

always presented as a superior being and the African as an inferior. The colonial 'conquistadores' are shown as saints and heroes. As soon as African children enter elementary schools, they develop an inferiority complex. They learn to fear the white man and to feel ashamed of being Africans. African geography, history and culture are either ignored or distorted, and children are forced to study Portuguese geography and history.

### Puppets and stooges

Africans have no political rights. The old structure of African political life was totally destroyed by Portuguese colonialism. The few remaining chieftdoms<sup>1</sup> are controlled by the colonial authorities, who use the chiefs as puppets. Most of the chiefs are put in 'command' of communities different from those to which they really belong.

In the so-called local government Council 'elected' by the Governor, there are sometimes a few members representing the African people. These men are usually Europeans. The few Africans who accept these positions, or are forced to accept them, are not entitled to intervene in any way on behalf of African interests.

On one occasion a 'coloured' Councillor was expelled from the Council in Angola for having attempted to criticize the Government. One of the very few African doctors in the colonies was invited to take his place. This doctor declined on the grounds that the only thing he knew anything about was medicine. An African priest finally took the post of Councillor after being subjected to intimidation and pressure by the Archbishop of Luanda.

In the Lisbon 'Parliament' one of 120 Deputies elected by the Government is an African. He is the 'Deputy' for San Tomé. The Deputy for Cape Verde, who is of European descent, is the leader of the Fascist political party in the colony and holds his position indefinitely. The 'representatives' for Angola, Mozambique and Guiné are Europeans closely linked to the large colonial concerns. All the 'Deputies' from the colonies enjoy the absolute confidence of the Fascist colonial government. They have nothing in common with the Africans, 99·7 per cent of whom, in any event, are not allowed to vote.

Three Africans are used as political puppets, or as synthetic samples of a non-existent product, by the Portuguese delegation to the United Nations and at other international meetings. These three men, the Negro, James Pinto Bull (Guiné), the 'coloured' Augusto Santos Lima (descendant of Cape Verdians) and the 'coloured' Julio Monteiro (Cape Verde), are considered by their countrymen as traitors. They are administrative functionaries in the well-paid service of Portuguese colonialism.

<sup>1</sup>Chieftdoms – *regulados* in Guiné and *sobados* in Angola and Mozambique.

All demonstrations and organizations are forbidden unless rigorously controlled by the colonial authorities. Even football clubs are exclusive. With the exception of one useless newspaper in Mozambique – the Government-controlled *Brado Africano* – no African press is permitted.



### What the Africans want

We, the Africans of the Portuguese colonies, are fighting Portuguese colonialism to defend the rights of our peoples, to defend the true interests of people everywhere.

The Africans want Portugal to respect and rigidly adhere to the obligations set out in the UN Charter. We demand that Portugal should follow the example of Britain, France and Belgium in recognizing the right of the peoples she dominates to self-determination and independence.

The African anticolonialist organizations of the Portuguese colonies representing the legitimate aspirations of their people want to re-establish the human dignity of Africans, their freedom, and the right to determine their own future. These organizations want the people to enjoy real social development based on fruitful work and economic progress, on African unity and fraternity, on friendship and equality with all peoples, including the Portuguese people. They want peace in the service of humanity.

The African organizations fighting Portuguese colonialism believe in the use of peaceful means for achieving independence. However, we have no illusions, and since Portugal intends to use violence to defend her interests, we will be ready to answer with violence. Our organizations are vigilant. They follow closely all the diplomatic manoeuvres of Portugal. They believe that no democratic government will prejudice its own good name by continuing to ally itself with Portuguese colonialism – doomed like all other colonial regimes. They believe that the material and human wealth of their countries are part of the patrimony of humanity and should be made to serve the progress and happiness of their own people and of peoples in all countries.

The Africans of the Portuguese colonies will destroy Portuguese colonialism. It may be the last colonial regime to go, just as it is the last in terms of technical and economic development, and the last to respect the Rights of Man. But its days are surely numbered.