Social work and anti-capitalist struggles in Angola in the 1960s-1980s: A critical introduction

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ABSTRACT

Through a critical introduction, this article aims to analyze the relationship that developed between Social Work and the anti-capitalist struggles that took place in Angola between 1960-1980, with the aim of apprehending the determinations that built the profession of that time. The historical-dialectical materialist basis led the debate, through bibliographic and documentary research, through which it is perceived that the anti-capitalist struggles, in that period, were a constitutive part of a dependent capitalism already installed in Angola, by the Portuguese colonial route, and that this social formation engendered in Social Work a profession at the service of the mechanisms of super-exploitation of the labor force, as well as for the formation of an Angola with the dictates of Western civilization. Faced with such a reality and taking into account the theoretical-methodological mediations that moved the Angolan revolutionaries, the struggles developed abolished not only the colonial regime, but also the profession, in 1977, in the way that it was only considered an "expression of colonialism".

Keywords: Social Work, Anticapitalist Struggles, Angola.

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INTRODUCTION

The "critical introduction" to the theme presented leads this debate, perceiving, in advance, the scarce production of knowledge about "anti-capitalism" and its relationship with Social Work in Angola. Therefore, it is hoped that this debate will introduce these categories in their necessary relationship, in order to get closer to the Angolan reality, in a social formation of dependent capitalism.

The "critical" position assumed in the introduction, through the historical-critical and dialectical perspective, allows us to apprehend the material determinations that permeated the anti-capitalist struggles in Angola, whose dynamics give possibilities to understand the movement of Social Work in this history, thus avoiding falling into the overconsideration of the "history of Social Work" as if it were self-explanatory.

How did the anti-capitalist struggles in Angola manifest themselves between 1960-1980? What was the raison d'être of Social Work in that period? Why was Social Work abolished in 1977? These are the fundamental questions that guided the debate, without the intention of exhausting it, but rather of critically introducing the subject, since much research must be undertaken to better explore the debate.

In methodological terms, bibliographic and documentary research was based on understanding the main categories of the debate, as well as understanding the auxiliary categories without which it would not be possible to perceive the structures, processes and social relations through which the anti-capitalist struggles developed, attuning them to the being of Social Work: the formation of dependent capitalism. With this, it can be said that to situate the profession between 1960 and 1980 is to qualify it as an expression of Portuguese colonialism in Angola, but it is not sufficient without understanding the material basis on which the colonization process was constituted, especially since the anti-capitalist struggles that took place at that stage indicated that the resistances were not only against Portuguese colonialism, but against the capitalist social regime that was guided by Western imperialism.

Therefore, the debate is fundamentally structured in three parts, the first of which addresses "dependent capitalism as the historical-material basis of the Angolan revolution"; in the second it is about the "rebuttals of the expressions of the anti-capitalist struggles between affirmation and denial of Social Work in Angola" and, as a form of provisional conclusion, in the third part a provocative question is brought to the debate in the form of "hypotheses about the mistakes of the abolitionist reason of Social Work in 1975-1977".

DEPENDENT CAPITALISM: THE HISTORICAL-MATERIAL BASIS OF THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTION

The debate begins with the category "dependent capitalism", because the material basis of anti-capitalist struggles is the capitalist formation in its particular manifestation in human geography, where it is installed, in addition to the same category presenting itself as the ground, the historical-social foundation of the emergence of Social Work in Angola.

What was the character of the Angolan revolution in the period between 1960-1980? This problem demands complex and controversial answers. It is certain that there was resistance in this space, as well as, in the face of Portuguese colonialism, the certainty of the anti-colonial resistances developed in this period prevails. But are anti-colonial resistances self-explanatory as mere expressions of the antithesis of colonialism?

From the "Treaty of Tordesillas" to the emergence of the Cold War, the continents that make up the terrestrial globe have been establishing relations never seen in the history of humanity, which is therefore globalization, which has as its material basis modern capital, expansionist in essence, which through primitive accumulation will trace the complexes of national and international ordering, incorporating in them, a logic of domination and subordination among modern States (Mészáros, 2002).

It was then reflected that in order to grasp the determinations that explain the revolutionary character, which was dynamic in the period referred to, it is necessary to consult the historical-material and dialectical meaning of the category "revolution". This category, in its material dimension, in Angola in the years between 1960-1980, in its relationship with the categories "dependent capitalism" and "anti-capitalist struggles" will make us understand the reasons why Social Work was institutionalized in 1962 and extinguished in 1975-1977, deprived of use value and therefore canceled for 27 years.

For Marx, revolution can be political and social revolution. The first, as significant as it may be, is characterized by the alteration of the form of the State, in the form of class domination, without extinguishing the deepest mechanisms of domination and exploitation of the subalternized class, that is, leaving untouched the material foundations that revolve around private property. The second, on the other hand, destroys those foundations and replaces them with others, thus eliminating their political complements, such as the elimination of the State itself (Cotrim, 2007).

It is by perceiving the social formation, which explains the colonial process in Angola, that one understands the form of revolutionary struggle/resistance that took place. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, due to the crises of slave-like social relations induced by capitalist expansion (this is expressed by the various pressures to put an end to slavery and the slave trade that empires, such as England, will carry out), Portugal took Angola for

itself as an overseas province. Therefore, a colony, in the condition of being a geographical-material space aimed at capitalist exploitation.

Dependent capitalism is the hegemonic social formation, which explains Angolan society by the contemporary material determinations of a country as a political, economic and sociocultural periphery conceived, designed, built and controlled by capitalist centers (Mateus; Pimentel, 2024).

Since the end of the nineteenth century and the entire first half of the twentieth century, Portugal has enabled the installation of capitalist structures, dynamics, and relations in Angola, in a process already defined within the parameters of dependent capitalism (KATZ, 2020; SANTOS, 2023): Portugal, as a way of enriching itself, becomes an intermediary of capitalist empires to exploit raw materials and goods in Angola. Here the commodity is already the synthesis of many determinations of super-exploitation of the labor force of some Angolans, who are becoming free workers, and of others, who are still dominated by the remnants of forms of compulsory labor, as Chasin explains,

> [...] Society may be more or less developed from the capitalist point of view, more or less purged of pre-capitalist elements, more or less modified by the particular historical process of each country. Thus, there are ways and stages of being, in being and in being capitalism, which do not deny anatomy, but which realize it through specific concretions (Chasin, 1999).

It should be noted that in 1910, the foundation of the republic in Portugal laid the foundations that gave a new path to Angola's participation in the international market. "In 1912, a new governor, Norton de Matos, was dispatched to Angola, who put into practice measures of capitalist exploitation (Dilolwa, 2000, p. 31)". Very many determinations contributed to this ideology, which it is not appropriate to explain here. Only some guidelines were summarized:

a) To continue with the infrastructure works begun, i.e. with the construction of the railways;
b) Launch a road construction program;
c) To make the <<indigenous tax>> instituted in 1906 really mandatory;
d) To give dynamism to the work, begun in the second half of the nineteenth century, of making Angola a colony of intensive white settlement;
e) End barter to force monetary circulation
f) Through economic and administrative measures, liquidate the African petty bourgeoisie, in which the civil servants abounded;
g) Intensify military operations, because the first war was especially approaching, and so that capitalist exploitation would actually be possible (Dilolwa, 2000, p. 31-32).

Based on the production of Chasin (1999) on capitalist installation routes, capitalism in Angola was installed by the Portuguese colonial route. Colonization here should be understood as a

process of westernizing – capitalism is a European civilizing dynamic Ianni (2001) – the way of being of the Angolan social being. Colonization, in this context, is a set of mediations that should enable the installation of capitalist structures, placing Angola in a position that touches on possibilities of connection with international monopolies. One of the great expressions of this connection, in 1912, is the foundation of the Companhia de Pesquisas Mineiras de Angola (PEMA) for the exploration of diamonds in Lunda. It was the first mining company founded in Angola, which reveals the interest of international monopolies in seizing the diamond riches of the Kasai basin (Dilolwa, 2000, p. 33).

Portugal, already in the republican era, must create conditions that respond to the economic, social and political context of the early twentieth century, and that at this stage, Angola is a constitutive part of that political-administrative space, suffering any change caused by Portugal. This is the case of the financial crisis of 1926 in the republic, which forced the promulgation of Decree No. 2,124, which aimed at monetary reform in Angola, creating the Angolan currency board and providing for the constitution of an independent bank (Dilolwa, 2000). These are the capitalist institutions that were being created by the colonial route, at a stage in which the foundations of wage labor were being established: the foundation of capitalism, in its dependent form, based on the super-exploitation of labor power.

It is in the face of the installation of colonial capitalist barbarism, as a new form of barbarism in relation to that which was based on the slave trade, in the era of triangular trade, that the Angolans of 1960 were revolted, although "colonial mobilization and repression had already begun in the 1920s, with the creation of cultural centers, such as the African National League and the African Guild (Visentini, 2012, p.49)".

All the revolts created by Angolans in the 1960s were the basis for the political revolution, the one that created a rupture against Portuguese domination, through which national independence was achieved in 1975.

The context of the 1960s in Angola is strongly intertwined with the dynamics of the cold war between the world powers of the time and the independence movement, which was taking place in Africa (Visentini, 2012). "Seek first the political kingdom, and all the rest will be given to you as a supplement. When he uttered these words, Kwame Nkrumah was persuaded that political independence was the key to all projected improvements to the African condition (UNESCO, 2010, p. 149)."

The primacy of political independence defended by Nkrumah (one of the main influencers of the African revolutions of the 1950s and 1960s) was centered on the determinations that the Soviet socialist movement (re)produced in the processes of national liberation, and which, it would not be

otherwise, in a phase in which the cold war was at its peak between powers of antagonistic blocs, Many African movements defeated the colonizers under the banner of socialism.

The revolutionary subjects were represented by founding Angolan party formations, such as the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA). These, due to the imperatives of the relations established with the Cold War powers, will enter the dialectical and, therefore, contradictory game of putting an end to Portuguese colonization. Because it is a political revolution in which only the form of the State changes, the limitations of this revolution will have to imply resigning itself to the new form of colonization, "neocolonization", by Angolan political sovereignty, which gives continuity to the dependent capitalist formation, because its structures and dynamics had already been installed. Dependent capitalism was formed by the Portuguese colonial path, whose consolidation will be carried out by the neocolonial path, a path (un)consciously assumed by the provisions of the Angolan political emancipation from the first republic.

Between 1960 and 1977, Angola registered a series of resistances against both the Portuguese and imperialism, both processes marked, above all, by the way in which the main revolutionaries built political consciousness based on democratic values, which at the time was in the process of universalization. This is the case of the installation of the minimum provisions of labor rights that the Portuguese settler put into effect to respond to the demands of Angolans who were newly free workers, especially from 1955 onwards (Dilolwa, 2000; Monteiro, 2016), as a way of continuing the colonization process. It is in this space of revolutionary resistance that the anti-capitalist struggles, their contradictions and Social Work, as a profession established in 1962 by the Portuguese to maintain the order of those things, are situated.

In the space that follows, we will see the various expressions of the anti-capitalist struggles, and the Social Work movement in the context marked by its affirmation, which will not last for two full decades. It will also witness its antithesis by the ideological contradictions produced by the new State, which officializes socialism as a project for Angolan society.

REPERCUSSIONS OF THE EXPRESSIONS OF ANTI-CAPITALIST STRUGGLES IN SOCIAL WORK IN ANGOLA

José Paulo Netto (1996) brings the thesis with which he agrees, explaining Social Work as a form of salaried work, required in the conflicts between capital and labor, in the era of the monopolies of capitalism, located between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century.

Even if it is not linear, with the clues of Amor Monteiro (2020), the hypothesis is raised that the profession in Angola emerges in the era of capitalism of a dependent nature, contributing directly to the devices of expropriation of surplus labor/absolute surplus value (by super-exploitation) – even if this is manifested by the realization of the social rights of Angolan workers – and indirectly, to the mechanisms of production of relative surplus value and/or constant capital to contribute to the accumulation of wealth in the capitalist centers of Western Europe and the USA.

This profession was born at a time in Angola (1962), when anti-capitalist struggles were intense. There is no coincidence here! There is a teleology that deserves to be unveiled.

The anti-capitalist struggles in this short debate constitute an analytical category, an ideal reproduction of the real movement of universalized resistances in capitalist civilization. With this category, it is intended to apprehend the situation of Social Work among the manifestations of barbarism produced by capitalist relations mediated by the Portuguese colonial state, in Angola, and the various forms of resistance against such order.

Anti-capitalist struggles are a controversial and polysemic category, often seen as self-explanatory, little explored, but due to the dedication of some researchers, such as Adamovsky (2004); MTD (2009); López et al (org.) (2019), and according to Melatti (2022), Wood (2011); Löwy and Robert (2015); Wright (2019) realizes how delicate she is, seeming to have lacked the care to stand up and assume her controversies. The debate here, for the sake of brevity, will be based mainly on the perspective of Adamovsky (2004), to raise hypotheses that will be deepened on other occasions due to the complexity of the subject.

According to Adamovsky (2004), anti-capitalism is a constitutive part of capitalism. A certain form of anti-capitalism corresponds to the capitalism that prevails it. Since capitalism is a mode of production, which gives a certain form to the productive forces and to the social relations of production, therefore, because it is a civilizing mode different from other civilizations that have occurred in the history of humanity, a history impregnated by the class struggle, certain social subjects located in the position of the dominated class carry out forms of resistance against this civilizing mode of the material conditions of world social life that also depends on their particularities and contexts.

The way in which capitalism manifests itself in the phase of the industrial revolution, which demarcates a mode of organization of work that is peculiar to it, also characterizes possibilities of resistance, as an expression of the organization of work under various forms of alienation and demands various processes of emancipation.

It is against the bourgeois society of the nineteenth century that Adamovsky (2004) explains that the first forms of revolts manifested themselves, resistances expressed, mainly, by utopian socialism of which anarchism is a part. At that moment (nineteenth century), the proletariat (no

longer anarchist) was being formed to the point of elaborating the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" – an official declaration of a social vision of the world radically different from bourgeois society, whose scientific socialism (the expression of the birth of Marxism) would be the most forceful project of society for the leadership of the proletariat – the revolutionary subject of the time – which with the First and Second Internationals would lead to what is called "the first anti-capitalist revolution", the Russian Revolution of 1917 (Adamovsky (2004).

Since the struggles are complex and polemical, this condition or character of being is rigorously revealed after the failure of the Russian Revolution. Adamovsky (2004) explains that, after 1917, various ways of confronting capitalist barbarism derive from Leninism, a capitalism that in the era of monopolies is expanding all over the globe, destroying modes of production that the world system installed. From this process linked to the process of colonization, national liberation movements were born. In this case, nationalism in countries classified as third world, according to the author, manifested itself in the twentieth century, as a form of anti-capitalist struggle. It is an anti-imperialist nationalism.

And it is in this nationalism that the Chinese, Vietnam and many other revolutions in Asia are situated; Cuban, Mexican, Bolivian and other revolutions in Latin America; in Africa the Algerian, Mozambican, Angolan and other revolutions are located (Visentini, 2012). These revolutions were nationalist and to some extent anti-imperialist.

The economic, political, social, cultural, and technological crises of the twentieth century will give rise to what Adamovsky (2004) calls a "new anti-capitalism", which is understood to reveal processes of rupture and continuity of opposing the capitalist order/civilization. The "new anti-capitalism" manifests itself in the different forms of anti-capitalist struggles, although some old forms give an expressive sequence. The old forms that coexist with the new ones are: socialism/communism; anti-imperialist nationalism and the social doctrine of the Church (Catholic, for its abstract Christian humanism).

Based on that author and MTD[3] (2009), the new forms of anti-capitalism reveal themselves to be stony in the Popular Organization, mediated by Social Movements.

In all fields of society the struggle against domination appears, its main form being the class struggle. A social movement gives the body to this struggle against domination, which, because it is very broad, makes social movements have the most different banners of struggle. As capitalism has several negative effects on our lives, many social movements exist as a form of resistance to these effects (MTD, 2009, p. 65).

Dealing with the same social issue, with its new expressions in neoliberalism, the struggle for immediate needs is exerting a redirection to forms of resistance against capitalist civilization that are

[3] Unemployed Workers Movement

much more aggressive in terms of regressing the legacy of labor rights (Iamamoto, 2015). Anti-capitalist struggles stem from the dynamics of social movements expressed in: trade unions, the unemployed movement, professional associations, anti-racist movements, feminism, LGBTQ+, the landless movement, the defense of indigenous groups, ecologists/environmentalists, among others. Although it is questionable, such reflection is considered indispensable, not to end the analysis with the definitive conclusions, but to raise hypotheses that will give direction to urgent and rigorous research on thinking about it, in the world and in Angola, in particular.

Therefore, based on Adamovsky (2004), one lands in Angola by the questions, whose answers will constitute the demand for evaluations and reflections, hypotheses that are part of the ongoing research process[4]:

a) What expressions of anti-capitalist struggles developed between 1960-1980?

b) Have there been/are there anti-capitalist struggles in Angola?

c) what was the movement of Social Work between 1960-1980 in relation to the existence or not of anti-capitalist struggles?

The basic hypothesis is that there were anti-capitalist struggles in Angola in the decade between 1960-1980 that were expressed by African nationalism (Pan-Africanism), national liberation movements, anti-racist, anti-colonial, anti-imperialist struggles, socialism and trade union struggles.

After some social movements of anti-colonial resistance had been constituted into political parties in the 1950s, in 1960 the armed struggle aimed at confronting the Portuguese colonial regime began, and therefore, in addition to the external economic and political determinations, the internal ones made Social Work imprint its existence in the 1960s, precisely for the Portuguese colonial state to confront the Angolan revolutionary workers, who demanded, fundamentally, national liberation.

The institutionalization of Social Work in this context occurred in 1962, as a result of a "marriage" between the "father and provider" – the Portuguese colonial state – and the "mother and teacher" – the Catholic Church (Monteiro, 2016). Due to the need to synthesize the relationship that develops between the anti-capitalist struggles and the Social Work movement, the determinations that drive the aforementioned Church to be part of the history of the profession were left aside, seeking to centralize what led the Portuguese colonial State to requisition the profession.

In 1962, the affirmation of the profession in the face of anti-capitalist struggles was inaugurated, a decade in which the form of salaried work was also established in Angolan territory by the Portuguese Overseas Policy in Angola. Such a policy was expressed by the social programs that, according to Mendes apud Monteiro (2016), carried out the mechanisms to increase the productivity of the workforce. There we found a) Mechanisms to increase the productivity of rural labor: length of

[4] This debate is part of the doctoral research that is currently taking place on anti-capitalist struggles in Angola.

the working day, housing, food, vacation, clothing, medical care, social action, social security; b) Mechanisms to increase the productivity of "specialized labor**":** definition of wages, qualification or professional training, social security, social action at work.

It is precisely in the institution of these social rights that the Portuguese State introduces Social Work for its implementation (in the sectors where the profession fits), but always with the classic purpose of controlling the workforce, dismantling in the workers their political capacity to confront barbarism.

In Angola, it was a matter of using these policies to dismantle the dimension that networks of resistance were building, making alliances with other African and European revolutionaries. The profession, in the midst of contradiction with its Christian moralizing bias, and with positivist-functionalist roots (Monteiro, 2020) was at the service of both the Church and, above all, the Portuguese State, in the most varied ways of disarming or blocking the anti-capitalist struggles, which were growing between 1960-1974.

Angolans ended up resisting and overcoming colonialist strategies, although not in a radical way (in the case of putting an end to capitalist civilization, which was already developed). Socialism in Angola was under the main influence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Cuba, ideological sources that moved the country's revolutionaries at the time (MPLA-PT, 1985), especially those who won national independence in 1975 (the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

Without the intervention of the Soviet Union and its allies in the struggles of southern Africa, the liberation of this region would probably be greatly delayed. This is the case of the Cuban intervention in the struggle in defense of Angola's sovereignty, as being the greatest external support ever provided in an African liberation war (Unesco, 2010, p. 149).

One of the marks left by socialism in Independent Angola is the First Republic, which configures an ideology represented in the National Flag, whose symbols praise the productive forces and revolutionary subjects such as peasants, workers, army, intellectuals and youth (the five subjects that make up the communist star), capable of erecting conditions to confront imperialism with its capitalist expressions.

In 1975, Angola presents its first project for society, as the first modern state.

The People's Republic of Angola is a sovereign, independent and democratic State, whose first objective is the total liberation of the Angolan people from the vestiges of colonialism and the domination and aggression of imperialism and the construction of a prosperous and democratic country, completely free from any form of exploitation of man by man, materializing the aspirations of the popular masses (ANGOLA, 1975, p. 4).

It is on this basis that the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the party that gives direction to the Angolan nation, becomes MPLA-PT (MPLA- Labour Party) in 1977. Once

socialism was made official, as a project of economic, political and social organization of Angola, a state socialism, many remnants, expressions of the colonial tradition, including some[5] categories of capitalist formation were abolished. Social Work, as a child of the Portuguese colonial State and its mother the Catholic Church, as it is an ontologically profession of class struggle – in the capitalist era of monopolies, in dependent capitalism in birth – one of the instruments that guaranteed viability for the super-exploitation of the labor force by the mechanisms of increasing the productivity of the labor force of Angolans, it witnessed its antithesis in the emergence of the First Angolan Republic.

With the abolition of the profession, most professionals were in the same situation as the Portuguese who collapsed (with their flight) the administrative system of Angola – civil servants of the middle and upper echelons such as doctors, teachers, nurses, engineers – had to go to Portugal (Vidal, 2011). Santo (2023, p. 201) points out that "after the 25th of April 1974, about 90% of Social Work professionals, exercising their functions in Angola, left the country".

Due to the imperative of the real productive forces, which did not respond to the needs of officialized socialism, many crises occurred since the very foundation of the Republic, that until 1990, the government was forced to carry out economic reforms (discarding the socialist vision of the economy and assuming the market economy) and political reforms (replacing the one-party regime with the democratic regime. It was in 1990 that neoliberalism began to penetrate with the false promise of ending the crises arising throughout the First Republic (which were not mild crises!).

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS: HYPOTHESES ABOUT THE MISCONCEPTIONS OF THE ABOLITIONIST REASON OF SOCIAL WORK IN 1975-1977

We agree with José Paulo Netto's thesis on Social Work, which emerges in the era of monopoly capitalism. And the relationship of this profession with the capitalist mode of production is so intrinsic that, just as capitalism was installed in Angola by colonial means, Social Work was installed by the same route.

And, as such, the profession had, metaphorically, an unfortunate fate in the First Republic, since it did not have adequate parents, considering that the greatest expression of anti-capitalist struggle, which led one of the most organized groups of the 1960s – moved by socialism – had in its morphology both the antithesis of that Portuguese colonial state and the antithesis of the Catholic Church (a genuine antithesis of socialism that did not escape the position, according to which "religion is the opium of the people"), and therefore, the Government of Agostinho Neto (first

[5] We carefully speak of the abolition of "some" categories of capitalism, because the system of capital which is the soul of capitalism has not been destroyed.

president of Angola) was not prepared enough to tolerate this son who was innocent at all (his class character).

The critical issues that should be raised are:

a) did the government of the First Republic have objective and subjective material conditions to destroy the capitalist structures already installed by the Portuguese colonizers, of which Social Work has always constituted a classist profession?

b) was the newly independent State (in the modern sense of the term State) immune to the social question and its expressions?

c) before the abolition of the profession, for all that justified its abolition, the government of the First Republic of Angola was facing a societal project that would effect the democratization of the productive forces and social relations of production of that historical phase?

d) What was Social Work for the Government of the First Republic?

These questions lead to the certainty that there is an urgent need to explore the Angolan reality, mainly from a historical-critical perspective, to unveil the material and dialectical determinations that made Angola what it is today. This requires undertaking more research in this direction, especially to understand why Social Work has the face that is revealed today in Angola.

The hypotheses move in the sense that the first project of society in the modern Angolan State was conceived in the midst of the expressions of anti-capitalist struggles, whose mediations lacked determinations proper to criticism, which would account for the spirit of capital, as a power not only economic, but also social. Capital here was already established as an uncontrollable system of social metabolism (Mészáros, 2002). And when capital is mentioned, reference is made to modern capital in Angola, an expression of universalized capital, which was already manifested in the ways in which the political, economic and social dimensions maintained Angolans as social beings of capitalist relations, even though the State claimed to be socialist.

The research carried out on the First Republic of Angola, such as the case of the work "Angola: from Afro-Stalinism to Savage Capitalism" by Tony Hodges (2002), demonstrates that the republic was built on the crises that would not have been avoided given the way in which the decolonization process took place, and that due to the structure of a modern State, it would not be possible to escape the dynamics of the social question, because capitalist structures were present in the relations between Angolan social subjects in already independent Angola.

The struggles developed between 1960-1974 did not create objective and subjective conditions capable of leading the revolutionary subjects of the time to recognize the dialectic of the work of social workers, that is, Social Work was seen as a profession that had only a commitment to the dominant class, a profession that had nothing to do with the political emancipation of Angolans.

It is considered that, even if the profession was guided by conservatism and its conservative character imprinted professional practices in the light of its image and likeness, it would never erase its class character, its possibility of developing emancipatory practices, and with it, its contribution to popular organization to develop anti-capitalist struggles in those two decades (1960s and 1970s).

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