola Committee, Amsterdam, for the opportunity to translate and publish this remarkable ensemble of documentation.

W. J.

The Documents

List of the documents (numbered for reference purposes), extracts of which form the basic text of the chapters which follow. The two texts marked with an asterisk (*) are the only ones

missing from the "liberated" collection.

0 Col. Aires Martins, Chief of the Military Cabinet,

Esforço da Contra-Subversão (, Effort of Counter-Subversion >), 3 pp.

Section I, ((General Plan of Counter-Subversion))

1-0 (themes to be treated by Sections I-IV; members of the study commission), 8 pp.

I-1 Relatório Especial do GCI no. 3 * 1-2 GCI, n. 1, Plano de Contra-Subversão - Esquema sobre os Aspectos Fundamentais (<(Plan of Counter-Subversion - Outline of Basic Aspects >), 27 pp.

Section II, ((Organization of Counter-Subversion),

II-0 (report of the study commission), 28 pp. II-1 Lt.-Col. Rogado Quintino, PSPA, Sistemática da

Contra-Subversão - Suas Componentes ((The Systemization of Counter-Subversion - its Components >), 9 pp.

11-2 Capt. Fernando Ribeiro da Cunha, Adjutant of the

Southern Military Command, Orgânica de Contra-Subversão - Aspectos que Necessitam Revisão ou Ajustamento ((<The Organization of Counter-Subversion - Aspects which Require Revision or Adjustment>), 3 pp.

11-3 J.A. Soares Fernandes, Administrator of Nova Gaia, A Orgânica da Contra-Subversão (((The Organization of Counter-Subversion), 4 pp.

11-4 Renato Parestrelo Vieira, SCCIA, Crítica e Aspectos que Necessitem Revisão ou Ajustamento (<<Criticism and Aspects which Require Revision or Adjustment>>), 3 pp.

11-5 Lt.Col. Jodo Herculano de Moura, Governor of

the District of Bid, Subsídios para uma Possível Alteração a Introduzir na Actual Estrutura Hierárquica da Contra-Subversão (<<Contributions for an Eventual Alteration to be Introduced in the Present Hierarchical Structure of Counter-Subversion>>),

4 pp.

Section III, c Regrouping and Control of Populations D

111-0 (report of the study commission), 9 pp. III-1 Col. Jodo Cabral Carmona, Governor of the District

of Cuanza-Sul, Reagrupamento das Populações

(<<Regrouping of Populations>>), 15 pp.

111-2 Lt.-Col. Fernando Lisboa Botelho, GCICS, Controle

de Populações (<Supervision of Populations>>),
15 pp.

111-3 Maj. Carlos Alexandre de Morais, Controle das
Populações nos Reagrupamentos ((Supervision of
Regrouped Populations>), 7 pp.

111-4 Horaício Lusitano Nunes (Administrator of the Uíge
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Enquadramento das Populações Rurais com Elementos Evoluídos (<Necessity of
Configuring Rural Populations with Advanced
Elements >), 5 pp.

III-5 Jose Henriques de Carvalho, Administrator of
Huila, Reagrupamento de Populações e Promo-do Social (<<Regrouping of
Populations and Social
Promotion>), 14 pp.

111-6 Brig. Augusto Ramalho Correia, District Commander, Uíge, Constituigdo
de Localidades só com Popula~do Africana e sua Possivel Influencia Futura

na Subversdo (<<The Formation of Localities with only an African Population
and its Possible Future
Influence in Subversion>>), 2 pp.

111-7 Rui Setas Ferreira, Administrator of Nova Chaves,
Reagrupamento de Populações (<<Regrouping of
Populations>>), 4 pp.

111-8 Sigurd von Willer Salazar, Administrator of Malange, A Alimentaço nos
Agregados Africanos do Districto de Malange ((The Diet of African
Groupings in the District of Malange>), 8 pp.

111-9 Jose G. Coelho, <(Regulations for the Grouping of
African Herdsmen in Huila)). *

Section IV, ((Civil Defense - Self-Defense and Militias)) IV-0 (list of members
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(commentary on IV-3), 3 pp. IV-c (commentary on IV-3), 3 pp. IV-d Estudo
sobre Auto-defesa de P.S. (<(Study of SelfDefense of PS >; o PS >, = Pontos
Sensíveis, <(Weak
Spots >>)), 4 pp.

IV-e Estudo sobre Milicias (<< Study of Militias >), 6 pp. IV-1 Lt.-Col. Jilio
Carvalho Costa, Autodefesa (<(SelfDefense >), 7 pp.

IV-3 Celso Herminio de Carvalho Vila Nova, President
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Apreciaço do Plendrio da Contra-Subversdo (<, Aspects Related to Civil Defense
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Counter-Subversion >), 6 pp.

Section V, ((Psychological Action - Public Information)> V-0 (members of the
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Dr. Carlos Lopes Cardoso, GAP, Relatório e Conclusões da Comissdo de
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V-1 Capt. Magalhães J. Cruz Azevedo, PSPA District Commander, Acqdo Psicoldgica ((Psychological Action >)), 2 pp.

V-2 Idem, Atividades de Cardter Punitivo (((Activities of a Punitive Nature)), 1 p.

V-3 Lt.-Col. Julio Carvalho Costa, Battalion Commander, Informazdo Ptblica - Acqdo Psicológica (<, Public Information - Psychological Action) 3 pp.

V4 Manuel Jacinto Correia, PIDE, Acqdo Psicológica (, Psychological Action >>), 7 pp.

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VI-2 Lt.-Col. Julio Carvalho Costa, Promoqdo Social das Populaq6es (<Social Promotion of Populations ,), 14 pp.

VI-3 Capt. Jorge Fernando Paula do Serro, PSPA District Commander, A Promoqdo Socio-Econ6mica das Populag6es na base dos problemas da ContraSubversdo (, Socio-Economic Promotion of Populations on the Basis of the Problems of CounterSubversion ,>), 9 pp.

VI4 Lt. Jose' Gongalves Coelho, Uma Politica de Reordenamento da Populagdo de Angola, com base na Expansdo dos Vimbundos (< A Policy of Angolan Population Regroupment, on the Basis of the Expansion of the Vimbundos -), 16 pp.

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Appendix B, Ramiro Ladeiro Monteiro, SCCIA, Breves Considerag6es sobre Alguns Aspectos Focados no (Plan de Contra-Subversdo do G.C.I. No. 1), (a Brief Considerations of Some of the Focal Aspects of the "Plan of Counter-Subversion of GCI no. 1"), 16 pp.

Appendix C, Francisco de Vasconcelos Guimardes, Aspectos do e Regulamento de Ocupagdo de Terrenos nas Provincias Ultramarinas ,) com Interesse para a ContraSubversdo ((Aspects of the "Regulations for the Occupation of Territory in Overseas Provinces" as of Interest to Counter-Subversion ,), 9 pp.

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Abbreviations used in the text:

CGCS

CITA CS GAP GCI GE IGM OPVDCA

PIDE

PSPA

Conselho Geral de Contra-Subversdo, General Council of Counter-Subversion

Centro de Informa!iio e Turismo de Angola,

Information and Tourism Center of Angola

Contra-Subversdo, Counter-

Subversion Gabinete de Acqdo Psicol6gica, Cabinet (Department) for

Psychological Action Grupo de Coordenaga-o e Inspecqdo, Coordination and

Inspection Group Grupos Especiais, Special (military) Units

Imposto Geral

Minimo, General Minimum Tax

- o general ., in the sense that it applies to everyone

Organizaqdo Provincial de VoTuntndrios e Defesa Civil de Angola, Provincial Organization of Volunteers and Civil Defense of Angola - the (white) civil defense force brought into existence in 1961 when liberation movements began armed resistance

Policia Internacionale e Defesa do Estado,

International Police and Defense of the State

- internacional >> in the sense that it operated in Portugal and its colonies; its name was later changed to DGS (Direcquio Geral de Seguranqa); it was disbanded after the April 1974 coup in Portugal

Policia de Seguranga Ptblica de Angola, Public Security Police of Angola

Angolan liberation movements:

GRAE Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile

MPLA Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola

UNITA National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

Chapter 1

Counter-Subversion

In this chapter and throughout the remainder of this volume, the full-page-width Roman texts are the basic documents in English translation; the indented italic paragraphs, as also notes in italic within square brackets [...], are Angola Committee-IDOC commentary or explanation.

For the counter-subversion which the Portuguese have been practicing against the population of Angola, they make use of the experience the Americans have gained in this field. Lieutenant-Colonel Alvaro Rogado Quintino, one of the Portuguese officers trained by the Americans in counter-subversion and psychological warfare in 1964, tells about his stay in the School for Special Operations at Fort Bragg (North Carolina) where he was instructed by the chief of staff of Counter-Subversion and Psychological Operations:

The courses in the School for Special Operations at Fort Bragg are given for officers and civilians from all parts of the world. They talk with one another about problems of subversion and exchange impressions on various aspects. The teaching staff is composed of officers and civilians who are all qualified in the social sciences and social psychology. I would like to stress the excellent methods being used there in all the courses (II-1, p. 1).

The Portuguese started systematic countersubversion in Angola in 1967: By a decree on 24 November 1967, His Excellency the

Governor General and His Excellency the General Commander-in-Chief of the military forces laid down the program which serves as the basis of counter-subversion in Angola. This program is based on the standing structures of the administrative apparatus, but it has its own bodies for decisions, action, information and orientation. It was extremely important that a General Council of Counter-Subversion be instituted; government officials have been brought together here at the highest level (Appendix A, p. 6).

In the outline mentioned above, besides the General Council of Counter-Subversion (Conselho Geral de Contra-Subversio) there is an Executive Council (Conselho Executivo de Contra-Subversio). In each of the fifteen districts in which Angola is divided, District Councils for Counter-Subversion were instituted. Furthermore, at the district level there are Orientation and Supervision Groups, District Information Commissions, and Work Groups for Psychological Action. The districts are subdivided into municipalities which are assigned administrative posts. At the local level, Local Commissions for Counter-Subversion for Municipalities and Administrative Posts (Comiss6es Locais dos Conselhos and Comiss6es Locais de Posto Administrativo) were instituted.

The study commission of Section II says of the local commissions that they are:

very important instruments in the activity of countersubversion, because they are closely involved in the problems and desires of the African population which we must keep and withdraw from the enemy (II-0, p. 22).

On 5 February 1968, further particulars about the organization of counter-subversion were published. Besides the hierarchical chain, two other bodies are involved in counter-subversion.

They are the Coordination and Inspection Groups and the Orientation and Supervision Groups.

Furthermore, in July 1968 the Council for Orientation of Psychological Action (Conselho de Orientação da Acção Psicológica) and the Department for Psychological Action (Gabinete de Acção Psicológica) were instituted, the former as a specialized body for the psychological work of the General Council for Counter-Subversion, the latter as bureaucratic support for the Council (V-0).

Then there is in the capital, Luanda, a Special Council (of Counter-Subversion) of the City of Luanda (Conselho Especial da Cidade de Luanda). This is judged indispensable in view of the size and variety of the Luanda population and because of its own structuration which, in some ways, differs from that of the rest of Angola. This Special Council has jurisdiction over the entire municipality, hence over the city and its suburbs (II-0, p. 17). As will be seen later, the Portuguese seem to be particularly apprehensive about the African population of Luanda.

Appendix B (p. 1) briefly and clearly sums up the tasks of counter-subversion:

- a) The planning of counter-subversion comprises:
 1. Military action. Its aim is to neutralize and destroy the military capacity for subversion, the guerilla.
 2. Political action. This aims at raising the economic, social and political level of the community. It must be executed in close coordination with military action and comprises the following tasks:
 - a. the gathering of information
 - b. psychological influence
- c. control of resources and population
- d. foreign activity
- e. national and community development.
- b) Political action, like military action, must proceed in accordance with the phases of subversive warfare; its form will depend principally on two considerations:
 1. the degree of vulnerability of society
 2. the level attained by the process of subversion.
- c) In accordance with the principle that it is much easier to prevent subversion than to combat it, political action must proceed with foresight. Therefore, in the planning of counter-subversion, political action must be oriented as follows:
 1. in a time of peace, priority is to be given to longterm objectives (e.g. development plans);
 2. in a pre-insurrectional phase (latent insurrection) priority goes to medium- or short-term objectives (to eliminate in time the conditions that are favorable to subversion);
 3. in an insurrectional phase (active insurrection)

priority goes to short-term objectives (concrete steps of immediate interest for the population).

As is evident from the above, the (elevation of the economic, social and political level of the community ,, consists to a great extent in control, espionage and psychological warfare.

Counter-subversion uses a great variety of means. Appendix E, p. 2, besides ((the termination of all segregation and racial discrimination), proposes that the Portuguese ((make theirs the lofty aims of the revolt in order to canalize the impetuous torrent >>.

The Symposium's Plan for Counter-Subversion also mentions other tasks: Among the first tasks of government officials is the health

service and the creation and use of a network of informers, to create a situation which is favorable to the government and which compromises the African population in the eyes of the enemy (1-2, p. 14).

The General Council of Counter-Subversion established the following guidelines with regard

to ,< the enemy >:

1. In the first phase (duration still to be established): To determine, through a vast information-gathering campaign, what regions are the enemy's refuge.

To elaborate a detailed plan, with the aim of depriving the enemy, by all possible means, of the support of the population; to fight him, and to make it impossible for him to take the initiative for activities in guerilla regions.

In the other regions, to impede the population from joining the enemy through strict control of its movements and transportation, and through improvement of the network of informers.

2. In the second phase (duration still to be established):

Once the population has been neutralized and the initiative taken away from the enemy, to fight him violently at the right moment and to eliminate him in his refuges.

To assure the support of the population through social and psychological influence, and to promote the enrollment of the native population in view of the re-occupation of abandoned regions (1-2, p. 12).

But counter-subversion is not concerned only with the rebellious African population - it

applies to the entire nation:

Furthermore, counter-subversion requires the mentalization of the entire nation by means of a well-oriented psychological action-program; people have to be fully convinced of the indisputable necessity to defend the

national territory. Everyone has to be ready to put all his efforts and material means into the combat against subversion (1-2, p. 14).

An important aim of counter-subversion is to assuage discontent in the African population, in order to win it over to the Portuguese cause.

All sorts of improvements are proposed: higher wages, social security, schools, health centers.

Only once in all these reports is there mention of the desire of the Africans for independence.

But to this question the Portuguese have no answer:

We fear that in the present circumstances - since we do not know what are the aims of National Policy - a systematic study of the causes of the revolt, if it would not be a sheer loss of energy, would lead to inconclusive results. There is no indication that even if the government would commit itself totally to the elimination of the factors which are generally believed to be the motives of revolt, it would stop, since many causes are the consequences of international politics, and others exist in the mind of the people and hence are difficult to eradicate or to change.

Even if we were to dispose of the material means to realize improvements, in a short time and on a large scale, in those sectors which we believe to be at the basis of motivation for revolt - namely the sectors of health services, education, wages and socio-economic development - without having an exact knowledge of the aims we want to achieve, perhaps we would not thwart but strongly promote rebellion.

We do not suggest, however, that we must not make every effort to bring about as many improvements as possible in these fields; that after all is an obligation for those who have assumed the lofty but difficult task of civilizing. But we feel that it is not possible in conscience to establish priority criteria because obviously

they have to conform to political aims - which we do not know.

The revolt can make use of the mistakes of the government and our own, and thus spread, but the radical undermining process lives in the minds of the people. It is based on ideas which are difficult to eliminate:

- * independence as the solution to all problems;
- * government by blacks, and hence exclusion of whites from the government, or even their expulsion from Angola (Appendix E, p. 1).

Chapter 2

Transfer of the Population to Concentration Centers

((Aldeamento > (settlement, village) is the term used more recently by authorities in Portuguese Africa to designate the resettlement camps to which blacks are obliged to move.

Many reports and descriptions of aldeamentos have been spirited out of these countries and published, e.g. in mission magazines. An aldeamento is planned with an eye to facilitating control by the military. It is invariably located on a treeless tract of land, square or rectangular, usually surrounded by barbed wire. Cabins are laid out in straight lines.

There is a rigidly observed curfew. Missionaries and others have not hesitated to call

the aldeamentos (concentration camps >>).

The whole of Section 3 of the Luanda

Symposium was dedicated to <(The Regroupment and Control of Populations >.

Communication 5 takes note that there is no monolithic pattern to be followed in carrying out the transfer of blacks to concentration centers:

When discussing regroupment of populations, it is of capital importance that determinate conditions be kept in mind:

- 1) Whether a given population is already subverted [i.e. on the side of, or under the control of, guerillas - ed.] or on the verge of being subverted.
- 2) Whether they are well removed from enemy action.
- 3) How they maintain themselves, i.e. whether they are essentially farmers or herdsmen.

In the first case, the only thing we can do is to take measures in the sphere of security. Even in this we cannot

- for many reasons - think simply of extermination. For the same reasons, we cannot think of concentration camps. The only thing we can do is to regroup the people in a moderate way, if possible in the neighborhood of Western population centers: cities, villages, locations with an administrative post or developed commercial centers. This has to be organized by the army, the police, government officials and volunteers.

Such measures impose a heavy burden on the State and will certainly arouse discontent in the population (111-5, p. 3).

The problem of the re-ordering and regrouping of the African population plays an extremely important part in counter-subversion. Since the guerilla cannot survive without the voluntary or forced support of the African population, this has to be withdrawn from his control. a. This is a delicate problem because it causes a change

in traditional structures.

b. Some African populations do not yet feel sufficiently motivated to accept the new system willingly. Therefore, an early and intensive mentalization (psychological action) is necessary, to convince them of the advantages resulting from it.

c. The aim we must have before our eyes is to attract the African population through persuasion and not to transfer them under coercion. If the conditions required for their social progress, for the improvement of their living standards, are not met immediately, there is a risk that feelings of frustration will be aroused among the African population. These can become useful instruments for exploitation in the hands of subversive agents, in the creation of a (basis of discontent)> favorable to rebellion (Appendix B, p. 13).

In the threatened regions the Portuguese have transferred the Africans to regrouping camps

on a large scale; report IV-e, p. 3, mentions that 887,923 persons had been transferred to such camps as early as 1968-1969. Only one Symposium author had an optimistic view of

the consequences of the policy:

The increased concentration of the African population would be a victory in counter-subversion, which now seems to us easy to achieve. Never before had the authorities and the African population, as they now do, the opportunity for contact and coexistence.

This coexistence necessarily imposes on all the obligation to take notice of the needs of the others. At present, we are overwhelmed by socio-economic problems, whereas not long ago they were not thought about, when the population lived dispersed and did not know a thing about the life of more civilized peoples and, therefore nothing either about the benefits of this situation. We must be aware of the fact that population concentration constitutes the first major step towards an ideal future (VI-3, p. 1).

For the Portuguese, the regrouping of African populations is not something new. In his report, Jodo Cabral, governor of the district of Cuanza Sul, recalled the past:

Through the ages we have followed a policy of drawing the population to the roadsides; in some cases, new roads were even constructed. As a matter of principle, demographic centers should be situated close to or even along roadways. This policy must still be followed. Complete success will require some time because for years the population has adopted exactly the opposite criterion, in order to protect itself and escape the continuous appeals and recruitment of laborers needed for the repair of the roads and more often than not for the a, contract labor system >> (III-1, p. 4).

In the present regrouping, the aim is hardly different: control of the African population.

On this point, the study commission of Section III, <, Regrouping and Control of the Native Population >, of the Symposium writes in its final report:

By definition, the regrouping camps are a form of control, for the protection of the population, either by way of special security measures or by way of investigation to discover subversive elements that may have infiltrated the community. Within these limits and in addition to the general measures of control, the following specific measures have to be taken:

- a) a detailed census of the regrouped population;
- b) the painting of police numbers on the houses, even on the worst slums;
- c) the installation and maintenance of a filing system for families;
- d) supervision of the coming and going of the regrouped population for purposes of work, on the grounds of providing protection. This means that the camp can be left only in groups and only at certain times (111-0, p. 4).

Improvements of the living conditions of the Africans, so highly praised by the Portuguese

administration, often are only an illusion:

In the hasty setting up of new villages throughout most of Angola, no careful study was made at the right time, which would have led to better results; the pros and cons could have been foreseen in due time, and a great many mistakes in implementation could have been avoided. Villages have been constructed on the wrong site, or the surrounding lands are unsuitable for commercial agriculture, or they are remote from sources of water. The African is accustomed to live with considerable space, where he can dry his maize and prepare his flour (the basis of his diet), but land spacious enough for his needs

has not been thought of. Too many houses have been built within the indicated limits. Apart from other disadvantages, this also means that dwellings are ruined completely by fire as soon as in one way or another flames reach a roof: the great majority are made of dried grass (VI-3, p. 5).

In its report, study commission VI, (< Social Progress - Re-ordering of the Countryside ,

writes:

The population regrouping process can cause the following negative aspects, which provide arguments to subversive agents, of which they can make good use:

a) From the economic viewpoint:

1. the abandonment, by a regrouped population, of an economic organization of life which constitutes the stabilized basis of its existence;
2. the necessity of a reorganization of this economic life at the new location with the interruption of output as a consequence;
3. in emergency situations, the necessity for the State to help support these people, until the balance in the interrupted output will have been re-established;
4. the indefinite loss of the crops coming from longterm cultivation - and the loss will be difficult to make up;
5. difficulty or impossibility of keeping cattle, through the loss of the natural balance between the number of animals and the land available; this entails a serious danger vis-a'-vis the spreading of contagious diseases;
6. acceleration of the land exhaustion process, since it is being used too intensively.

b) From the public-health viewpoint:

1. worsening of the food situation of the population;
2. a higher frequency of contagious diseases as a

result of the extensive pollution of the ground and of drinking water in a restricted space, and as a result of easier contacts among an increased number of people (tuberculosis, leprosy, many childhood diseases, intestinal parasites, diarrhoea, etc.);

3. an increased risk of epidemics, especially of measles, whooping-cough, jaundice, intestinal troubles; this will possibly cause an increase of the mortality rate.

c) From the social viewpoint:

1. forced modifications of behavioral patterns touching on many aspects of individual and collective

life;

2. modification of relationships in the field of social hierarchies, community life, privacy and the regulation of social, economic and other int,-Osts;

3. the possibility that land abandoned by a neighboring population will be used in a less scrupulous way for agriculture and animal husbandry by people who were not affected by the regrouping;

4. a great chance that conflicts of a social nature will break out, possibly as a consequence of the decay of traditional customs, since the prevailing norms

were not adapted to the new living conditions;

5. an increase of migration because of discontent and want and, as a consequence thereof, a worsening of the phenomenon of urbanization and a decrease of productivity of the regrouped population, because the most valuable people have fled.

From all this we may conclude that regrouping can promote rebellion, because it intensifies the cycle of underdevelopment.

In his report entitled ((Control of Populations in Regrouping Camps), Major Carlos Alexandre de Morais, district police commander (PSPA) in Huila, adds the following:

When regrouping African populations, we witness certain phenomena. Often the population is composed of diverse tribes and frequently there is discontent among them, caused both by the inevitable changes in the heathen social hierarchies and by the limitation of the freedom of various chiefs who see that they are being subjected to the authority of others, which is not always accepted.

Those who are dissatisfied, and others who do not voluntarily agree to be displaced from the land to which they are tied by sentiment and tradition, constitute fertile soil for mentalization by the enemy. The problem of controlling the population must be considered of the highest importance, in order that proposed aims can be reached and one or another regrouping started.

1. Construction Sites for New Concentration Centers

We should take into account the fact that control will be easier if concentration centers are located close to a village or a police or military station. Of course, in this way there will be empty zones; this we tried to avoid, but the experience gained in another district has taught us that the attempt to avoid these empty zones

by spreading concentration centers throughout the region usually entails disadvantages, such as population losses, the creation of other empty zones and, what is even more important, the loss, in favor of the enemy, of weapons and ammunition we had distributed among the soldiers. This happens because humanly speaking it is impossible for restricted police or military forces to supervise ten or twenty concentration centers in the area under their authority, which is often of very wide extent, and supervision is fully useless if it is not carried out daily.

Simply by registering these populations, either by a filing system or some other means, the military forces cannot prevent them from joining the enemy, either voluntarily or by force. Nor is the existence of militia and informers sufficient, for if the hostile group is very numerous, the militia is easily dominated. And if a concentration center is too far away from the nearest

village, the hostile group is already beyond the reach of any action whatever before the news gets through. On the other hand, if the concentration centers are built near the villages, supervision turns out to be much easier, because not only is the population watched from close by, but also the militia of the concentration center can be composed permanently of PSPA elements, the army and even civilians...

As said before, the strongest objection to this procedure is the fact that it creates unpopulated areas, but one should not forget that we control the native population, which will not be able to support the enemy with manpower or material. If, in addition, that native population is submitted to mentalization, we will win them over to us, so that they will not soon cooperate with the enemy. After some time it will then be possible to start filling those empty zones, to the extent that we will be able to rely on the native population. Then it will be much more difficult for the enemy to convince that population to follow them, because not only will it have been conscientized by us, but also because it will always be afraid of reprisals by the enemy, and thus it will try to defend itself strongly against them...

2. Census by Means of Family Cards

Instead of using identity cards, which are difficult to check because of the great number of holders and for other reasons which I will not mention here, family cards could be used. That is: a census would be held in every concentration center and the results would be registered on a general plan, assigning a number to each house. This number would also be put on the card corresponding to each house. The card would carry the name of the head of the family and all other individuals who form part of that family and usually live with it.

A filing system would be made of each concentration center, which would remain with the local anti-subversion commission. Thus any commission member could consult the filing system at any time and use it in virtue

of his authority when checking the native population. A copy of each card must always be in the house concerned, either with the head of the family or attached to the inside of the front door. This, together with the displacement permits, will enable an easy supervision of the native population. For, when an official would

go to a concentration center and order every family to gather in its own home, he can then check on everything on the basis of the card kept there. For those who are absent a copy of the displacement permit would have to be with the head of the family; this copy would justify his absence. In this way everyone who is not at home and has not left behind a document that justifies his absence, will be considered a collaborator with the enemy, and a warrant of arrest will be issued against him. As soon as the militia will be properly organized, it also will be used for checking, in particular, the inhabitants of the concentration centers who are absent because of work in the fields.

3. Network of Informers

Besides the measures that have been taken, one should keep in mind the necessity of having informers, recruited by the PIDE. They would have to keep the PIDE informed of what is happening.

These informers would have to be recruited after having given convincing proof of their reliability. They should of course be in no way distinct from the other inhabitants of the concentration center. Just as other militiamen, they should be exempted from paying taxes, but in order not to provoke suspicion they would first have to pay these together with the other inhabitants; the authorities to whom they are subject will then pay back the amount. As a stimulus, they should receive a reward for each piece of information; the amount should depend on the importance of the information.

These informers should never be allowed to know one another, in order that they cannot make common cause, and also to make it easier to establish the degree

of reliability of each of them by comparing the information received. It will not be necessary to deny the existence of informers belonging to the militia, but their recruitment must be the object of precautionary measures. Everyone who is suspected of being an informer will have to be publicly discredited, or at least his position as an informer will have to be made clear, so that the enemy will not be able to use him either.

The PIDE will have to study this matter thoroughly, because, thanks to the possibilities it has at its disposal, it will certainly be able to set up a useful network of informers in each concentration center...

4. Supervision of Pastoral Populations

It is unfortunate that all that has been said above cannot be put into practice in the south of the district of Huila, where no possibilities for regrouping the native population exist, because they live almost exclusively from and for their herds; this obliges them to a nomadic way of life. Therefore, completely different methods will have to be applied. One of the solutions under study is the institution of a militia body which would accompany these tribes on their wanderings. It seems to us that this method is not the most fruitful one, because even the militia belonging to fixed concentration points is seduced by the enemy, or at least easily eliminated, and this notwithstanding our supervision and our support. It is thus more than probable that militia wandering about will still more easily fall into the hands /of the enemy. It could be proposed that members of the PSP and the army

accompany these militia bodies permanently, but this solution seems to us extremely difficult to put into practice, for evident reason.

In the light of what has been explained so far, we suggest the following procedures: a) Assure a great concentration of police in the areas where pastoral populations are living. It is evident that the posts which will be created will have to be provided with the means necessary for an efficacious

operation, such as: radio equipment, cars, sufficient personnel not only to ensure the exercise of the functions proper to the police, but also to be able to patrol frequently along the usual routes of the population to be supervised, and also other means that can be deemed appropriate for a good accomplishment of the task in question.

b) In any case, fill all vacancies in administrative personnel, in particular those connected with posts situated in areas inhabited by pastoral populations. This would be very helpful to the PSP and the army in the fulfillment of their supervisory functions.

c) Create a network of information along the lines that have already been explained for populations with a fixed abode. The setting up of this network requires the special attention of those responsible, considering its extraordinary importance for the supervision of nomadic populations (111-3, pp. 1 ff.).

Chapter 3

Control of the Population by Means of Identity Cards

Before the outbreak of armed rebellion in Angola in 1961, the Portuguese administration made use of identity cards and a permit system for supervision of the African population. Josg Henriques de Carvalho, governor of the Huila district, recalls how the system worked:

In former days, government officials managed to supervise quite efficiently the native populations of the area under their authority. Yearly, a census of the entire population was held. Everyone had to have an identity card with photo. This census provided data for the registry office and sufficiently accurate information concerning the birth and mortality rates and the number of marriages contracted. The identity cards also provided for supervision of migration and travel. Furthermore, for any journey a travel permit was obligatory. Even people who went away for a determined period of time for purposes of work were checked by means of cards, which, in addition to the personal data of the laborer and his photo, indicated the duration of his contract. Every day he had to have an annotation made on his card testifying that he had been at work. In this way it was possible to check whether the African worked properly, according to a contract freely concluded between both parties (111-5, p. 4).

The outbreak of the revolt in Angola in 1961 put an end to these practices. The Lisbon government published a decree that terminated the use of different documents for Africans and Europeans, because now all were Portuguese citizens:

Since 1961 the yearly census is no longer a census of the entire population. Now only people who have to pay the IGM [general minimum tax] are registered... The identity card for natives does not exist anymore. Now everyone has to have an identity card (bilhete de identidade), which can be obtained from the registry office, and it involves a slow, complicated procedure. An end has been put to the efficiency that characterized the system when local government officials acted as registrars and had the power to give out identity cards and to register births, marriages and deaths of the natives. This power was not centralized; it was administered by local authorities.

With the new procedure, the system has lost its efficiency, because only the persistence and authority of local officials, present at all time in the life of the traditional populations, were able to withstand resistance and keep alive the fear of being caught in compromising situations.

The abolition of the separate indigenous status, besides doing away with the native identity cards, extended also to the elimination of travel permits. But travel control is feasible only if travel permits can be demanded indiscriminately. This hampers supervision of travel (111-5, p. 5).

Because the new system of identity cards introduced in 1961 allowed too little opportunity for supervision, it was replaced in 1968 by a totally new system. Following is the report, <Supervision of the Native Population>, presented at the Counter-Subversion Symposium by Lieutenant-Colonel Fernando Lisboa Botelho, head of the second Counter-Subversion

GCI:

In all studies on the subversive war, it is stated that the introduction of a population supervision system is a prerequisite in the combat against subversion. It is

obvious that the rebels make use of the freedom of movement which they have. Since this was recognized a long time ago, various techniques were and are applied to determine what activities the enemy deploys.

Thus the military forces have applied the directives indicated in their regulations. Furthermore, in various documents measures were decreed, at the provincial or district level, aiming at supervising the residence and the transfer of persons and goods.

Some of these measures have proved to be very useful. Certain regulations will remain in use as complementary measures.

It turned out, however, that a better defense against subversive activities was needed. Therefore, a new system was developed for the whole province of Angola. Its implementation is supported by all means.

To this end, Law no. 3819 of 4 April of this year was proclaimed. It will allow an immediate, coordinated and efficacious supervision of populations. This law will be the basis of our study.

As is known, the following elements are essential for supervision of populations:

- * control of identification
- * control of residence
- * control of travel and traffic

* control of merchandise and luggage * control of activities and professions

This new law solves the problems relating to identity, residence and travel.

Furthermore, it provides for a census of all persons above the age of 12.

In addition, this law is useful for checking merchandise and luggage, activities and professions.

Its archives can also be used for the electoral register, for calling up conscripts, for the distribution of food, for the payment of the IGM, and for issuing

residence certificates. They can also provide accurate information to the intelligence service and criminal police...

Control of Identification

The new system of identification, introduced by Law no. 3819, in no way corresponds to the old.

In the old system, personal archives were compiled alphabetically according to names, and not according to residence, as in modern systems. Hence they are completely useless for checking a given population. Even for identification their usefulness is debatable, since the identity cards can easily be damaged or destroyed, and also because it is easy to make changes, since they have not been laminated, as in Portugal. Besides, one and the same person can get more than one identity card, with different names, not to speak of the great number of persons having the same name, or of names whose spelling is doubtful because of faulty pronunciation. The identity card is a relatively expensive document, not only because of its cost, but because of the travel it entails, since sections of the Identification Archives are located exclusively in district capitals. Every time one wants to consult the archives, it takes a lot of time, not only because the set-up is outdated, but also because of the centralization.

The new system of control according to residence has none of these inconveniences. Besides, it will be impossible for the same person to get two identity cards.

Registration by residence leaves no possible escape. Decentralization of the registration process and of the entering of subsequent changes permits a quick and easy detection of any irregularity.

If the card is laminated or something similar, it cannot deteriorate or be changed.

The entire registration procedure is free of charge and does not require extensive travel.

If we then have to interrogate someone, we will be

able to know with certainty whom we have before us, apart from all the particulars provided by the registry office.

Control of Residence

It is as important to know someone's residence as it is to know his name. By the same token, one has to know who are living in each house or village. The archives, compiled on the basis of registration according to residence, carry for each person:

* in towns and villages: the house, the street and the corresponding police station;

* in the countryside: the house, the hamlet, the group of hamlets and the corresponding local authority.

This simple system will allow us at any moment to check what persons a population consists of. It will then be easy to establish the presence of non-local persons, who have been brought in by the enemy.

Entering the villages and searching the houses, military patrols and officials will be able with the help of the archives to check whether the situation is as it should be.

Every time an inhabitant turns out to be absent, the head of the hamlet will have to give a good reason for it. If he cannot do so, he is punished, until the matter is solved. If an unknown person is found who does not dispose of the required documents, he is arrested in order to clarify the matter. The head of the hamlet is arrested also, in order to check on his responsibility, because he has not informed the authorities of the presence of an unknown person.

It is obvious that this checking of the population is difficult during the day, because the only people one finds then are women and children.

Therefore, the best time is dawn, when the inhabitants have not yet left for their fields. Thus, one has to go to the village during the night in all silence, encircle

it or watch all the paths leading in and out, so that no one who has penetrated the village has the opportunity to flee.

This collective checking can also be carried out on a Sunday during the day, because normally the native population does not work then.

The patrols can also check on people who are on their way to the fields or who are working there; one should always try to take them by surprise and not allow escapes.

When the system is set up in this way and when checking is carried out often, enemy agents will not be able to settle within a community.

It goes without saying that this system of checking villagers does not exclude other already existing systems nor others still to be worked out.

* One frequently used system is based on the faith one can put in a village head and in the members of the militia, and on the conviction that they will arrest and hand over to the authorities any foreign element showing up in the village. This has happened in many cases, but in many other cases the traditional authority - being linked with or intimidated by the rebels - failed to make reports, with all the serious consequences thereof.

* Another system consists of setting up a restricted network of informers, who report anything suspicious happening in the village. This is difficult, but it can be very efficacious.

* Some heads of administrative posts say that because of their many contacts with their villagers they know everyone. This enables them to determine who lives in the village and who does not. Although this system can be highly praiseworthy, it leaves room for mistakes.

It not only fails to guarantee indispensable continuity, in case of replacement or absence of the administrative official, but also cannot be put into practice in isolation from other authorities.

The residence certificates issued by the PSPA in conformity with Law no. 3447 of 22 February 1964, are valid only for the inhabitants of the city of Luanda.

Temporary inhabitants of this city do not come under this regulation, whereas for us they are the persons of greatest interest. I do not dispose of the information which would enable me to pronounce a well-founded judgment on the results obtained by this system, nor to establish whether they justify the time and money invested.

I only know that in the four years the system has functioned, about 190,000 residence certificates have been issued, and that the archives have been of some use for some police departments and even for private organizations, in the tracing of certain persons.

The filing system in use is based on family names in alphabetical order, and not on addresses. Hence its usefulness for checking on the residence and especially the travels of the population is very limited.

Although a considerable number of residence certificates were issued, more than half of the inhabitants of the city of Luanda did not deem it necessary to apply for this document. Because of this, any terrorist can enter the city, live in it and leave it without being thwarted in any way. The administrative procedure for obtaining a residence certificate, including the making of a passport photo, is free of charge, but the people who apply for it must have an identity card.

These cards have been laminated, at relatively little expense, to protect against damage or alterations. Therefore they are of some use for checking on identity.

These cards, issued by the PSPA on the basis of Regulation no. 12/968 of 27 April 1968, will be replaced by a new system as of 30 June next year.

Perhaps that is why last August an increase of applications could be noticed: there were 4,000 applications for new certificates, 2,000 persons who already had received one applied anew for one, and 2,500 changes of address were reported. The cause of this increased

interest is not clear, but especially the great number of second applications arouses our suspicion. Therefore, during the six months in which the old certificates are still in use, we have to be on our guard, so that we will be able to detect any evasions from the new checking system.

Although the model 6 and 7 cards (art. 24) were issued to check on the payment of the IGM, administrative posts have taken them as a basis for checking populations, because they provide information about the identity of the bearer. They are updated each year during the census of tax payers, but this is the only group in possession of the card. Although they are for the entire family, they only refer to the family head. This system is of little interest for checking subversive activities; it is useful only for levying taxes.

Supervision of Travel

For the repression of subversion, this supervision is the most important. We must say that it has been made very much easier. Persons whose true identity is not revealed [in the light of what follows, this seems to refer to government agents - ed.] can come and go as they wish, openly and with impunity. This is a serious handicap we have imposed on the enemy.

In the prohibited or contiguous areas, the terrorists have to move in the deepest secrecy, always running the risk of being taken by surprise by a patrol of soldiers or militiamen.

In the other areas propagandists, spies, tax collectors, liaison agents and supply agents can move without difficulty; they enter and leave the towns and villages as they like, especially Luanda.

Trains and busses are often overcrowded, and the passengers do not always have to explain the purpose of their travel. In regions where the rebels are active, the busses continue to run without, in general, ever being attacked. This is because the rebels have an interest in

this form of transportation: their agents use it.

Travel checks have to be carried out, by civil or military authorities, whether by roaming patrols or by fixed or movable checking posts.

As far as possible, patrols should make use of trains or busses. This is important not only because of the scarcity of vehicles, but also because of the element of surprise. Besides, the passengers can be checked during the journey.

Often, movable checking posts have to be set up during the night at a distance from roads and pathways, because it can be expected that people without documents will do all they can to avoid being checked.

In this context it is indispensable to launch a campaign against the habit of many drivers to warn other drivers by giving signals with their headlights that they are approaching a checking post.

We must point out to these drivers that their behavior is harmful. They have to understand the necessity of this checking, because it is not only aimed at the observance of regulations on freight traffic, but in the first place at checking on the transportation of persons and goods in support of subversion.

The press and radio can help in this field by communicating articles, news items or commentaries on these police activities. They can stress its importance and point out certain results.

At the moment, Ministerial Decree no. 20, of 8 May 1961, is in force in a number of districts, which allows travel from one administrative area to another..., only if one has a travel permit, issued by the administration...

Travelers who are not in possession of a permit issued by the authorities of their residence have to apply for this permit at the first administrative post they come through in the district of their stay. On this permit the aim of the journey and the duration of the stay are noted. For identification purposes the name of the traveler and that of his parents is mentioned, the place where he was born and the number of his identity card.

Travelers are not always in possession of this card, and this hampers checking. This and other circumstances limit the efficiency of the system, but as long as the new regulations are not yet in force, the old ones have to be observed. According to the norms which are in force at the moment, every citizen who changes residence or leaves it has to have, in addition to the residence certificate, one of the following annexes: model 3 - for permanent absence model 4 - for temporary absence (15 to 180 days) model 5 - for traveling (up to 15 days) model 6 - provisional residence certificate (up to 90 days after arrival in Angola) model 7 - exemption from the requirement of residence registration and subsequent changes model 8 - for laborers traveling in accordance with their labor contract model 9 - for those who have to travel often to different places.

Anyone who does not carry the required documents can be fined, apart from other punishments or measures fixed by law.

Besides keeping watch - by day and by night on the roads and pathways of those who move on foot or in cars or who make use of public transportation, attention will have to be paid to travel on rivers and lakes.

A great many canoes, most of which are not registered and do not have any licence, cover long or short distances without sufficient supervision. In some areas a great number of these vessels have been discovered and destroyed because they were at the service of the enemy. In other regions, where there is order and quiet, travel by water will continue to be allowed, especially in view of fishing, but it will have to be subject to supervision, which is indispensable.

Some district posts along the Cuanza River have taken the required measures to supervise travel of the population on or along the river. These measures were supplemented by the setting up of posts on bridges and also on boats.

Modern motor launches were put at the disposal of the administration in these districts.

Furthermore, river militia have been formed, recruiting fishermen who make use of their own boats.

Along the Cuanza River two militia have already been recruited in connection with the Messangano station, two with that of Muxina and two others at Bom Jesus.

These militia have a uniform of their own, they are provided with arms and ammunition, and they are trained for the task they have to fulfil. Since the experiment has been a success, plans have been made for militia on other rivers, as for instance the Bengo River, where a registration and licence system for canoes is not yet in force, with the result that part of the fish catch from the Santiago area can be transported to the rebels.

These river patrols are a supplement to the foot patrols which supervise the banks of rivers. Often woods and inundations along a riverside hamper this supervision. Supervision of Merchandise and Luggage

Law no. 3819, which regulates the supervision of travel, says nothing about the transportation of goods and luggage by persons who change residence or are temporarily absent from their residence.

Yet, when checking a person's identity and travel documents, there is nothing against also checking the goods he has with him.

One can do so in reference to Regulation no. 13504 of 28 November 1964, which establishes norms that apply to certain goods in certain districts. This regulation can also be applied to all other districts where this is deemed necessary, as well as to other goods, the transportation

of which has also to be subjected to certain conditions.

The regulation just mentioned relates to the transportation of goods by road or by train, including trucks and busses. The established norms even extend to the goods carried by passengers. They have to draw up a list of these goods.

The regulation sets down that representatives of the military or civil authority or the police are entitled to demand the unloading of vehicles at checking posts or on the road, in order to check whether the goods transported are in conformity with the corresponding lists.

The importance of this checking is self-evident. Together with the checking of goods transported by truck, it will put an end to the most important supply chain used by the subversive forces.

In places where these measures are considered not yet sufficient, house searches should be put into effect, to see whether they contain goods, clothing or medicines intended for the enemy.

Supervision of Activities and Employment

It was not deemed useful, and rightly so, to include, in the law mentioned above, supervision of activities and employment by means of an employment card.

The problem of knowing how the population lives and from what means is limited to the city of Luanda.

The setting up of a residence certificate system will give us a greater knowledge of the population, and then it will become clear who has no fixed dwelling-place or residence, or job.

Then, when checking the streets and the roads leading into the city, we can find out what everyone has to do inside or outside the city. Persons without certified profession, job or residence can then be restricted.

In this way, the law will yield good results for checking on activities and employment, and provide a

good basis for future regulations.

For the time being, the holder's profession will be put down on the application form (model 1) which is kept in the archives, or on the residence certificate (model 2). Any change is to be reported within 30 days, in order to be registered on the corresponding card.

Agricultural laborers working on the basis of a contract will have to have the special appendix intended for them (model 8), which indicates their type of work.

Since proofs can be alleged of almost every profession, it can and must be confirmed that the profession indicated is in fact correct.

Every civil servant and anyone exercising a free profession has his identity card. All those who work in a bank or factory, in a shop or department store, those who drive motor vehicles for their living, all who have employment in a workshop or office, every plantation owner, businessman or industrialist - all have their trade union membership card or an employers' association membership card. Hence they can all easily produce proof of their employment.

This is likewise the case for jobs requiring a special permit, e.g. fishermen.

In this way only domestic personnel and unemployed persons remain unchecked, since they do not have any special document. Therefore, especially these persons residence has to be checked, in order to establish what use they make of their time, and how they make their living.

By decentralizing the archives, distributing them over the various police districts and giving each policeman a specific area, it will be possible to gather the data indispensable for an efficacious checking of persons who are suspected of subversive activities.

As said before, the archives which have been set up to supervise the population will have other advantages as well, thus profiting yet more from the work put into them. For example:

Census

When registration is completed, we will know exactly how many inhabitants above the age of 12 there are in each district, city and village. In this way we will finally be able to form an approximate picture of the population of Luanda, and see the changes it manifests.

From this general census it will be easy to draw data for more specialized censorial purposes, such as for military service and elections, and a better checking on the payment of the IGM.

Rationing of Merchandise and Provisions

The system set up to check populations will be very useful whenever and wherever it will be necessary to resort to the rationing of foodstuffs among populations, as foreseen by Directive no. 13727 of 27 March 1965.

Confirmation of Residence

On the basis of the residence archives, municipalities will be able to answer all questions as to residence formalities.

Information Service

The population checking system does not replace the activities of information services. It contributes to them, both by the organized archives and the operations required for them (111-2, pp. 1 ff.).

Chapter 4

Secret Police and Militia

Not only the army, the navy and the air forces are being used against the resistance movement in Angola, but also various police and armed civilian

services. The reports on counter-subversion often mention the *forças militares e militarizadas*, i.e. the military and para-military (militia) forces.

One of the most important tasks of the police organizations, specifically of the PIDE secret police, is information-gathering:

The instructions given to the PIDE are closely related with the gathering of information. Reports on clandestine organizations of a politico-subversive nature, both inside and outside Angola, have to be complete and detailed (1-2, p. 17).

The local government has the task of informing all levels of government of activities connected with the gathering of information (recruiting, training and judgment passed on informers), set up in the context of counter-subversion measures in collaboration with the PIDE (11-2, p. 2).

In addition to secret informers, the PIDE also disposes of African military units, the *Flexas*. According to 1-2, p. 18, the *Flexas*, under the leadership of the PIDE and in collaboration with the military forces, have to gather information and carry out counter-guerilla activities. Among the duties which accrue to them are combat and sabotage, both inside and outside Angola. Besides PIDE, still other organizations provide information: the SCCIA

and the information services of the military forces and the civilian militia (*forças militarizadas*). It seems that these overlapping services are not always able to collaborate; results are not so good. Report 11-2, p. 6, speaks of the (scarcity of information in proportion to the personnel in service). Major Carlos Alexandre de Moraes, district commander of the PSPA police service, feels that something has to be done about this:

We have to study the best way for arriving at a good exchange of information among the authorities: police, army, government, PIDE and SCCIA. As soon as these organizations receive a piece of information, only the one most directly concerned should sift the matter out. As soon as it arrives at a conclusion, it must pass it on to the other bodies. Meanwhile, the others do not proceed to action, in order not to hamper the investigation under way. Once conclusions have been drawn, the only authority to take action is the one to whose competence the matter logically falls.

The spreading of the conclusions drawn after the examination of specific information will undoubtedly constitute a strong stimulus for the organization and the members who have given it (11-3, p. 6).

PIDE Brigadier Manuel J. Correia feels that his own organization should play an important part:

Experts in the field of subversive warfare also say that success can be gained only with the help of an efficient information service, that only one single organization should be responsible for providing information, and that this organization has to

be precisely the specialized police. All other organizations should collaborate with it. We shall tell you why.

One of the most important sources of information is the rebel who after his surrender or arrest is submitted

to interrogation. In order to be able to draw useful conclusions from this interrogation, it is indispensable for the interrogator to have a perfect knowledge of the situation. He has to dispose of information that enables him to ask the right questions and to judge the credibility of the answers. If the interrogation is carried out by someone who does not meet these requirements, it only causes damage which may be irreparable. The information obtained should also be evaluated by experts (V-4, p. 6).

The reports on counter-subversion also go into the punitive actions undertaken against a population suspected of giving support to the independence movement. Captain Magalhães J. Cruz Azevedo, district commander of the PSPA police, writes:

When actions have to be undertaken against populations suspected of being contaminated by the propaganda of the enemy - either because they join the enemy and raise funds for groups passing through without operational activity, or indirectly, by pamphlets and radio propaganda, etc. - punitive actions, because they are of a delicate nature, should not be carried out by the military forces (forças militares e militarizadas).

Special groups of a still to be determined, heterogeneous composition have to be constituted; these should carry out reprisals.

In this way the military forces are relieved of a task which discredits any other activity they carry out for the social progress of the rest of the population and its security: that sort of activity quickly gets known everywhere and its main result is repugnance.

One thing that can have a direct effect on countersubversive combat is the use of violence: undermining elements are punished most severely and this fact is given great publicity. We have to take action against the elements who live in our midst and promote subversion. Violence still is a strong argument, especially when

applied against blacks, whose entire concept of God is imbedded in the idea of violence (V-2, p. 1).

Brigadier Manuel J. Correia of PIDE also is convinced that punitive actions against the African population are a useful means, provided the punishment is not excessive or tyrannical:

We may assume that the Africans will humbly accept punishment when they see it as uniform and just, whereas they will react badly to punishments which to them seem new and arbitrary (V-5, p. 4).

The main para-military organization not belonging to the military forces is the OPVDCA, instituted in the time of emergency at the beginning of the war in Angola, meant to be a defense organization of armed whites. Today also, the OPVDCA plays an important part in the defense of Angola. Among the various tasks entrusted to it, the self-defense of the population takes an especially

important place. This organization is (to collaborate in maintaining order and to organize the defense of national unity against undermining agents and those who disturb public order, terrorists and armed gangs, as well as the self-defense of the population > (IV-e, p. 1).

Elsewhere, the study commission of Section IV of the Symposium on Counter-Subversion writes concerning the OPVDCA:

According to the law, among the various tasks of the OPVDCA are:

9 to take part in the protection of the property of authorities and private persons, and to see to it that work in Angola can proceed normally;

* to give technical guidance to the organization and supervision of the self-defense of numerous enterprises and institutions.

In order to provide for the carrying out of the various duties of OPVDCA, several services were set up. The following tasks come under the heading of self-defense: To take precautionary measures in order that self-defense, in view of the protection of personnel and property, be organized by public institutions and state services, and by local autonomous bodies, i.e. both by organizations and services of general interest and institutions in the field of industry, commerce, and any other field formerly classified as indispensable to normal life in Angola by the Governor-General.

In times of peace, plans for the self-defense and training of the personnel of services and enterprises should come under the direct responsibility of the directors or heads of the services concerned. They should exercise this responsibility within the general context and the hierarchy of the personnel in question. If they so wish or if there is no other way, they are allowed to take on special personnel for self-defense, without thereby letting the rest of the personnel be exempt from offering their collaboration.

The Governor-General can allow the setting up of volunteer units within the above-mentioned enterprises, recruited from among the personnel, for the self-defense of their plants. All costs involved for such units are to be covered by the services and enterprises themselves, including the public services. It is known also that at least 50% of the so-called < weak spots >> do not dispose of a self-defense apparatus in conformity with the requirements of the law. The percentage is highest in the sector of public services, specifically the railroads and harbors (IV-d, p. 1).

Concerning self-defense, Lieutenant-Colonel JtUlio Carvalho Costa writes: This self-defense aims both at ensuring the protection of the population by the population - i.e. without deploying troops to this end - and at making important military units available for offensive operations, since they are

exempt from the task of defense (IV-2, p. 1).

Whereas in the industries the above-mentioned self-defense units are composed of Europeans, Africans are incorporated into separate selfdefense organizations. This African (militia >

has been in existence since October 1961.

((Self-defense>>has to do with urban centers, the ((militia)) with rural areas. In rural areas also inhabited by Europeans, ((self-defense)> exists as well. The militia relates exclusively to the indigenes. This leads us to a conclusion we do not like to draw, namely, that there exists one self-defense scheme for Europeans and another, called ((militia >, for indigenous populations. It is generally agreed that this was not the intention of the legislator, at least not at the time of the promulgation of the laws. However, a harmonization or legal rectification seems required (IV-1, p. 2).

The Executive Council for Counter-Subversion decided that the militia may be organized by the police (PSPA), by the military forces, by the secret police (PIDE), by the OPVDCA, and by competent civilians of good will, hunters, merchants, etc. (IV-e, p. 2).

Legislative Document 3252 of 6 June 1962 provided that the traditional militia constitutes a military corps of the second line, under the command of government officials. In time of war or necessity, the Governor-General can put the militia entirely or partly under the command of the OPVDCA. On 12 September 1964, his Excellency the Governor-General put the militia in operational independence of the OPVDCA, i.e. only government officials are authorized to activate the militia. But in practice the militia has become ever more subordinated to the OPVDCA, to the extent that the government officials who institute, organize and arm the militia, now do so within the framework of the OPVDCA (IV-e, p. 4).

The task of the militia is purely defensive and it is not reimbursed - i.e. in principle. In practice, many OPVDA district commanders, at the initiative of military authorities, use the militia also for offensive operations; in that case they have to be paid by the government. This should not happen too frequently, since the members of the militia also have their normal activities to perform and because otherwise the economy is disorganized (IV-e, p. 2).

In conformity with the decision of his Excellency the Governor-General, members of the militia are usually not provided with uniforms. Almost all of them have an armband in the colors of the national flag, and the badge of the OPVDCA (IV-e, p. 3).

The selection of persons who are to constitute the militia lies with government authorities. These will take into account their opinion of the value of the persons chosen, the opinion of the traditional authority of the village or group of villages, that of the Europeans living in the area - in short, they will pay attention to the whole population of the village for which the militia is intended (IV-e, p. 2).

An important aim of the militia is to compromise the Africans:

The more the native population is implicated in our cause, the greater will be the difficulty of the enemy to win it over to its cause. Such involvement is partly reached by urging the population to take part in defensive combat. This we did and still do through the militia.

In this way we realized the aim we had in view: to withdraw the native population from direct involvement with the enemy, to regroup it in order to give it security, and to arm it so that it can defend and thereby compromise itself. In this way, and

little by little, conditions are created which both hamper enemy operations and induce the population to decide in favor of our cause (IV-e, p. 3).

The Africans do not always have the same view of the militia as do the military authorities. Captain Jorge Fernando Paula do Serro, district commander of the PSPA police, complains:

We give the African a weapon to defend his village, but he sees it only as something useful for hunting.

I am against the setting up of a militia in villages where it is not warranted, because it brings the African into a climate of warfare, unfamiliar to him. It keeps him mindful of an activity he should forget, and it creates in him a habit which may do us a bad turn 'one day (VI-3, p. 4).

Lieutenant-Colonel Jalio Carvalho Costa warns:

It is illusory to believe that one can count upon individuals who are not accustomed to collaboration and who lack any active relationship - a combination of courage, custom, awareness and morality - vis-i-vis authorities or companions. Concerning the plans for self-defense, we have to point out a very important fact, namely that the weapons and skill of the population are useless if the people are not organized and do not have very clear instructions, which they have understood and for which they are trained.

There is a danger in having an armed population, especially so when they are numerous or living over a far-flung area. A population which is armed but not organized and disciplined constitutes in itself so great a danger that a competent enemy will be able to exploit it traitorously and with maximum results.

Therefore, if no good organization exists, it is better to do nothing at all. The bullets of friends are more dangerous than those of the enemy (IV-2, pp. 2 and 5).

The study commission of Section IV also warns against the setting up of militia units among

nomadic populations: < It will be difficult to carry out an efficacious supervision of arms

distributed ,, (IV-a, p. 3).

For that reason we are not surprised that generally speaking the militia is not well armed.

Lieutenant-Colonel Jtio Carvalho Costa tells about his experiences in Cabinda (Cabinda, also spelled Kabinda, is an Angolan enclave north of the bulk of Angola, on the Atlantic Coast; on land, it is entirely surrounded by the Congo Republic [Congo-Brazzaville] and Zaire; area, 2,800 sq. miles; population, 51 million):

In Angola, and especially in Cabinda, the militia are of recent creation. Their number is limited to half a dozen persons per village, and only in a few villages. They are equipped with Lee-Enfield 7.7 m/917 guns, and have five bullets of doubtful quality each. Instructions are given on Sunday mornings in the Dingé area by an officer of the military unit stationed there. But the commander of the

militia is a government official, and, apart from that, in Angola they are subordinate to the OPVDCA. Until now, instructions were given in military centers and were concluded with a meal for those under instruction.

Transportation from and to their villages was with military vehicles.

In future this instruction will have to take place in the villages; instructors and their assistants will have to go there. This is because instructions at the headquarters lack objectivity, and also because of the cost of the food. There the militia, apart from shooting, will be able to learn how to defend a village with other available arms. They can also be taught passive defense and field organization (IV-1, p. 3).

Rui Setas Ferreira, in charge of the municipality of Nova Chaves, has little confidence in the fighting power of the militia:

Normally, when setting up the militia for the self-defense

of villages, only one or at most two persons appear who have done their military service and hence know how to handle a weapon. But it is an open secret that the enemy groups which carry out attacks are composed of elements who underwent military training, and who furthermore dispose of the newest weapons, almost always automatic ones.

As a consequence, technically and tactically the militia is always at a disadvantage. It is armed with (muskets > (canhangulos), weapons which give their users not the slightest sense of security, even less so if they know that their adversary carries automatic weapons. This adds up to a psychological effect that paralyzes them totally. Now this government feels that the militia could be valuable - mainly because they enable the military and para-military forces to carry out their proper task to the full - if over a certain period of time they would be organized by army or PSPA police personnel, or, if these are not available, by the GE (Grupos Especiais) units, able to give them a sense of security and calm, which are urgently needed in case of necessity. The ((muskets > will then have to be replaced by modern weapons.

In the non-affected areas it may be good to arm the militia with ((muskets >, because they give their bearers a sense of authority, but in the context of combat against subversion this is only a game.

We would like to suggest the following experiment. From one side would come 10 militiamen armed with ((muskets>, and from the other side 4 or 5 enemy troopers armed with modern rifles. What would then happen is so obvious that any commentary is superfluous. Whereas the <(muskets)) after the first discharge need a couple of minutes (perhaps 5 or 10, that would be already very efficient) before the next discharge, a modern weapon will eliminate some militiamen and the surviving ones will flee panic-stricken. If we do not want to give enemy elements a halo of invincibility, this must be avoided. If we do not nip in the bud this myth in

which many people believe, it can have repercussions on our action (111-7, p. 3).

Little is mentioned in the reports on countersubversion about the Portuguese army. The army in Angola seems to lack firearms, vehicles and personnel. The governor of the Huila district, Celso Herminio de Carvalho Vila Nova, complains that in April 1967 all the district commanders received an SOS from the OPVDCA command for Angola quickly to send Mauzer M/904 guns to the district of Moxico, because of the increased activity of the liberation movement in that area. The arms would be returned later on.

The district command of Huila sent 22 guns, but had not received any back. No reaction followed renewed applications. Various installations, such as the airport, the power station, the radio station, the works of Sd da Bandeira, capital of the district of Huila, and the Salazar Dam near Natala, through lack of finances and material, were not able to take the required precautionary measures.

Traditional Tribal Chiefs

For supervising African populations in regrouping camps, the governor of the district of Cuanza Sul, Jodo Cabral Carmona, recommends in his reports that use be made not only of the various police services, but also that the traditional chiefs be chosen with care. He observes that this is now a very difficult task >, (III-1, p. 5).

In other reports also it is recommended that the traditional authorities of the African populations be used for Portuguese purposes:

I do not understand why we no longer enlist the services

of the African families who have great prestige and great traditions, and why we support blacks who have no prestige and who are considered by the others as sheer tools. It is indispensable to enhance the reputation of the traditional authorities by giving them more power (Appendix E, p. 3).

The study commission of Section VI recommends:

We should give prestige again to the traditional authorities by trying to grant them dignity. We should also give them the preparation and support they need to be able to play a useful part in the regrouping programs, by facilitating the conscious integration of these programs in government proposals (VI-0, p. 10).

The head of the SCCIA secret service, Ramiro

Ladeiro Monteiro, writes:

The decline of the traditional chiefs' power is also a consequence of the nomination policy of the traditional authorities. Because the government wanted to have an easy time, it appointed those persons who according to common law should take office. Notwithstanding the decline of the traditional structures, in the present circumstances the African authorities can play an important part in counter-subversion, and we can easily take advantage of it.

Recommendation. The best way to take advantage of the traditional authorities for counter-subversion is to compromise them with our government.

To this end it seems necessary:

a. To obtain their cooperation and take advantage of all

circumstances to effect a split between them and the enemy. To this end we must have them take part in the work of the government, in the form of addresses during civil ceremonies, and have them participate in self-defense programs, the organization of the militia,

etc. Once they are compromised, they begin to fear reprisals from the enemy, and hence to seek our protection.

b. In cases of succession, to have, if at all possible, that person elected who according to common law should take office; we must give him prestige so that he gains influence over the population.

c. Increase his salary, because among them money has the same significance as prestige. This problem, however, was recently raised in the Legislative Council (Appendix B, p. 10).

Chapter 5

Factors which Promote Rebellion

As could be expected, the Symposium on Counter-Subversion deals extensively with factors which promote the undermining of the Portuguese government. The longing of the African for independence is hardly given any attention. But the causes which the Portuguese do mention are of interest, inasmuch as they give an insight into Angolan colonial society.

After eight months of study, the CounterSubversion Coordination and Supervision

Group No. 3 mentions the following factors:

a. The existence of strong and numerous contrasts. b. Cases of injustice committed in the past and mistakes

which caused serious resentment among the African population.

c. The fact that these mistakes are still being made today, even by those who really should know better. d. The low cultural and civic level of the great majority

of the population of European origin, which on the basis of its skin color continues to feel superior. This feeling of superiority determines all its relations with the African population, in whom it only sees an abundant source of cheap labor or an object for exploitation.

e. The refusal of this population to change the nature of its relations with the Africans; it refuses to accept the fact that its farms, its presence and its future will depend on this.

f. Indifference with regard to the problems of the war, which it thinks to be of concern only to the military forces and the police.

g. The fact that the African population lives so scattered

over the countryside; this hampers efficacious protection and defense, as also efficacious aid in the field of education and health services.

h. The activities of Protestant missionaries who adroitly acted as subversive agents or at least as agents for the denationalization of important parts of the African population.

i. The recent undermining of the previously seldom conspicuous activity of Catholic missions, by persons of African origin open to subversion. They caused a rift which can create great confusion among the African population within their sphere of influence.

The above-mentioned facts - we could cite many more - can be considered a summary of the most serious reasons for revolt, and they require efficacious handling (Appendix A, p. 2).

The study commission on (Social Progress Reordering of the Countryside)) (Section VI of the Symposium on Counter-Subversion) mentions still other factors which foment revolt:

a. Commercial Structures al. The barter system, and the unjust compensation rates for products exchanged.

a2. The lack of markets where a just price for products is offered.

a3. The non-existence of consumer cooperatives and the exploitation practiced in the cantinas [stores, often with a bar attached, operated by, and on the premises of, factories, etc., where workers are generally obliged to make their purchases, almost always at higher prices than they would pay elsewhere - ed.].

a4. The policy of trade concentrations which leads to estrangement among the various races and hampers racial integration.

a5. The lack of efficacious and clearly defined state

supervision; this gives the appearance that cases of injustice are tolerated by government officials.

b. State Paternalism and Falsified (< Public Opinion > bl. Legislation still carries outdated principles based on

doctrines which had their merit in the past, but which do not lend themselves to the necessity the government has of following a new strategy for the present situation. Many authorities adopt a fatherly and paternalistic attitude. In this way the black man is not treated worthily and his justified longing to feel himself a participant in national life is not met. b2. Information aimed at exerting pressure on the

government is tolerated and it is said that it represents public opinion, whereas in most cases it only voices the opinion of very small groups which already are largely in a privileged position.

c. The Problem of Land Ownership and the Failure of

the Government to Take Firm Measures

c1. There are various reasons for complaints about the expropriation of lands to which traditional communities in the past have fallen victim, especially in fertile regions.

c2. As a consequence of serious shortcomings in the structuration of the public services in question, there is no possibility to provide efficacious supervision or punitive measures, a situation which is worsened by the paternalistic attitude mentioned under b 1 and by the falsified «, public opinion », mentioned under b2.

c3. There are delays and difficulties in the implementation of the planned countryside regrouping campaign. If implemented with the support of well-equipped structures, this campaign could advance a solution to the situation, or at least decrease its seriousness.

d. Labor Problems and Subversion
dl. There are grounds for complaining about the forms of compulsory and forced labor, as existed in the past in consequence of endeavors to solve the problem of manpower shortages: slavery in the distant past, forced labor in the more recent past.

d2. There is a considerable difference between the progress made in the field of free labor, where we approach the aims laid down by law, and the other conditions of employment. On the basis of racial differences, unequal wages are being paid; this system does not take into account factors which are more important for setting wages, such as fitness and productivity.

d3. Wages are insufficient; they do not meet even minimum subsistence requirements. This makes it impossible for nuclei of laborers to establish themselves with their families in areas where they can find work.

d4. There still is an enormous, unorganized seasonal migration, which leads to labor market instability; this has direct consequences on productivity, both through lack of specialization on the part of laborers and through the loss of numerous work days spent in travel.

d5. Since there is almost no professional mobility, there is a lack of stimulus to give the laborer a sense of self-respect.

d6. There is a lack of detailed and concrete knowledge of the labor market, because there is no labor service disposing of sufficient personnel and means. According to Convention no. 88 of the International Labor Organization, the main task of this labor service should be: the achievement of the best possible ((organization of the labor market as an integral part of a national program which aims at maintaining or ensuring full employment, and at developing and using productive resources o.

d7. There is no apparatus capable of promoting efficient social action in the labor process, or of heightening the work potential of African laborers through the setting up of courses for accelerated vocational training, apart from the basic education campaign in the framework of the reordering of the countryside.

These would aim at giving small entrepreneurs better training in situ, in order to promote variety in the productive capacity of the villages.

d8. There is a color barrier which separates the Portuguese laborer from the African and which finds expression in wages. Normally the Africans do not earn more than a sixth of the wages of the Portuguese; in addition, their wages are not paid entirely in specie.

e. Perspectives of Badly Oriented Mass Education e1. A tendency will develop to leave the country. This will increase the problem of urbanization, unless an efficacious rural development policy is set up in the meantime, either by establishing industry in local development areas, or by increasing the prestige of agricultural labor.

e2. The problems mentioned under d2, d6 and d7 will probably worsen.

e3. If no intensive policy for rural development is carried out, the social problems resulting from the (disintegration ,, of traditional communities will worsen; this will entail the need to reinforce structures which aim at education for oriented integration, an undertaking which is always difficult and expensive.

f. Defects in Public Services f 1. Because of financial difficulties, there is a tendency to reduce the staff of various public services or to maintain it at previous levels, which are out of date and do not meet the most urgent general development needs in Angola. This is especially the case for certain

services which play an important part in rural areas. f2. There is a tendency for each public service to establish action programs which, in time and place, are not geared in with the activities of other services nor with its own real capacities for useful work.

f3. The government lacks a general action program matched with the activities of commerce and industry, and which would bear witness to a realistic view of the development, aimed at the same goal, of the population groups mentioned elsewhere.

f4. Little support of importance is given either to modernized or traditional agriculture, as compared with the amount of investment in other sectors.

The following chapters will touch on some of

these points.

Chapter 6

Land Ownership

Lack of respect for the rights of the African population to land ownership can lead directly to active subversion, as is shown by many examples. Of all motivations, it is the one we feel is most significant (Appendix E, p. 2).

The fact that the expropriation of African farmland in favor of European plantations is one of the causes of the revolt in Angola is also brought out by the fact that the rebellion in 1961 started in the coffee plantation region in the north of the country, where the Africans had to cede much land to Europeans. It is thus indispensable for the Portuguese counter-subversion to put an end to these expropriations:

It has to be forbidden that natives are expelled from their property and that the land they work and use is expropriated, unless a reasonable indemnification is paid and the expropriation takes place for the common welfare (VI-2, p. 7).

The study commission of Section III, (Regrouping and Supervision of the African Population >, recommends the following:

In all those areas where the fact that the greater part of the land is used for agriculture or animal husbandry or for mixed farming has obliged the population to live in restricted areas so that they do not have land for their own crops or animals, the first concern of counter-subversion > has to be the elimination of this problem. This has to be done through a revision of concessions or by transferring the more skilled traditional farmers to other areas, according to an internal population scheme which aims at a just distribution of land and population (III-0, p. 3).

It is obvious from these quotations that the expulsion of Africans from their lands in favor of European colonists was not only a practice previous to the outbreak of the war in Angola, but that it still goes on. By concentrating the Africans in regroupment camps, the Europeans even get new opportunities. In his report, the head of the SCCIA information service writes:

The regrouping of African populations aggravates the land ownership problem, as regards both new and old tracts. Surrendered land can foster envy, and hence the Europeans divide it up different from how it was before.

Recommendation. Cases of discontent of the population because Europeans are carrying out land divisions are frequent; this obviously can favor subversion.

Therefore, a modification of the legislation concerning land allotment is an urgent need (Appendix B, p. 5).

This recommendation is adopted by the study commission of Section III:

We consider it an urgent necessity to forbid the marking out of tracts in areas assigned to populations in process of regroupment > (III-0, p. 3).

Among the reports for the Symposium on Counter-Subversion there is a study on the land ownership problem by the land survey engineer Francisco de Vasconcelos Guimardes, of the Studies Office of the Provincial Secretariat for

Rural Development in Angola (Gabinete de Estudos da Secretaria Provincial de Fomento Rural); it gives a good summary of the expropriation policy carried out by the Portuguese government. The following is an abridged version:

Shortly after the outbreak of the revolt in Angola, on 6 September 1961, the Portuguese government issued new

legislation in the sphere of expropriation. This is the Decree on the Occupation and Concession of Land in the Overseas Provinces (Regulamento de Ocupação e Concessão de Terrenos nas Províncias Ultramarinas) aimed at defending the rights of Africans to the land they possess and use. All tracts of land were divided into three classes: " first-class tracts are „ areas that comprise incorporated urban areas, suburbs included >>;

" second-class tracts are (< areas designated for common use by the African population >;

* third-class tracts are (< the remaining areas, which do not come under the first and second class „. These are the lands which the authorities could give to colonists.

The demarcation of the third-class tracts depends, obviously, on the demarcation of the first- and second-class tracts.

The nature of first-class tracts has been defined reasonably well. But second-class tracts were never delineated. If this regulation were to be carried out strictly, no concessions could be given to Europeans as long as this African territory is not clearly indicated.

The decree of 1961 clearly states that the second-class tracts are inalienable (art. 226) and that the African population cannot be expelled from these lands (art. 89). Art. 170 requires that the allocation of land to colonists can only be approved if the interests of the local population are duly taken into account. Art. 88 stipulates that second-class tracts must comprise areas five times the size of the land occupied by villages.

However, the government service which has to demarcate these tracts (Direcção dos Serviços e Cadastrais) is fully occupied with making topographical maps of Angola. But the demarcation of tracts is not just a topographical issue: in order to determine what territories are required for harmonious socio-economic development of the African population, one has to be familiar with the African way of life. But there are no experts in the field

of cultural anthropology, sociology, ecology, tropical agriculture, etc. For this reason it was impossible to demarcate second-class tracts. Hence, according to the laws, it was not possible either to demarcate third-class tracts. It is obvious that this could not be done.

Over the years, numerous requests for demarcating tracts were complied with. This was done on the basis of information which in most cases could not have been correct because the officials who have to provide such information lack training; the work requires extensive knowledge. In this way, and in violation of

the law, second-class tracts came to be defined as tracts which do not come under the first or third category.

The fact that the African agricultural system requires a large amount of land per individual was not taken into account. And this need is hard for Europeans to accept, with the result that enormous pressure is exerted on the government to give out more and more concessions of third-class tracts. The population of Portuguese origin is refractory in accepting the rights of the indigenous population to occupy land. In some cases this is a consequence of the low educational and civic level of these Portuguese; in some cases also because they are impelled by interests which conflict with the restrictions imposed by law. This mentality is frequently found in those areas which are not affected by terrorism, but also in persons of Portuguese origin who occupy or want to occupy land in regions where rebellion is strong.

The traditional African agricultural techniques have to be improved, so that there will be better productivity per surface unit. Evacuated regions would thus result naturally, quite in contrast to what happened in many places where evacuated regions were obtained through coercion.

Chapter 7

Poverty and Exploitation

We are convinced that the problems of subversion and counter-subversion have to be considered in their interrelationships and that they cannot be separated from the many facets of underdevelopment. These constitute a support for subversion. This is one of the conclusions of study group III, a Regrouping and Supervision of the

African Population ,, (III-0, p. 1).

We still find in many parts of Africa a substandard agriculture - non-fertilized land worked by undernourished people. Apart from some minor efforts, we have achieved precious little in the matter of improving agricultural techniques (Appendix G, p. 5).

Government official Sigurd von Willer Salazar asks that more attention be paid to food

problems:

Within the framework of counter-subversion too little attention is being paid to the food problem. On the contrary, it is being forgotten almost systematically... A hungry person will certainly be a bad collaborator. In particular, the population receives too little albumen. I think that it feels this lack of animal albumen. It eats food that is disgusting to other peoples - for example, worms, insects and birds. Normally the native population eats three times daily. Through lack of food this is not seldom reduced to twice or once. It even sometimes occurs that through lack of food they do not eat at all, or only leaves and wild fruits (111-8, p. 1).

Yet these poverty-stricken Africans are obliged by the Portuguese government to pay the IGM:

We see that the natives still have problems raising

enough to be able to meet the IGM obligations (111-5, p. 7).

Furthermore the Africans are cheated and used by the merchants, almost all of them Portuguese. Since every African has to pay the IGM, he is forced to sell part of his harvest.

Often he has to borrow money from a European merchant until the time of the next harvest; but for this money he has to pay a usurious rate of interest. Because this increased the Africans' discontent, the Portuguese government tried to organize country markets:

Normalization of trade will take away from the enemy's propaganda the argument that an exchange system is being maintained to which the African is submitted and from which he loses in favor of the merchants of white origin. Country markets have been very useful for the reorganization of trade in the interior. But we know that the farmer continues to be robbed, although to a lesser extent. He is aware of this, but refrains from saying anything because for the basic necessities of life he needs credit, which he has to pay back at harvest time with usurious interest charged.

Besides, in the areas affected by the war the merchants - both in the countryside and in the cities try to justify the high prices of their goods by alleging transportation risks, the delay caused by military protection for convoys, and the bad state of the roads. Continuous supervision and permanent vigilance by district authorities are indispensable, so that no discontent arise among the native population; they complain about the lack of interest shown by these authorities. And let us not forget that, as the final goal of terrorism is the overthrow of the authorities, their loss of prestige is a very dangerous step in that direction (Appendix G, p. 9).

The Portuguese, however, are also interested in fostering African middle classes, hoping that they will not be very revolutionary:

The percentage of Africans involved in commerce is very restricted (I mean non-ambulant commerce). This is because commerce requires capital or credit. But it is beyond doubt that commerce not only raises the living standard of the African, but also links him to the place where he works and makes him less inclined to subversion, since he has interests to defend. Apart from the question whether, under the influence of an active minority, there are grounds for real or artificial discontent, recourse to illegality in order to realize certain „, aspirations)> meets with hesitation in most people. In general such hesitations are stronger when the people are more sophisticated (Appendix B, p. 6).

The African is also exploited by the European plantation owner. Until 1961, a great number of Africans were forced by Portuguese laws to accept work in the European plantations, or to work without pay on roads and public projects.

This came to an end in 1961, as a result of the revolt. But by all sorts of pressure, the African continues to be forced to accept work in the European plantations. Because he has to pay the IGM he often runs into debt with a European merchant, and often these merchants are recruitment agents for labor markets. (In chapter 8 it will be pointed out that for this recruiting all sorts of illicit pressure tactics

are used.)

Jose Henrique de Carvalho, official of the district of Huila, does not feel the new system is an improvement:

Concerning labor, it is true that the introduction of the new system, aimed at adapting the situation to existing rules and regulations, is essentially correct; but it allowed laziness to spread, without any possibility of checking it...

Strangely enough, amidst radical changes we sometimes, not often, had the concern to look after our own interests. Whereas on the one hand we wanted a change

in order to avoid negative criticism, on the other hand we felt it just as easy to maintain the former situation, because change proved to be impossible. While the free labor system was introduced, we continued recruiting - a practice which all regulations condemn (111-5, p. 5).

African laborers are especially exploited on the coffee plantations:

One of the factors which continue to favor subversion, particularly in the north of Angola (in the coffee region), is the contract labor system for the African. a.

Wages still are low, food sometimes deficient, labor relations hardly honorable, etc.

b. The pay received is insufficient compensation for the work done and the many sacrifices which are the consequence of transfer to regions remote from one's home (absence from one's family for long periods).

c. The profit the employers make is very high, as in the case of the coffee plantations (Appendix B, p. 5).

The result is migration to the cities:

Contract labor in agriculture does not appeal to the Africans. For this reason the better educated ones flee to the big centers, in search of better living conditions. At present this exodus takes on huge dimensions, with all the disorder which derives from it in the urban centers, especially in social relations (Appendix B, p. 3).

Nobody will be surprised that in a racist society such as the one in Angola, a European doing the same work as an African earns much more.

It was noted above, in chapter 6, that a European earns six times the wages of an African.

Concerning this fact, PIDE Brigadier Manuel J. Correia has the following to say:

Granted that both the right to exchange and the right to distribute require a principle of proportionality between service and compensation, and this independent

of the person concerned, there must be a fixed equivalence between the merit of each person and the compensation allotted him for it.

If we follow this line, we will have equal treatment for all citizens - for a certain work, the same recompense is expected by all. We know that this is already the case for office workers, both those in government service and those in the private sector. Here attention is also paid to distributive rights in their quality as social rights. But in other sectors of public life this is not the case. An example taken from daily city life is sufficient.

If we take the coffee shops as an example, with their waiters and their shoe-shine boys, we already have a confirmation of our assertion. This also holds good for the agricultural laborers and the others who, in consideration of their low wages and the ill treatment to which they are subjected, will never manage to overcome the backwardness they have inherited from their ancestors. They cannot rise to a more dignified existence, more like that of the Europeans. Similar facts create a gap between the races, which hampers integration and which is in no way favorable to us. If we put an end to this arbitrariness, we can proudly show the world and, what is more important, ourselves, that the value of a man is judged by his work capacity and intelligence, and not by the color of his skin or other hereditary factors.

But the climate of hatred and embitterment increases and the propaganda of the enemy is flourishing while ours is suffocated (V-4, p. 3).

Hence, study group I makes the following recommendations:

The labor legislation in force in Angola has to be revised; thus an end will be put to the existence of legal documents which as a rule can be applied differently to laborers of different populations. Minimum wages have to be established for all contract laborers, the same that already are in force in urban areas (VI-0, p. 26).

Chapter 8

Relations between Africans and Europeans

The , color barrier)> draws a dividing line which is reinforced by lack of understanding, prejudices and major and minor cases of social injustice, created by the daily struggle for life, in which the most competent people do not always find the most adequate means for a humanly more just existence. In as far as the differences between the populations stress differences in culture, way of life and economic power, this constitutes, in subversive combat, a very favorable factor for the enemy (VI-O, p. 3).

Relations between Europeans and Africans constitute one of the most important phenomena we have to consider in the context of counter-subversion. Among the Europeans, and in particular among the less educated, there is a tendency when dealing with Africans to adopt a feeling of superiority because of the color of their skin. This is not real racial prejudice; their tendency to think they are of greater worth because of the color of their skin is due to ignorance. In their dealings with others, these Europeans do not always know how to distinguish an advanced African from a less advanced one, and they often pass on to generalizations. The advanced African is extremely sensitive to this kind of treatment.

Recommendation. Since this is a delicate subject which can be interpreted as a sign of weakness, we have to make every effort gradually to improve the situation, through a discreet campaign for the improvement of the present

mentality. As for the errors which have to be rectified among civil servants and state representatives, the campaign has to be carried out by the directors and heads of the various departments. In the private sector it will not be difficult to obtain the cooperation of directors and administrators (Appendix B, p. 12).

As is known, there still exists in certain private

enterprises (offices, trading firms, etc.) a reluctance to appoint Africans; they prefer Europeans (Appendix B, p. 14).

In the struggle against counter-subversion it will be of special importance to give back to the Africans their self-respect, through the elimination of all discrimination in every sphere whatsoever, but especially in the sphere of labor. I do not understand why no Angolan natives are to be seen in important government posts (the exceptions are extremely rare), whereas people born on the Cape Verde Isles, Sdo Tom6 or Goa have long held responsible positions in Angola (Appendix E, p. 2).

It is more than obvious from these quotations that there is no truth in the unending Portuguese propaganda to the effect that there is no racial discrimination in the African colonies.

European domination is in itself already a form of racial discrimination.

Discrimination against the Africans is no less in the Portuguese colonies than in other colonial situations. In the ,(Report and Conclusions of the study group of Section VI of the Symposium on Counter-Subversion, it was stated that generally the Portuguese laborer in Angola earns six times as much as the African laborer (VI-O, p. 5).

The enemy continues to campaign among the masses, which are very open to its propaganda as a consequence of many circumstances I need not spell out here. Simply the fact that there are diverse forms of culture leads to an insoluble cultural conflict. This has provided the enemy with abundant material that, often if not always, was based on truth. But whether he is lying or truthful is not so important; one should not forget that he knows how to cook up convincing lies. Nor is it so important to establish whether this cultural conflict has or has not produced racism. The important thing is that the enemy considers this racism as the cause of the contrasts, the injustices and the lack of understanding.

I now come to the point that we do not have an efficacious counter-subversion movement as long as we continue to forget that the entrepreneur, the superintendent, the merchant, the housewife, the civil servant, etc., do not have the mentality to cooperate in the struggle and hence benefit the enemy. But countersubversion is fundamentally a struggle in the field of human relations. If the contrasts, the lack of understanding and the injustices continue to exist, even unintentionally, none of the programs for social provisions and reconquest of the population will be able to reach the aim desired.

Somebody has said that in the overseas regions two forces are at work: a numerical minority with the prevailing sociological power, and a numerical majority in a minority position, sociologically. In Angola, the first group represents about 500,000 individuals, whereas the second comprises about

5,000,000. The first group has been assigned the responsible and important task of playing a decisive part in the socio-economic progress of the second group, in order for it to integrate itself in a culture whose institutions are considered to be more developed. But is this sociologically stronger group aware of the task which has been entrusted to it, and does it face up to it?

Nobody will convince me that the merchant who actively cooperates in the program to regroup the native population does not consider it exclusively as a means which will enable him to solve more easily his economic problems in the future. The merchant who at the same time is a recruiting agent for the labor force and who induces a laborer to sign a contract through hardly permissible pressure methods cannot but feel himself a member of a sociological majority. Does the agent not limit himself to the recruiting of laborers and disregard the fact that he also has the obligation to instruct the laborer and to induce him to offer his work voluntarily, in conformity with the spirit of the legal system for agricultural labor, which considers recruiting only as a

temporary measure? And what about the distiller of cachipembe, who could not care less about the percentage of alcohol, and the different sorts of poison in the beverage he produces, or even increases them on purpose?

These facts - and without danger of being contradicted, many more examples could be mentioned demand measures which will convince this sociological majority that it is important to behave correctly. And these measures have to be applied immediately (111-5, p. 11).

Administrator Jos Henriques de Carvalho of the district of Huila wants, furthermore, to put an end to discrimination against African culture:

I feel it is a must for counter-subversion to respect the traditional cultures, because both in themselves and in comparison with ours they are cultures which give a great deal of satisfaction in the communities where they are lived. They can be influenced only indirectly, beginning with the less rigidly structured cultural phenomena. The present world already has its doubts about the benefits of advanced industrialization and seems to want in many respects a revision of values. The indigene still continues to give examples of solidarity, including social provisions which function rather well. The point is to put an end to all our ethno-centrism and make plans which are based on knowledge of the facts, in order that we may know which customs do not have to be rejected; they can be retained temporarily or even permanently (111-5, p. 9).

Respect for African culture on the part of the Portuguese government would mean that the forced portugalization of the African would come to an end. But none of the speakers draws attention to the worst form of discrimination, i.e. depriving the African of his own country and national identity. Besides administrator

Carvaiho, we have someone like Captain Jorge Fernando Paula do Serro, of the PSPA, who does not show any respect whatever for African culture:

Presently, the less advanced African still lives in an anticipatory, primitive situation, without aspirations of any kind. He is easy to influence, given appropriate spiritual and mental training. His reactions still spring from an innate, wild instinct, which in some cases has changed somewhat through living in contact with Europeans. But his idiom and phraseology express a mysterious critical content, and he keeps as a personal or collective secret a thought or idea that reveals exclusively individual, egoistic interest (VI-3, p. 3).

But the Portuguese do not discriminate only against Africans; white Angolans also complain.

White Angolan civil servants are discriminated against in favor of whites from Portugal:

Many of them are uncertain also about ever reaching higher posts, because a form of discrimination is at work. It is too easily forgotten that many overseas civil servants were hired at a time when secondary education in Angola was weak, higher education non-existent, and the possibilities to go to Portugal for purposes of study were very limited. In this way an undeniable preference for persons coming from Portugal has taken shape, because there secondary and higher education was readily available. Now, although there does exist a university in Angola, there still is no school for the training of civil servants, especially for government officials (111-5, p. 13).

The Portuguese in Angola are also concerned as to whether they are accepted by the Africans:

As a result of regroupment, villages have come into existence - particularly in the environs of Carmona totally inhabited by Africans, without even one white.

In the not too distant future this may lead to a division of the inhabited regions of Angola into two areas: one in which the inhabitants, white and African, live in a perfect form of racial integration, and one in which the population consists exclusively of Africans.

This fact, which I think can be changed, can create a situation which may have very harmful consequences for the coexistence of the various elements of the population, namely the emergence of racial villages, because after some time it will not be easy to persuade the population of these exclusively African localities to agree that whites live among them. This problem may create situations which will facilitate the subversion of such a population. In order to avoid this, it is indispensable to study and take measures immediately to promote the influx of whites to these villages, to live and to work (111-6, p. 1).

Other reports also insist on the presence of more Europeans in the villages:

The presence of Europeans in the villages is another weapon against subversion. It is important to start organizing immediately, either through the presence of Europeans in the exercise of their ordinary profession in agriculture or commerce, or through the setting up of militia by agents or government officials. [The Portuguese text often speaks of enquadrar, enquadramento. This is translated as < organize ,>, ,(organization)>. The point is that the African population is

organized and supervised within the framework of Portuguese domination. This ,(organizing > of the Africans can only be done by the Portuguese. - ed.).

It is of great political and military importance that we succeed in organizing the Africans, because although we are still working at the regroupment of the African population, the only regroupment camps in existence are those with an African population. The number of population centers having contact with Europeans is very low.

A quite valuable example of the organization of the Africans is that offered by the agricultural fazendas [colonial plantations], where the nucleus of African agricultural workers is organized by Europeans. In this way both groups of the population are involved in the organizing.

The organization of a militia in the villages by competent personnel (police, army or civilians) envisages, by definition, mainly the self-defense and efficacious protection of the African population. At the same time, it is a matter of fostering the social progress of the population. But there is a great lack of personnel for this organizational work. In the district of Uige, for, example, the team of civil servants is about 50% understaffed. Of the 350,000 inhabitants in this district, only 7,000 are Europeans. There are only 42 commercial centers and 432 fazendas. Sometimes the African population lives ten and more kilometers away from the commercial centers. For weeks or months, there is no contact with them. There are various solutions to this problem:

- a. The introduction of more Europeans in the district through the activities of the JPP [Junta Provincial de Povoamento, the agency which recruits colonists] or other bodies.
- b. In order to meet the need of organizing the Africans, it will be indispensable, in an initial period, to settle at least 5,000 Europeans in the least visited areas of the district. We know how difficult this is, and that all efforts in this sphere have failed.
- c. Organization of the Africans by Europeans who have come specifically to organize villages.
- d. Organization through an increase in trade, i.e. by establishing commercial centers in the villages. If we wish to organize 200 population centers as poles of our influence, we need 600 people - 3 per nucleus. We do not have in view isolated commercial under-

takings and their haphazard expansion, because this is contrary to the decision of the Council for Military Defense. The increase of commerce in the villages can contribute to a more intensive European occupation, to the stimulation of new riches, and to the social progress of the rural population in the most remote villages.

* It should consist of five commercial enterprises (minimum; three).

0 Personnel of the commercial enterprises will have to

be submitted to security clearance by competent authorities. They are obliged to take part in Civil Defense. Proprietors and employees are to be engaged on the basis of their suitability for the function assigned them.

* In construction projects, the security prescriptions laid down have to be respected (111-4, p. 1).

In connection with security needs, each commercial nucleus will have to meet the following conditions:

Lieutenant-Colonel Jtlio Carvalho Costa, battalion commander in the city of Dingo, pleads for inter-marriage between the two races (VI-1, p. 2). He advances some examples of racially mixed individuals who have gone far: Alexander the Great, Alfonso de Albuquerque, and Gilberto Freire, a Brazilian author who advocates inter-marriages for the Portuguese. He not only wants more Portuguese to go to the colonies,

but also more Africans to go to Portugal.

In inter-racial marriages, the African

woman has a decisive role to play. But first she must be educated. The author thinks he can assert categorically that the fact that the Portuguese man does not often take up a lasting union with an African woman is not so much due to skin color as to lack of education.

The military forces, too, can play an important part in this field. Not only officers and non-commissioned officers should be allowed to take their families with them from Portugal, but also enlisted men. The African soldiers, too, take their families with them. It is becoming an expensive enterprise, ,(but if the continuation of our heritage is at stake, all expenses required are a gain ,>.

Chapter 9

Public Services and Education

According to the Portuguese government, it is doing much to promote the development of Angola, e.g. by constructing roads and opening schools and hospitals. But all government measures in Angola are taken in view of counter-subversion. Thus, roads are constructed first and foremost to foil rebellion:

It can be said that revolt starts where the roads end. Beyond any doubt, counter-subversion depends far more on connecting roads than on direct confrontation with subversives (Appendix G, p. 13).

It is correct to insist on the necessity of constructing roads leading to the villages or of improving the already existing roads, so that the military forces can come to the rescue more quickly (IV-a, p. 4).

Medical assistance, too, aims at undermining the revolt of the Angolan population:

Medical assistance is one of the most important factors in ((winning over>> the rural population; collaboration and cooperation are indispensable for counter-subversion (Appendix B, p. 15).

Likewise, the Portuguese efforts in the field of education have much to do with the will of

Portugal to continue its hold over Angola:

Everywhere, and in particular in Africa, the role of the teacher cannot remain restricted to formal education. A teacher, in the broadest sense of the word, can and must always be an educator; he has to educate civilians who will be useful to society and the Nation. The desire to be Someone, to obtain an honorable position in life, and the pride of being a Portuguese, this is the result

of elementary education, if the teacher is truly a teacher and not simply a speaking textbook. The educational vocation is in a certain sense a vocation to an apostolate; for this, great civic sense and the spirit of an apostle are required. Education has to be revised, especially in Africa, where Portuguese is still spoken so badly. One has to learn to speak Portuguese and to express oneself clearly in Portuguese, even if with some mistakes. Only then have we to take the first steps in the matter of reading. After that, we will have to see to it that Portuguese is not being forgotten. We have to forbid the playing of movies in which the language is not Portuguese. We are one of the few countries left where it still happens that the spectator's attention has to be divided between image and text - if one is able to read quickly. And if this is difficult even in Portugal, how much the more so for Africans. Therefore, learning Portuguese is a must, in order to acquire greater knowledge and make social progress. The showing of movies in foreign languages is plainly absurd.

Finally, although it may seem paradoxical, teachers have to have a minimum knowledge of the indigenous tongue of the region they live in. Not because their teaching has to be given in this tongue, but because we know that in this way they penetrate more deeply the child's soul and that of his parents (VI-0, pp. 10-12). In other reports also, high demands are made of teachers: an expert has to be attached to each school, perfectly informed of the mission to be accomplished, who knows the Portuguese language and the national policy that inspires us, and who is familiar with the aid given to the population in its many moral, religious, medical and even agrarian aspects (VI-3, p. 8).

The governor of the district of Zaire wants to dovetail auxiliary forces:

The competent auxiliary forces are not only capable technicians but, above all, authentic patriots, who are

aware of the extraordinary importance of the mission entrusted to our generation by Destiny, and who are more concerned about aid to the underdeveloped population than about the increments they can add to their salary and the transfer of money needed to build a house in Portugal (Appendix G, p. 12).

He complains that in the district of Zaire (more than 100,000 inhabitants in 1960 - not to be confused with the country of the same name, the former Belgian Congo) there are far too few teachers:

For the 4,500 primary school pupils in Zaire, there are only four qualified teachers. Primary education not only is too academic and too abstract, but it is left to , accidental > teachers and school directors (Appendix G, p. 11).

Everywhere there seems to be a serious lack of educational staff:

It is more important to dispose of teachers than of school buildings. It is a widely spread and deeply rooted idea that the problem of schooling is solved by building schools. We have seen many new school buildings, here and there, both in Africa and in Portugal, which were not in use, due to a lack of teachers (VI-2, p. 9).

Learning Portuguese is not restricted to formal education: we must stimulate the learning of Portuguese in the whole of Portuguese territory, in order to create possibilities for good communications and understanding. By all possible means, we have to stimulate the desire to become familiar with the various parts of the territories where our language is spoken, in particular through radio broadcasts, the distribution of magazines and suitable books (professional literature, travelogues and recreational reading material), and through mobile movie teams (VI-2, p. 7).

In addition:

I feel that the best way to impose silence upon facile criticism, leveled at the wrong moment, of what is done or not done, is to confer responsibility on those who make this criticism and compromise them by assigning them to the direction or management of the matters they allude to (ibid.).

Appendix B points out that a great number of people being given an education now will create problems in the future:

The development of education we have witnessed during these last few years may create serious problems in the near future if it is not on a par with a boom in economic development, capable of absorbing the numerous young people who leave school every year. Like the Europeans, the Africans with four or six years of primary schooling (not to say anything about secondary schooling) try to avoid manual work or work they consider inferior to or not in conformity with their education.

The civil service apparatus cannot possibly absorb all these people and, as is known, certain private enterprises (offices, commercial enterprises, etc.) are reluctant to open their doors to Africans; they prefer Europeans.

Recommendation. Since we know that there is a shortage of skilled industrial laborers, we feel that the attention of the government should focus mainly on this point. Intensive courses for professional training, as have been set up by the Ministry of Corporations in Portugal, appear as an urgent need in order to avoid unemployment and conditions which favor subversion (Appendix B, p. 14).

Chapter 10

Propaganda and Counter-Propaganda

According to the Portuguese authorities, the population of Angola is being undermined by the propaganda of the liberation movements, radio being the most efficacious means. Brigadier Manuel J. Correia of the secret police, PIDE, writes:

The radio programs of the enemy are extremely well prepared. They are broadcast by foreign stations, such as those in Brazzaville, Kinshasa, Tanzania, Ghana, Prague and Moscow. They influence the population to such an extent that it takes to passive or even active revolt. Following the radio propaganda, they become dangerous agitators. By forming cells, which in their turn grow and then split up again, bases come into being which are essential to the progress of the terrorist troops crossing the border and forcing us to irregular warfare without fixed fronts (V4, p. 1).

Jose Henrique de Carvalho, administrator of the district of Huila, is of the same opinion:

Psychological activity helps the revolt... It is a technique highly developed and well thought out in the course of time, in service of subversion; it is not ineffective (111-5, p. 1).

As to the contents of the radio programs of the liberation movements, Renato Perestrelo Vieira,

SCCIA district commander, writes:

The radio propaganda is intended for two distinct groups. The special transmissions for world public opinion aim at making it favor their side and obtain tacit or active support. Through this propaganda they try also, with the help of quotations from their own press or by conclusions

drawn by celebrities, to obtain full support. They also launch slander campaigns via radio.

On the other hand, propaganda is addressed especially to the native population of Angola. To this end, the radio is used for matters such as:

- * Analysis of legal measures taken by the central government in Lisbon or Luanda. The enemy tries to put these in an unfavorable light, pretending that they constitute the umpteenth proof of a people dominating its colonies.

- * Criticism of Portugal's friendly relations with other, in particular with African, countries. They make it appear that these are the result of a capitalistic plot against oppressed races.

- * Unlimited exaggeration of so-called military successes of the enemy at the expense of our troops.

- * Continuous exhortations to the military forces to desert.

- * Continuous exhortations to the population to form terrorist cells. These can only result in revolt and acts of sabotage; to this end general indications are given of possible aims (11-4, p. 2).

The Portuguese have tried in vain to prevent people from listening to the transmissions of the liberation movements. Brigadier Correia of PIDE writes:

We started to jam > these programs, but it did not have the desired result. Even if this system is improved, it will still have gaps, and furthermore it will be extremely expensive. We think that the only thing we can do is to impede radio sets from receiving short-wave broadcasts, since the foreign transmitters use this wave length and cannot transmit via middle-wave. Similar measures have already been taken before, e.g. in 1941 during the German occupation of Czechoslovakia... This measure will entail certain difficulties, but the national interest must prevail. We will also be criticized by some international or-

ganizations, but we feel we have to be immune to criticism of such organizations (V-4, p. 2).

His proposal is adopted by study commission V, <, Psychological Activity/Public Information ,>:

It is necessary for Angola to have television, for the time being in the main urban centers only, with a limited number of hours of transmission (diversion from listening to enemy radio programs). The sale of radios should not be restricted; that should be a solution only in extreme necessity. But only radios which can receive exclusively middle-wave should be sold (V-0, p. 2).

The Portuguese too make use on a large scale of propaganda via radio transmissions:

Counter-propaganda via radio. This aspect of countersubversion requires the following practical measures, some of which are already being put into practice by Corangola and its (A Voz de Angola >:

- * Programs addressing themselves to world public opinion. In these, the legal measures which are torn to pieces by the enemy are explained and recommended. To this end a constant listening to the enemy programs is required. For these transmissions use has to be made of a powerful transmitter. The broadcasts have to be in French and English.

- * Programs, with the same object in view and broadcast in the same languages, in which Portugal's friendly relations with other countries - attacked by the enemy in its programs - are expounded and praised.

- * Speeches in local dialects, in which one touches on the same sensitive points as the enemy: the achievements of our army are exaggerated; interviews are broadcast with imaginary or real deserters from the enemy military forces, in which they are made out to be a monster already defeated and in process of decomposition, having to contend with lack of

fighting spirit, with hunger and diseases. The allies of the enemy are encouraged to desert and to report to the local authorities in order to thus put an end to these sufferings and this lack of success.

- * Speeches in local dialects with the aim of making propaganda in favor of public institutions which

benefit the population.

* Conversations in local dialects with African heroes

and we have them - which induce the enemy to believe that its efforts to convince the people to join it or to incite them to revolt and sabotage have had little success.

In this way we fight with the same weapons as the enemy: a few real facts are presented in such a way that they cater to the taste for whatever is fantastic proper to the African population, to whom the transmissions are specifically addressed.

Finally, the CITA will follow similar work methods in the Angolan and Portuguese press, or even with the help of the foreign press (11-4, p. 4).

In other reports, the use of films for Portuguese propaganda is especially recommended:

What we need is a well-organized and well-directed counter-propaganda which < leaves nothing left of the arguments of the enemy, which attacks his weak points, discredits and ridicules him, and in which our power dominates >. We must refute the myths and lies he cunningly spreads.

To this end, we must make use of films. Because of the fascinating power of the pictorial image, this is nowadays the best possible means to educate the masses.

Therefore, well equipped mobile film teams must visit the main villages, especially those which are most exposed to the enemy's activities. They must show films in which the following kind of images can be seen:

0 a poor and miserable African village which is said

to be situated in the Congo, a decaying country which risks downfall;

* a starved population, clothed in rags and ill; this is said to be filmed in independent Congo;

* images of violence, contempt for human life, deserted towns - in short, an image of impoverishment and misery, with reference to Zambia or the Congo.

In this same film we shall also show images of an orderly, peaceful and prosperous Angola, full of confidence on its way towards the future. In these parts we shall show such things as:

* orderly villages, surrounded by fertile fields, provided with water and other benefits; here, the population is perfectly at ease;

0 hospitals, maternity clinics and other installations which contribute to the common welfare;

* views of quarters, streets, harbors, etc., of the main towns, in which the coexistence of the various population groups of the Portuguese world is realized;

* ceremonies during which African soldiers who have deserved especially well on the battlefield are decorated.

If these films are skillfully made, they will certainly receive a good reception when presented in the villages. A commentary must be given, preferably in the

local dialect, and there should be background music pleasing to the public concerned (11-3, p. 1).

Captain Magelhdés J. Cruz, district commander of the PSPA police, especially recommends the use of printed material for Portuguese propaganda:

Both illustrated leaflets and cartoon-type publications, in which the legends only serve for a better understanding of the story, are within the reach and understanding of any less advanced individual, even of illiterates. They can easily grasp the contents. These publications, which

should come out in a huge commercial edition, constitute an efficacious propaganda tool if the most is made of their possibilities.

Why should we not try to publish various editions of such a leaflet, dedicated to the activities of the various units of the military forces or to other activities we are deploying?

Just as in other, similar leaflets, special issues should be dedicated to the various army units. They should describe the imagined ventures of a hero in Angola, so that he becomes, so to speak, a living myth. We should stay within the limits of what is really possible, so that his exploits can always be believable... The leaflets should be distributed free of charge among the African population, where psychological activity is desired (V-i, p. 1).

In another report, the following is proposed:

To stimulate the setting up of clubs under the discreet but real control of the authorities, for sports, music, folklore, artistic and literary activities, in village houses on the Portuguese model (V-3, p. 2).

However, opinions vary on the importance of government propaganda in the cause of countersubversion:

Information and propaganda are powerful means to influence public opinion. In the combat for the conquest or reconquest of the sympathy of the people, they are without any doubt of greater importance than avoiding considerable material expense (Appendix E, p. 4).

But Brigadier Correia of PIDE writes:

We talk about propaganda and counter-propaganda, but we talk too little about justice, because without justice, propaganda is of no use (V-4, p. 3).

However, he does believe in propaganda:

It is not enough to prevent the native population, which

is not yet sufficiently prepared to distinguish between truth and lies, from being confronted with new ideas; nor is it enough to give them the feeling of being treated justly; we will also have to make them believe that we are going to win this war, hence that we will defend them and that we will have to live together. In the field of counter-propaganda we will achieve the best results if we can point to people belonging to the native population who fight on our side against the revolt, convinced that they are defending their own cause (V-4, p. 3).

In its final report, (stud), commission V, < Psychological Activity/Public Information >, gives a survey of what has already been achieved:

The Orientation Council for Psychological Activity has undertaken or extended the following activities:

1. In the field of electronic warfare, Corangola has achieved good results via «<A Voz de Angola>> [, The Voice of Angola >].

The programs are being listened to and appreciated throughout Angola and even outside the country. One of the causes of the success was the use of native tongues. The < , Voz de Angola , takes an essential place in the field of psychological action and we should strengthen this position and put an end to possible shortcomings.

2. Psychological activity via the written word. We have brought it about that the weekly Tribuna dos Musseques is no longer exclusively a publication for the Luanda suburbs [called Musseques; they are inhabited almost exclusively by Africans - ed.] but that it now reaches almost the entire territory of Angola. This paper is a weapon of immeasurable value in psychological activity for penetrating certain sectors of the native population.

Furthermore, numerous articles are published in the Luanda daily papers, which draw attention to aspects

the public in general should know and ponder.

3. Direct contacts with the population. Groups of ambulant propagandists have been constituted (one each for Moxico and Bi6, and two in Huambo), who through their direct contacts have contributed considerably to the work, either by the spoken word, or by distributing propaganda material. They have also made reports on the psychological atmosphere they came across; these have proved to be of great benefit.

The use of a group of Unio Nacional devotees and the Mocidade Portuguesa has proved to be important for launching the a force-idea of Portugalidade >> (ideia-for(a de Portugalidade) and the realities it is based upon. This group has to be extended. [The Unido Nacional is the only political party authorized by the dictatorship in Portugal and the colonies. Its name has since been changed by Prime Minister Caetano to Acrdo Nacional Popular (ANP). The Mocidade Portuguesa is the (obligatory) youth movement of the regime. - ed.]

4. Contacts with the press. Thanks to personal and other unofficial contacts with the editors of the Luanda dailies, we have collaborated in view of the higher interests of the Nation. Also in view of this, ,"ontacts are made with the regional press and its correspondents.

5. Publicity of the activities of the public services. Positive achievements are explained to the public; of course, the demands of safety are taken into account. In this way the public services gain prestige and this results in the reinforcement of the internal front.

6. Propaganda supplies, amounting to considerable quantities of publications important for the various strata of the population, have reached the bush (V-O, p. 3).

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The Situation in the Various Parts of Angola

The reports of the Symposium on CounterSubversion give an idea of the extent to which the liberation movement of Angola has succeeded in obtaining the support of the Angolan population and in repelling the Portuguese government from Angola. Exact information on the situation in the district of Zaire is given by the governor of this district, Lieutenant-Colonel Carlos Rodrigues dos Santos (Appendix B). The head of the SCCIA information service, Ramiro Ladeiro Monteiro, describes the situation in the area of Dembos, the rebellious hinterland of the capital, Luanda (Appendix B, p. 4).

Furthermore, among the symposium documents is a comprehensive study on the largest tribe in Angola, the Umbundu (VI-4).

Now that the Portuguese have had to abandon extensive areas in Angola, they try to use this tribe against the resistance movement. Manuel J. Correia, brigadier of the PIDE secret police, describes how (enemy propaganda succeeded in 1961 to alienate friendly powers from Portugal and to (undermine)) almost the entire population of Angola:

An important number of so-called friendly countries became their accomplices. They did not realize the consequences of the situation they could create in this part of Africa, or they did not want to. Portugal's statement, explaining the reasons why it had to remain in Africa, was not understood; on the contrary, the country saw itself surrounded by still more enemies.

The propaganda apparatus of the enemy was im-

proved upon and reached the entire territory of Angola. Almost the entire native population was undermined. Next, the enemy knew how to choose the right moment for launching its attacks. In the course of a few years he succeeded in bringing the revolt to 10 of the 15 districts of Angola. Here we are confronted with an able, merciless and persisting enemy who receives important support from abroad from the real engineers of the revolt (V-4, p. 1).

A few lines further on, Correia states:

The enemy has support bases abroad and from there enters the country. To be more exact, he crosses our borders with neighboring Congo and Zambia, where he has his most important bases.

Although their allies are armed and trained by foreigners, they are recruited among the Angolans. Out of conviction or coercion, from here these people cross the border with all their belongings, including their own or other people's cattle. In the same way and just as easily the terrorists continuously use frontier crossings, even in cars. On these expeditions they carry weapons, ammunition and money representing contributions they receive from the population or from diamond smuggling.

The enemy becomes ever more self-confident, and makes a display of it, thus convincing the most incredulous and indifferent people. In this way little by little ever more people will join the powers which they believe will finally gain victory. And they know as well as we do that in a civil war victory can be gained only with the support of the people. Experts say that at least 900/0 of the local population has to give its support (V-4, p. 4).

The governor of the district of Zaire is of the following opinion:

All of us are aware of the fact that the enemy disposes of ever more and ever better means, while it becomes ever more obvious that he masters subversive activity ever

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better. This is because the enemy's strategic leadership is neither in the hands of GRAE or MPLA leaders, nor is it situated in the Congo or Zambia, but in more powerful countries which are well informed of the techniques of subversion. On the other hand we shall have to face the fact that the war, even if it is conducted from abroad, would already be over (or limited to military combat) if the native population would not collaborate with the enemy.

The main part of the African territory consists of bush; here the most numerous and least advanced part of the population lives. Therefore, subversion aims first and foremost at this rural population. Among them are many good Portuguese, but it is obvious that there are also hostile elements among them, who continuously try to win over the majority and involve it in the revolt.

At the moment, the war is stagnant. But time works to the advantage of the rebels. This war has been going on for many years. If it continues too long, countersubversion will run out of officials and means. This prolongation falls into the enemy's hands, because the aim of the subversive war is exhaustion. Therefore, we have to make haste. It is of utmost importance that all of us realize that we must work on counter-subversion among the rural population, in order to isolate it from the enemy, who wants to win it over to his side (Appendix G, p. 14).

To accomplish this aim, the liberation movement, according to the Portuguese, acts as follows:

The tactics used by the enemy to undermine the native population are based on the following points:

- * Subversive agents receive an excellent formation and psychological training for this activity.

- * Whenever a mission is to be carried out, it is done by subversive agents born in the area to be undermined, or agents are accompanied by people from that area.

- * Each mission is carried out in the company of persons native to the tribes to be undermined; they start by getting in touch with their respective relatives.

- * Attractive proposals are made to the „ elders > of each village, because they are the only ones who have enough influence and who find enough hearing to allow a successful accomplishment of the mission.

- * The superstition of the native population is adroitly exploited; the subversive agent always resorts to the

invincible fear of „ magic power ,>.

When all these means have failed, the enemy resorts to terrorist action against anybody, or against the most recalcitrant or least compliant persons; these terrorist actions are represented as «, punishment „, or „, reprisals >, against those who betray their cause, which they describe as <(the national cause „, (11-4, p. 3).

In his report, « Control of the Native Population >>, Lieutenant-Colonel Fernando Lisboa

Botelho, of the 2nd GCICS, writes:

Everybody knows that during seven years of warfare the enemy extended his territory and that the situation was stabilized only these last few months. Although it is still too early to give a clear reason for this fact, one has to recognize that it is in consequence of counter-subversion measures (111-2, p. 14).

In his report, the uncertainty of the Portuguese about the conduct and the attitude of

the Africans clearly comes to the fore:

What will be the most appropriate action will depend on local circumstances (especially the proximity of guerilla regions) and on the attitude of the population. An efficient information system is required for this. Here and there local gangs composed, seemingly, of peace-loving inhabitants, will have to be tracked down; elsewhere we shall have to watch all the exits of the villages. Here we shall have to pay special attention to the women who,

while they act as though they are working, put money or goods within reach of the enemy. Also, in certain places we shall have to check whether family visits are not a pretext for recruitment campaigns. The checking of those present will have to be intensified in order to be sure about their intentions.

In all places, even the most quiet ones, the movements of catechists, nurses and others who, under cover of their profession, intend to spread subversion, must be watched. In short, there must be surveillance (111-2, p. 13).

In the ((Plan for Counter-Subversion)) drafted at the Symposium, the districts of Moxico, the north-east and the south of Luanda, and the east of the district of Cuando-Cubango are, among others, called e guerilla regions). The south of the district of Malanje and the district of Bid are regions of o transition „, whereas the districts of Huambo, Benguela, Huila and Mogamedes are not affected by the revolt (I, p. 13). In the guerilla regions, government officials cannot fulfil their functions normally, so there, it is reasoned, the number of officials can be restricted in favor of (less affected regions.

In Appendix B, p. 9, a number of o less reliable) tribes are indicated:

It is a fact that there sometimes are factors which cause certain tribes to consider subversion more favorably, e.g. the Luseanas, the Bundas in the district of Moxico and the Bakongos in the north of Angola. Hence it is recommendable to make a study even now of the Cuanhamas, since there is a real danger that in the future this tribe will be well disposed to the enemy. For there is kinship between them and the African population of Owamboland [northern Namibia], which now

has an autonomous statute; they could transmit their emancipated ideas to the adjacent population in our territory.

The Situation in the District of Zaire

Even before the outbreak of terrorism, the population complained about the scant attention the government paid to the Congolese. [The Angolan district of Zaire is a part of the ancient realm of the Congo that existed in this part of Africa before the arrival of the Europeans.

- ed.] This explains why such a number of people, and precisely the most advanced ones, emigrated to the Belgian Congo. Events [i.e. the 1961 revolt - ed.] caused the forced exodus of 80,000 persons to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

To the appeals already made to the government, now another must be added, which is of truly national importance: we must maintain the remainder of the population in its << portugueseness ,>, we must help them forward materially and socially, and to the enemy we must show our determination to retain (and not only by means of arms) this region, so rich in Christian and Portuguese traditions. This is a tremendous task, because the war destroyed much of the little that existed.

The district of Zaire is in a state of warfare. After the events of 1961 and the blood-letting in terms of population [the exodus to the Congo - ed.] which was a consequence of it, the rest of the native population has banded together into insular groupings surrounded by watchposts.

The traditional economy of this population has become impossible, since its land is reduced to that surrounding the villages and these live in a continuous state of alarm. In this way the tragedy of an already undernourished population which has to live from the harvest of an unproductive agriculture becomes greater still. It is at present impossible continuously to use other land, and moreover agriculture is carried out on unfertilized land with old-fashioned and backward techniques.

Animal husbandry, which was a novelty for this area, was totally destroyed by terrorism. This has broken down the system of combining agriculture and stock raising,

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essential to the integral development of an agrarian economy.

We have to do with an economically weak population, which is constantly subject to intelligent and wellorganized subversive propaganda, and it is only at the cost of great efforts that this weak population remains under the power of the authorities. And power alone is not enough in a subversive war. Neither will social evolution (in the district of Zaire there is not one public service in this field) together with power over the population be enough to prevent these people from being subject to enemy propaganda. We must strive for economic progress; this goal will have to be a high priority.

In the district of Zaire, increase of agricultural productivity is the main lever for this process. Therefore, the State has to help the population to develop agriculture. We are responsible for the economic backwardness of the population of Zaire, and we should not forget that economic backwardness is a sign of political

bancruptcy. This means that we have lost important objectives of this war and that we will have difficulties in gaining a victory which is not a victory of the military forces alone but of the entire nation.

Food provisioning is done almost exclusively by air from Luanda. Crops have to be increased in order to improve the eating habits of the rural population, and to supply the advanced population and the military forces which now depend on Luanda.

In the greatest part of the district of Zaire the phase of subversion and violent repression is over. But in all zones affected since 1961 the population is still subject to the infiltration of subversive ideas.

Since 1962, the repopulation of areas abandoned as a consequence of the revolt in the north of Angola is the task of the Angolan government and the commander-in-chief. The Council of Military Defense (Conselho de Defesa Militar) laid down guidelines. Notwithstanding the fact that experience has shown that repopulation is extremely favorable for counter-subversion, the Angolan Council for

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Population is not even represented in the district of Zaire. Apart from the economic development it would entail, from a political and military viewpoint it would be very useful if at the northern border a strip of land would be populated with people from a different tribe (Appendices, G, H, I).

In Appendix B, p. 8, another solution to difficulties along the border with the Republic of

Congo is put forward, namely border trade:

One of the factors which has led to the ending of UPA actions against Cabinda from the Democratic Republic of the Congo is border trade. The Congolese population wants to sell its products in exchange for products its area lacks. This explains why it opposes the presence of terrorists along the border. Furthermore, this trade offers the possibility - which has to be well exploited - to obtain information concerning the movements of the enemy at the border.

Recommendation. The problem of trade along the frontier ... has to be studied, as well as the possibility to grant similar facilities to towns like Luvo, Buela, Maquela, Beu, Teixeira de Sousa, etc.

The Area of Dembos

The area of Dembos is situated in the hinterland of the capital, Luanda, south of the district of Zaire; since 1961 it has been in the hands of the liberation movement. Today, after 13 years of fighting, the Portuguese have not succeeded in breaking the revolt of the population. On this subject, Appendix B states:

For years now, the guerilla region of the enemy in the north of Angola is practically limited to an area north and south of the Dange River. Roughly, this is the area of

Nambuanguo, Zala, Quicabo and Ucuá (in the district of Luanda), Quitexe, Aldeia Viciosa and Vista Alegre (in Uíge) and Piri, Bolongongo, Terreiro and Quiage (in Cuanza-Norte).

Activities of the enemy outside this area can be considered sporadic; almost always they are organized and carried out by terrorist groups passing through. Thus, from diverse factors we can deduce that the area mentioned offers extremely favorable conditions for the enemy.

During military operations from July to September 1968, our military forces cleared a path in one of the areas mentioned above. The enemy offered strong resistance. Several enemy bases were destroyed, and this strongly upset the structures of the MPLA. A considerable decrease of its activities in the region of Piri was the result.

Enemy headquarters are located in this region. The enemy wants to extend his armed activities from here to adjacent regions, mainly towards the south (towards the Luanda-Dondo road) and the east. This area, which is very hilly and wooded, has not many roads, and this hampers the mobility of our military forces.

Furthermore, the terrorists in the Dembos area receive support (in the form of people and material) from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The main lines of infiltration are at the confines between Noqui and Buela.

Recommendation. All this shows that for this region priority has to be given to road-building. The long-standing idea of building a frontier road in the infiltration region of the enemy could be implemented. Along this road, watchposts and patrols could be maintained, with a restricted garrison. The project would be quite expensive, but it would not only facilitate guarding the border

- and thus hamper enemy infiltration - but would also allow for the development of this area and the settlement of residents. They would then constitute a buffer zone which would strengthen our position along the border (Appendix B, p. 4).
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The Umbundus

The Umbundu tribe constitutes about one third of the total population of Angola. The members of the tribe live in the central part of Angola, but they extend their territory ever more. They can be found in numerous places in Angola as contract laborers. The central area of the Umbundus is overpopulated, with the result that their lands are becoming exhausted. In the adjacent areas a true invasion of Umbundus is taking place, and peacefully.

The Umbundus are known to be good workers. Therefore they are preferred in regions with a labor shortage. When they are working on their own account their productivity is generally highest. They have adopted new agricultural techniques, such as the use of the plow and the ox, still unknown to other tribes.

They produce much more than what they need for their own consumption, unlike other tribes. Thus, the Umbundus not only are good agricultural laborers, they are also prosperous, independent farmers, open to techniques they apply on an ever larger scale.

When passing through Angola it is easy to establish that the Umbundus are most open to our pattern of life:

- * They are christianized almost in toto.
- * They dress like Europeans and completely accept monogamy.
- * They begin to accept our system of inheritance, and

Portuguese civil and criminal law.

* They more and more eat the normal Portuguese food, which includes a considerable amount of bread.

" More and more Umbundus accept the European way of dressing, including shoes and a hat, and even glasses and sunglasses.

* The use of bicycles as a means of transportation is already very popular among them. At some administrative posts they are counted by the thousands.

* Also automobiles begin to be desired and used; there

are even Umbundus who own cars, although secondhand ones.

* There is almost no Umbundu who does not speak Portuguese and who does not want his children to learn to speak and write it. This tribe has the highest school attendance record.

The Umbundu tribe has always openly rejected terrorism; it even fights against it. The Umbundus who worked in the north of Angola helped to fight against the murderous gangs which fell upon the European colonists and their sympathizers. It is a historical fact that ever since the beginning of the terrorist activities this tribe has ranged itself openly on our side, by continuing work and production, by denouncing traitors, and even by taking arms against the enemies of Portugal.

This allows for the following conclusions:

* In Angola, there are vast (empty areas >. Basing ourselves on the principle that the best possible use has to be made of the land, it is necessary to intensify

the campaign for settling people on it.

* There are also very densely populated regions in Angola. The transfer of people from these regions would favor the development of the masses and their integration in Portuguese culture. Therefore we must work at internal colonization.

* Since the Umbundu tribe is not only the most central and the most important one, and since, because of faulty exploitation of local resources, it lives under heavy demographic pressure, we have to try to arrive at a regrouping of the population on the basis of the Umbundu tribe. This all the more so since this tribe is composed of hard workers who use improved agricultural techniques, accept our pattern of life, and show good political behavior patterns. This regrouping could serve as a model for economic development and a homogeneous tribal organization, which, to our mind, is interesting both socially and politically (IV-4).

Chapter 12

Counter-Subversion and the Christian Churches

The English translations making up this chapter first appeared in the IDOC Bulletin, Rome, n. 4, February 1973, pp. 4-9. The first text, amazing in its candid assessment of (<, detrimental Protestant activity) and its recommendations of how the churches, Catholic and Protestant, can be fitted into the government's

counter-subversion plans, is the Symposium report of Jos de Figueiredo Fernandes, president of the Huila District Council on Counter-Subversion:

Subversive Indoctrination of the Native Masses

1) Introduction

Although at first glance the subject on which I am going to elaborate may not seem to pertain to the plan of action outlined in no. 5 of Cir. no. 2345 (21 August 1968) of the Executive Council on Counter-Subversion, it deserves very special attention. Experience has clearly shown us how extensive certain detrimental Protestant activity can be, and to what depths it has gone in subverting or twisting the minds of the masses unprepared to resist attractive teachings. It is much easier to instill a new idea in hearts and minds that are empty than in hearts and minds already influenced by an ideology. In the latter case persuasion is necessary before a new idea will be accepted; old ideas must be torn out before new ones can take their place. The natives represent fertile and virgin soil where seeds of culture can develop either into rambling, obstructive undergrowth or luxuriant, useful verdure. This is precisely why it is imperative that good seed be sown

before the ground is already taken over, and that weeds be destroyed where the danger exists that they may contaminate or spread to a greater or lesser extent. The history of the Portuguese African colonies shows vividly how detrimental are the activities of certain Protestant missions. These missions, under heavy foreign influence, serve political ideals contrary to the portugalization of the native masses.

There is no need to cite well-known examples witnessed during the occupation and especially in the first quarter of the 20th century. They have been referred to in numerous publications and in various official reports at the time.

Nor would it be worthwhile to refer to facts already given too much publicity, when terrorist activities began in Angola and authorities were obliged to take drastic measures in order to eliminate the core of subversion provoked by Protestant elements.

Because there is a possibility that events referred to above could be repeated, we should draw from them this lesson: it is better to adopt preventive measures than to delay action until the core of infection comes to the surface; then we are constrained to use appropriate remedies or run the risk of having to amputate in order to prevent gangrene.

2) The Value of Indoctrination

It is well known that all subversive movements resort to indoctrination in order that the corrosive ideals which serve their ends may be spurred to action, disrupting order and corrupting the masses. The initial stages of this strategy are quite well known; hence we may analyze the methods they use and the effects they achieve. Analogous tactics can then be employed.

Some socio-political ideologies seek to create a type of mysticism under the form of a compelling idealism. It is a kind of esotericism, not accessible to the great majority of the population who are exposed to and

influenced by certain (master ideas ,> or ((force ideas >>. These till the ground and make it fertile for the sowing of subversion.

To this end, the initiators of these ideologies draw up a kind of panoramic map of the personalities in the society or sector of society which they intend to influence. On this panoramic map they take special note of men who are central figures in rather large groupings. They are the ones who have a greater following because they have more winning personalities. They are chosen to be the directors or those responsible for the fermentation of the masses.

The initiators concentrate on these central figures. They give them an intense indoctrination based on a very appealing ideal. They fill them with a true mysticism which animates them to work unstintingly and even make sacrifices for their ideal. Their prestige comes from their inherent personalities, from their courage and virility admired by the masses.

The majority of men rise like the tide. They easily let themselves be propelled by those who have stronger personalities, who have some inherent leadership qualities, who shoulder responsibilities, who are natural leaders. It is not a question of making leaders, but of finding them.

The results obtained make it clear to us that this strategy is sure to succeed. Its purpose is not to eliminate leaders, but to indoctrinate them, leaving them to incite and stir up the masses. Psychology teaches that this is the true road leading to the indoctrination of the masses.

It is clear that in order to recognize these central figures the community situation must be known very thoroughly, and faith must be had in the ideal which is to be implanted. It must be lived with the enthusiasm and dedication that come only from complete personal surrender. Words are not sufficient. Example is much more important - example which attracts and convinces. It is precisely for this reason that missionaries acquire a prestige others cannot attain. Their sacrifice and

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renunciation in abandoning everything in order to serve an ideal, give them the stamp of authenticity. It is for this very reason that normally they are listened to with respect and esteem. It is for this reason that they easily find an audience among the masses, especially when they have at their disposal the means to translate their words into deeds, such as the assistance they lend to the natives. It is not to our advantage to make martyrs who may become fuel for the fire of an ideal. People admire self-sacrifice, even for causes they repudiate. It is much more worthwhile for us to prevent those who create myths. Once born, they always leave behind them shoots ready to burst into foliage with the first drops of water. The obvious path for us is to use exactly the same methods: to find and indoctrinate the central figures, the core persons, the born leaders; to impregnate them with an ideal which can fill their hearts with fire and their heads with ideas; to make of them apostles of the ideal that their fatherland is on the true road of portugalization. Where such men are at work, there will be no room left for apostles of subversion.

3) Protestant Missionary Activity

In meetings of the District Council we have often spoken about the pernicious influence which Protestant missions exercise through individuals who make harmful statements and propaganda. These are foreign agents who exert influence over the native masses. They generate admiration and enthusiasm for certain anti-Portuguese ideologies and movements. They surreptitiously undermine the idea of Portuguese citizenship. They create mentalities in the service of ideas inimical to Portugal. At best they limit themselves to propagating a religious ideology not in conformity with our tradition. They neutralize our efforts for portugalization and occupy key positions which make it easy for them to implant ideas contrary to our interests.

From this we may conclude that it is not necessary to revert to lessons learned in the past in order to be convinced that de-portugalization is being carried on by foreign agents and sometimes nationals serving Protestant or Evangelical missions. The harm caused by these so-called Protestant religions is a present reality, one that we are continually reminded of. Simply the fact that these are religious confessions with national characteristics, whose leaders and monitors are foreigners in the service of their own countries, should put us on the alert. These religious confessions do not display the ecumenical characteristics of Catholicism, and they admit of political interference and ideas not confined to the service of God. The root of the danger which Protestant confessions represent for us lies in this fact.

Even more significant is the fact that they are well-equipped and prepared for activity which impresses the native masses and disposes them in their favor. This is in fact their main weapon in carrying on propaganda. These missions generally have at their disposal an abundance of material goods, permitting them to construct schools, hospitals, infirmaries and health-care institutions, all staffed with well-trained personnel infected with a social ideal.

Some Protestant hospitals have gained well-deserved prestige, which is then used for the spreading of their ideals. This is a fertile field in which to make comparisons which lower our prestige. From there it is only one step further to admiration and enthusiasm for the countries which sent this aid. The path is cleared. All that remains is to follow it at the opportune moment.

But it is not only free health care that impresses the natives and moves them to gratitude and the disposition to accept the ideas of those who so serve them. There is also material assistance which financial contributions made by foreign Protestants make possible

- from foreign nations which call themselves friends

of the natives and which instigate subversion against Portugal. The facts, despite the diabolically naive explanations given by the missionaries, speak for themselves and constitute propaganda against Portuguese activity in Africa.

It should not be overlooked that most Protestant missions try to move out of the more developed and populated centers. They seek virgin lands for their work. It is much easier to make propaganda where there is no other propaganda. It is easy for the conviction to take root that Protestants are the only ones, or the first, to

provide care for the most abandoned. Experience in this field is very revealing, as it is in many others.

With the illness now diagnosed, we must take the necessary preventive measures to try to check its spread while there is still time.

4) Control and Neutralize

The first obstacle which hinders us in our activity against this more or less camouflaged subversion is religious or confessional freedom, accepted by all civilized nations and indeed by the Catholic Church, which proclaimed it in the Second Vatican Council. Art. 8 of our Political Constitution expressly guarantees the freedom and inviolacy of religious beliefs and practices. It would not be practical, and it would constitute an extraordinarily offensive intervention, simply to prohibit religious practices. This road, then, is closed to us. It would only burden us with even more annoying and harsh political repercussions.

Nevertheless we think it absolutely necessary to neutralize the disastrous activity of the Protestant missions which, under the guise of disseminating religious principles, continue openly to instill in the unprepared minds of the native masses an erroneous idea of nationalism, an ideal opposed to the sacred interests of the Portuguese nation. The people are not able to refute the pernicious ideas which they are taught, and so they

accept them with ease.

We must, then, find adequate means to eliminate or neutralize the effects of this harmful influence before it becomes widespread, with the fatal consequences that would entail.

It is necessary to keep a close watch over the activities of Protestant missions, in a vigilance which cannot be limited simply to their teaching activities. This will require careful supervision, skillful attention, a presence - perhaps camouflaged - always on the alert, so that we will not allow ourselves to be surprised by underground activities.

And we must also be vigilant wherever the influence of the foreign agents serving these missions - not always with purely religious intentions - may spread. We must always be informed of the results of their activities, in order to neutralize them as soon as they are detected as something harmful or detrimental. We must use appropriate weapons and prepare ourselves carefully to occupy the best positions, the key posts. We must prevent infiltration into certain areas, anticipating their next move.

It is evident that we cannot simply expell these foreign elements; they have been careful not to give conclusive proof of their bad faith. It would be an act against a constitutional freedom and would give rise to antagonism that would plague us with difficulties in certain international sectors. But we must initiate and cultivate an indoctrination which serves our country. On the religious plane we must use the same weapons, the same inducements, the same proven methods used by these well-indoctrinated subversive movements. It will be, one might say, a battle on two fronts, to gain one and the same objective: to indoctrinate the masses with the authentic Portuguese mind.

5) Catholic Missions

Someone observing the phenomenon of post-conciliar

Catholicism cannot help but be impressed by certain aspects of problem-solving and by certain moves of those in the vanguard of militant Catholicism. It is not possible to go into a deep and exhaustive analysis of this phenomenon, but, in view of finding ways to solve certain problems, diverse aspects can be taken into consideration, especially those related to our objective of blocking the more or less subversive indoctrination of certain social sectors in the Province.

To be sure, we must always bear in mind that the Church is served by men with all their strength and all their weaknesses. We have to admit, in consequence, that now and then there are failures in carrying out the work of the Church. But these are exceptions to the general rule.

First, one notices an insistence by the Catholic hierarchy for an ecumenical attitude and non-intervention regarding politics - especially partisan politics - on the part of Catholic priests. We believe that the bishops of Angola have manifested very well their patriotism and their dynamic will for the expansion of the Catholic faith among the masses, with the accent on civilizing in the constructive sense of portugalization. But we also know the difficulty they have in recruiting and training priests for parishes and missions already in existence. For this reason it is very rare that new missions are founded, even in places where a need for them is felt. There is a shortage of priests for work already underway. Such a shortage is particularly noticeable in the district of Huila. In fact, one notices a certain decadence in Catholic missions which once were flourishing. The truth is that Catholic missions, especially those manned by priests, struggle with a crippling lack of personnel, even for priority functions.

With this in mind, we take the liberty to make the following proposals, with a view to alleviating the critical shortage of priests in the dioceses of Angola: a) That missionary priests who come to work in

Catholic missions in Angola be exempt from military chaplaincy.

b) That military chaplains be recruited exclusively from among the clergy in metropolitan dioceses [in Portuguese government jargon, < metropolitan ,, referred to < continental >> Portugal, as distinguished from its (overseas provinces >> - ed.).

c) That all secular priests who come to serve in Angola for a minimum of five years also be dispensed from military chaplaincy.

d) That the metropolitan bishops be strongly urged to send diocesan priests to serve in Angola.

We would even go a step further and propose that each metropolitan diocese be required, as a service to the nation, to send a certain percentage of its priests. This would be a type of obligatory, though temporary, service, similar to military service. We know that in many Catholic countries priests and seminarians are required to serve as non-ranking military servicemen. We would ask that they be sent to spend a certain length of time in the Overseas Provinces. We think that

some of them would end by dedicating their entire life to the priestly ministry in Angola.

The outcome of such measures would be obvious. We feel there is an urgent need to neutralize the activity of Protestant missions by the activity of Catholic missions directed by Portuguese priests under the supervision of the bishops of Angola. But they cannot establish missions without priests to man them.

6) Cooperation of Lay Missionaries

The forcefulness of the call of the Second Vatican Council for lay persons to cooperate in missionary work by all means at their disposal is extraordinary. Responding to this mandate of the Church, lay persons in many countries are being recruited from all

professions to serve as volunteers in Catholic missions. It is curious that our country is one of the most apathetic in its response to this ecclesial summons. There is a terrible lack of awareness among the Portuguese Catholic laity of the missionary needs of our Overseas Provinces.

We believe it would be very advantageous to begin a recruitment of lay missionaries from all walks of life and all professions for service in Catholic missions, as teachers, doctors, nurses, laborers, technicians, etc.

These lay persons should be given technical and spiritual preparation so that their life can be a testimony to Christ amidst non-Christians.

We believe that laymen so recruited, and motivated by a lofty idealism, might be able to carry on activities that would counteract or neutralize the work of the foreign agents in Protestant missions which are served by lay persons in exactly the same manner. Only in this way - using the same weapons - will we be able to fight.

Lay movements are beginning to germinate - even if with some uncertainty - in the metropolitan area. We must activate and nourish these missionary movements and the religious institutes which support them. They could be extraordinary agents in the indoctrination of the native masses, as much by their word as by their example. We have to revise our methods and take advantage of our opportunities, responding to them when the need arises.

Lay persons can be of service as teachers, medical and social workers, or in the field of agriculture or animal husbandry. Missionary couples, as promoted in many other countries, could be even more effective. But they should not be motivated only by professional interests; they should be guided, in all cases, by the burning zeal of religious mysticism. And we would be able to count on having the added advantage of an obedience that would respect religious and civil authority.

7) Foreign Missionaries

We must accept the fact of foreign missionaries, Catholic as well as Protestant, in Angola. It is a necessity imposed upon us, whether we like it or not. We have foreign missionaries working in Angola and we will have to have many more. Catholic missionaries rarely cause us political difficulties. Some have even received medals for their devoted service to the Portuguese cause. The State has

legislated restrictions in the case of foreign missionaries; these restrictions must be rigorously observed, except in extraordinary instances when there is proof of unusual devotion in the service of Portugal. It is only in such cases that exceptions should be admitted, as, for example, for the superior of a Catholic mission, the pastor of a parish, or director of a mission project.

As regards the requirement of learning the Portuguese language before coming to a mission field, maximum severity should be exercised. We have noticed on occasion that some foreign missionaries' knowledge of Portuguese is very rudimentary. This leads us to propose that a longer and more rigorous study be required of all foreign missionaries, to learn the language and even some of our traditions as a civilizing people and promoter of authentic multi-racialism. Such study ought to be even more strictly required of missionaries and all foreign personnel who come to serve in Protestant missions. We believe that such measures in no way run counter to religious freedom as a national and international right. It is an important measure in supporting the counter-subversion in which we are involved.

All missions should be required categorically to cooperate in the work of the portugalization of the native masses. It would not be too difficult to exercise continual supervision over the teaching administered by the missions. We must nip in the bud the first signs of life of

any indoctrination movement injurious to the objectives we propose.

8) Other Solutions

We do not think that simply improving the existing conditions in Catholic missions and promoting the establishment of others will suffice. We must carry the work of the portugalization of the native masses much farther than this, making it easier for them to gain access to all the benefits of civilization, as is our intention.

Education merits very special attention; we must promote its expansion and improve its quality. We believe that just as teacher-training schools are supported by the missions - and, we think, with good results - the teaching of arts and crafts, as also agriculture and animal husbandry, should be promoted. It would perhaps be more efficient and less burdensome. The lay missionaries of whom we have already spoken would be able to cooperate in this to a great extent.

Basic education requires many more teachers, health officers and social workers than are being trained according to the information we have - in the Pius XII Institute. They should be incorporated in a united effort.

Public health deserves special attention, especially in order to counteract, in methods and efficiency, the work of Protestant missions, so that foreign agents will not be able to establish parallels which demean us.

Let us not forget that at the base of all efficient and efficacious activity lie population concentrations, in easily accessible places, easily watched over. The indoctrination of the masses demands thoroughness and extreme care.

Indoctrinators will be the best agents of counter-subversion, and hence of portugalization, in Angola (VI-1).

Ramiro Ladeiro Monteiro, chief of the SCCIA, Luanda, also touches on Protestant missions in his Symposium report, <(Brief Considerations

on some Specific Aspects of the Plan of Counter-Subversion *:

Religions: The Influence of the Missions upon Subversion in Angola

a) Protestantism is widely spread throughout the Province.

1) There are technical indications that some Protestant missions aid and definitely continue to support subversion; at the very least, they involve themselves in anti-nationalism.

2) In the zones subject to terrorism, Protestant missions are closed. In these regions, then, there is no real problem except in relation to the *(vacuum >> created in the Protestant population by the absence of pastors, which might conveniently be filled by Catholic priests.

3) At the present time the Protestant missions are potentially the most dangerous. To this category belong the missions in the Planalto Central (namely that of DONDI, in Bela Vista, and that of Bailundo), in Calumbeque (Huila), and that of Quessua (Malanje), served, for the most part, by American and Canadian pastors.

4) The factor that weighs most heavily in the <adhesion > of the population to Protestantism is the health care and schooling dispensed by the Protestant missions in the areas under their influence.

5) However, the African as a general rule prefers the official school to that of the mission, whether Catholic or Protestant.

6) This being the case, it seems that the best way to nullify or mitigate the influence of Protestant missions among the African population is to erect schools and health clinics in the areas where they are active.

b) Recommendations. This is a delicate problem, one which should, in our opinion, be treated by those dealing with the plan for counter-subversion. On the one hand, outright persecution of Protestant missions is not politically advisable; on the other hand, their work in the field of health and education has been praiseworthy and the government is not in a position to do without them, at least not immediately.

This being the case, and keeping in mind the above considerations, we believe the best procedure would be as follows:

1) Try to prevent an increase of Protestant proselytism by intensifying health care and schooling of a Catholic or official nature in zones where Protestant missions exert major influence over the African population.

2) Intensify relations between the provincial administration and the Protestant missions. They do not come under any inspection and thus nothing is known of their activity. This task would fall to the Education Services, where it will probably be necessary to create one or two posts for inspectors. They will have as their mission:

* To inspect the activities of the missions, observing and noting, discreetly, information about what they are doing.

* To obtain the cooperation of missionaries, since it is known that some of them are disposed to collaborate with us (Appendix B, p. 11).

Annex 1

Concordat

IDOC English translation of the Concordat between the Holy See and Portugal, signed on 7 May 1940, and published (promulgated) on 1 June 1940. The original text, in Italian and Portuguese, is to be found in the Acta Apostolicae Sedis, vol. 32, 1940, pp. 217-233 (also in: Angelo Mercati, ed., Raccolta di Concordati su Materie Ecclesiastiche tra la Santa Sede e le Autorit Civili, Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, vol. 2, 1954, pp. 232-243). Though many appeals have been made for changes or abrogation of this concordat, it has never been modified and remains in effect as it stands.

CONCORDAT

Between the Holy See and the Republic of Portugal In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity His Holiness the Supreme Pontiff Pius XII and His Excellency the President of the Republic of Portugal, being disposed to regulate by mutual agreement and in a stable manner the juridical position of the Catholic Church in Portugal, for the peace and the greater good of the Church and the State, have resolved to conclude a solemn Convention that will recognize and guarantee the freedom of the Church and safeguard the legitimate interests of the Portuguese Nation, not least as regards the Catholic Missions and Patronage in the Orient.*

* The Padroado do Oriente refers to a series of privileges and obligations exchanged between the Holy See and Portugal, originally in connection with the < discovery >>, from a European point of view, of (previously unknown) Asian territories in the

With this end in view, His Holiness has appointed as His Plenipotentiary: His Most Reverend Eminence Cardinal LUIGI MAGLIONE, His Secretary of State, while the President of the Republic of Portugal has appointed as His Plenipotentiaries: His Excellency General EDUARDO AUGUSTO MARQUES, former

Minister of the Colonies, President of the Corporative Chamber, Grand Cross of the Military Orders of Christ, of Saint Benedict of Aviz, and of the Order of the Colonial Empire;

His Excellency Doctor MARIO DE FIGUEIREDO, former Minister of Justice and Cults, Professor and Director of the Faculty of Law of the University of

Coimbra, Member of Parliament and Grand Cross of the Military Order of Saint James of the Sword;

His Excellency Doctor VASCO FRANCISCO CAETANO DE QUEVEDO, Extraordinary Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Holy See, Grand Cross of the Military Order of Christ and Grand Cross Knight of the Order of Saint Gregory the Great.

The said plenipotentiaries, having exchanged the instruments of their respective full powers and found them to be in good order and in due form, have convened and agreed to the following articles:

Article I

The Republic of Portugal recognizes the Catholic Church as a juridical person. Friendly relations with the Holy See will be maintained in the traditional form in which they have found historical expression, through an Apostolic Nuncio to the Republic of Portugal and an Ambassador of the Republic to the Holy See. 15th century. The Portuguese crown took upon itself to evangelize these lands (St. Francis Xavier worked under Portuguese Patronage), in exchange for such privileges as the right to present candidates for the episcopacy and the collection of tithes. - ed.

Article II

The Catholic Church is guaranteed free exercise of its authority: within the sphere of its competence, the Church has the faculty of exercising the acts of its power of order and of jurisdiction without any impediment whatsoever.

Consequently the Holy See may freely publish any disposition relating to the governance of the Church and, in all matters concerning its pastoral ministry, it may communicate and correspond with the Prelates, the clergy and all the Catholics of Portugal, just as these may with the Holy See, and there is no need for any prior approval of the State for the bulls or any other instructions or dispositions of the Holy See to be allowed to be published and to circulate in the Country.

The Ordinaries and other Ecclesiastical Authorities enjoy analogous faculties in relation to their clergy and their faithful.

Article III

The Catholic Church in Portugal may organize itself freely in accordance with the norms of Canon Law, and in this manner it may therefore set up associations or organizations that the State will recognize as juridical persons.

The State recognition of the juridical personality of canonically erected religious associations, corporations or institutes shall be the automatic result of the simple written notification made to the competent authority by the Bishop of the diocese in which the said bodies have their headquarters or by the legitimate representative of the said Bishop.

The same procedure shall be followed, and shall have the same effect, in the event of any of the said bodies being modified or dissolved.

Article IV

The associations or organizations referred to in the preceding article may acquire goods and dispose of them in the same manner in which this may be done, according to the legislation in force, by other perpetual juridical persons, and they may freely administer their affairs under the vigilance and the control of the competent ecclesiastical authorities. If, however, in addition to their religious ends, the said bodies also set themselves tasks of assistance and charity, either in fulfillment of statutory duties or in complying with clauses governing inheritances, legacies or donations, they shall, as regards this part of their activities, remain subject to the legislation established by Portuguese law for such associations or corporations, always provided that such legislation shall be applied through the intermediacy of the competent Ordinary and shall never be more disadvantageous than the legislation established for other juridical persons of the same nature.

Article V

The Church may freely receive and require from its faithful collections and any sums intended for putting its purposes into effect, and this particularly inside churches and at the entrances to them, as well as in other buildings and places belonging to the Church and at the entrances to them.

Article VI

The Catholic Church in Portugal is recognized as the owner of the goods that formerly belonged to it and are now in the possession of the State, including churches, episcopal palaces, parish houses and their surroundings, seminaries and their annexes, houses of religious institutes, vestments, sacred furnishings and other objects used for worship and the Catholic religion, except those that are at present used for public services or classified

as (national monuments , or as , real estate of public interest >.

Any goods referred to in the preceding paragraph that are not at present in the possession of the State may be transferred to the Church by their owners without incurring any liability of a tax-related character, always provided that the act of transferring the property be performed within six months of the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Concordat.

Any real estate classified as , national monuments >, or as <(of public interest >, or any real estate so classified within five years of the exchange of the instruments of ratification, shall remain the property of the State but be permanently destined for the service of the Church. The State shall be responsible for the preservation, the repair and restoration of the said real estate, and in doing so shall act in accordance with agreements reached with ecclesiastical authorities in order to avoid disturbing religious services; the Church shall be responsible for the custody of the said real estate and the internal administration thereof, particularly as regards the hours when such real estate may be visited, although an official nominated by the State may intervene in the fixing of such visiting hours.

Objects destined for worship that form part of some museum of the State or of a local or institutional body shall always be ceded for religious ceremonies taking place in the church to which these objects formerly belonged, always provided that the church be situated in the same locality in which the said objects are

preserved. Such cedings shall be effected at the request of the competent ecclesiastical authority, and the said ecclesiastical authority, assuming the responsibilities of a faithful trustee, shall ensure the proper custody of the ceded objects.

Article VII

No church, building, annex or object of Catholic worship

may be demolished by the State or destined by it to some other use, unless this be done with the prior agreement of the competent ecclesiastical authority or for reasons of urgent public need, such as war, fire or inundation.

In the event of expropriation for the public benefit, the competent ecclesiastical authority shall always be heard, not least as regards the amount of the indemnity to be paid. In any case, no act of appropriation shall be performed without the expropriated goods having previously been divested of their sacred character.

Article VIII

Churches and the objects contained in them, seminaries or any other institutes destined for the formation of the clergy, as well as the edicts and notices affixed to the doors of churches and relating to the sacred ministry, shall be exempt from all general or local taxes or other contributions. Furthermore, no tax or other contribution shall be applied to the clergy in respect of the exercise of their spiritual office.

Ecclesiastical goods and entities not included in the preceding paragraph may not be subjected to special taxes or contributions.

Article IX

Residential Archbishops or Bishops, their Coadjutors cum iure successionis and their Auxiliaries, pastors, rectors of seminaries, and in general the directors and superiors of institutes or associations recognized as juridical persons who exert jurisdiction in one or more provinces of the Country, must be Portuguese citizens.

Article X

Without prejudice to the provisions in connection with Patronage or Semi-Patronage, the Holy See, before

proceeding to the appointment of a residential Archbishop or Bishop, or of a Coadjutor cum iure successionis, shall communicate the name of the selected person to the Portuguese Government in order to know whether there are any objections of a general political character against the said person. If the Government remains silent for thirty days after such communication, this shall be interpreted in the sense that there are no objections. All the procedures for which provision is made in this article shall remain secret.

Article XI

In the exercise of their ministry, the clergy enjoy the protection of the State in the same manner as public authorities.

Article XII

Clergymen may not be interrogated by magistrates as to facts and things of which they have knowledge by virtue of their sacred ministry.

Article XIII

Clergymen are exempt from the obligation of performing the functions of jurors, members of courts or of tax commissions, or any functions of a similar nature that Canon Law considers to be incompatible with the ecclesiastical state.

Article XIV

Priests and minor clerks shall perform their military service in the form of religious assistance to the armed forces and, in wartime, also in medical units. The Government shall take measures to ensure that even in wartime the said military service can be performed with the least possible detriment to the care of the souls of

the populations in Metropolitan Portugal and in the Colonies *.

Article XV

The wearing of the ecclesiastical cassock or the religious habit by lay persons or by ecclesiastics or religious who have been prohibited from wearing such apparel by a decision having been officially communicated to the State authorities, shall be subject to the same punishments as the abusive use of the uniform peculiar to a public employee. The abusive exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and functions shall be subject to similar punishment.

Article XVI

The Catholic Church is guaranteed free exercise of all acts of worship, private and public, without prejudice to the requirements of the police and of transportation.

Article XVII

In order to guarantee spiritual assistance in hospitals, shelters, boarding schools, asylums, prisons and other similar institutions of the State, of local and institutional agencies and the Misericordias which have no chapel or services of their own for this purpose, there shall be free access to the parish priest or the priest put in charge of such services by the competent ecclesiastical Authority, without prejudice to the observance of the appropriate regulations, except in the case of an emergency.

Article XVIII

The Republic of Portugal guarantees religious assistance

* In 1951, Portugal declared its (a former o) colonies ((overseas provinces ., i.e. it now understands them to be integral parts of its national territory. - ed.

to the land, sea and air forces in wartime, and to this end shall organize a corps of military chaplains who will be considered as graduate officers.

The Bishop who will perform the functions of Ordinary to the Forces shall be nominated by the Holy See in agreement with the Government.

In the event of colonial expeditions, a Bishop resident in the Colony concerned may be appointed Ordinary to the Forces.

The Ordinary to the Forces, in agreement with the Government, may appoint a Vicar General.

Military chaplains shall be appointed by the Ordinary to the Forces in agreement with the Government from among priests recognized as fit for the auxiliary services.

Military chaplains have parochial jurisdiction over their troops, and these latter, as regards their religious duties, enjoy the privileges and the exemptions granted by Canon Law.

Article XIX

The State shall take measures that will make it possible for all Catholics in its service, or who are members of its organizations, to regularly perform their religious duties on Sundays and other feast days.

Article XX

Associations and organizations of the Church may freely set up and maintain private schools in parallel with those of the State, and such schools, within the terms of ordinary law, shall remain subject to state control and, again within the terms of ordinary law, may be subsidized and officially recognized.

The teaching of religion in the schools and in private courses is not dependent on state authorization and may be freely imparted by ecclesiastical Authority or by its representatives.

The foundation of seminaries or of any other in-

stitute of formation or of higher ecclesiastical education, is unrestricted. The internal governance of such seminaries and institutes is not subject to state control. Nevertheless, the State must be informed about the books adopted for all non-philosophical and non-theological subjects. The competent ecclesiastical authorities shall take care to ensure that in the teaching of special disciplines, such as history, due account is taken of legitimate Portuguese patriotic feelings.

Article XXI

The teaching imparted by the State in public school shall be orientated by the principles of Christian doctrine and morality that are traditional in the Country. Consequently, the Catholic religion and morality shall be taught in the public elementary, complementary and secondary schools to all students whose parents or guardians have not asked for them to be exempted.

In nursery schools, orphanages, official establishments and institutes for the education of minors and for their correction or reform, always provided that they depend on the State, the State itself shall ensure the teaching of the Catholic religion and the practice of its precepts.

Texts used for the teaching of the Catholic religion shall be approved by ecclesiastical Authority, and

teachers shall be appointed by the State in agreement with the said Authority; under no circumstances shall the said teaching be imparted by persons whom ecclesiastical Authority has not approved of as suitable.

Article XXII

The Portuguese State recognizes marriages celebrated in accordance with Canon Law as having civil effect, always provided that the act of marriage is registered at the appropriate State office.

Marriage banns shall be published not only in the

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respective parish churches, but also at the competent civil registry offices.

Marriages in articulo mortis or in the immediate expectation of the birth of a child, or in any circumstances in which the immediate celebration is expressly authorized by the Ordinary for grave reasons of a moral nature, may be contracted without the preliminary process of the publication of banns.

The pastor, within three days, shall transmit an integral copy of the act of marriage to the competent civil registry offices for purposes of registration; the registration must be carried out within two days and the responsible official shall then inform the pastor of the registration not later than the day immediately following upon the one on which it was effected, indicating the date.

Any pastor who without grave reason fails to send the copy of the act of marriage within the due period of time incurs the penalties for qualified disobedience, while any civil registry official who does not effect the registration within the due period of time incurs the penalties provided for by the constitutional law governing the service.

Article XXIII

A marriage has all its civil effects as from the date of its celebration, always provided that the registration is effected within the space of seven days. If this is not the case, it will produce effects vis-a-vis third parties only as from the date of its registration.

The death of one or both spouses does not constitute an impediment to the registration of the marriage.

Article XXIV

In conformity with the essential characteristics of Catholic marriage, it is understood that spouses, by the very fact of the celebration of a canonical marriage,

renounce their civil right of applying for a divorce and, consequently, the civil courts cannot pronounce a divorce in the case of Catholic marriages.

Article XXV

The hearing of cases concerning the nullity of Catholic marriages and the dispensation from unconsumated marriages is reserved to the competent ecclesiastical courts and dicasteries.

The decisions and sentences of these dicasteries and courts, once they have become final, shall be brought before the Supreme Court of the Apostolic Signature for the appropriate supervision and shall then be transmitted via diplomatic channels, together with the relevant decrees of the Supreme Court of the Apostolic Signature, to the competent territorial Court of Appeal of the State, which Court shall execute them and order them to be annotated in the civil registers next to the act of marriage itself.

Article XXVI

The Portuguese colonies shall be ecclesiastically subdivided into dioceses and autonomous missionary districts. In agreement with the Government, the competent Prelates may set up missionary directorates both within the former and within the latter.

The boundaries of dioceses and missionary districts shall be fixed in such a manner as to coincide as far as possible with administrative divisions.

Article XXVII

Religious life and the missionary apostolate in the dioceses will be ensured by the residential Bishops, and in missionary districts by missionary institutes.

The recognized missionary institutes will establish, in Metropolitan Portugal or in the adjacent islands, houses of formation and rest houses for their missionary

personnel. The houses of formation and the rest houses of each institute constitute a single entity, subsidized from the budget of Metropolitan Portugal.

The dioceses and missionary districts, the other ecclesiastical bodies and religious institutes of the colonies, as well as the missionary institutes for men and women that establish themselves in Metropolitan Portugal or in the adjacent islands, are recognized as juridical persons.

The dioceses and missionary districts will enjoy subsidies provided by the State.

Article XXVIII

Whenever there is not a sufficient number of Portuguese missionaries, the Ordinaries of the dioceses and missionary districts, in agreement with the Holy See and the Government, may call in foreign missionaries and the said missionaries will be admitted into the missions of the Portuguese missionary organization, always provided that they declare their submission to Portuguese laws and courts. This submission shall be such as is proper for ecclesiastics.

Whenever a new missionary directive post is to be filled within individual dioceses or missionary districts and it is not possible to confer the appointment of director upon a Portuguese citizen, the said appointment shall be made only after having heard from the Portuguese Government.

All missionaries, irrespective of whether they belong to the secular clergy or to national or foreign religious institutes, shall be wholly subject to the ordinary jurisdiction of the Prelates of the dioceses and missionary districts in everything that concerns their missionary work.

Article XXIX

The dispositions of the Concordat of 21 February 1857, reaffirmed in the Concordat of 23 June 1886, and those

of the Concordat of 23 June 1886, both inasmuch as they are not affected by subsequent agreements, and particularly by those of 15 April 1928 and 11 April 1929, as well as by the present Convention, are considered as remaining in force.

Article XXX

In the event of any doubts arising as to the interpretation of this Concordat, the Holy See and the Portuguese Government shall endeavor to find an amicable solution.

Article XXXI

The present Concordat, of which the texts in the Portuguese and Italian languages are of equal validity, shall be ratified and will come into force as soon as the instruments of ratification shall have been exchanged, always provided that those parts whose execution depends on complementary internal legislation of the Republic of Portugal shall come into force only with the coming into force of the

said legislation. The coming into force of such legislation must not be delayed beyond two months from the date of ratification.

This Concordat is executed in two copies.

Vatican City, 7 May 1940

(read and signed) L. Card. MAGLIONE

(read and signed) EDUARDO AUGUSTO MARQUES

(read and signed) MARIO DE FIGUEIREDO

(read and signed) VASCO FRANCISCO CAETANO DE QUEVEDO

(IDOC 73/187/003;

translated from the Italian)

Annex 2

Missionary Accord

IDOC English translation of the Missionary Accord between the Vatican and Portugal, signed the same day as was the Concordat.

The original Italian and Portuguese text is to be found in the AAS, vol. 32, pp. 235-244

(Mercati, op. cit., pp. 244-250).

Missionary Accord

Between the Holy See and the Republic of Portugal

Considering that:

Whereas on this date there has been signed the Concordat between the Holy See and the Republic of Portugal, and

Whereas articles XXVI-XXVII of the said Concordat lay down the fundamental norms in relation to missionary activities, and

Whereas the Portuguese Government, during the course of the negotiations for the conclusion of the said Concordat, proposed that the said norms should be further developed into a special Convention,

The Holy See and the Portuguese Government have resolved to formulate an Agreement intended to regulate more fully the relationships between Church and State as regards religious life in the Portuguese Colonies, without prejudice to what the parties have already convened regarding Oriental Patronage.

To this end they have respectively named as Plenipotentiaries: His Most Reverend Eminence Cardinal LUIGI MAGLIONE, Secretary of State of His Holiness; and His Excellency General EDUARDO AUGUSTO

MARQUES, former Minister of the Colonies, President of the Corporative Chamber, Grand Cross of the Military Orders of Christ, of Saint Benedict of Aviz. and of the

Order of the Colonial Empire; His Excellency Doctor MARIO DE FIGUEIREDO, former Minister of Justice and of Cults, Professor and Director of the Faculty of Law of the University of Coimbra, Member of Parliament and Grand Cross of the Military Order of Saint James of the Sword; His Excellency Doctor VASCO FRANCISCO CAETANO DE QUEVEDO, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Holy See, Grand Cross of the Military Order of Christ and Knight of the Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Gregory the Great.

The said plenipotentiaries, subject to ratification, have convened and agreed as follows:

Article 1

For ecclesiastical purposes the Portuguese Colonies will be divided into dioceses and autonomous missionary districts.

The Bishops of the dioceses will have the right, through the secular and regular clergy, to organize the religious life and the apostolate of their own dioceses. Religious life and the apostolate in the missionary districts will be ensured by missionary institutes recognized by the Government, but without prejudice to the possibility of missionaries of other institutes or of secular clergy, subject to the authorization of the Government, to establish themselves in the said territories.

Article 2

[=paragraph 1 of Art. XXVIII of the Concordat.]

Article 3

The dioceses shall be governed by residential Bishops and the missionary districts by Vicars or Prefects Apostolic, all of Portuguese citizenship.

In both the former and the latter, Catholic missionaries of the secular clergy or of religious institutes,

national or foreign, shall be wholly subject to the ordinary jurisdiction of the aforementioned Prelates in all matters relating to missionary work.

Article 4

The dioceses and the missionary districts will be represented vis-, -vis the Government of Metropolitan Portugal by their respective Prelates or delegates appointed by them, and the missionary institutes by their respective Superiors or delegates appointed by them.

The Superiors and the delegates referred to above shall be of Portuguese citizenship.

Article 5

[=par. 2 of Art. XXVII of the Concordat.]

Article 6

As of this moment there are created three dioceses in Angola, with sees respectively in Luanda, Nova Lisboa and Silva Porto; three in Mozambique, with sees respectively in Lourenço Marques, Beira and Nampula; and one in Timor, with its see in Dili. Furthermore, missionary districts may be erected in the aforementioned Colonies and in Guinea.

The Holy See, in agreement with the Government, may change the number of the dioceses and the missionary districts. The boundaries of the dioceses and the missionary districts will be fixed by the Holy See in such a way as to coincide as far as possible with administrative divisions and to lie always within the limits of Portuguese territory.

Article 7

[=Art. X and par. 2 of Art. XXVIII of the Concordat, plus what follows:]

In cases where an ecclesiastical district has been erected or become vacant, the Holy See, before making a final appointment, may immediately nominate a

provisional Apostolic Administrator, informing the Government of the appointment made.

Article 8

[--Par. 3 of Art. XXVII of the Concordat.]

Article 9

The recognized missionary institutes for men and for women shall be subsidized according to need by the Government of Metropolitan Portugal and the Government of the respective Colony, apart from any help they may receive from the Holy See. In the distribution of the said subsidies account shall be taken not only of the number of students in the houses of formation and the number of missionaries in the Colonies, but also of the missionary works, including the seminaries and other works for the indigenous clergy. In the distribution of the subsidies to be effected by the Colonies, dioceses shall be considered on the same footing as missionary districts.

Article 10

In addition to the subsidies referred to in the preceding article, the Government will continue to grant to the Catholic missions, free of charge, land available for the enlargement of the missions and for new foundations. To the same end, the bodies referred to in Article 8 may receive special subsidies and may accept inheritances, legacies and donations.

Article 11

The following shall be exempt from any and all kinds of taxes and contributions both in Metropolitan territory

and in the Colonies:

- a) all goods that the bodies referred to in Article 8 may possess in conformity with their purposes;
- b) all the acts inter vivos of purchase or alienation entered into by the aforementioned bodies in pursuance of their purposes, and all the dispositions mortis causa made in favor of the said bodies and having the same purposes. Furthermore, sacred images and other objects used in worship shall be exempt from any and all kinds of import-export taxes.

Article 12

In addition to the subsidies provided for in Article 9, the Portuguese Government guarantees appropriate stipends to residential Bishops, Superiors of the missions of the respective dioceses, and Vicars and Prefects Apostolic, and guarantees their pension entitlement. In the event of voyages and transfers, however, there will be no entitlement to special subsidies.

Article 13

The Portuguese Government will continue to pay the pensions of missionary personnel already in retirement, and in future will pay such pensions to the members of the secular missionary clergy who have completed the years of service required for this purpose.

Article 14

All missionary personnel will be entitled to the payment of their travel expenses within and outside the Colonies. For the enjoyment of this right it shall be

sufficient for the Ordinary or a person delegated by him to present the Government in Metropolitan Portugal with the names of the persons concerned, accompanied by medical certificates attesting to the physical fitness necessary for

living in the overseas territories, without there being need of any other formalities. If the Government has adequate reasons for deeming the medical certificate to be insufficient, it may order a new examination to be carried out in the appropriate manner by doctors enjoying its confidence, but such doctors shall always be women when the persons to be examined are of the female sex.

Return voyages to Metropolitan Portugal in the event of illness or for home leave shall be authorized, following a proposal made by the Prelate concerned, according to the regulations in force for public officials.

Article 15

The Portuguese Catholic missions may freely expand in the exercise of the forms of activities that are peculiar to them; in particular, they may found and direct schools for natives and Europeans, boarding schools for boys and girls, elementary, secondary and professional teaching institutes, seminaries, catechism schools, dispensaries and hospitals.

Subject to the agreement of the local ecclesiastical Authority, Portuguese missionaries may be entrusted with the task of giving religious and scholastic assistance to Portuguese subjects in foreign territories.

Article 16

The teaching of the Portuguese language is obligatory in the missionary schools for natives but, in accordance with the principles of the Church, the native language may be freely used in the teaching of the Catholic religion.

Article 17

Ordinaries, missionaries, auxiliary personnel and missionary sisters are not public officials and, consequently, are not subject to the disciplinary regulations or any

other prescriptions or formalities that may apply to public officials.

Article 18

Prelates of dioceses and missionary districts, as well as Superiors of missionary institutes in Metropolitan Portugal shall each year provide the Government with information about the missionary movement and the external activities of the missions.

Article 19

The Holy See will continue to use its authority with a view to ensuring that Portuguese missionary institutes will intensify evangelization of the natives and the missionary apostolate.

Article 20

The parochial government of the diocese of Cape Verde shall remain in force.

Article 21

The two texts of this Agreement, in the Portuguese and the Italian languages, shall be of equal validity.

This Agreement is executed in two copies.

Vatican City, 7 May 1940

(read and signed) L. Card. MAGLIONE
(read and signed) EDUARDO AUGUSTO MARQUES
(read and signed) MARIO DE FIGUEIREDO
(read and signed) VASCO FRANCISCO CAETANO DE QUEVEDO
(IDOC 73/187/004;
translated from the Italian)

Annex 3

Missionary Statute

IDOC English translation of the Estatuto Missionario promulgated by the Portuguese government on 5 April 1941 (published in the official *Diário do Governo* on that date):

By the power granted by part 2 of Section 2 of Article 109 of the Constitution, the government decrees and I promulgate, as law, the following:

I

Article 1 - Free exercise of its authority is guaranteed to the Catholic Church in the overseas colonies; within the realm of its responsibility, it has the right to exercise its powers of order and jurisdiction without any impediment.

In this regard, the Holy See can freely publish any disposition related to the governing of the Church and can communicate and correspond with the Prelates, clergy and all the Catholics of the overseas colonies everything which refers to their pastoral ministry, and those who have the authorization of the Holy See can publish and distribute within the overseas territories papal bulls and any instructions and deliberations of the Holy See without need of previous approval by the State.

In the same way, Ordinaries and other ecclesiastical authorities enjoy this right in relation to their clergy and faithful.

Art. 2 - Portuguese Catholic missions are ecclesiastical organizations recognized by the government, in terms of the Concordat and the Missionary Accord.

Portuguese Catholic missions are considered to be of imperial usefulness; they have an eminently civilizing influence.

Art. 3 - The Portuguese Catholic missions may freely expand in the exercise of the forms of activities that are peculiar to them; in particular, they may found and direct schools for natives and Europeans, boarding schools for boys and girls, elementary, secondary and professional teaching institutes, seminaries, catechism schools, dispensaries and hospitals.

II

Art. 4 - The colonies will be ecclesiastically divided into dioceses and autonomous missionary districts. Missionary administrations can be erected in any of these districts.

Art. 5 - The creation of dioceses and missionary districts is done by the Holy See. The Holy See can, in agreement with the Government, change the number of dioceses and missionary districts.

The boundaries of dioceses and missionary districts will be established by the Holy See, in a manner corresponding, so far as possible, with the administrative division of the Portuguese territory and always within its limits.

Art. 6 - Missionary administrations will be established, in agreement with the Government, by Prelates in the area in which they are to carry out their activity. Boundaries will be established in a manner to correspond, so far as possible, with administrative divisions.

Art. 7 - When a Prelate desires to create a missionary administration, he will communicate his intention to the Colonial Minister by way of the governor of the colony, stating the reasons for his request.

The Colonial Minister will give his reply as soon as possible.

Art. 8 - Dioceses and missionary districts are recognized as juridical persons; other ecclesiastical entities and religious institutes of the colonies are recognized

as moral persons, with juridical status.

Dioceses and missionary institutes will be legitimately represented by their respective Ordinaries. The other moral entities will be represented by Ordinaries or whoever is designated by them.

Art. 9 - The dioceses will be governed by residential Bishops; the missionary institutes by Vicars or Prefects Apostolic.

Residential Bishops, Vicars and Prefects Apostolic must always be of Portuguese citizenship.

Art. 10 - Missionary administrations will be governed by directors, who can be merely priests.

Superiors of missionary administrations, when they are not Portuguese, will be appointed only after approval by the Portuguese Government.

Art. 11 - Religious life and pastoral ministry in the diocese will be ensured by the Bishops through secular clergy, European and indigenous.

Art. 12 - Religious life and pastoral ministry in missionary districts will be ensured by missionary institutes recognized by the government.

III

Art. 13 - This section has to do only with missionary personnel: Prelates and their secular clergy and the members of men's and women's missionary institutes who, according to the norms of their institutes, dedicate themselves to the pastoral ministry in the colonies.

Art. 14 - Missionaries are priests who, in total subordination to Prelates, dedicate themselves exclusively to the spreading of the Catholic faith in the colonies and the civilizing of the native population; auxiliary personnel who are not priests cooperate with them in the objectives to which they are dedicated absolutely.

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Art. 15 - In principle, missionary personnel should be of Portuguese citizenship. However, Ordinaries of dioceses and mission districts are allowed to recruit missionaries, men or women, of foreign nationality when it is clearly necessary to compensate for the lack of men or women missionaries of Portuguese citizenship.

§ 1 - Before recruiting foreign missionaries the Ordinaries must obtain the express agreement of the Portuguese government and the Holy See; residence in the colony will not be granted to those who have not been recruited by Ordinaries or have contravened the requirements laid down in this paragraph.

§ 2 - Foreign missionaries will always remain integrated in the missions of the Portuguese missionary organization.

Art. 16 - Foreigners referred to in the second part of the preceeding article will be admitted to the Portuguese overseas territories only when they have made an express declaration renouncing their national laws and courts and submitting themselves to the Portuguese laws and courts, the only ones by which they will be governed and judged. This declaration does not refer to the subordination of missionaries to canonical laws, legitimate ecclesiastical authorities and to courts of this nature.

§ 1 - The declaration referred to in the present article will be made in duplicate on ordinary paper, addressed to the Colonial Minister and written and signed in the same hand of the declarant, before a Notary Public, who will then certify the proper documents.

One copy of the declaration will be filed in the Colonial Ministry and the other will be sent by the Ministry to the governor of the colony to whom the declarant addresses himself.

Art. 17 - The Government will not give its assent

to the recruitment of any foreign missionary who does not speak and write the Portuguese language correctly.

Art. 18 - Missionaries, secular as well as regular clergy, will be, according to Canon Law, entirely subject to the jurisdiction of their Prelates in whatever refers to missionary work.

IV

Art. 19- In colonies which have a governor,* bishops will receive, from the budget of the colony where they exercise spiritual jurisdiction, a salary equal to that of a provincial administrator outside the capital of the colony. In the remaining colonies, bishops will receive salaries equal to the income of the highest paid administrators. The Archbishops of Luanda and Lourenço Marques will receive a salary equal to the income of the governors of Angola and Mozambique, respectively. Prelates who are not Bishops will receive salaries equal to the income of the directors of the civil administrative service or the heads of civil administration, according as they exercise spiritual jurisdiction in colonies which have a governor or other colonies. If, however, a Prelate is named Apostolic Administrator, he will not receive the salary that accrues to the Ordinary of the ecclesiastical territory in his capacity as Bishop, Vicar or Prefect Apostolic.

Art. 20 - Prelates do not have a travel allowance but their travel expenses will be reimbursed. In order to obtain this reimbursement, a request must be made to the Colonial Minister or Governor of the colony, depending upon whether the expenses were incurred in Metropolitan Portugal or the overseas colonies.

* Colonies de governo geral, as contrasted with colonies de govgrno simples (see Art. 60, §1). The meaning and the contrast between the two forms is not explained; hence our translation here is, avowedly, an interpretation. - ed.

Art. 21 - When any diocesan Bishop, Vicar or Prefect Apostolic wishes to be absent from the colony, he will first communicate his intention to the government, always, when possible, giving the probable amount of time his absence will last; and when substituted for in the governance under his jurisdiction, temporarily or permanently, he will indicate the name of the person substituting for him. If the Bishop, Vicar or Prefect Apostolic cannot himself indicate this substitute, the substitute himself will do so.

When any Mission Director has to be absent from his diocese or missionary district, or is substituted for in mission administration, the Bishop or Vicar or Prefect Apostolic who supervises the mission will make the communication or designation referred to in the first part of this article, which should be addressed to the governor of the respective province.

Art. 22 - The resignation or transfer to Metropolitan Portugal of any Prelate gives him the right to retirement pension if he has served the necessary number of years overseas.

Art. 23 - In future, the government will not pay any personal salary to missionaries or their auxiliary personnel.

Prelates and Superiors of religious institutes must provide maintenance for their own clergy and auxiliary personnel, by means of subsidies which they receive from all sources, in the terms of this decree.

Art. 24 - With the exception of Prelates, missionary personnel will no longer have any right to a pension. The government will continue, however, to pay pensions to missionary personnel and auxiliary personnel who are pensioned as of the date of the publication of this decree.

Members of the secular missionary clergy exercising their ministry in the colonies, under legal terms, at the date of the publication of this decree will have the right

to a pension when they complete the number of years of service necessary for such benefits.

Art. 25 - The salary of sisters who are nurses employed in State hospitals will be paid to the institutes of which they are members.

Nursing sisters over and above the number allotted for in the budget may be admitted to serve in State hospitals when they and the Superior of the institute to which they belong do not draw a salary.

Non-nursing sisters can be employed in State hospitals in work not requiring specialized knowledge, such as cashiers, secretaries and other similar positions. Sisters serving in State hospitals above the number allotted in the budget have the right to hospital food. In State hospitals this will be handled by the disciplinary body of the sisters according to the rules of the institute to which they belong.

Art. 26 - A diploma from a nursing school, referred to in Art. 45, when obtained by passing an examination presided over by the professor or his assistant from a

Faculty of Medicine or from the Institute of Tropical Medicine entitles sisters possessing it to practice their nursing profession in the overseas territories.

Art. 27 - Missionary personnel have the right to be reimbursed for travel within and without the colonies, but not to any allowance.

§ 1 - Concerning reimbursement for travel expenses from Metropolitan Portugal to the overseas territories, the Ordinary or his delegate will present the names of the persons, date of embarkation and colonial destination to the Colonial Ministry, clearly stating for each person whether this is a return or a first voyage, and if returning, how much time he has been absent from the colony.

This statement will be accompanied by a medical statement, signed by a doctor, attesting to the physical stamina necessary for life in the overseas territories,

and, when dealing with the first voyage of a secular priest, canonical authorization by the Prelate of the diocese to which he belongs. When dealing with a priest belonging to a missionary organization, the authorization of the respective Superior or his delegate must be added. The Colonial Minister can, whenever he deems it necessary, order a new medical examination to be carried out by a person designated by him, which must be by a woman in the case of women.

The approval given by this examination ordered by the Colonial Minister has the same validity as the approval given by public officials who appear before the Board of Health in the Colonies.

§ 2 - As regards a return trip to Metropolitan Portugal or within the colony, reimbursement of the respective expenses shall be requested by the Ordinary to the governor of the colony.

Return trips to Metropolitan Portugal for reason of illness or leave of absence will be authorized, after application by the respective Prelates, according to laws in effect for public officials, except for the sworn verification of illness, in which case the regulations referred to in this article, referring to medical certification, will apply.

Art. 28 - Priests will travel by first class and other missionary personnel by second class. In the colonies, sisters have the right to travel by first class.

Art. 29 - Contracted workers for the missions, indigenous or non-indigenous, have the right to free travel within the colony under the conditions and in the class of public officials of similar category, if this benefit has been written into the contract and has been approved by the governor of the colony.

§ 1 - The approval of the contract by the governor of the colony does not involve any State responsibility aside from that contained in the contents of this article.

Art. 30 - Missionary personnel will be treated free

of charge in State hospitals and in a class corresponding to their category. Sisters will be treated in the first class. Contracted or hired personnel will be treated under the same conditions as civil servants.

Art. 31 - No missionary may exercise any civil function without the express authorization of the respective Prelate, which may be revoked when he deems it expedient.

The missionary cannot continue to exercise the civil function in which he is engaged once the authorities have been notified of the revocation of his authorization.

Art. 32 - In exercising their ministry, church workers are under the protection of the State, under the same terms as public authorities.

Art. 33 - Church workers may not be questioned by magistrates or other authorities on matters pertaining to facts and information known to them through their sacred ministry.

Art. 34 - Clergymen are exempt from jury service, from being members of tribunals or tax commissions or others of a similar nature considered by canon law to be incompatible with the ecclesiastical state.

Art. 35 - Priests of the Catholic religion and individuals who are in missionary orders are considered eligible for auxiliary services, independent of draft boards. They can be drafted only for service of a religious nature and, in time of war, to serve in health units.

Auxiliary personnel of the missions, during the time that they remain in mission service in Portuguese colonies, will remain subject to this same rule.

Art. 36 - The use of clerical or religious garb by secular, ecclesiastical or religious persons who have been expressly forbidden by competent ecclesiastical authorities to use it, and this has been officially com-

municated to State authorities, is punishable by the same penalties as the abuse of a public official's uniform. The abusive exercise of jurisdictional and ecclesiastical services is punished in the same way.

Art. 37 - Missionaries, when suspended by their legitimate Superiors, lose their rights to all benefits from this decree, including that of a pension, except the right to a return trip to Metropolitan Portugal.

V

Art. 38 - The governor can recognize missionary institutes which apply for work in overseas territories when he sees that their resources in Portuguese personnel justify this recognition.

§ 1 - An application for recognition by the Government shall be sent to the Colonial Minister, containing a detailed account of the basis for the request and signed by the respective Superior.

§ 2 - The Colonial Minister may stipulate certain conditions necessary for the recognition of missionary work in determined colonies.

§ 3 - The official announcement recognizing an institute as a missionary one will be published in the *Didrio do Govrno* and in the Official Bulletins of all the colonies. The date of recognition is that of the publication of the announcement in the *Didrio do Govdrno*.

Art. 39 - The Superiors of recognized missionary institutes must communicate their appointment by writing to the Minister of the Colonies within 15 days after it becomes effective.

Art. 40 - Recognized missionary institutes will establish houses of formation and rest houses for their missionary personnel on the continent or adjacent islands.

The houses of formation and rest houses of each recognized institute constitute a single entity.

Art. 41 - Missionary institutes are granted recognition as juridical persons; they will therefore be considered moral persons with juridical title. Missionary institutes will be legally represented in court and otherwise by their superiors.

VI

Art. 42 - The dioceses and missionary districts will have a representative of Portuguese citizenship vis-a'-vis the Government of Metropolitan Portugal, chosen by the respective Prelate, after approval by the Colonial Minister.

When Prelates are in Metropolitan Portugal, they will be the representatives of their dioceses or missionary districts; nevertheless they may continue to be represented by the persons who normally represent them.

Recognized missionary institutes will be represented vis-a'-vis the Government of Metropolitan Portugal by their Superior or a representative of Portuguese nationality, named after approval by the Colonial Minister.

One person may represent more than one diocese, district or missionary institute.

VII

Art. 43 - Missionary institutes will be subsidized according to need by the Government of Metropolitan Portugal.

Art 44 - Distribution of subsidies to missionary institutes who need them will be made in the following manner:

Half of the total amount included in the budget of the Colonial Minister for subsidizing missionary institutes will be equally divided among all the institutes; the other half will be distributed in proportion to the number of students in houses of formation of each institute destined for the missions and the number of missionaries under their care who have returned from the colonies

incapable, because of illness or age, of continuing to serve the missions.

Art. 45 - The Government will give an extraordinary subsidy, independent of the subsidy referred to in the preceding article, to women's missionary institutes which maintain nursing schools for their religious in Metropolitan Portugal.

Art. 46 - In order to receive the benefits mentioned in the preceding articles and other legal benefits, each recognized institute shall, within the first ninety days of each year following the 31st of December, send to the Colonial Minister:

- a) The number and location of its houses of formation.
- b) The number of professors in the houses of formation.
- c) The number and location of its rest homes.
- d) The number of students in each house of formation.
- e) The number and location of nursing schools.
- f) The number of students in nursing schools.
- g) The number of students who during the preceding school year left the course.
- h) The number of students who completed the course

in the preceding school year, designating the number of those who left for the colonies and the number of those who remained, and an indication of their reasons.

i) The number of missionaries on leave, pointing out those who cannot return to the colonies.

§ 1 - The Colonial Minister may ask for any clarification he may deem necessary aside from those indicated in this article.

§ 2 - The admission of foreign professors in houses of formation situated in Portugal, of recognized mis-

sionary institutes or of those which now have missionaries in the overseas territories, depends on the express authorization of the Colonial Minister.

§ 3 - Conditions laid down in this article concern only those in houses of formation and rest homes situated in Portugal and students studying in Portugal and missionaries there on leave.

Art. 47 - Allotments will be made in colonial budgets to subsidize dioceses and missionary districts. These allotments shall be designated by the government of the colony, taking into account the number of missionaries who are working in each diocese or missionary district, and the missionary undertakings already in existence, including seminaries and other undertakings for the indigenous clergy. Prelates will distribute the allotments according to their good judgment.

Art. 48 - The Church may freely take up collections from its members and any other amounts destined for the realization of its purposes, inside and at the door of churches, as well as around the buildings and places belonging to it.

Art. 49 - Subsidies given by the Holy See will be spent as It indicates and the extraordinary subsidies which are given by the State for a designated purpose may not be diverted for a different purpose without the previous and express authorization of the Colonial Minister.

Art. 50 - Prelates are responsible for the direction and administration of subsidies granted, having in view the creation of activities of missionary and national interest.

Art. 51 - The subsidies provided for in Art. 47 shall be made monthly. The governor, however, may authorize an advance on the monthly payments whenever he deems it best and the state of the colonial treasury

permits it. The extraordinary subsidies which the State grants for a specific purpose will be delivered according to necessity, without being subject to the monthly schedule.

Art. 52 - The government continues to grant Catholic missions free land necessary for their development and for new establishments, and to do so gratuitously and with definite boundaries. These concessions, in Angola and Mozambique, cannot exceed an area of 2,000 continuous hectares, and in the other colonies an area of 100 continuous hectares.

Art. 53 - The office of Property Registration shall register the properties belonging to the dioceses, missionary districts or missions free of charge in the ledgers containing property titles whether they be a concession of the State or

from private bequest or donation, or by legal disposition, or also by contracts involving obligations.

Art. 54 - Property freely conceded by the State can never be mortgaged or sold without its express authorization and, when this is granted, the respective papers must comply with the legal formalities.

Art. 55 - In case it is necessary to expropriate for public use any tract of land considered necessary which has been freely granted, only the improvements which may have been made will be compensated for.

Art. 56 - All the goods in the colonies possessed in their own name by the dioceses, missionary districts, Catholic missions or religious institutes on the date this decree is published are considered their own property, and therefore may be registered in the respective Registries, in the case of land. Equally, goods belonging to confraternities, sisterhoods and other religious entities which may have lost their canonical institution, are the property of the dioceses or missionary districts. The goods of deceased missionaries which are not claimed

by heirs within 24 months after the publication of the present decree in the *Diário do Governo* are the property of the missionary institute to which the deceased belonged. If the deceased missionary was a secular priest, these goods shall be the property of the diocese or missionary district in which they are located.

Art. 57 - The Catholic Church is recognized as owner of the goods which belonged to it on 1 October 1910 and are still in the possession of the State, such as churches, episcopal residences, parochial residences with their grounds, seminaries with their enclosed yards, houses of religious institutes, vestments, furnishings, and other objects used in Catholic worship and religion, except those which at this present time are being used in public services or are classified as < national monuments > or as (< property of public interest >>.

Properties intended by the parties involved for the Church may be transferred to the Church by their possessors, independent of the payment of transfer tax and the tax on succession and donations, since they are not a possession of the State and their transfer will be required within 6 months from the date of publication of the present decree in the Official Bulletin of the respective colony.

Property classified as (< national monuments > and (public interest >, or which will become so within 5 years from the date of the publication of the present decree, will remain the property of the State with permanent availability for the service of the Church. The State is responsible for its conservation, repair and restoration, in conformity with the standards set up jointly with ecclesiastical authorities in order to avoid disturbances in religious services; the Church is responsible for a warden and internal schedule, specifically with respect to visiting hours. A functionary named by the State may take part in the management.

Objects designated for worship which are located in any State or local museum will always be loaned for

religious ceremonies at the church to which they belong when it is in the same area where the aforementioned articles are kept.

Lending will be done upon application by competent ecclesiastical authorities who will keep the loaned objects under guard and under the responsibility of a faithful trustee.

Art. 58 - The goods mentioned in the previous article which are being used for public service and have still not been ordered delivered to the Church shall remain the definitive possession and property of the State, even though their use may be terminated in the future, and will be considered, following the publication of this decree, as incorporated into State property.

Art. 59 - Goods which can serve or are destined for parochial residences or grounds may, at any time, be delivered or given to the Church for this purpose.

Art. 60 - Goods recognized as belonging to the Church will be delivered, upon application to the governor of the colony by the respective Prelate, to the entity to whom they belong or, if no longer existing, to the diocese or missionary district where they are found.

§ 1 - In colonies which have a governor, transfer will be effected by the governor of the province, and in other colonies, by the chief administrator of the colony and the deed to it will be drawn up in triplicate or duplicate, as the case may be, so that one copy will remain in the files of the government which has made the transfer, another in the hands of the Prelate, and the third will be sent to the governor general. The deed itself will be duly inventoried, listing goods comprising the transfer.

Art. 61 - If it be in the interest of the State to give notice of the incorporation of all or some of the goods referred to by article 56 into its possession, this incorporation may be carried out in agreement with the
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ecclesiastical authority, with just compensation.

Art. 62 - No church, edifice, annex or object of Catholic worship may be demolished or set aside by the State for another purpose, except under previous agreement with the qualified authority or because of an urgent public necessity such as war, fire or flood.

In the case of expropriation for public use, it will always be with the approval of the respective ecclesiastical authority, even over the amount of compensation. In any case, no act of appropriation will be effected unless the expropriated goods be divested of their sacred character.

Art. 63 - The following are exempt from any taxes or assessments, in Metropolitan Portugal as well as in the colonies:

a) All goods which dioceses, missionary districts, missionary institutes and other ecclesiastical entities and canonical religious institutes possess for the fulfillment of their purposes.

b) All transactions inter vivos of acquisition or sale by entities referred to in the preceding clause, for the fulfillment of their purposes, as well as all dispositions mortis causa of which they are beneficiaries for the same purposes.

Art. 64 - Sacred images and other objects for public worship are exempt from customs duties, fees, taxes or assessments of any type, thus having free entrance into the colonies.

Art. 65 - Material designated for the construction or repair of churches, sacred images and vestments designated for public worship shall be transported free of charge on State railways in the colonies.

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Art. 66 - Education of the indigenes must be

entrusted entirely to missionary personnel and their auxiliary personnel.

The governors and the Prelates of the dioceses and the missionary districts will concur upon the transfer of indigenous education from State services to those of the missions, publishing decrees necessary to establish this transfer.

§ 1 - In locations where missions are not yet established or where they cannot as yet exercise the functions committed to them by this article, indigenous education will continue to be the responsibility of the State, but only until the missions can take charge of it.

Art. 67 - Governors will supervise, by decrees, a series of examinations of the qualifications of natives who have attended mission schools of indigenous education to obtain the respective diplomas and will credit them with the validity which they judge appropriate.

Art. 68 - Indigenous education will conform with the doctrinal orientation established by the Political Constitution; it will for all purposes be considered official and will be regulated by standards and programs adopted by the governors of the colonies.

These standards and programs will have in view the total nationalization and moralization of the natives and the acquisition of customs and work skills in harmony with their sex, conditions and exigencies of the economic regions. Included in moralization are the abandonment of idleness and the preparation of future rural workmen and craftsmen who will produce enough for their necessities and social responsibilities.

Indigenous education will thus be essentially nationalistic and practical, it will prepare the indigene to be able to sustain himself and his family, and will take into account the social and psychological level of the population for which it is designed.

It is the responsibility of the government, through

the educational services of the respective colony, to prescribe the technical knowledge most appropriate in each region to impart to the indigenes.

Art. 69 - The use of the Portuguese language is mandatory in the schools. Outside the schools, missionaries and their auxiliary personnel will also use the Portuguese language.

In religious education, however, the native language may be used freely.

Art. 70 - The preparation of indigenous teaching staff (professors, regents, teachers, monitors and others) will be carried out in missionary colleges or schools designated by the Prelates in agreement with the governors of the

colonies. The personnel of these colleges or schools shall all be of Portuguese citizenship.

Only candidates who can provide guarantees relating to the moral and national objectives of teaching will be admitted to the aforementioned training.

Art. 71 - Governors will come to agreement with the Prelates of the dioceses and missionary districts concerning the use of existing preparatory schools for teachers or their conversion into missionary colleges.

Art. 72 - The personnel of official institutes of indigenous education including the teaching staff of preparatory schools for indigenous teachers, of definitive appointment, whose services the Prelates do not use, will be classified as auxiliaries; they should be placed in vacancies for which they are sufficiently prepared which may occur on various staffs.

Art. 73 - If there are not a sufficient number of professors prepared in the missionary colleges or schools referred to in Art. 70, or European professors who fulfill the conditions necessitated by the discipline of the missions, persons whom the Prelates judge satisfy the minimum indispensable requisites may be temporarily admitted to administer indigenous education.

Art. 74 - It is the responsibility of the Prelates to contract or hire, transfer, suspend or dismiss the personnel of indigenous education, including teaching staff of the preparatory schools for indigenous teachers.

The admission and the transfer of professors of indigenous education, including cases mentioned in the preceding article, must be communicated by the Prelate who is responsible for their appropriate deployment in the colony.

The governor may oppose the dismissal or transfer to a determinate locality of any professor when there are sufficient grounds.

Art. 75 - The functioning of schools, colleges and other educational institutions, founded and directed by the Portuguese Catholic missions, which admit European students or assimilated indigenes (assimilados) are regulated by laws established for the exercise of private education in the colonies except as concerns directive personnel and teaching staff, whose appointment will be freely made by the Prelates. The official boards of public instruction will be notified in due time concerning the composition of directive bodies and teaching staff as well as alterations which may be introduced in them.

Art. 76 - Prelates must do their best to insure that the authorization granted in paragraph 2 of Article 15 of the Missionary Accord be utilized.

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Art. 77 - Within the first ninety days of each year, Prelates of dioceses and missionary districts will send to the governor of the colony where they have spiritual jurisdiction a detailed report of missionary work during the year for which the report is written.

In this report, the personnel employed by each mission will be listed, categorized as to respective classes and sex, the number of foreigners and their nationality. Transfers of personnel during the year shall also

be included, with indications of those who have newly arrived, those who have left because their permit expired, and those who are absent - all classified as to sex.

The institute to which personnel belong will be listed in every instance.

In the report referred to in the present article, all expenses, together with salaries or personal honorariums, will be included, as will a report of the distribution of the State subsidies for the various missions or mission establishments.

Prelates' reports suffice as accounts of the subsidies received from the colony.

Art. 78 - The Superiors of recognized missionary institutes will send to the Ministry of the Colonies, within the first 120 days of each year, detailed reports of missionary activity of missions entrusted to members of its institute.

Superiors' reports suffice as accounts of the subsidies received from Metropolitan Portugal.

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Art. 79 - Missionary groups and institutes are not organs or branches of the State.

Art. 80 - Missionary personnel and their auxiliary personnel are not functionaries of the State; they are not, therefore, subject to disciplinary rules or other regulations or formalities to which such functionaries are subject; they are considered personnel of special national and civilizing service, and enjoy only the advantages which this decree confers upon them while they are exercising their ministry or when, having completed its requirements, they are eligible for pension and, duly authorized, return to Metropolitan Portugal.

Art. 81 - The personnel, European and indigenous, involved in indigenous education, including professors, are not public officials.

Art. 82 - The authorities and public services will lend all aid and support which the development and progress of Catholic missionary action makes necessary in carrying out its mission in accord with its national and civilizing purpose.

This is to be published and its contents complied with. It is to be published in the Official Bulletins of the colonies of Cape Verde, Guinea, Sdo Tom6 and Principe, Angola, Mozambique and Timor. Palaces of the Government of the Republic, 5 April 1941 Ant6nio Oscar de Fragoso Carmona [President of the Republic] Ant6nio de Oliveira Salazar [Prime Minister] Mario Pais de Sousa Adriano Pais da Silva Vaz Serra Jodo Pinto da Costa Leite Manuel Ortins de Bettencourt Duarte Pacheco

Francisco Jos6 Vieira Machado Mario de Figueiredo Rafael da Silva Neves Duque

(IDOC 73/187/005;

translated from the Portuguese)

'Annex 4

Statement of the All Africa Conference of Churches on the Vatican/Portuguese Concordat

Following is the text of a statement adopted by the Executive Committee of the (non-Catholic) All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), representing 50

million African Christians, at its meeting held in Nairobi, Kenya, 25-26 September 1973. An introductory note to the statement mentions the following:

(In calling attention to the bilateral pacts between the Holy See and the Republic of Portugal, the AACC wishes to express its deep concern about the extent to which the Holy See has involved Christianity in a political matter, and is unwilling, for diplomatic reasons, to extricate itself from the repressive policies of Portugal's style of colonialism in Africa.

(<At the same time, the Holy See maintains diplomatic relations with almost every African State. These same States are strenuously opposed to Portugal's intransigent colonialism in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

<(The AACC fully recognizes the difference between the Roman Catholic Church - with whom we are bound in common faith and obedience to Jesus Christ - and the Holy See as a political entity.

(Moreover, we acknowledge the courage of the Burgos Fathers who recently documented the massacres by the Portuguese, at considerable risk to their very lives, and the witness given against oppression and injustice made by the White Fathers who withdrew from Mozambique in 1971...

., We are most anxious over the frightening repercussions that these bilateral pacts between the Holy See and the Republic of Portugal hold for the Roman Catholic Church in Africa and for African Christianity on the whole... D.

From all the various protest statements that IDOC has on file vis-à-vis the Vatican/ Portugal Concordat, we select this one to draw attention to, because it reflects African and Protestant viewpoints:

Statement on the Vatican/Portuguese Concordat

(Live as free men; not however, as though your freedom were there to provide a screen for wrongdoing, but as slaves in God's service (1 Peter 2: 16).

The Executive Committee of the All Africa Conference of Churches aware of the existence of the 1940 Concordat and Missionary Agreement between the Holy See and the

Republic of Portugal;

aware also of the 1941 Missionary Statute between the government of Portugal and the Catholic hierarchy

in that country;

* distressed over the authentication given to the repressive colonial policies of Portugal in Africa, as well as the repressive dictatorship ruling in Metropolitan Portugal, by the 1940 Concordat and Missionary Agreement;

* further distressed by the denigration of African culture

and the depersonalization of the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, deriving from the 1941 Missionary Statute;

* grieved by the constant recurrence of torture, imprisonment without trial, terrorism by the (General Security Administration >), massacres and murder of innocent civilians in the Portuguese colonies;

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* cognizant that these repressive measures have recently been applied against the leaders of Protestant denominations as well as Catholic priests and brothers

who dared to expose these atrocities;

" aware that there are very many of our Catholic

brethren in Africa and around the world who are severely embarrassed by and in fact deplore the contents of the 1940 Concordat and Missionary

Agreement and the 1941 Missionary Statute;

the Executive Committee of the All Africa Conference of Churches

* appeals to His Holiness Pope Paul VI to abrogate the

1940 Concordat and Missionary Agreement between

the Holy See and the Republic of Portugal;

0 further appeals to the Holy See to use its influence

upon Portugal to ensure the abolition of the 1941

Missionary Statute;

0 urges the [Catholic] Symposium of Episcopal

Conferences in Africa and Madagascar (SECAM) to persuade the Vatican of the

urgent necessity to liberate the Catholic Church from the links by which she is

bound to the colonial policies of Portugal in Africa, in order to enable the Church

to exercise her ministry of reconciliation between the African and

Portuguese people;

* further urges SECAM to take a position and lend its

influence to the just struggle of the African peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique for human

dignity, justice and freedom;

@ urges the OAU [Organization of African Unity] to

call upon its member nations to review their diplomatic relations with the Holy

See in the light of its collaboration with Portuguese repression in Africa;

* calls upon member churches and associated councils

to initiate discussion with the Catholic Church in their respective countries aimed

at joint action by all

African Christians to remove the tremendous embarrassment caused to Christianity in Africa by Portugal's claim that her colonial policies are in the interest of ,< Christian civilization ,) and favored by bilateral pacts with the Holy See; instructs the General Secretary of the AACC to transmit this Statement to the Holy See, to SECAM, to all member churches and associated councils of the AACC, the OAU, the United Nations Committee on Decolonization, to the Front

for the Liberation of Mozambique, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile, the Independence Party of GuineaBissau and the Cape Verde Islands, the National Union for Total Independence of Angola, to the Program to Combat Racism, the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, and the General Secretary of the World Council of Churches.
(IDOC 73/320/009)

published by IDOC in 1973 (in French):

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