
Betty J. Shaw
University of Massachusetts Amherst

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CONTINUITY VS. CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA:

The Reality of Legal Reform and Social Change in Portuguese Speaking Africa, (1950-Early 1960's)

A Thesis Presented

By

Betty J. Shaw

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Approved as to style and content by:

Professor Michael D. Ford, Chairperson of Committee

Professor Dovi Afesi, Member

Professor Lewis Mainzer, Department Head, Political Science
DEDICATION

My parents, Percy and Lula Perry have been a constant inspiration for me to finish this thesis.

With love and lifelong commitment, I dedicate this work to YOU

... and to my grandfather, Walter Mack Thomas. Although Papa is no longer physically with us, his strength and spiritual presence will forever remain alive.

To you, Papa ... with love
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INTRODUCTION

Independence has come to a portion of Africa which had been under Portuguese colonial influence for over five hundred years. Portugal waged an intense battle over African territory which it eventually was forced to give up completely in 1975. The African territory served to inflate the grand illusion that Portugal could maintain a far-flung kingdom, geographically scattered over the globe but held together by an amorphous sentimental sense of mental unity.

Portugal stepped up its intense battle of aggression against the African colonies to maintain its hold over the territory. However, the focus of this thesis is not an analysis of the explosion which eventually caused the severing of the Portuguese empire in Africa. I am particularly concerned with means that Portugal used to show the world that it was making strides to lessen the iron hold that it had over the colonies. These changes, however, came when Portugal was under fire from: international organizations which asked for reports on its dependent countries; when local groups began to step up action for a severing of the umbilical cord which bound them to the oppressive regime; and when the written criticisms began to circulate in Africa and abroad regarding the status of Portugal's African territory.

It is the thesis of this paper that the subtle reforms in Portugal's African policy enhanced the metropole's dominant position over the overseas territories. An analysis of the changes in Portugal's African
policy demand a study of the constitutional and administrative policies which were introduced and enforced in the colonies.

Numerous legislative decrees became the direct determinants of the kind of social changes imposed. They determined all facets of African life. The legislation defined the legal position of the local African as that of an indigenous foreigner without citizenship rights in his own land. These decrees determined the political and administrative institutions as an extension of policies which the metropole envisaged as applicable for the colonies. Finally, they created a viable economic structure for the metropole through forced African labor.

The object of this study is thus an analysis of the legislative reforms and an examination of whether the identifiable changes served to reform the institutions in Portuguese speaking Africa in such a way that the essence of Portugal's African policy remained the same. In essence, the changes hardly served to lessen Portugal's African policy when the colonial infrastructure remained basically intact. The legislative decrees, thus legitimized Portugal's African policy in the hope of lessening outside criticism about the dependent colonies. The explicated laws showed that Portugal could update its policies on such a footing so as to keep up with changes happening in the rest of the world. Portugal embarked on a course which equalled a phase closely resembling modernized colonial repression.

Portugal implemented intense legislation to legally define its exploitation of Africa during the 1930's. The Estado Novo doctrine of Portugal's authoritarian ruler, Dr. Antonio Salazar demonstrated the
shrewd tenacity that Salazar used to outline Portugal's right to the overseas territory. It should not be assumed then, that the vigorous exploitation of Africa was not felt before 1930. Portugal has been in Africa since the 1440's. It actively exploited Africa's natural and human resources either through outright force and/or through very subtle acts of trickery. Neither should it be assumed that the exploitation of Africa was unique only to Portugal. Other European countries were just as ambitious and waged vigorous campaigns to drain Africa of its mineral and human wealth. I am convinced, though, that the colonial regime of the Portuguese was indeed unique.

The colonial mystique of the early twentieth century was one which purported to legally justify Portugal's presence in Africa through a string of legislative decrees. To further show the connecting bond of the Portuguese empire, the African territory was essentially transformed into Portugal's domain while they were still separate entities, geographically. The mental integration of Africa with Portugal was an integral part of the political manipulations of Salazar.

The endemic decay of humane treatment toward Africans and the mineral exploitation of the African country were concrete evidence for an upsurge in opposition tactics against the ruling regime. The laborious conditions associated with the economic sustainment of the metropole and the entrenched stagnation in the colonies were tantamount to the dissatisfaction that the indigenous population projected through resistance movements.

The spiritual sentiment which combined the colonies with the metropole was only the beginning of a long list of judiciously binding
acts to suppress any detachment of the two countries. Although Portugal had been in Africa for centuries, the occasion had not presented itself whereby it had to justify the parameters of its dominion over its African territory since the carving and portioning of Africa by the Berlin Conference in 1884-85. Thus, the 1930's was an era for the appearance of many cosmetic changes in colonial policy for Africa.

A major portion of the events leading to the opposition movement against Portugal's African policy grew out of the stringent legislative and administrative policies imposed upon the populace. The legislation was the backbone for the modernization phase of colonial oppression. The sophisticated tactics, legitimized through the judicial system, were Portugal's idea of changing with the world which it indeed was amidst.

Portugal's African policy was not limited to judicial schemes alone. There were important political forces which played a major role in shaping and enforcing policies of continuity in Portuguese speaking Africa. Salazar had effective support from the Church, the military, business entrepreneurs and the famed gestapo-styled, Policia Internacional de Defesa de Estado (PIDE), or secret police. It is not my purpose to delve into a discussion of the political forces of continuity in Portuguese society. Instead I have chosen to explore the constitutional policies as a medium for continuity in Portugal's African policy.

It is useful to examine the forms of protest that emanated from the colonies in order to understand the relationship of Portuguese dictatorial policies as they affected the lives of Africans who had to endure the hardships.
A great deal of the aid which financed opposition schemes against Portuguese rules were from foreign sources. The focus of this paper, however, will be the African element in the opposition movement. And, although protest against colonial rule was carried using many forms, I am concerned with the role that intellectuals played in the opposition movement, particularly through their protest writings.

It will be the second purpose of this paper to examine the indigenous element of discontinuity in Portuguese speaking Africa as it manifested itself through the protest writings. The indigenous element will be presented in light of the legalistic and administrative practices which subjected them to the whims of the colonial power.

The Composition of the Indigenous Element

The most dissatisfied and ostracized element in Portuguese speaking Africa included: the opposition parties, part of the intelligentsia and the students, the rural manual field laborer and the urban laborer. Each group responded to the regime's policies in the manner most feasible to them because of their colonial situation.

Although each group has been identified on the basis of occupation, there are many elements which they share. Each group was part of the opposition movement which rejected the political forces of the Estado Novo. The opposition movement consisted of the organizational strength of the combined forces. In theory, members of each group organized around a single ideological format, namely that of severing Portuguese control in the colonies.

A synthesis of the various groups can be encompassed under a single rubric. The ostracized elements in colonial Portuguese Africa
represent the indigenous opposition element. An indigenous people has been defined as "the original inhabitants of the land at the time of its conquest or settlement by Europeans."²

The introduction of foreign countries and the impact that this contact brought about caused a fusion of aboriginal people with foreign cultures. The internal fusion thus gave way to external upheavals which emerged in the form of dominant-subordinate relationships. The relationship between conqueror and conquered, respectively, became the distinguishing feature which separated the native from the Portuguese.

The Indigenous Element of Discontinuity

The opposition movement in Portuguese speaking Africa was an indigenous movement.³ It must be remembered that indigenous encompasses a varied approach to national liberation in Portuguese speaking Africa. The major political party, the MPLA, cannot be considered a worker's organization, even though working class support was fundamental to its development militarily and politically.

The indigenous movement was, therefore, an alliance of nationalist oriented groups trying to sever ties with Portugal. Elements from the entire spectrum of African society participated in the movement.

The intelligentsia was a valuable source of support in the opposition movement. Even though grandiose schemes were created to include privileged Africans under "assimilado" status in which superficial amenities were granted, only more havoc was reeked in African society. The contradictions inherent in the assimilation policy caused further division by adding a third group along side the indígena and não indígena⁴ groups in
Portuguese Africa. The assimilated African, thus, became yet another stratified group to contend with colonial policy. Parts of this group were active forces in the opposition movement.

It may seem disjointed to switch from the constitutional changes which Portugal implemented as a medium for change in the colonies, in the same light with opposition movements emanating in the colonies. Yet it is fitting to associate the reforms that Portugal instituted for the colonies with the rise in protest writings. When one considers the era in which the constitutional reforms were started, protest as it appeared in written form, would be appropriate. Modern means of protest in Portuguese speaking Africa were limited to journalism, associations and government during the initial stages of modern protest, particularly in Angola.\(^5\)

Therefore, the journalistic efforts of the African intelligentsia appeared as modern protest against the modern colonial repression which characterized Portugal's African policy, particularly after collapse of the Republic in 1926.

The reader will find that the author will present many historical facts throughout the presentation. It is the belief of this author that a solid historical foundation is imperative in order to analyze the contemporary themes of this paper. The scope of this paper will be historical in that it reviews the events relevant for my purposes on Portuguese speaking Africa. It allows me to analyze these perspectives not only in relation to the events of the time in which they occurred, but also in relation to certain ideological components which will be presented according to the actual reality which existed.
The format that this thesis will take includes: Chapter I which is a brief political history of the Portuguese expansion in colonial Africa. It sets the stage for the legal presence of the Portuguese dictatorship on the continent, which is further developed in Chapter II. Chapter III is divided into four sections which contains Portugal's rationalization, and legalization for its dominance in Africa. Chapter IV presents a turning point in the relationship between conquerer and conquered. The protest writings were the initial beginnings of the international recognition of the severing of Portuguese colonialism on the African continent. Chapter V shows the discrepancies in the "pseudo-reforms" catapulted in the 1950 and 1960's since Portugal was under heavy criticism internationally and locally from a discontent African mass.
FOOTNOTES


4 Previously, there were two distinct groups to distinguish citizenship in Portuguese speaking Africa. African society was divided into indígena who were native Africans and não indígena which included the white and assimilated mulatto. Then in 1961 when Portugal stepped up assimilation policies, a third group was added to the continuum—the assimilado. They had to give up all remnants of their African heritage to take on this position. See below, Chapter III for a discussion of the distinction made regarding citizenship.

5 See below, Chapter IV for discussion on journalism as a form of protest among the indigenous inhabitants.
CHAPTER I

BRIEF HISTORY OF PORTUGUESE SPEAKING AFRICA

The Genesis of Portuguese Expansion: The Legal Authorization

Several parallels exist between Portugal's early colonial explorations and the modern colonial apparatus which fully materialized around the end of the Republic. These parallels can be drawn from the legal documents which authorized and legitimated Portugal's claim to certain territories. The earlier ordinances which appeared in the form of Papal Bulls, reflected the aspirations and attitudes of Portugal's "age of discovery" and authorized the overseas adventures which were embarked upon. The royal ordinances which were promulgated at the beginning of the expanding colonial empire, reappeared in the form of constitutional decrees. The constitutional decrees legally defined Portugal's behavior (or misbehavior) in the colonies and legitimated its continued colonial regime. Portugal's initial contact with the continent was outlined through royal decrees and later through legal documents which justified its continued presence and exploitation in Africa.

The legal ordinance, Ordenações Afonsinas, (1422), was the first document to outline Civil Law for Portugal since Canon, Roman, German and Visigothic Law were the main laws which predominated in Europe at that time. It was enforced in 1446 when Portugal had already penetrated the West African coast. Portugal had made contact with the Canary Islands, 1424; Cape Bojador, 1434; Rio de Oro, 1436; Cape Blanco, 1441;
Senegal and Cape Verde, 1446. Although the document contained the main regulations of social order for Portugal, it lacked the judicial framework to formally authorize colonial expansion. Therefore, several important Papal Bulls were issued which tended to lay the legal foundation for Portugal's overseas adventures.

The first of such legal documents was Rex regum (1436). The document was issued to ensure that other countries would not try to claim the profits which were derived from the African enterprise. A monopoly was essentially declared over the new lands when the document added that "all the lands newly conquered would belong to the King of Portugal." The document, however, only proposed to inhibit other European powers from encroaching upon already claimed land. Therefore, a second document was imposed.

Dum diversas (1452), empowered the explorers to wage battles on the continent, to enslave the inhabitants and exploit the resources. By this time, Portugal's maritime navigators had laid seige to the north African fort, Ceuta, and had settled portions of the region along the west African coast. The third and more specific legal authorization, Romanus Pontifex (1454), included more detailed instructions in regards to Portuguese expansion. The document has been aptly termed "the charter of Portuguese imperialism," "a monopolistic charter in favor of the Portuguese. . ." and certain stipulations "dictated Portuguese foreign policy."

Romanus Pontifex sanctioned the explorations of Prince Henry from 1419 and laid the foundation for further explorations by the Portuguese.
The Bull legitimized any measures which sought to safeguard Portugal's monopoly over lands already settled and encouraged more explorations into Africa. The Bull also sanctioned the securing of African slaves and strictly forbade any nations from interfering with the Portuguese monopoly.

Portuguese policies dealing with expansion, domination and exploitation were accomplished through its maritime zeal and legitimated through the royal ordinances. A third ordinance, Inter caetera (1456) further tightened the prohibition of foreign infringement upon Portugal's monopoly,4 which was grounded in philosophical terms. Indeed this clause reappeared during the early twentieth century.5 The document introduced a "spiritual jurisdiction of all regions conquered by the Portuguese (then) or in the future."6

The stipulation in this document, reappeared during Portugal's declining influence in Africa. The nationalistic* sentiments which later characterized contemporary African policy, according to Duffy, "is as much a study of colonial philosophy as it is an account of administrative and economic action. . ."7 The traditions of the past were, thus, engrained in later African colonial policy. The attempts to justify colonial expansion and to encompass whole geographical areas under the

*Nationalism, as the author uses it in reference to Portugal, is in a very general sense. It is not used to refer to a particular political thought, but, merely refers to the nations or geographical entities that Portugal laid claim to on three continents—Africa, India, Brazil.
metropole's wings while benefiting from the economic rewards, underlined past glories and justified continued colonial African domination.

The "age of discovery" of Portugal's empire resulted from a mixture of several factors. Four main motives tended to inspire Portugal's quest for new lands. According to Boxer, the most notable were: a crusading zeal against the Muslims, the desire for Guinea gold, the quest for Prester John and the search for Oriental spices. The motives can thus be translated to mean that the Atlantic explorations were for political, economic and religious reasons.

The political and religious motives behind Portugal's advancement were soon exhausted. One of the reasons behind the storming of Ceuta was to diminish Moorish influences in the areas. The fight against the Moors at Ceuta was but one of the many battles which Portugal fought against them. For eight centuries the Moors were prominent in the Iberian Peninsula and wars were continually waged between Christians and Muslims for mastery over the areas. Moorish domination in the Peninsula eventually diminished.

The religious fervor also dissipated. There were no more 'infidels' to evangelize. Thus, the economic incentive seemed to be the only factor which prevailed even during contemporary Portuguese-African relations. The abundant natural and human resources which were available determined Portuguese behavior (or misbehavior) in the overseas territories.

Initial Portuguese African Contacts: The Western Coast

The largest remnant of Portugal's historical empire comprises seven percent of the total land area of Africa. The Portuguese African
territories consisted of the Cape Verde Islands, the islands of Sao
Tomé and Príncipe, Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique.

Portugal's first contact with Africa came after the fall of Ceuta in 1415 after which it penetrated the coastline from the 1440's. The west African policy did not equal the activities directed in the two mainland areas, Angola and Mozambique. "Modest trade", according to Duffy, was supposedly the major incentive which precipitated an interest in the areas, rather than territorial domination.

Although a quest for trade tended to be an underlying motive behind the initial explorations, with the fall of Ceuta, Portugal embarked on a different kind of adventure with different underlying motives. The nationalistic trade sentiment, thus changed and was characterized as "The hope for profit, the conquest and conversion of souls, to circumvent commerce and to find a waterway to the Indies." The explorations which followed could not be totally explained in "modest" terms. The land beyond the immediate domain of Portugal, held possibilities for rewards beyond that of merely staking a claim to physical territory. The early Portuguese explorations along the coast catapulted Portugal into an overseas adventure which extended into trade other than that in gold bouillons and spices. Riches in the form of human cargo, became the trading incentive and the prodigious domination of the West African slave trade was the medium which allowed and encouraged its exploitation from the 1500's.

Portugal claimed a virtual monopoly over an area from the north of Cape Blanco to as far south as the river Congo by the end of the fifteenth century. It was able to hold the trade monopoly in West
Africa until it was challenged by other European powers. However, it was able to hold Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verdes. By this time, the two major inland areas had been colonized. Angola supplied Brazil with the necessary manpower to work the sugar plantations. African labor from the Guinea coast entered Brazil around 1531 and began to increase rapidly later in the sixteenth century. The valuable assets that the slave trade provided Portugal, was but one reason why the bulk of the military, economic and commerical focus was on Angola and Mozambique.

The Portuguese in West Africa

Angola was the largest Portuguese overseas colony with an area of 481,353 square miles and a coastline which extends some 1300 miles along the South Atlantic. It is bordered to the north and east by Zaire, to the east by Zambia and to the south by Namibia. It is bordered on the west by the Atlantic with a coastline on which two of the finest natural harbors, Lobito and Luanda sit. About two-thirds of Angola is a plateau which, according to Pélissier, made it suitable for white settlement. The interior uplands in Bie, Huambo and Huila districts have climates which allowed permanent European settlement. On the other hand, climatic conditions along the Cuanza river in the north west and north east, were less conducive to settlement, except when coffee and diamonds were involved.

The following qualities, states Marcum, enticed Portuguese settlers to Angola after the First World War: the temperate climate of the central and southern highlands (Amboim, Bie, Huilá); the homelike qualities which characterized the old-established coastal towns (Luanda,
Benguela, Mocamedes); the wealth of the diamond fields (Lunda); the plantation agriculture of the north (Carmona).  

Although Angola is the largest of the Portuguese speaking areas, it has a relatively small population--5,669,504 (1970 census). The indigenous population consists of Africans belonging to a variety of native groups, mostly Bantu. The main ethnic divisions among the indigena are Ovimbundu, Mbundu, Kongo, Lunda-Chokwe, Nganguela, Nyaneka, Humbe and Ovambo (1960 census).

About 90 per cent of the indigenous population engages in agriculture. However an obvious distinction exists between the subsistence farms of Africans and the foreign owned plantations. The major agricultural exports were coffee, sisal, cotton and maize which were produced on the plantations and sold on the world market.

It was mining and manufacturing riches which drew Portugal into exploiting contemporary Angola. The oil rich Cabinda enclave has attracted other countries which were granted oil rights to the region. The long established diamond industry, the recently mined iron ore and petroleum were the natural resources which were actively exploited.

According to a 1974 United Nations estimate, Angola exported coffee, crude oil, diamonds and iron ore averaging $1.202 billion. Oil displaced coffee as the major export in 1973 accounting for 57 per cent of the total exports with the United States being the market replacing Portugal.
Early Angolan Explorations

In 1483 Diogo Cão sailed down the coast of West Africa and arrived at the mouth of the river Congo and came into contact with the Kongo* kingdom. It was the coast between Ambriz and Benguela that the first colonist settled. The Portuguese mariner was supposedly in search of a route to India which would enable him to establish relations with the Ethiopian kingdom of Prester John.

The Portuguese king, João II authorized Cão's return trip in 1485 to establish permanent relations with the Kongo kingdom. The Portuguese went about the business of evangelizing and instructing the newly contacted inhabitants. They shrewdly worked into the good graces of the ManiKongo, Nzïnga. An alliance between Portugal and the African King led to diplomatic relations. Through the alliance, Portugal was able to penetrate the African interior and Africans, in turn were exposed to the wonders which lay beyond the continent.

There were times when the ruling ManiKongo kings became disillusioned with the Portuguese presence, however, the Portuguese-Kongolese alliance continued. The pacific relations which characterized Portugal's first advancement into the Kongo area, soon entered into a new phase around 1568. The casual contact between the Portuguese explorers and the African community emerged as a major force behind the multi-national slave trade which characterized Europe's relations with Africa for years

*Kongo is spelled with a K wherever it refers to the historic kingdom, kingship or portion of the kingdom then under Portuguese rule. This should be distinguished from the Congo republics of Brazzaville and Léopoldville.
to come. Slave dealers from São Tomé pushed southward beyond the Kongo region in search of slaves. Coupled with the slave hunt were major resistance movements. Portugal thus established firmer roots in the area and moved further south. A mission from Portugal in 1575 under the leadership of Paulo Dias de Novais, laid the foundation for the Portuguese colony at Luanda. 21

Luanda thus became a major slave port and was a thoroughfare for Portuguese penetration into the interior. Most of the history dealing with Angola from this point includes the decimation of African communities through the slave trade, African resistance to encroaching Portuguese domination and the scramble by other European colonial expansionist for portions of the African continent. Egerton described Portuguese policy in Angola from the last twenty-five years of the eighteenth century and the first twenty-five years of the nineteenth century as: lacking any coherent colonizing policy and at best showed a capacity to "muddle" through. 22 After some 300 years on the continent, Portugal controlled less than one-tenth of the Angolan territory which was along the coast and parts of the plateau.

European expansion in Africa near the end of the nineteenth century was motivated by a new colonial sentiment. Portugal had to reconcile its motives in Africa along with new European powers which wished to claim legal authority over portions of the continent. The Berlin Conference (1884-85) carved the African continent and served it to various powers which vied for a portion. The decline of the Portuguese power in relation to the rest of western Europe, thus, placed it in a
different colonial context. "Imperialism for the Portuguese," according to Wheeler, "was less an economic drive than a traditional, nationalistic one." 23

Although the sentiments behind Portuguese policy in later years were couched in terms of the grand illusions of the early empire, I am not totally convinced that economics was a lesser interest. I tend to believe that the economic rewards from Angola were greater than before and the colony held a much greater importance. It was in later years that the exploitation of its natural resources was most intense. The nationalistic pride which was evident at this time, was an interesting mix along side the modern means used to exploit the country of its wealth. The nationalist sentiments of Portugal reminding the world and itself that it was still the great power which launched maritime adventures on three continents, could not nearly compensate for the riches which flowed from the continent. Nationalist sentiments could in no way sustain the country which lagged behind the rest of western Europe in terms of national development.

The Portuguese in East Africa

Mozambique, the second largest Portuguese speaking African country, extends about 1,500 miles along the east African coast, covering 303,074 square miles. Tanzania borders Mozambique to the north, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe to the east, South Africa and Swaziland to the south.
Mozambique is much more densely populated than Angola, with 9.03 million inhabitants (1974 estimate). About 97 per cent of the population consists of Africans belonging to a variety of ethnic groups.

Since trading adventures shaped the Portuguese presence in Angola, the event which spurred Lisbon's attention on the East African coast was the search for the mystical Orient. The slave trade was thus secondary to Portugal's interests in the East during the sixteenth century. The trade in human labor in the East did not equal the voracious demands for slaves from the West who were exported to the sugar plantations. Thus, gold and ivory were the prominent commodities exploited in the East African trade system during the sixteenth century.24

Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese explorer, reached Mozambique harbor in 1498. He set up friendly relations with his east African ally, shiek Malindi, and received guidance in crossing the Indian ocean. Da Gama made contact with a small Black African population and dealt mainly with Arab and Islamic Africans whose territories extended as far south as Sofala and were scattered throughout the interior. Early in the sixteenth century, Portuguese forts were built on Mozambique island, at Sofala on the coast and later small settlements were established at Sena, Tete and other points inland.

The disjointed communities encountered contained a mixture of Arab, Bantu, Persian and Indian elements, strongly Africanized but with political administration dominated mainly by an Arab aristocracy.25 According to Duffy, Arab dominance was pronounced as early as the eighth century, to a lesser extent the Persians were also influential; later,
Indian immigrants dominated commerce; and Swahili merchants carried on trade in the interior. Thus, East Africa was "commercially a part of the mercantile complex of the Indian Ocean," with the port city Mozambique being the center of the complex.

In 1505 Portuguese colonization began under the captaincy of Francisco d'Almeida. The fleet to India dismantled Arab authority along the coast, with resistance, of course, from Arab dissenters.

The strides that Portugal had made in territorial advancement through most of the seventeenth century waned, as Portugal had declined in its seafaring superiority. The monopoly in East Africa was broken by Arab, Dutch and English expansionists. Portugal however, reinstalled its control and the coastal area was then ripe for expanded settlement. Portugal's presence in East Africa took on a different complexion with the rise of the prazo or plantation system.

In the late sixteenth century, individual Europeans allied themselves with lesser African chiefs. In return for assistance against small tribal skirmishes, the settlers were awarded land grants and authority over its inhabitants. The demand for manpower, i.e., slavery, ensued as a result of the prazo system.

The prazo system was an initial attempt to establish permanent colonization schemes in the former eastern colony. However, the system as practiced was undermined because of the lack of interest shown from the European settlers. The absentee landowners did not relish a system which would prove profitable for the metropole. Their interests did not extend beyond that of individual profits, i.e., larger estates,
more taxes, more power. Thus, the prazo system came under fire around the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Yet the system continued with the hope of colonizing the hinterland. Portugal had yet to penetrate the interior beyond Sena. Thus, the rush was toward settlement schemes which were disguised under the old plantation system, to appease the criticisms which appeared against the system.

To combat the ineffective system, development occurred as a result of charters being granted to concessionary companies. Portuguese policy in Mozambique moved toward foreign interests in the development of the territory. The companies formed in the last decade of the nineteenth century set the stage for the intensive exploits which revitalized Portugal's waning economy and further subjugated Africans to the whims of the foreign administrators.

The great concessionary companies\textsuperscript{28} formed at the end of the nineteenth century, promised to be most instrumental for expansion into the interior. In the process, the companies served to lay the foundation for mineral exploitation in the districts of Manica and Sofala; established centers for trade and administration in the area north of the Lurio River; provided incentives for European settlers in the Que-limane and Tete districts; and instituted the "work" ethic for Africans in the agricultural exploitations.

The first two and a half decades of the twentieth century ushered in "the age of Portugal's greatest preoccupation with the (former) African provinces."\textsuperscript{29} It was also the time when modern forms of protest
about Portugal's African policy began to appear. The Portuguese dictator, Salazar, who was coming to power at this time, sought to diminish the criticisms through various means. The subject matter of Chapter II deals with the legislative reforms which continued into the 1960's.
FOOTNOTES


2 See C. R. Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825 (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1969), p. 21 for a discussion of the royal ordinances which were important for Portuguese expansion.


4 Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825, p. 22.

5 Portugal sought to effectively retain control over its African lands by prohibiting outside interests from penetrating the area. See below for discussion on the strategies Portugal used to divert attention away from its African colonial policies.

6 Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825, pp. 22-23.


8 See C. R. Boxer's Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion 1415-1825: A Succinct Survey, (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1969), pp. 5-7; and for a more extensive coverage of Portuguese exploration in Africa, see Boxer's The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825, Chapter I.


25


12 Ceuta was a Muslim naval base in North Africa and likewise was one of the terminal ports for the trans-Saharan gold trade. The capture of Ceuta emerged as the beginning of Portuguese imperialism. King João II carried Portugal's fight against the Moors into North Africa. The capture of Ceuta was claimed not to have had any association with the West African exploration. Ceuta opened up the possibility, however, of expanded seafaring adventures to reach other areas on the continent.


14 Paraphrased from Bailey W. Diffie, Prelude to Empire: Portugal Overseas Before Henry the Navigator, (University of Nebraska Press, 1960) p. 89.

15 See Duffy, Portugal in Africa, p. 31.


19 See Américo Boavida's Angola: Five Centuries of Portuguese Exploitation, (Canada: LSM Information Center, 1972), Chapters 6-7 for an excellent discussion of the economic ties between Portugal and Angola.

20 A strain in the royal family of the ManiKongo, Nzinga, resulted when anti-Portuguese factions became disillusioned with the Portuguese presence. The death of King Nzinga in 1506 resulted in a civil war between factions in the royal family. The eldest son of Nzinga, Muemba, became the ManiKongo and was baptized Afonso I. He inevitably continued


24 See C. R. Boxer, Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, p. 34.

25 Duffy, Portugal in Africa, p. 76.

26 Duffy, Portuguese Africa, p. 27.

27 Ibid., p. 27.

28 See Duffy, Portuguese Africa, pp. 90-93 and David M. Abshire, "From the Scramble for Africa to the "New State," in Abshire and Samuels, Portuguese Africa: A Handbook, pp. 75-78. The three concessionary companies formed in the 1890's were the Mozambique Company, the Niassa Company, and Zambezia Company. The Mozambique Company was formed for mineral explorations and exploitations. The Company secured ample rights over an area of 62,000 square miles along the Buzí and Pungué rivers. The Company included European and South African capital. The Niassa Company did not possess rights to mineral rich or agricultural rich country. With England being its principal source of capital, it established a trade and administration center in the northern provinces. The Zambézia Company backed by South Africa, Germany, France, England and Portugal capital, was given concessions over the richest parts of the territory. Other lesser companies contributed to the development of agricultural products as well.

29 Duffy, Portuguese Africa, p. 246.
CHAPTER II

PORTUGUESE CONSTITUTIONALISM IN COLONIAL AFRICA: MODERN COLONIAL REPRESSION

Every nation has its own body of statutory writings which gives legal sanction to it as a sovereign entity. A Constitution outlines the essence of statutory laws which tend to restrict the scope of sovereign authority and/or activity. Although the Constitution is a legal document, it grows out of the common historical tradition of a particular nation-state. This common experience defines the scope of values inherent in the content of the document and expresses the common ideological component of its drafters.

Constitutions are prevalent among all countries professing different political persuasions. However, one should be careful not to transform principles of constitutionalism from one nation to the next. The futile quibble over delineating principles which should be componential of a universal constitution, can be an injustice to different political cultures. The nature of various sovereign societies should be studied according to their own values and expressed political ideologies.

However, there are qualities of constitutionalism which are unique and enduring in most societies. The enduring value "lies in the moral purposes of the social order it is supposed to protect, the values of the ideology it enshrines, and the quality of the governing elite to
which it lends stability."^1 Another basic truth about most constitutions of the world is: "the major provisions . . . were written as they were because of political necessity and compromise."^2 Constitutions are political documents which emerge out of compromise as competing groups serve to maximize their perceived interests. This major necessity also gives the character to constitutions which is an offshoot from the legal minds which draft them. The provisions of the sometime confusing legal terminology tend to be subject to the political ideological bent of the individual drafters. Thus, many judicially-binding acts, statutes, and laws tend to become politically expedient documents enmeshed in the political aura of a country.

The constitutional development of the Portuguese empire is an important lens through which developing policy can be viewed. Constitutional development in the Portuguese empire served to create and maintain a strong link between the mainland and the overseas territories. The legal formulations were clearly avenues which legitimated authoritarian rule in the African colonies.

The African administration system which evolved as a result of bureaucratic reshuffling was an offshoot of the changes which occurred in Portugal. The system was set into place to strictly control all facets of native policy. Thus, the overseas territories came directly under the control of the government in Lisbon. The geographical integration of the metropole and the African territories was the beginning of colonial continuity. The legislative decrees which were drawn up in the early twentieth century, gave legal sanction to the geographical continuum.
Additionally, constitutional development in the Portuguese empire was designed to quiet criticism and dissent and not to speak to legitimate grievances. Since Portugal was under heavy criticism in regards to policies toward its "non-self governing territories," legislative reforms gave the appearance that it was "cleaning its house" in colonial Africa. The era from 1950 to 1960 was the modern phase of Portuguese-African relations which were expressed through paper reforms. The reforms should be seen in relation to the proportional changes which occurred in Portugal toward the end of the Republic. The political chaos which characterized Portugal as a nation is reflective of the unsettled policies which were aligned against the overseas territories.

The Genesis of Colonial Portuguese-African Policy

Salazar's Rise to Power and the Foundation for the "New State"

Of all modern revolutions none were so humane as those of Brazil and Portugal, partly because they were Portuguese; but largely because they were permeated with republican and ... positivist ideas which first produced a revolution in the soul of the young generation and of the leaders of thought, then suddenly translated themselves into acts ... which were crystallized into institutions.

The "new political era" as the Portuguese Republic of 1910 was termed, came at a time when Portugal had fallen into political decay. The Republic offered new ideas, many of which clashed with the old traditions. The new constitution for the Republic permitted many democratic policies which represented a drastic change from the monarchial rule that had characterized rule in the Iberian peninsula.

The future of Portugal under democratic principles proved to be devastating. The pendulum had swung into the direction of
participatory government. The liberal ideas espoused by the government never grew because they were planted in soil wholly unsuitable to the new political doctrines.

The Republican era from 1911 to 1926 was full of a series of labor strikes, riots, incapable rulers, short-lived cabinets, assassinations and an economy which leaned toward total bankruptcy. Thus, the Republican era was full of rash powerless rulers incapable of restoring order and who were inept in dealing with the country's financial crises.

There were, of course, some powerful politicians who came to hold key positions in the Republic. However, no ministry tended to last long in power. Talented politicians with little administrative abilities and above all little understanding of finance headed the Republican government. The economic instability of Portugal loomed heavily near crisis state. Coupled with the national crisis of economic problems, the situation regarding the status of the African colonies was an extra burden for Portugal to contend with. By 1926, Portugal was ready for another change in government.

The internal strife which beset the country was intensified by external forces favoring the colonial African territories. The impending collapse of the Republic caused Portugal to be vulnerable to anyone promising to deliver the necessary order which the country needed. The weakened state of affairs in the metropole welcomed the rise to power of an astute economist who proved to have even shrewder political abilities. António Oliveira de Salazar hailed from the economics department at Coimbra.
Salazar, as Minister of Finance, began to bring a sizable portion of the civilian bureaucracy under his wings largely through manipulation of fiscal controls. He embarked on a course of establishing strong central controls over the activities of the government bureaucracy. The establishment of administrative controls was foremost in determining how the government would be reordered. The bureaucratic arena, because the mechanism through which public policy emanated.

After the necessary administrative controls had been secured, Salazar moved into the political arena. Formal political institutions were reshaped according to the ideas of corporatism.\(^8\) The *Estado Novo* or New State was based on the idea that the nation was unitary rather than pluralist. The nation was a family which achieved its aims and resolved its disputes at a round table and not an aggregate of conflicting interests seeking to compromise through tensions across the table. Salazar forged a system which represented, not through divisive parties dominated by class struggle, but through corporations with some similarity to the medieval guilds. Salazar set out to resolve the intellectual clash between the demands of freedom and authority.

Salazar outlined and shaped a future for Portugal and its geographical possessions under close authoritarian supervision. The "New State" was characterized as the metaphor of a country with a centralized and impersonalistic leadership. The State was all powerful and regulated national life. All changes which occurred within the public bureaucracy operated within the context of the traditional society characterized by limited participation in its political, social and economic life.
Social change was dealt with from the top down. Change was handed down in the form of patronage, status symbols and appointment to administrative posts. Adaptation and assimilation could occur in the system but a revolution was absolutely forbidden. In essence, change was an adaptation to modernization in the society, with the basic infrastructure, i.e., history, culture, social institutions, being preserved.

The "economic dictator" from Coimbra was later dubbed "political dictator" with a wide range of discretionary powers. As Prime Minister with unchallenged authority over the instruments and personnel of the state, Salazar laid the foundation for the corporate state and the Estado Novo between 1930 and 1939. (See diagram for a brief sketch of the administrative bureaucracy.)

As Minister of Finance in 1928, Salazar initiated fundamental changes for the economic revival of Portugal. These changes were also implemented vis-à-vis the colonies. An "economic commonwealth" emerged between the metropole and the colonies. The colonies were tied directly with the economic revitalization of the metropole. The metropole and the colonies theoretically were expected to share mutual prosperity. However, most of the benefits tended to circulate outside Africa and foreign interests reaped the benefits.

Portuguese speaking Africa became the major supplier of the mineral wealth and the manpower which extracted the resources for foreign interests. The kind of economic relationship that the former colonies shared with Portugal was defined in the Colonial Act of 1930 and the Constitution of 1933. Together they formed the bedrock of colonial structure for the African territories.
The Constitution represented Salazar's vision of the road to political, economic and social modernity for Portugal. The Colonial Act was the legal foundation which governed the colonies. The Act held that "provisions of the Colonial Act shall be considered constitutional matter." The Act legalized the organic integration of the African colonies with the metropole and subjected them to the higher authority of Lisbon.

**Fundamental Principles of Portuguese Constitutionalism in the Overseas Territories**

The official policies which accompanied Salazar's ascension to political power are found in two forms—his political speeches and the resulting Constitution of 1933. The verbal expressions were characteristic of the charismatic aura that was expressive of the authoritarian regime. Salazar's speeches were a prelude to the character of the "New State," which was expressed in philosophical and moral terms.

A political speech delivered October 21, 1929 outlined Salazar's proposed reordering of the governmental apparatus. It contained the justification for and the concrete facts to give credence to the initial reorganization. The address defined the dictatorship as the form of government thought to be best suited for Portugal. The more power given a dictator, according to Salazar, "the more it (was) under the obligation of acting with perfect sincerity towards the people." The autonomy of authoritative rule and the enormous powers accompanying this rule, were the answer to the problems which beset the nation. Authoritarian rule served to redirect the misguided trust which was placed in the Republican government.
The basic pronouncements outlining the foundation for the "New State" were made in the speech of May 28, 1930. Coupled with the address of June 30, 1930 the charter for the new political was completed. The case for a dictatorship was further tightened. Democratic principles in the Iberian peninsula had been tried and failed since they did not fit the temperament of the country. A democracy was imposed upon "a people who were totally unprepared to accept it." The "dictatorship, then, was imposed to solve the Portuguese political problem," and the Constitution was the medium to incorporate the country and its holdings under central governmental control.

The "New State's" policy directed to the colonies bound them to Portugal in total. There were fundamental principles in regards to the colonies, which, according to Salazar, "were so obvious and so natural that it (seemed) superfluous to define them." Four important principles sanctioned the geographical integration between the metropole and the African colonies. These principles were: Portugal was to fulfill its historic mission of colonization and civilization in the colonies; the overseas colonies were later called provinces and organization was on lines thought to be best suited to the territories' development; the overseas provinces were an integral part of the Portuguese state; and the unity of the overseas territories and the metropole was to be defended and preserved as an organic whole. The principles were published in the 1930 Colonial Act and later were incorporated into the Constitution.

The principal advocating the independent existence of the Portuguese empire, was tantamount to colonial continuity in the former
colonies. The traditions of the past and the glorious adventures which sparked the expansion of the Portuguese nation were foremost in determining territorial autonomy. This conception, of course, is not a phenomenally new affirmation. Portugal had always maintained a "hands-off" policy to encroaching European powers over the overseas conquests. However, Portugal was not discovering new lands, but was protecting possessions which were out of its past.

The independent existence of the Portuguese empire extended into areas which inherently affected the colonies. Prior to 1930, the colonies were allowed a certain amount of local autonomy. Sá da Bandeira, who was prime minister from 1936-1940 in Angola, introduced several progressive pieces of legislation which were to spark colonial development. The developmental process was accomplished largely through extending the authority of the colonial rulers to utilize the resources of the colonies. Colonial resources were tapped through a process of decentralized government and financial autonomy.

However, the decentralization was to be on a footing "compatible with the development of each" colony, which was also fundamental to the solidity of the Portuguese empire. The degree of sophistication that the colonies had been allowed to acquire led to a tricky situation. Since the metropole had always held a tight rein over the direction that the colonies were able to take politically and economically, the suggested reforms were not drastically different from the existing colonial situation. The metropole only reiterated the greatness of a unified empire. Thus, local autonomy was not a break from the Portuguese colonial mentality which had characterized the governing of the areas before
the suggested reforms. The autonomy granted the colonies around 1920 was in the hands of the spokesmen for the colonial regime. The governing of the colonies was at the mercy of the high commissioners. Colonial development proceeded in accordance with how the commissioners envisioned the process to occur. The native population was hardly allowed to exercise local autonomy and the high commissioners hardly exercised responsibilities which would encourage colonial development. Thus, the incompetencies of the high commissioners were a real liability in developing the resources of the colonies. The legislative reforms which catapulted liberal ideas for the colonies were sidetracked and internal colonial strife continued. The progressive legislation which was started in 1920 was curtailed and vigorously brought to a standstill. By 1926, João Belo, the colonial minister, put a stamp on the reforms. The Colonial Act of 1930 completed the termination of semi-local autonomy in the African colonies.

The third fundamental principle affecting the African colonies was the consolidation of colonial administration directly under the auspices of Lisbon. The integration of the colonies with the metropole was continually defined through acts, which when combined, determined Portuguese-African policy until the early 1950's. The legislation affecting the African population was a continuation of the 1926 Statute which was made into law in 1929.22

The 1926 Statute23 was drawn up by Colonial Minister João Belo. The language of the Statute was filled with liberal jargon which contained hard-core conservatism beneath its theoretical framework. A
major theme of this law was the legal obligation for the native to work. However, a moral principle with economic expediency underlined the assumption. It was argued that the native could better himself and his lot through the enforcement of the work ethic. The law was "to guarantee the natural and unconditional rights of the native" and at the same time "assure the gradual fulfillment of the native's moral and legal obligation to work. . . ."\textsuperscript{24} The work ethic alluded to in the law only scratched the surface in regards to indigenous labor. The next chapter will be devoted to labor in the African colonies since it was one of the main reasons behind native discontent against colonial authority.

A second theme of the statute was the reversal of the half-practiced local autonomy in the colonies. The colonies became political and economic extensions of the metropole while at the same time, native customary practices were supposedly ensured to protect the native population. The Statute purported to integrate the indigenous population under the direct administration of the metropole. According to Cunha, the native was to be led "by the means appropriate to their rudimentary civilization . . . to the profitable development of their own activities and to integrate into the life of the colony, which was an extension of the mother country."\textsuperscript{25} Furthermore, the native was not granted Portuguese citizenship rights.\textsuperscript{26} They were to be governed according to customary law.

However, the complexity of tribal law made it difficult for Portuguese common law to be compatible with it. Avenues to provide interpretative functions of customary law, in lieu of Portuguese law,
were usually nonexistent. Thus, it was difficult to legitimately conduct the judicial process for African affairs. Although the colonies were extensions of the metropole, the legal system was not transportable to accommodate the African, essentially because they were natives and had not yet acquired Portuguese citizenry.\(^{27}\)

The citizenry controversy was only one example of the misguided notion that the colonies and the metropole could be a single entity. This was a crucial area in native policy which will be dealt with at length later on.

The Native Statute of 1926 was only the beginning of modern legislative continuity that Portugal introduced for the colonies. The early 1930's was the formative years of Portuguese colonial ideology for the colonies. The imperial front which characterized Portuguese-African policies was thus an extension of the illusion that the country could maintain a geographical union with diverse and scattered lands. The pomp and grandeur of early explorations and exploits filled Portugal with sentiments of a mighty colonial power. And, indeed, it was at that time. The early fifteenth century advances in Africa were maintained into the late twentieth century. A legalized colonial mentality was the essence of the legislation introduced during the 1930's.

The fundamental principles which were so innate to Portuguese-African policy, were legally structured when they were incorporated into the Constitution of 1933. The entire realm of colonial policy was delineated when the Colonial Act of 1930 was combined with the Imperial Organic Charter of 1933, the Overseas Administrative Reform Act
of 1933 and the Native Statute of 1926. Through the combined legal documents, all facets of African life and governance were outlined, and the colonial unified front was legally structured.
FOOTNOTES


3 Quoted in E. J. Dillon, "The Portuguese Revolution," The Living Age, 49, No. 3465, Dec. 3, 1910, p. 579. The author gave an account of the steps toward the much heralded republic and also gave an appraisal of the worth for such a change to occur in Portugal at the time. The remark is a quote of Senhor Theophilo Braga.


5 See V. de Braganca-Cuhna, Revolutionary Portugal, 1910-1936, (London: J. Clarke & Co. Ltd., 1937), for a discussion of the political unrest precipitated by the ephemeral cabinet ministries which attempted to deliver services either for personal gains or for the country.


8 Corporatism, according to Schmitter, can be defined as a "system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into a limited number of singular, compulsory, non-competitive, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories ... granted a deliberate representational monopoly ... in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supports," in Philippe C. Schmitter, Corporatism and Public Policy in Authoritarian Portugal, Sage Professional Papers Contemporary Political Sociology Series, 06-011, Beverly Hills and London, Sage Publications, 1975; also see Lawrence Graham, Portugal: The Decline and Collapse of an Authoritarian Order, Sage Professional Papers on Comparative Politics, 5, 01-053, Beverly Hills and London, Sage Publications, 1975; also see Michael Derrick, The Portugal of Salazar, (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1938), for discussion on the concept of the "corporate state."

10 See Lawrence Graham, Portugal: The Bureaucracy of Empire, (unpublished paper, 1972), for a discussion of the administrative changes which Salazar introduced for the governing of the metropole and the overseas territories. Graham gives an excellent outline of Salazar transformation of Portugal from a system built around the nineteenth century French bureaucratic model into a centralized bureaucratic empire. Many of the changes, however, did not occur until violence broke out in Angola in 1961 as retaliation against Portuguese colonial repression.


12 Most of the information is directed to Angola and Mozambique unless otherwise stated. The other islands enjoyed a special relationship with Portugal beyond the slave trade.


14 Salazar, Doctrine and Action, p. 50.

15 Ibid., p. 84.

16 Ibid., p. 84.

17 Ibid., p. 95.

18 Ibid., p. 95.

19 Sá da Bandeira was Prime Minister of the overseas territories from 1836-1840 and projected reforms, many of which never materialized. The general instability and chaotic conditions eventually caused the overthrow of his government. Some of the reforms that he espoused, included a permanent civil service, opening ports to foreign interests and prohibiting the bulk of the Portuguese settlers—the criminal and political undesirables—to settle in the colonies. The decree to legally end the slave traffic was perhaps the most pronounced piece of reform. The decree was followed in 1858 with the decree to abolish slavery within twenty years.


21 Ibid., p. 250.

23 Estatuto político civil e criminal dos indígenas das colônias de Angola e Mocambique.

24 A quote of Silva Cunha, paraphrased from Duffy, Portuguese Africa, p. 293.

25 Quoted by Duffy in Portuguese Africa, p. 293 from Silva Cunha.

26 Ibid., pp. 293-294.

27 Since the author does not have the Portuguese work which dealt with this portion of the legal system for African, readers of Portuguese may consult, J. M. da Silva Cunha, O sistema português de política indígena, (Coimbra, 1953) for information on native policy.

28 See below, Report of the Sub-Committee on the Situation in Angola, for appropriate legislation introduced.
CHAPTER III

COLONIAL NATIVE POLICY

The Colonial Act outlined the general principles for the management of overseas affairs. Several of the important principles contained in the document were:

- the unification of administration in the hands of the State;
- the normalization of colonial rule and the end of high commissionerships; nationalization of colonial economies; prohibited the use of forced labor by private companies and reiterated the necessity for employers to pay the African for this work; . . . and stressed the duty of the colonial administrator to sustain the sovereignty of Portugal.²

The Colonial Act brought all overseas operations under the States's apparatus. The economic unity of the colonies and the metropole was sanctioned through the merger. The medium to oversee the operation was the administrative apparatus. The system was outlined to protect Portugal's vested interest in the colonies and served as a liaison between the metropole and the overseas provinces. The colonies were given new status as "overseas provinces." The Colonial Act established the distinction as part of the united colonial front. The "New State" generally laid the groundwork for entrance into the United Nations.²

The Colonial Act was further formalized and specified through other pieces of legislation. However, the basic precepts of the Act were not altered. Major topical areas were explicitly identified. The Organic Charter of 1946 filled in the skeletal sketch of overseas operations that the Colonial Act touched upon. As a result of the 1946
Act, administrative and financial measures were imposed which guaranteed that Portugal's interests in the colonies would be safe.

Social Organization and Administrative in the Overseas Territories

An elaborate administrative system was organized to enforce colonial policy in the overseas territories. The official administration network which radiated from Portugal became a major source of conflict among the indigenous population. The fundamental concept of a consolidated colonial front clashed with the realities of indigenous social and economic stratification. Those local administrators who came into daily contact with the African population were the major sources of the friction. Portuguese social policy which alienated the indigenous population was further extended through the actual administrative bureaucracy.

Under the auspices of the Overseas Ministry, government in the overseas territories was organized into a complex three-tiered system—provincial, regional and the local unit. The governor-general was the most prominent figure in the provincial government. The governor-general enjoyed an identical status with the Portuguese Minister. Extensive administrative powers were granted the colonial magistrate through the Constitution. Financial and administrative powers were granted the governor-general of the former colonies through the modified Imperial Organic Charter of 1946.

However, the enforcement of overseas administration did not rest with the provincial cabinet. The structure of the provincial government did not present a complete picture of the apparatus. At best, it
is indicative of how policy flowed to the major former colonies—Angola and Mozambique. In terms of the enforcement of policy, power tended to flow upward. Hence, the backbone of overseas administration was the district which was the basic governing unit in the colonies. (see diagram).

The district governor was the executive head who reported to the provincial governor-general. While the appointment of the district governor by the governor-general was considered to be "political" in nature, the administrative officials who worked under him were civil servants from the metropole. They were generally trained for their positions in the provinces, but took with them the indoctrinated will of the Portuguese state. The civil servants descended upon the territories representing and espousing messages of Portuguese sovereignty, the authority of the Republic and, in general, Portuguese civilization.

The administrative divisions of the territories into districts were later increased as the major colonies became more populated. The geographical redistribution also aided in the further penetration into the interior and more remote sections of Angola and Mozambique. The penetration facilitated the process of bringing these areas under Lisbon's control and accelerated the transmittal of administrative and political policies to the African population.

The local administrative unit, thus, was the governing body which focused on the effects of the Portuguese policy over the indigenous population. The administrators of the urban wards and rural chiefdoms were the Portuguese civil servants who reported to the district governor.
GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE OF THE OVERSEAS MINISTRY

Provincial Government
  ↓
Governor-General → Executive Head
  ↓
Secretary-General
  ↓
8 Provincial Secretaries
  ↓
Regional Government
  ↓
District → Administrative Unit
  ↓
District Governor
  ↑
Executive Head
  ↓
Intendants
  ↓
Civil Servants
  ↓
Local Government
  ↓
Administrative Units
  ↓
freguesia
  (urban wards)
  ↓
regedoria
  (rural chiefdoms)
  ↓
Administrator of
  (civil servants)
  ↓
de concelhos
  (urban)
  ↓
de circunscrição
  (rural)
  ↓
chefes de postos
  Administrative Posts
The administrator of circumscription conducted affairs for the local African population. As civilian bureaucrats, the administrator linked the rural African with the established colonial structure. Theoretically the local administrator represented the native population while at the same time, maintained the authority of the Portuguese nation over the colonies.

The dual role of the administrator became a major concern in Portugal's African colonies. The symptomatic concern of the colonial bureaucrats sparked discord among the African population.

A major cause of African hostility was some of the extra-legal practices of the chefes de posto. The chefes de posto wielded a great deal of authority because they were the officers who came into immediate contact with the rural chiefdoms. Administrative problems occurred as a result of the power, expressed and/or implied, which accompanied the jobs of the civil bureaucrats. Much of the African protest which occurred in Portuguese speaking Africa was a reaction to abusive powers granted the bureaucrats in the areas of: labor relations, collection of taxes, and the imposed legal status of Africans which was founded either through the controversy over citizenship to Africans while maintaining native customary rights. A wide area of conflict existed between the proposed legislation that represented the ideal for colonial administration and the actual practical implementation of colonial policies.

Very few Africans moved into the middle echelons of the Civil Service. Instead, Africans were given coercive powers to exercise over the indigenous population. The sepoy held the highest position that
the African could normally obtain in the local colonial bureaucracy.
The sepy, or native official, became the African equivalent of a civil servant.

The native official was responsible for administering the affairs of the indigenous population, namely through the regulo or village chief. The sepy was the policing-agent in two major areas of the indigenous population. He was an interpreter for the Portuguese officials and he was responsible for making sure that the village chief fulfilled his duties as collector of taxes.

As an interpreter, the sepy was the connecting link between the civilian administrators and the village chiefs. The coercive powers that accompanied this position, lessened the negative attitude of Africans toward higher civilian bureaucrats. The sepy was cast in the villainous role as an arbiter of Portuguese authority. The sepy also served as an immediate identifiable element of African culture which he was to represent at a higher level in the administration.

The sepy was a mediating force cast into the difficult position of translating African rights and at the same time, perpetuating Portuguese authority. African rights came to be manifest in the sense that they had an obligation to pay certain duties to the Portuguese state. African political participation in the colonial bureaucracy was only to the extent of satisfying certain obligations to the colonial government. The most visible way of engaging in political participation was through the payment of taxes.

The village chief was responsible for the collection of taxes and for persuading the indigena to fulfill labor obligations to the
If the village chief failed to fulfill this obligation, certain punishments followed. The chief, then, was responsible for collecting the head tax, poll tax and hut tax.

The hut tax in Angola was more than fifty per cent of the colony's income. The head tax was one of the mainstays of the provincial budget. However, when the hut tax was turned over to the governing officials, the Secretary of Administration would get a percentage of the tax receipts.

The indigenous population provided a valuable economic resource to the colonies through the payment of taxes. They were providing a service designated to be fulfilled by persons with citizenship status. However, a clear distinction existed between indígena as citizen, and indígena as a source of economic revenue for the maintenance of the colonies, even though it was meager.

The Portuguese colonizing mentality made a distinction between the classified groups living in the colonies— the indígena, não-indígena and assimilado. The three-tiered citizenship classification carried a distinct social and legal significance. The legal definition of the indigenous population, provided the justification for the Portuguese to govern as they did, and for the continued labor practices which much of the economic system for the metropole were built upon.

The Legal Position of the Indigenous Population

The legal framework in which the African was cast was founded in the Native Statute of 1926. The system which materialized in the colonies in 1926 was officially described as a "system of compromise" because of the pronounced differences in the social structure of the
African population. The Native Statute was later enmeshed in the Portuguese Constitution (1933). Constitutional significance was given to legally bind the Statute. According to the Constitution, "citizens enjoy the rights, liberties and guarantees stipulated in the Constitution except for those who were not Portuguese by birth."\textsuperscript{12}

The social differences of the African were given legal sanction through the Constitution. The "system of compromise" included legal principles which were adopted in response to the special conditions recognized to pertain in the territories. Official Salazarian-African policy was that of maintaining aboriginal society. However, in reality, it functioned at the expense of the African social system which it purported to sustain. Those cultural characteristics which were unique to the African experience were the same qualities which prohibited them from obtaining citizenship and enjoying the civil privileges which automatically accrue to citizens.

It had been stipulated that African territories were constitutionally indistinguishable from metropolitan Portugal. However, the majority of the African population in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea did not enjoy the same privileges as most Portuguese citizens.

The revised Native Statute of 1929, stipulated that Africans with few exceptions, would be given special legal status as indígenas. The Statute was officially designed to protect local African customs and to guarantee that Africans would continue to be governed by their customs. However, at least two flaws existed in this provision.
First, local customary law for the African was never codified by the Portuguese overseas administration. Thus, the legal situations for the African was ambiguous. Since the African was an *indigena*, Portuguese common law was not applicable to them in civil and criminal cases. The middle man, the *sepoy*, was in a strategic position in civil cases.

The *sepoy* interpreted some local customs and usages for the *chefe de posto*. There were no native courts, and hence, counsel was not permitted. Customary law, thus far, was still in tact by not allowing counsel. According to Duffy, the absence of lawyers was in keeping with tribal laws. However, tribal law was not shaped for the interjection of foreign interpretations of African custom. Convenient means to extend Portuguese authority, even in local customary practices, were easily maintained. Customary laws were subject to the scruples of colonial administrators in their interpretations of native customs.

The African population was also prohibited from the full use of their political institutions. The social definition of the *indigena* was given legal sanction which also subjected them to the complex juridical and administrative controls, known as the *Indigenato*.

The *Indigenato* rested on the philosophical doctrine that the African was incapable of exercising the privileges that accompanied Portuguese citizenship.

The *Indigenato* was given legal significance through the revised Native Statute of 1954. It was succinctly stated in Article 23 that, "Indigenous persons shall not be granted political rights with respect
to non-indigenous institutions. The inability of Africans to be at liberty to make such a choice was also stated in the original definition of an indígena. According to the Statute, an indígena was defined as:

... a person ... of the Negro race ... who did not possess the level of education or the personal and social habits which was a condition for the unrestricted application of the public and private law pertaining to Portuguese citizens.

African legal institutions were aligned with the assertion that the indigenous population could not make proper use of political rights. The late Prime Minister, Salazar, clearly stated that "full citizenship" should be a "noble legal concept" and the granting of civil rights should correspond to a genuine and lasting evolution "or else the people run the risk of regression and return to tribalism."

The indígena was literally without citizenship and political rights. The parameters that the African could move in were limited and their status was reduced to that as mere "wards" of the state. The special status of indígena, then, tended to carry the implication that they were not "civilized." The population in the overseas territories, until 1960, was listed under one of two major sections: the civilizada and the não-civilizada. The "civilized" section, of course, included persons of European descent, who enjoyed all of the privileges of most Portuguese citizens.

Marvin Harris summarized African life under the administrative and juridical system of the Indigenato system as:

... limited African movement; concentration in menial professions and minimum wages; relegated to separate and inferior
schools taught in a foreign language; exposure to arbitrary punishment; lifelong banishment in penal colonies and forced labor; forced to carry specific authorization in order to move about; prohibited from buying machinery and selling products without official permission; could not establish bank accounts; and were constantly subject to other exploitative practices. 

Since the Portuguese regarded those divisions to be cultural rather than racial, there were stipulations in the 1954 Native Statute which allowed the indígena to relinquish their special legal status and become assimilados. The "system of compromise" which characterized Portuguese-African policy, allowed Africans to relinquish indígena status while at the same time maintaining local customs. However, the second flaw in the "system of compromise" is evident. The three major requirements which were necessary to obtain assimilado status also had to be done at the expense, of native experiences.

The African had to show: 1) an ability to speak fluently and write the Portuguese language correctly; 2) a record of steady employment with recognized financial security; and 3) an attained education which would be comparable to adopting a European way of life, which meant abandoning certain indigenous customs.

The "system of compromise" which guaranteed the preservation of native society was also the mechanism to destroy native hegemony. The education system was the most logical medium for Africans to attain assimilado status. The ability to speak and write fluent Portuguese was tantamount to abandoning tribal ways and customs. Yet, the educational system which was developed for Africans was not conducive to giving the acquired level of instruction.
The development of education, as in most of Portugal's African policy in the colonies, occurred in several stages. Educational activities for the African coincided with Portugal's advancement as a colonial power. Education policy was useful as a: divisive mechanism to legitimately separate the indigenous population from the Portuguese officials especially in the administrative hierarchy; means of producing a handful of Africans to serve as intermediaries in Portugal's administration of the colonies: means of assimilating Africans into a social consciousness compatible with European values.

Historically, the education practiced in the colonies was linked to the maritime discoveries and the economic position that Portugal carved out of the colonies. An historical and cultural survey of education policy in the colonies shows three main periods of its development: the first dating from the era of Portugal's penetration around the kingdom of the Kongo until 1834; the second era dating from 1834 to 1926; and the third era covering from 1926 to the end of Portugal's dominance in the colonies.²⁴

A mystical religious connotation underlined the early education policy, since one of Portugal's interests in the new-found lands was to "evangelize." It was the missionaries who were sent to be in charge of instructing Africans. The religious orders accompanied the explorers at the request of Kings of the Kongo (João II, Manuel I and João III). This was the first attempt at African assimilation into the European way of life. Assimilation became more pronounced under the
reign of Afonso I. Afonso's reign was the first testing ground for the applicability of African assimilation into an alien culture. His reign proved that it was impossible.

Afonso became embued with Portuguese clerical instruction as well as being versed in European ways. Afonso's energies were directed toward establishing stronger links with Portugal in the hope of bringing "civilization" to the Kongo. However, in the process, Afonso became a victim of the sidetracked advantages that Portugal reaped in the Kongo. Events in the Kongo began to be marked especially with the imposition of the slave trade. In the meantime, a second group of missionaries had been sent to the Kongo around 1508, at Afonso's request. Rather than instill religious beliefs and act as buffers between the notorious slave trading system and the Portuguese government, some of the missionaries became enmeshed in the proprietary land system and succumbed to the benefits of the lucrative business.  

Thus education and religion in the colonies became synonymous with expansion of empire and the economic profits of the slave trade. From 1545, the Kongo lost all vestiges of an autonomous region with the emergence of Angola as the principle Portuguese interest.

The failure of the Kongo, according to Armattoe, "must be a warning to all Africans to . . . endure must be founded on the sound foundations of native institutions and must fulfill the legitimate aspirations of its people."  

Although some of the missionaries reaped the benefits of the slave trade, Roman Catholic missions did render some service in
education. Education in the colonies was conducted largely through Jesuit missions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Jesuits, around 1605, began a rudimentary educational system especially in Angola. The curriculum supposedly was compatible with instruction in Europe.

At certain junctures of time, the Jesuits worked in cooperation with the government offering professional preparation to the native. However, this was short-lived. The missions fell into disfavor with the Portuguese government. The major thrust of Jesuit missionary work in Angola was concentrated around Luanda, with work in the interior being very remote. The Jesuits began to fall into disfavor because they tended to dominate activities in the capitol. According to Duffy, the Jesuits tried to create a role as "protector of the indigenous people." The Portuguese government saw them as controversial figures who reaped heavily from land transactions under Portuguese protection and the commerce in the slave trade.

In Mozambique where the Dominicans were largely prevalent, the situation resembled the Angolan case. In the Zambezi, Dominicans were in charge of large prazeros collecting head taxes and dealing in the slave business. They were also in charge of much of the administration, since they were dominant in the hinterlands where Portugal's influence was not yet pronounced.

The Jesuits were expelled from all Portuguese dominions around 1759, and the separation of church and state followed after the Revolution.
The effect on education after the expulsion of the Jesuits was further intensified with the issuance of a decree by Minister Loaquim Antonio de Aguiar in 1834. All religious orders were banned and missionary education came to a halt. The second era of education's development in the colonies began with the abolition of the religious orders. The state took the place of the missions and teachers were laymen or secular priests.

Under the liberal regime, Minister Joaquim Jose Falcao issued the 1845 decree which established public schools in the colonies. In accordance with the liberal policies of the regime, no legal distinction was to be made between Africans and Europeans. The curriculum was based on a two-degree system with teaching in the basics, Christian doctrine and Portuguese history.

However, the egalitarian principles of education were soon eroded by the increasing presence of Portuguese settlers. A new education system was introduced by Navy and Overseas Minister, Luis Augusto Rebelo da Silva in 1869. Under the decree, education was separated and the missions again largely took over instruction. A compulsory tuition fee was introduced for children living within a close distance to the rudimentary schools. Needless to say, few Africans could afford to pay the tuition and most of the villages were more than three miles from the schools, which disqualified many African students from attending schools.

The third phase of African education in the former colonies completed the ingrown failure of Portuguese policy. Following the
proclamation of the Republic, education policy took many shifts in terms of control. However, by 1940, native education was completely instructed by missions, with the state having full control over development, planning and the drawing up of regulations for African students. A dual education system for Africans and Europeans was established on three levels, with the missions and government schools for the indígena and não-indígena populations, respectively.

To summarize education policy, the Portuguese language was compulsory for use in instruction; native education was entrusted in the hands of Catholic missions; a tuition fee was imposed and the state was dominant in providing curricula, and in the drawing up of the October examination which determined whether or not the African student advanced through the three-leveled mission education system.

Hence, many wedges existed against mass African education, for advancement in the school system, and therefore in the social strata.

The rudimentary educational system which was designed for the indigenous population, was far below the standards set for persons of European descent. The institutions administered through the missionary schools had a built-in mechanism for failure. Education in the former colonies had the explicit purpose of perpetuating colonialism.

The very structure of African education institutions lacked a coherently formulated policy regarding instruction for the indígena. The objective of education was reduced to only having immediate utility for the colonial power. The social, political and economic problems which were inherent in the colonies were not dealt with at an instructional level for African culture.
Since the education system did not accommodate the mass population, few Africans were able to satisfy the criteria dealing with gainful and frequent employment. And, since access to education for the native was limited, many idle Africans were subjected to the rigors of the labor system imposed by the metropole. The ramifications of being illiterate in the colonies resulted in Africans being subjected to the labor practices which were eventually sanctioned through legislation. The following section deals with the physical subjugation of Africans to very stringent labor practices.

Development of Labor Practices in the Former Colonies

**Historical Development in Native Labor Policy**

Labor in the colonies also followed along the lines of Portuguese advancement and domination in the overseas territories. The historical development of the Portuguese colonizing mentality tended to put labor in line with the development of Portugal as a colonizing influence in the territories. Native administration of labor practices was determined by decree since the Constitution did not cover the governing of the colonies. Ad hoc rule by decree and later by constitutional acts, gave institutional credence and legitimization to native labor practices.

Labor in the colonies became disguised under a terminology which distinguished the practice from the historical use of African slave labor. Yet, African labor policy went through four phases of development. The first phase occurred during early Portuguese exploration of the African territories. The relationship developed between the
African chiefs and kings which resulted in the exchange of Africans for manufactured goods. This period was the initial beginning of the slave trade on the Guinea Coast which extended from about 1650-1800. Slave labor was used in the tapping of gold and cultivation of huge sugar plantations.33

The second phase of native policy, according to Bailey, covered most of the nineteenth century, before the Portuguese effectively controlled the territories. Under the "liberal monarchy," free Africans were officially Portuguese citizens, although the trade along the West African Coast continued. Theoretical Portuguese citizenship did not excuse Africans from the slave trade which continued unabated.

It is the third phase of colonial policy in which Portuguese native policy was expressed. Heretofore, much of the regulations regarding labor practices were implied and did not need a written set of labor laws. The slave trade had its own built-in mechanism which European nations used to cursorily assess their presence in Africa. With the eventual end of slavery in 1878, preparations for the transition to free African labor was forthcoming. A string of ad hoc measures attempted to define Portugal's native labor policy.

This phase in native policy was geared toward "tendential assimilation."34 An "apprenticeship system"35 was imposed with the legal abolition of slavery, in which Africans were indentured servants. It was out of this system that the contract labor system grow. Africans were contracted to the mines of South Africa and to work on the sugar and cocoa plantations in Portuguese controlled territories.
With the abolition of slavery, a decree of 1869 made all freed slaves \textit{libertos}, and until 1878 African labor was to be remunerated. However, slavery was guised under a new phase of African subjugation. The first native labor code of 1875, abolished the \textit{liberto} status and Africans were obliged to contract their services for two years to the former owners.

Portuguese labor policy thus, began to take shape, at least in a legal manner, since the practice had already gained notoriety. The labor code of 1878\textsuperscript{36} however, introduced the practice of a free labor system and abolished the forced labor system. The labor code was designed to protect African rights and interests. Africans also had the option of working or not working and the authorities were given the responsibility to protect the "sacred right to idleness recognized for the Africans."\textsuperscript{37}

However, the Portuguese were still in a transitional stage from slavery to free labor and the progressive piece of legislation was implanted in soil totally unsuitable to the new system. Furthermore, this was a privilege which was not recognized in the metropole. According to da Silva Cunha, Portuguese philosophy in the metropole was that all rational beings were expected to improve themselves as productive members for the collective good of the State.\textsuperscript{38}

There were, however, various ways in which profiteers operated around the stipulation of the labor code. In Angola, Africans remained under the tutelage of former owners but, they were called \textit{servicais}. African laborers were contracted for their services for up to five years.
The underlying philosophy of African laborers as property began to take a new turn with the 1878 Regulation. The foundation of slave law had rested upon the idea that Africans were real estate. The loopholes in the 1878 code redefined African laborers. They were considered to be chattel and they had the option to receive compensation for their labor.

However, the vagrancy clause which was suggested by Sousa Coutinho some one hundred years before, began to take form. In some areas, idle Africans were called vagrants. An idle African was one who was not gainfully employed. Oftentimes this was not determined by the natives to establish a strong economic base in the territories. They did not have access to those outlets which would facilitate the development of industry. Since Portugal was in a developmental stage itself, the Portuguese frontier, i.e., Portuguese speaking Africa, was not utilized to enhance development in the colonies. Portugal could not accommodate in the colonies that which was lacking in the metropole. Therefore, those Africans who were not in the active labor force, were subject to the vagrancy clause. They were expected to fulfill a five-year contract with the profits largely being reaped by foreign merchants as well as the metropole.

The Regulation met with opposition from some progressive Portuguese authorities. However, some officials struck blows to the Regulation because it did not aid in the African becoming a part of the Portuguese culture, at least in a philosophical sense. The discretion of Africans to work or not was in direct opposition to Portugal's
"civilizing mission" in Africa. Thus, new legislation was introduced which began a new period in the history of native work regulations in the Portuguese held territories. Furthermore, economic conditions dictated a legitimate change in African labor policy.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the metropole was not producing anything, and, thus the African territories fell into decadence also. And with a work force which could theoretically, choose not to work, and because Africans were the backbone of Portugal's economy, a new change in labor policy was inevitable.

Under the iron-clad hand of Antonio Enes, the Regulation of 1899 began to echo the philosophical tradition of Portugal's colonizing mentality. The Regulation, according to da Silva Cunha, ushered in the beginning of a new period in the history of native work legislation and practice. Africans no longer had the theoretical choice to accept or deny work. The legislation appeared because of certain historical factors which precipitated an increased interest in the colonies' labor force.

After the end of official slavery, the colonies became an expense for Portugal to maintain. The liberal option for Africans to deny work was cited as a major cause of the decadence which befell the colonies. However, I feel that Portugal had not come into an alternative economic venture to exploit through African exploitation. It had not invested capital to develop the colonies' potential for economic autonomy, nor did it abandon the colonies so that the natives could take control over their destinies. Of course, Portugal could not let the colonies go. It could not have functioned independently.
of the colonies. Sugar from Madeira, gold and African slaves were historical mainstays in the formation of Portuguese capital. Without the development of alternative sources to tap for economic vitality, Portugal's attempts at maintaining its place as a colonizing force would have faltered.

Thus, at the close of the nineteenth century, African labor began to reassume central importance in the life of Portugal's colonial exploits. Around 1886, gold was discovered in the Transvaal and Mozambique held the gateway to industrial development. At the turn of the century, three-fourths of the total African labor force servicing the Transvaal mines were from Mozambique. Portugal entered into the signing of agreements with South Africa. According to Spence, forty-seven and one half per cent of the traffic which passed through the "competitive area" were guaranteed passage through Mozambique's parts. In Angola, whole villages were threatened with extinction because of the discovery of rubber in the Belgian Congo and in Angola. The importance of African laborers began to reappear on a very large scale.

The Regulation of 1899 boldly asserted that Africans had sole responsibility for the economic development in the colonies. The Regulation stated that:

All natives of Portuguese overseas provinces (were) subject to the obligation, moral and legal, of attempting to obtain through work the means that they lack (ed) to subsist and to better their social condition. They have full liberty to choose the method of fulfilling this obligation, but if they (did) not fulfill it, public authority may force a fulfillment.
Thus, two forms of labor practiced in the colonies materialized during this period of legitimizing the work ethic forced on the natives—obligatory and forced labors.

Through obligatory labor, Africans benefited the state, private interests and the domestic market. The decree of 1914 which revoked all prior labor legislation was designed to correct abuses in prior legislation. At the core of the decree was Portugal's desire to correct African (mis)behavior. The mission to "civilize" the African was always at the forefront of colonial policy to justify Portugal's stand on various issues.

The state could legitimately oblige Africans to work under certain conditions. The provincial government requisitioned African labor for public works. Natives were recruited by the state when they did not fulfill their obligation to work; when they failed to pay certain taxes or as punishment for penal offenses. When there were no public jobs to be performed private interests could recruit laborers.

The decree of 1914 hardly corrected abuses of earlier legislation. The native population was still immobile as a result of very restrictive labor codes. Africans were still forced to engage in employment which inevitably resulted in repressive and exploitative measures against them.

However, the controversial labor legislation continued as Portugal moved into a new phase of development. With the collapse of the Republic in 1926 and Portugal near collapse, labor legislation took on different significance. Portugal was in a position to achieve economic
development in the metropole and in the colonies. It was struggling for recognition as a world power and to establish a place in the international world market. Thus, it was essential for colonial administration to alter some of its African policies.

Portugal defended its policies by attempting to assimilate few Africans into Portuguese culture which was to be achieved largely through the African's obligation to work. Portugal made superficial attempts to correct abuses by signing some labor agreements. Much of the attempts were made when Portuguese-African policies were internationally illuminated and written criticisms appeared which denounced Portuguese practices in the colonies.

The decree of 1926 limited forced labor to public works. However, private companies could use African labor, providing the native was remunerated for services. According to the 1926 agreement, the provincial government could authorize the recruiting of laborers in Mozambique. The principal recruiting agent was the São Tomé and Príncipe Emigration Company. The Company also issued the work-book which was an account of all jobs that the native engaged for agricultural work. In addition, to the work-book, natives were issued identity cards and all pertinent information relating to African mobility was entered in the work-book. The identification cards came to be a controversial issue in native policy because of its restrictive nature. The restrictions were pronounced since they had to instantly present the cards to inquiring authorities.
The fifth article of the labor code of 1926 was also a substantial alteration in the Regulation of 1899. It theoretically guaranteed the natives the freedom of entering into contracts the use of their services. However, no general system of regulations for native labor was contained in the decree. Thus, the Native Code of 1928 was imposed which outlined overseas labor regulations. The provisions of the code legalized forced labor and reiterated the prohibition of native use on private projects. They could only be compelled to work at public jobs which were for the general collective good, occupations whose results belonged to them and for payment of penal charges and fiscal obligations.

Since the bulk of the African population was not concentrated in the provincial capital, abuses in labor recruiting were eminent in the colonies. Colonial administrators indulged in a lucrative quid pro quo payment system with large plantation owners and with European owned companies. The owners of agricultural, industrial, commerical undertakings and landowners formed recruiting companies and/or emigration companies for receiving natives in or outside the colony.

Individual companies also worked in conjunction with the Department of Native Affairs in Luanda which handled much of the labor traffic. The applications from business enterprises were turned over to licensed labor recruiters who rounded up natives in various villages.

The recruitment process, then, fell into deeper abuse when the state actually acted as the official recruitment agent. Much of the red tape involved through the Department of Native Affairs was avoided.
The companies obtained workers directly from the chefe de posto or the administrator of circumscription, the two colonial officials who came into daily contact with the natives.

The chefe de posto was usually satisfied with a small bribe or pay off. They put extra pressure on the tribal chiefs to force natives to contract their services. The chiefs used coercive powers of collecting proper tax payments from the natives. When the native could not pay, they were recruited and contracted for correctional labor.

Legislation which was introduced to stimulate growth and development in the colonies while at the same time forcing European culture on the Africans, often conflicted with equal treatment of the native.

International controversies over native labor policies abated in the early years of the Salazar regime. From 1930 to 1945, there was only passing criticism about the Portuguese in Africa. The labor system and its inhumane treatment continued unabated. Early criticisms equated the system with slavery. According to Nevinson, natives were still slaves, but they were called by another name. Portugal legalized native positions through printed legislation and the traffic was a commercial enterprise.

Subsequently, written criticism about Portuguese policy in Africa reappeared around World War II. New colonial legislation which was an inherent part of the developments in Portuguese-African policy, painted a very sanguine picture of native affairs in the colonies. However, upon close examination there were inherent gaps between the theory as it appeared on paper and the reality as it occurred in practice.
A revised interest by outsiders in the colonial administration of the Portuguese, sparked much written criticism about conditions in the colonies. A. T. Steele's examination of policies in the colonies revealed that it was common knowledge for forced labor to be practiced on roads and public works; compulsory contract labor on European plantations and concessions; Africans were rounded up and shipped off to Portuguese cocoa farms in São Tomé to work off offenses, real or imagined, regarding tax delinquency and vagrancy. The village chief was still used as the middle man to supply the mixed quotas of workers when plantation owners notified the government of their needs.

Yet, Portugal defended its stand in Africa and continued to exploit the notion of tranquility and equality in the colonies. Of course, it was not by design that Portugal could boast of tranquility. The press was effectively censored and opposition writings emanating from the colonies were forbidden. The Portuguese had the efficient police system which quelled any signs of disorder.

Perhaps the major reason behind Portugal's "hand-off" attitude regarding native administration was its philosophical rationalization for being in Africa. Portugal, first and foremost considered itself to be less color-conscious than any other colonizing power in Africa. They were determined to assimilate a handful of the African population as full-fledged Portuguese citizens. Only a few Africans were permitted to cross over into Portuguese citizenship and the rest of the population was handled as sternly as before. According to Steele, "this device provided an escape valve for the well-educated few who might otherwise become a nucleus of frustration and discontent."
As late as the middle 1950's, Davidson was writing about Portugal's "modern slavery." He cited many cases whereby African forced labor was the "economic flywheel in Angola." The Angolan Diamond Company which was owned by Belgian, American, British, et al., interests had a monopoly over African labor in northern Angola. There were no alternative employment incentives beyond work in the mines since their agriculture was underdeveloped and industry was practically unheard of. According to Davidson, Africans were not allowed to "choose his employer" and their remuneration was less than that of the company's forced workers.

The cocoa plantation of São Tomé was depopulating areas of Angola and laborers were still sent to the penal settlement to work the plantations. A re-ushering of the early labor scandal on the Island appeared in 1953. Governor Senhor Gorgulho issued a decree which would have required all natives to register for "contract labor." Copies of the decree were torn down and a bloody scene resulted with the calling in of troops. Other incidents of African resistance appeared to Portuguese rule. However, Portugal tended to ignore the incidents as the beginning of the severing of colonial ties in Africa.

Yet, forced labor remained the key to Angola's whole economy. The transatlantic shipment of Congo copper, uranium and ore was a productive element of African forced labor. Without the labor, Lobito port would not have functioned and other routes would have been forged to transport the uranium from the Congo.
Although increased criticism about the colonial administration appeared around the middle of the 1950's, Portugal took a seat among the nations in the world body. Portugal became a member of the United Nations in 1955. International criticism put moral pressure on Portugal to release certain reports on development in the colonies and information relating to the economic, social and educational conditions in the non-self governing territories.66

Portugal made certain concessions to lessen its reign over the colonies. However, the basic colonial infrastructure was left in tact. Besides receiving pressure from international bodies, indigenous protest movements moved into an aggressive phase of retaliation through guerilla warfare around 1961.

Portugal was forced to make certain changes in African policy. The obvious beginning was in the cosmetic paper changes which were made through various legal documents. The following chapters will outline some of those legal reforms and analyze the reality exhibited through their application. The protest writings which emanated from the colonies set the tone for reform in colonial policy.
FOOTNOTES


2Duffy, Portuguese Africa, p. 228. Portugal, however, was not admitted into the United Nations until December 15, 1955.


8See below for discussion of the labor system perpetuated by the Portuguese in Africa.


10Estatuto politico civil e criminal dos indigenas das colonias de Angola e Mozambique, 1926. The revised 1954 Statute was called Estatuto dos indigenas Portuguesas das Provincias de Guinea, Angola e Mozambique.


17 Interview with Salazar.


20 The *caderneta* was the passbook that all *indigenas* were subject to carry. This was their permit to travel outside their own area or they would be subject to arrest. Most importantly, the passbook contained pertinent information relevant to the labor and work habits of the holder.


22 Article 56 of the 1954 Native Statute amended indigenous legal status to allow them to become assimilated into Portuguese life.


25. See Duffy, *Portuguese Africa*, pp. 12-16 for account of the failure of missionaries in the Kongo to deliver educational services to the natives.


30. Marquis de Pombal expelled the Jesuits from the territories and they were not allowed back until the second half of the nineteenth century (except for a few French Jesuits who were admitted from 1829-1834). See Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era*, (Paris: UNESCO Press, 1974), p. 56.

31. Ibid., p. 57.

32. According to Norman Bailey, Portuguese policy for indigenous population went through four phases. During the first phase the kings and chiefs had superficial control over labor supply, with authority resting with the metropole. Bailey de-emphasized the historical context that Portuguese dominated territory was experiencing, particularly the slave trade. See his article, "Native and Labor Policy" in Samuels and Abshire, eds., *Portuguese Africa: A Handbook*, pp. 165-177.


36. The labor code of 1878, *Regulamento para os contratos de servicaes e colonos nas provincias da Africa*, was designed to protect African rights and interests.
For a complete history of Portuguese labor legislation see J. M. da Silva Cunha, O trabalho indígena, (Lisbon, 1955), p. 144. I have used much of the work that da Silva Cunha compiled as well as Duffy's Portuguese Africa.

da Silva Cunha, O trabalho indígena, p. 144.

Harris, Slavery or Sacred Trust?, p. 4.

Portugal's civilizing mission in Africa was the moral and legal justification for its presence on the continent. Portugal developed a colonial mystique which in essence was to bring civilization and European culture to a backward country. This civilizing mission only philosophically disguised colonialism and the active exploitation which Portugal engaged in the territories.


Harris, Portugal's African Wards, p. 18.


Quoted in Duffy, Portuguese Africa, p. 155.


The identity cards were in conformity with provisions of Order No. 1085 issued by the government in Mozambique on May 24, 1919. The work books contained information with the following particulars for identification: name, estimated age, characteristic marks, nationality, finger prints, date of contract, wages agreed upon, deductions, penalties, etc. See Ibid., Part II, p. 3.

da Silva Cunha, O trabalho indígena, p. 201.

The Codigo de 1928 contained in Decree No. 16,199 was 428 articles which outlined native labor regulations.

da Silva Cunha, _O trabalho indigena_, p. 205. Article 20 contained the jobs that natives could be compelled to work on such as emergency natural disasters and urgent government work. Some of the jobs entailed cleaning villages, clearing paths, killing dangerous animals, cultivating certain land reserves.


The Colonial Act of 1930 defined Portuguese African policy in a legalistic manner which gave very liberal interpretations of native treatment in the colonies.


_Tbid._, p. 16.


Davidson, _op cit._, p. 58.


CHAPTER IV
AFRICAN PROTEST WRITINGS

The opposition writings set the tone for the protest movement in the 1960's. The writings gave international recognition to the dire political, economic and social conditions of a colonized people. The very essence of African feelings toward colonization were expressed in the writings.

The Portuguese had given the outside world the impression that all was well in the colonies. The African population was painted as a happy lot content with the powers that be. They exploited the notion that they were not color conscious and that any hard working African could reach the ultimate in the European experience through assimilation. Subsequently, the glorious traditions of the past were struck with a note of discord through the protest writings. The writings expressed the mood in the colonies which explicitly stated that all was not well with Portuguese colonization. The mood of discontent and restlessness emerged into a full-blown movement--guerilla warfare. Guerilla warfare was the decisive determinant of victory for the African population under Portuguese administration. 1

The Non-Traditional Approach to Protest Movements

Written opposition was a non-traditional approach to colonial rule, just as legal documents were a non-traditional medium for Portugal
to justify holding on to the colonies. Local tribal revolts characterized African resistance to colonial rule since the beginning of deep penetration by the Portuguese in Africa. However, Portugal updated its repressive policies through legislative decrees which in practice did not always coincide with the underlying theories of the printed page. Thus, Portugal also moved into a phase of modernized colonial repression to evade the criticisms which emanated from the colonies and abroad.

One of the major features of the rigidly authoritarian government radiating from Portugal was the strong ban on "subversive literature." Much of the mysticism which clouded the reality of the Portuguese in Africa can be attributed to the fact that Portugal strictly forbade media coverage regarding the status of the colonies. The ban on the media, public opinion polls and any opposition literature that Portugal thought would discredit or expose the regime was met with grave counterattacks. It was difficult to overtly associate with groups and associations whose philosophies were antithetical to those of the ruling regime without meeting with some form of flack.

There was a direct relationship between the works of the literary precursors and the political scene surrounding the colonies as well as the metropole. A great deal of the protest writings were highly political in that they were expressive of the political fervor which was sweeping the country. As one writer summed up the situation, "It (was) hard to say whether in Portugal (and the colonies included) literature became the handmaiden of politics or politics the handmaiden of literature." Many of the writers who showed an inherent dissatisfaction
with the regime usually took part in both activities. It was through the protest writings that the basic design of the Portuguese ruling regime was exposed to the outside world.

The use of the printed page as a means of protest was not a new phenomenon as a response to Portuguese colonial encroachments. The movement had a history of bold and assertive attempts to expose the closed authoritarian political system through journalistic efforts.

The early protest writers were mostly mesticos and a few were African assimilados. They were mostly persons who had gone through the educational process either in Portugal and/or abroad. They usually came into awareness which resulted in their profound denouncement of the regime's practices and of the conditions surrounding the masses. They either made up the Portuguese colonial civil service on a small scale or they were part of the African intelligentsia. This sector of the population was confined to that group of writers, university students, lawyers and poets who used the "pen" as one of the most dramatic forms of protest.

Developments in Early Nationalistic Protest Writings

It was suggested that Angolan nationalism went through three major phases: "stirrings" from 1860-1930; "struggle" from 1930-1961; and "struggle from exile and insurgency" from 1961 to the eventual disintegration of Portuguese rule in 1975. However, this paper is only concerned with one of the activities of the phases; protest writings.

The first stirrings of non-traditional protest was in 1845, from Prince Alexus of the Dembos territory, and Prince Nicolas from the
Kongo around 1859. Prince Alexus used oral expression to deny Portuguese rule. As early as 1859, Nicolas actually wrote letters of protest to the government in Portugal and Brazil defending the Kongo's right as an autonomous area.

Alexus and Nicolas were both assimilados who had been educated in Portugal and Luanda. Nicolas expressed protest in writing against Portuguese commercial, political and military expansion by publishing letters to the Portuguese newspapers in Lisbon. His case, according to Wheeler, was the first of Angolan written assertion against modern colonial influence and represented an antecedent to later Angolan nationalism. As retaliation, the Portuguese government either incarcerated the protestors and/or banished them from respectable positions in the civilian bureaucracy.

Fontes Pereira, a mestiço assimilado, was another protestor who made his imprint in radical journalism between 1873 and 1890. Although his early writings were supportive of Portuguese expansion he eventually became disillusioned with Portugal's "civilizing mission" in Africa. One of the major themes which prevailed in his articles was Portugal's "false civilization" as evident through the lack of education for the Angolan Africans. Fontes Pereira reasoned that the Portuguese did not develop mass education because they understood "that the son of Angola who learn(ed) his brutal customs (would) be able to proclaim the independence of his country."

The Portuguese did not always act harshly against protest. The era of the "free press" from 1867-1922, coincided with what was called
the "intellectual movement"\(^8\) in Angola which originated with Luanda journalism. Although the Portuguese contained much of the journalistic writings, the tactics did not compare with those of the post 1926 policy when Salazar came to power. Written protest during the late 1880's and early twentieth century, developed the concept of the "false civilizer," especially in reference to those Portuguese settlers with little education and economic incentives.\(^9\) The Portuguese in Africa were, perhaps for the first time, considered to be indulging in "exploitation" of African civilization. This term was used in the book, *The Voice of Angola Crying in the Wilderness*,\(^10\) which was a bitter editorial and reaction to Portuguese discrimination in the colonies.

A third volume of angry protest writings during the "stirrings" phase, was from Assis Junior two-volume tract.\(^11\) Assis Junior's work was a castigation of the concept of "assimilation" which Portugal praised to defend its "multiracial" community in the metropole, in Brazil and finally in its last frontier, the African territories. Assis Junior's concept of the "marginal man"\(^12\) or the assimilado, was developed as a result of personal experiences. Assis Junior was torn between aspirations to fully blend into Portuguese society and the rejections and obstacles he confronted as a result of not being educated, but, as an educated African.

The early African protest writings stressed advancement within the context of the Portuguese colonial system. The early associations and organizations were mainly concerned with reform within the legal and constitutional realm. The *Liga Angolana* (1913) and the *Partido*
Nacional Africana (PNA, 1921) were examples of two such associations. The Liga was composed of African mulattoes who called for economic and social advancement of the African elites.13 The PNA demanded reform within the context of the Constitution of the first Portuguese Republic.14

The Liga and the PNA espoused a moderate, reformist and assimilado outlook.15 The institutional and legalistic means of uplifting a small minority of the population did deplete itself. The philosophies and activities were challenged by splinter groups of the associations which reorganized, as well as by Salazar, censorship and police measures.

The Liga Angolana reorganized itself in 1929 as the Liga Nacional Africana (LNA). It was still predominantly mulatto and still expressed the same kind of advancement for the educated and assimilated Africans within the colonial structure. The LNA was later split between the old conservative and young radicals who demanded cultural, political and social advancement for the African masses, as well as the elites.16

A highly political yet cultural association, the Sociedade Cultural was a rallying point for members of the Portuguese Communist party which proselytized among Europeans, mestiços, students and intellectuals in Luanda. The sweeping wave of cultural nationalism caused the Sociedade Cultural to be a rallying point from which circles gathered to publicly denounce the colonial regime. With the slogan, "Let us discover the Angolan movement,"17 the members proceeded to dramatize the colonial situation through their writings. The review, the Mensagem published in 1950 was the convergence point for the transmission of
radical ideologies which were transmitted to the public. Edited by Viriatu Cruz, a fiery *mestiço* poet, articles of protest, poetry and fiction set the protest organization into motion. The impact of the review was so great, the governor-general of Angola allowed only two issues to be disseminated before they were banned as "subservise publications."\(^{18}\)

The journalists and early associations were more a cultural group than a political group. They were concerned with reassessing and re-orienting their values and outlook toward their own heritage. This is not to discredit the political potentials that are definitely at the forefront of the cultural movement. Instead, the associations stressed the cultural and the political as two separate entities. The conceptions of viewing the two movements—that of reassessing ones history and that of demanding political autonomy—indeed, are two phenomenons to occur simultaneously.

Yet, the idea of demanding African advancement at that time was, indeed, a revolutionary action. Although there might not have been such a great impact on African independence, their radicalism lay largely in the ideas that were profoundly expressed. The group of African and *mestiço* writers were largely unperceived by the outside world since their dialogue was foreclosed by the official censorship of subversive literature by the Angolan High Commissioner.\(^{19}\) The ban on early journalistic efforts caused them to move their movement underground. Their clandestine activity did not circulate widely and their ideas only reached a small fraction of the population. Although most of the parties moved their operations to neighboring independent countries, a
great deal of the movement's history is still hidden in Portugal's administrative and public records.\textsuperscript{20}

As more groups organized there was the gradual realization that written protest was not substantial enough for the complete eradication of the repressive Portuguese regime. Opposition journalism had a profound impact on the liberation movement in the former colonies. The writings brought to life the restless mood of the indigenous population. The plight of the African people was given feeling and direction through the writings. It was the outside world's first glimpse into the actual reality of Portuguese-African policy. The writings also were a prelude and precipitated the initial beginnings of reform in the colonies. After the uprising in Angola in 1961, new legislation was hurriedly introduced in December, 1961. According to Duffy, the legislation envisaged the "creation of a semi-literate politically conservative African mass dedicated to the avowed Portuguese values..."\textsuperscript{21}


For literature on the various meanings given to nationalism see Ronald Chilcote, Nationalism and Development: A Conceptual Synthesis and a Framework for Comparative Inquiry, (paper presented at University of California, Riverside, 1967).


Fontes Pereira wrote O cruzeiro do sul and articles for papers in Luanda and four journals in Lisbon. See O futuru d'Angola, May 16, 1891 as quoted from Wheeler in Protest and Resistance, p. 76.

Fontes Pereira, O futuru d'Angola, Nov. 10, 1886, as quoted by Wheeler in Protest and Resistance, p. 76.

Wheeler, Protest and Resistance, p. 70.

Ibid., p. 78.

The book, Voz d'Angola clamando no deserto (or The Voice of Angola Crying in the Wilderness), was written by the mestizo writer A. J. do Nascimento and the European editor Francisco Pinheiro Bayao. Voz d'Angola was, according to Wheeler, the first time an Angolan writer used the word "exploitation" to describe Portugal's purpose in the colonies. Cited in pages 5-6, 197, 174075 in Voz d'Angola.

12 The "marginal man" concept was developed by Assis Junior, cited by Wheeler in Protest and Resistance, p. 81.


14 Ibid., p. 207.


17 Ibid., p. 212.

18 Ibid., p. 212.

19 Marcum, The Angolan Revolution, pp. 4-5.

20 Antonio de Figueiredo, Portugal and Its Empire, p. 129.

The old Portuguese regime strictly determined and controlled the destinies of a people on another continent. The peculiar feature of Portuguese colonialism was that it developed in a feudalistic manner. The development of the metropole was such that it was economically immature and underwent an embryonic phase of industrial development. This development was also extended to the African colonies. The Portuguese landed aristocracy in the colonies, because of restrictions on times and prices, set by the metropole, were not at liberty to invest and establish industries.

Other colonial powers exported commodities which reinforced their economics at home. Portugal, on the other hand, depended exclusively on trade incentives derived from the colonial exploitation in Brazil and Africa. However, with Brazilian independence in 1882 and the end of the slave trade (1840), Portugal was facing economic crisis.

An interest in the effective occupation of the African settlements was kindled with the convening of the Berlin Conference (1884-85). Portugal had to systematically portray control over the colonies since other European powers were vying for their portions of the African continent.
Portugal had failed to develop avenues toward industrialization in the metropole as well as in the African territories. Thus, Portugal espoused rhetorical rationalization to justify maintained control over the colonies, rather than the need for an expanded frontier. It was argued that nineteenth century Portugal was deeply influenced by imperialist motives and ideology which were not necessarily tied to economic advantages. It was further argued that Portugal wanted the colonies for "the pleasure of contemplating them on a map" and that the overseas possessions "constituted a kind of justification and guarantee for continued existence of Portugal as an independent nation." It is inadequate to explain Portugal's objectives in late nineteenth century as wholly "uneconomic imperialism." The colonies were vital for the economic subsistence of the metropole. They provided two very important economic incentives for Portugal. First, they provided a protected market supplying raw materials at prices cheaper than the world market. Second, the foreign exchange earnings from exports and services alleviated Portugal's deficit on its balance of trade. With an abundant and cheap labor supply, Portugal exploited the wealth which was parochially distributed among Portuguese commercial interests. The colonies, therefore, were more than a physical addendum to a far-flung kingdom. Various economic motives underlined Portugal's traditional colonialism. However, changing times caused Portugal to introduce reforms in its colonial policies.

It was during the fifties and sixties that Portugal found it necessary to have a less restricted economy. The agrarian monopoly
which characterized Portugal's presence in Africa and in the metropole, was confronted with the position to compete for industrial interests. A more intense feeling among some western countries, some recent independent African states, and the colonized people, forced Portugal to introduce at least nominal changes in its African policies. International criticism against Portugal was intensely raised by the United Nations. The UN seemed to have been one of the organizations which had a profound influence on anti-colonial sentiments. It served to impose a legalism which Portugal was obliged to observe since it became a member of the world-body in 1955.

Each UN member is expected to follow the ideological component of the Charter. However, the UN was questioned by Portugal in taking the position that it did toward Portuguese rule in the overseas territories. Portugal felt that the Charter was being used to "conduct a world revolution which (implied) a new legality and also recourse to violence." Franco Nogueira, the former foreign Minister in the Portuguese government felt that the UN made a departure which was in contradiction to the original political thought and philosophy of the UN charter.

Of course, Nogueira felt that the new composition of the international body was also in conflict to the original design of the body. Nogueira described the former ideology of the UN Charter as "conservative, legalistic and pacifist." The UN began to put heavy pressure on Portugal between 1950 and 1960. According to Nogueira, it was "the massive and indiscriminate entry of many members of the Third World"
which precipitated the crisis in the UN toward Portuguese-African policy.

The UN (General Assembly and the Security Council) was responsible for a number of resolutions which were directed to Portugal. The resolutions essentially dealt with Portugal refusing to disseminate information regarding progress in the overseas territories; decolonization of African territories; commissioning committees to investigate the situation in Portugal; in condemning the repressive measures Portugal used against the indigenous population and political prisoners; and in urging member states and other foreign bodies to withhold any assistance to Portugal which would result in further colonization of the African peoples.

Other international organizations were just as ambitious in condemning Portugal's policies and presence in the African territories. These bodies reiterated some of the principles of the UN. They passed resolutions which condemned colonialism; called attention to the UN to place problems of Portuguese held territories on the General Assembly's agenda; reinforced solidarity with the African people's right to self-determination; and affirmed support to nationalist groups efforts in armed struggle as the only possible solution to the end of colonialism in Africa.

As reactions to the opposition movement, Portugal introduced four major changes in the 1950's. These changes included: change in the terminology of the colonies to overseas provinces; tightening of economic ties between the provinces and the metropole; the Native Statute of 1954; and the Organic Law of 1955.
The Colonies Renamed Provinces

The African territories were no longer called colonies, but were coined "provinces." Law No. 2048 was amended to the Portuguese Constitution in 1951. Article 135 stated that "the overseas provinces (as) an integral part of the Portuguese state, (had) a joint responsibility inters e and with the metropolitan country." The African territories were strongly defended as being "constitutionally an integral part of Portugal." Portugal introduced the semantic change because it was receiving pressure from the United Nations. A provision of the United Nations Charter requires that all UN members report on the development and administration of all its territories which were not self-governing. Article 73e of the Charter states that all UN members are:

... to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible. ...

Portugal's civilizing mission in Africa was given legitimacy through the semantic change from colonies to provinces. It was an attempt to forestall pressure from the United Nations and an attempt to justify Portugal's traditional colonialism. It also implied that the basic problem with the colonies was devoid of discriminatory practices because of the striking differences in skin color of the African population. The change itself is indicative of the relationship which existed between the colonized and the colonizers. Prior to 1950, "the basic problem (was) not racialism but a pretense that Portugal exist(ed)
After 1950, the trend in Portuguese-African policy implied that the African territories were mentally in Portugal, and vice versa.

An analysis of the law which changed the name of the colonies to provinces shows that Portugal indeed was making changes to comply with ever-pressing anti-colonial feelings which prevailed on international and local levels. However, the change was largely paper reform, with no substance. The constitutional law relating to the provinces was revised in 1970 and Caetano "enunciated a policy of greater administrative autonomy and African participation" in the territories while insisting that they constituted part of a unitary, multiracial Portuguese state.

Article 133 of the revised Constitution read:

The territories of the Portuguese Nation outside Europe are Overseas Provinces which as autonomous regions, have their own statutes as autonomous regions and may, by national tradition, be called States if their degree of social progress and administrative complexity justifies this honorific title.

Although the colonies could become autonomous regions, Article 136 outlined the restrictions and limitations to the sovereign body.

Aside from other criticisms which showed the limiting power to the colonies, the Constitution covered itself with Article 136, and, thus, contradicted the substance of the previous article. The provisions in Article 136 were also subject to the scrutiny and interpretations from the metropole. It was the metropole which determined whether or not the colonies had attained "social progress." The Article never stated that the colonies would be given blanket autonomy. The
provision that the colonies could attain "State" status was also questionable. There was no judicial power in the provinces which was expressed solely by the indigenous population. As long as power remained in the metropole, no appreciable or substantial changes occurred in the provinces.

Thus, the constitutional revision was a metaphorical change in the meaning of an autonomous area. Constitutional change was an escape from international pressure and a means of preserving the existing colonial institutions. The change from colonies to provinces was Portugal's way of dealing with the geographical distribution of its colonial empire. Other reforms followed which affected the African population.

Legal Definition of the Indígena

The second major reform in the 1950's was in the Native Statute of 1954. The definition of the indígena was not so tight. Article 56 included provisions whereby the natives could relinquish indígena status. The makings of a third class of Africans—the assimilado—was possible if the natives could satisfy several requirements. However, the final decisions on whether or not the African had satisfied the requirements were evidenced by the administrator of circumscription.

The assimilated African, was theoretically, allowed certain discretionary advantages over the indígena. However, the advantages were determined on the basis of the level of education attained by the native. It was through education that natives could become "civilized."

Although education was the necessary tool for natives to become "civilized," the system failed to provide any real opportunity for the
native to meet the rigid educational requirements. However, statistics show that few Africans attained or were allowed to partake in the few amenities which accrued to the assimilated population. Portuguese policy argued that natives should acquire the "appropriate social background," before being educated.

Statistics show that up to the end of 1960, the population in the colonies were still officially registered as civilizado or não-civilizado, although there was no legal provision for this classification in Portuguese law. In 1959, only 5.3 per cent of the total population in Angola, 2.7 per cent in Mozambique and 1.7 per cent in Portuguese Guinea was classified as civilizado. These percentages, however, include those Europeans, Asians and some mestiços who made up the majority of the civilizado population. Out of a population of less than five million in Angola in 1960, 4,531,883 were considered indígena. Fewer than 38,000 or .08 per cent of the population were assimilados.

In Mozambique, out of a population of almost 6,000,000 in 1955, less than one per cent of the indigenous population were considered by Portugal to have attained the "appropriate social level" of a civilizado. In 1960, approximately 6,000 Africans in Mozambique were considered assimilados out of a population of 6,603,653.

The statistics are none too surprising when development in the educational system for the native population is taken into consideration. Education policy regarding the indigenous population was suitable only for a small portion of the population.
In 1954,* the year of the Native Statute, there were fewer than 64,000 students enrolled in 1,232 educational institutions. The majority of the students, 58,000 or 92 per cent were enrolled at the primary level of instruction. Of the 58,000 at the primary level 40,502 were receiving "rudimentary" instruction in the 919 institutions conducted by missionaries. Therefore, Africans in the 1954 school year made up 70 per cent of the student-body in primary education which was at the rudimentary level of instruction.

Rudimentary education was usually the child's basic orientation to the Portuguese language and the basic reading, and writing skills. This stage of education was equivalent to kindergarten and the first two grades in most African countries. African students were expected to master the Portuguese language. It was necessary to know the language since all students were required to take an October examination which, theoretically, would have determined whether or not they would be admitted to the secondary level of education. Besides, all instruction was in Portuguese. Few African students had mastered the language according to Portugal's perfections, since higher education institutions in Angola did not exist until 1955.31

In Mozambique, there were 245,082 students enrolled in 1,861 educational institutions. Again, the majority of students were enrolled at the primary level of instruction with African students making up 86 per cent of the student body at "rudimentary" level of instruction.**

*See Table 1 in the Appendix.

**See Table 2 in the Appendix.
Since these figures were derived when the 1954 Statute had just
gone into effect, figures for later years do not show a drastic change
in educational opportunities for African students. Statistics for the
1957-58 school year in Angola showed that "rudimentary" education had
dropped slightly.* About 66 per cent of the student body was enrolled
at the primary level receiving "rudimentary" instruction. The remainder
of the student body was in the government schools at the secondary level
of instruction.

Secondary education in the provinces for the African population
was rather limited. In 1961, there were fewer than 300 assimilated
Africans enrolled in secondary schools.32

The policy of "assimilation," thus, did not alleviate the inher-
ent faults in Portuguese-African policy. Changes as a result of paper
reforms did not aid in the severing of colonial ties. The policies of
the liberal regime of the 1820's which decreed that all indigenous per-
sons of Angola were Portuguese citizens was soon revived. A rash of
legislative reforms were introduced in 1961 as a response to the opposi-
tion which emanated from the African population. The nationalistic
strides of African protest begun to make dents in the legal superstruc-
ture of the Indigenato system and other facets of Portuguese-African
colonial policy.

Reforms After 1960: Implications for Change

International "agitation," but mostly the nationalistic strides
by African protestors began to take its toll over continued Portuguese

*See Table 3 in the Appendix.
control in Africa. The explosion in Angola in 1961 caused Portugal to cursorily impose a set of reforms for the colonies which theoretically expanded the legal superstructure of the Indigenato system. However, an assessment of the actual reforms shows that they only superficially appeased opposition to Portuguese-African policy. The reforms did not create any real substantial changes in the status of the African population.

However, "far-reaching reforms" were introduced September 6, 1961 which in a large part were due to the workings of Adriano Moreira. Moreira served as Overseas Minister during the first years of the Angolan crisis. He was responsible for drafting much of the "liberal reforms" which were to pave the way for future colonial policy.

The reforms in colonial policy were introduced at a time when African opposition had moved into a new phase of resistance--armed struggle. Tribal resistance to colonial rule which had characterized much of African response to colonialism, was blown into a new force. Sectarian resistance reshaped itself in the form of national liberation. National liberation made its dents in the colonial structure because of Angola in 1961; Guinea-Bissau in 1962 and Mozambique in 1964.33 The Portuguese forces met an African population which had begun to "shoot back" as the only means to bring about a complete severing of colonial rule.

Nevertheless, Moreira drafted reforms which are summarized as:

1. Repeal of the Native Statute applying to Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau (Degree Law 43,893);
2. Regulation of the occupation and granting of land concessions (Decree No. 43,894);

3. Establishment of provincial settlement boards (Decree No. 43,895);

4. Establishment of local administrative bodies to be known as _regedorias_ (Decree No. 43,896);

5. Recognition of both written and unwritten local usages and customs regulating relations in private law in force in _regedorias_, (Decree No. 43,897);

6. Regulation of the operation of municipal and local courts (Decree No. 43,898);

7. Regulation of the civil registry, (Decree No. 43,899), including a decree restoring elected local government bodies.34

Although the changes were intended to presage the eventual demise of the _Indigenato_ system and most of the practices which were appendages of the system, most of the legislation tended to assume a double standard. It was, however, a necessary step that Portugal, too, openly acknowledge that some changes, indeed, were needed to correct abuses imposed over the African population.

However, it was incorrect to suppose that the promulgation of laws alone would fundamentally alter the situation in the African territories. The laws and decrees could not end a system which traditionally had been drenched in a colonizing mentality and had defended that system on the basis of a Portuguese "multi-racial" society. The modest modifications did bring closer the actual reality that it was _time_ to revamp Portugal's African policies. However, after over 500 years in Africa, 1961 was too soon for Portuguese officials to think in terms of restoring rule to the native population.
In September, 1961, the Native Statute of 1954 was repealed and the status of the indígena officially no longer existed. It was officially determined that inhabitants of the overseas territories were Portuguese citizens. Portugal attempted to make citizens of indigenous Africans when it proclaimed that, "... all natives of the overseas territories are potentially Portuguese citizens, without distinction of race or social condition and this precludes the existence of subjects under rulers or imperialists." It was further stated that all classes were to have "free access to the benefits of civilization."\(^{35}\)

Although the repeal of the Statute indicated that the indígena no longer existed, perhaps it would have been appropriate to say that the written distinction no longer existed. After 1961, Africans were no longer officially distinguished as "civilized" or "uncivilized." They were included, for official designation, as Portuguese citizens who were unofficially "non-civilized." The African population were citizens who status carried a distinct social stratification.

The late Prime Minister, Antonio Salazar, demonstrated the discrepancies in the repeal of the Statute very succinctly when he warned "that the mere granting of 'civic rights' by itself was no guarantee of African advancement. These rights are valid only where they can be 'effectively' exercised and where there exists a 'clear notion' of the responsibilities and obligations they comprise."\(^{36}\)

Salazar essentially laid the groundwork for the double standard that the Statute took. It essentially declared the proclamation as null and void because it had no applicability for the African population.
He seemed to also say that final authority rested with the metropole
to lessen restrictions on African participation in expressing full civic
rights. Salazar also seemed to have the notion, and with reason, that
the mere saying that a group has access to certain privileges does not
make it so. As long as those who interpreted how Africans "effectively
exercise" those new rights, were in Lisbon, then there was full justifi-
fication that the granting of rights did not equal being able to freely
practice and exercise those rights.

The former Prime Minister put the clencher on the false piece
of legislation when he stated that:

A law recognizing citizenship takes minutes to draft and can
be made right away. A citizen, that is a man fully and con-
sciously integrated into a civilized political society takes
centuries to achieve.37

The unconditional granting of citizenship to the African population
would indicate a denial of Portugal's own historical tradition in Africa--
to oversee the conduct of its "stepchildren" in Africa.38 At no time
in the future did Salazar envision inhabitants in the overseas terri-
tories being on an equal footing with Portuguese citizens in the metro-
pole. Moreira's decree giving the overseas provinces full Portuguese
citizenship, "without distinction of race, religion or culture,"39
indicated that the "dual standard" of citizenship distinction, "(would)
cease, at least as far as the law (was) concerned."40

Salazar also made it quite clear that Portugal would not drop
out of the United Nations simply because anti-Portuguese propaganda
abroad had grossly exaggerated the extent of its African policy. In
his response to the UN regarding the right of the African people to
accept or deny Portuguese rule, Salazar stated, the "UN orators forget this was done long ago and (was) expressed and confirmed in the Portuguese constitution. The above is known as 'self-determination,' the brilliant principle of political chaos in human societies."^41

A major distinction in the political and social rights for the indigenous population was determined through the geographical area they comprised--whether in rural or urban dwellings. The local unit of administration for the rural chiefdoms or the urban parish was the distinct determinant of the kind of status classification that the African population could acquire. The legislative reforms reinforced the distinction between the status and rights of the population in urban and rural areas. Thus, the repeal of the Native Statute which theoretically ended the _Indigenato_ system created a third class of African people.

The _indigena_ was forced to carry a passbook, the _caderneta indigena_ for identification. The "civilized" native had to carry a special card for identification, the _bilhete d'identidade_. Without the _bilhete d'identidade_, Africans could not move freely outside the traditional administrative unit. Since the _indigena_ was issued an identification card which clearly contained the respective habitation site, they were forced to remain in that unit. The geographical unit of habitation was optimal in controlling African mobility. This was particularly true of the rural dweller who wanted to flee the _regedorias_ for the urban centers. They first had to receive permission from the appointed administrator. The only major difference between the _caderneta_ and the _bilhete d'identidade_ was that the latter was issued under the regular civil code rather than the administrator of post as the former was issued.
The political rights of the new Portuguese citizen of "black color" were still hampered in various ways. Since the African theoretically was granted citizenship, suffrage qualifications were extended to the population. However, there was a dual qualification which was necessary to fulfill—a literacy requirement and tax payment. The old electoral law provided that male Portuguese citizens who could read and write Portuguese or pay a tax amounting to one hundred escudos (including the indigenous personal tax paid by African who were not yet Portuguese citizens) were eligible to vote.

Under repeal of the Native Statute, the dual qualification included the ability to read and write Portuguese and payment of minimum tax of two hundred escudos (about seven dollars per year then).

The literacy requirement and tax payment hardly extended suffrage to the indigenous population. Few Africans had the opportunity to learn to read and write Portuguese, and most were not in a position to pay the tax because their livelihood was based on doing subsistency farming or they generally received low wages in industry.

The repeal of the Native Statute hardly changed the situation for Africans under Portuguese administration. The changes intended to establish a "hierarchy of classes based on the level of development attained by the people." The old legislation which made a distinction between "civilized" and non-civilized, resurfaced and later drew a distinction between the rights and status of the population in urban and rural dwellings. Under the New Overseas Organic Law (1963) the administrative units in Angola and Mozambique remained to be divided
into districts. The overseas territories were further distinguished by the level of development attained by the people. Therefore, the indigenous political institution recognized by the Portuguese—the regedorias—was increased.

Although the rural regedorias was under the traditional supervision of the African chiefs, his authorities were delegated to him by "his administrative superiors"—the administrator of circumscription and the chefe de posto. The regedore was elected according to local custom, but had to be approved by the governor or district governor. The indigenous population could not elect to have a regedore deposed since final decisions rested with those linkages to the metropole.

Since the only written law recognized in the territories was Portuguese common law, civil and penal law, the judicial system did not apply to the indigena. However, Decree No. 39,817 in 1954, extended municipal courts to the provinces. The administrator was given judicial functions also. The degree of justice which prevailed in the territories was very often dependent upon the individual administrator. Thus, indigenous custom and usage were harmonized with Portuguese public and private law.

However, the reform stated that Africans would have greater participation to intervene in affairs of common interest. However, the African population continued to be ruled by administrators appointed by the Portuguese authorities and participation was limited since traditional representatives were still subordinate to the Portuguese administration in the metropole. Furthermore, apart from the transfer of
judicial functions of the judges, the powers wielded by the administrator over the African had not changed. 49

Decree No. 43,897 provided for the creation of more chiefdoms when deemed necessary. The indigenous people living on the immediate outskirt of urban areas would come directly under the administration of the regedores rather than the urban frequesias. A tighter distinction between the urban and rural dwellings was reinforced. More auxiliary administration units were carved from a large mass of concelhos (urban) which were condensed and streamline.

Thus, when the Organiz Law of 1963 provided that "relations between the organs of general administration and those of local administration would be arranged to guarantee decentralization of the management of the respective aggregates." 50 However, more regedorias were formed, but "without detriment to the efficiency of administration and public service." 51 It was rather explicit that the metropole's rule over the colonies would not be disturbed. The basic and traditional design which had been established for the territories remained unchanged. Furthermore, the African population was exempt from appointment in the local councils or boards and there was no representative of the regedorias in the economic and social councils in Angola and Mozambique.

Pseudo-Reform in Labor Practices

Labor practices in the colonies were "reformed" during the 1950's and 1960's by the Portuguese regime in response to mounting criticism. Since the Berlin Conference of 1885 the African slave trade theoretically ceased to exist. In reality, the slave trade assumed a more subtle and
insidious form. As we have seen, the basis of all forced or compulsory labor rested with the African's obligation to work. Portugal's ownership and exploitation of laborers and land were the economic substenances of the metropole's existence. As we have also seen, the first quarter of the twentieth century ushered in the beginning of written protests regarding Portugal's "modern slavery." Writers such as Cadbury, Harris and Swan merely touched on the subject of slavery being disguised under another name. That period saw the end of slavery and the several stages which it was reduced to—free labor, contract labor, forced labor—when the slave became a worker: the traditional relationship remained unchanged. 52

Toward the middle of the twentieth century, it could still safely be said that there were no appreciable changes in the exploitation of African labor. According to official figures in 1954, there were 379,000 "contract workers" in Angola, and a smaller but unknown number on the Portuguese-owned islands of São Tomé and Príncipe. 53 Henrique Galvão's report in 1961 54 on Portuguese management or (mismanagement) in the colonies, found the colonial mystique about which Portugal so proudly boasted, was a gross misrepresentation of actual reality. Forced African labor was still intensely engaged in by the Portuguese. According to Galvão, "only the dead were really exempt from compulsory labour." 55

The Forced Labour Convention of 1930 was ratified by Portugal. The metropole followed the guidelines which were set by the International Labour Office. Countries which ratified the Convention were to "suppress the use of forced or compulsory labour in all its forms within the
shortest possible period." Forced labor was any work or service which
was enacted under penalty and which was not voluntarily engaged by the
person. However, Article 2 of the Convention excluded from compulsory
labor: work for military service, convict labor, civic obligations, work in emergency during war or peace; and communal services in direct
interest to the community.

Portugal was under no obligation to dispense with forced labor
since the abuses which were extracted from African labor were in line
with the provisions set by the Labor Convention. This is not to say
that Portugal would have dispensed with forced labor if the Convention
had excluded the above provisions.

Practices in the recruiting of indigenous laborers also surfaced
by the Labor Office. Portugal also ratified the Convention pertaining
to recruitment. Portugal was obliged not to use indigenous labor for
private use, and the State could not act as the recruiting agent. However, the Labour Office in 1953, criticized Portugal for its methods of
obtaining labor for public and private use. Yet, the practices con-
tinued unabated.

After developments and several resolutions by the Economic and
Social Council and the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour,
the question of forced labor was placed on the agenda of the International
Labor Office in 1956.

The Convention aimed at "prohibiting all recourse to forced or
compulsory labor:
1. as a means of political coercion or education or as punishment for holding or expressing political views or views . . . ideologically opposed to the established, political, social or economic system;

2. as a method of mobilizing and using labor for purposes of economic development;

3. as a means of labor discipline;

4. as punishment for having participated in strikes;

5. as a means of racial, social, national or religious discrimination.61

The Convention also stated that "effective measures" should be taken to secure the "immediate and complete" abolition of forced labor or compulsory labour. 62


However, Portugal was indulging in paper reform again. The Ghanaian government filed a complaint with the International Labour Office65 arguing that Portugal was not honoring the ratified Convention of 1957. The tradition established by Salazar under the dictatorship continued into the mid-twentieth century. The continuity of white supremacy in the overseas territories was tantamount to the forced subjugation of Africans to Portuguese rule. Angola continued to be transformed into a "white plantation colony"66 and the reassurance was based
on Angola's economy being subjected to Portugal. Mozambique's labor legislation produced forced laborers, or shilbalos, who were recruited for private firms; an illegal practice but one which was actively engaged in by the Portuguese. Black Mozambicans became part of a "mobile labour system" because many workers were recruited to the Transvaal mines as a result of agreements between Portugal and south Africa.

It could safely be said that "tradition and continuity" were the key words in Portugal's colonial policy. Forced labor was one of the notorious methods to ensure continuity in the overseas territories. Throughout the twentieth century, "Portugal continued to cover behind verbal smokescreens such as, 'the dignity of work'; 'spiritual integration'; 'through work, participation in civilization'; 'cultural development'; and black Portuguese citizen,' all of which were aimed at quelling foreign criticisms.

The reforms introduced through the legislative decrees enabled the Portuguese to enjoy two conflicting worlds of colonial policy. The aim of the constitutional reform, according to Ferreira, was a

... search for a way out for colonial policy. Required (was) a juridical instrument suitable to accomplish a smooth adaption to new political conditions in such a way that the control over the colonies remain(ed) assured. The task of the power for institutional change of the Portuguese parliament (was) not to make constitutions but on the contrary to preserve the already existing constitution through regular adaptation.
1 For information on the feudal development of Portugal, see Americo Boavida, Angola: Five Centuries of Portuguese Exploitation, (Richmond, B.C., Canada: LSM Information Center, 1972), pp. 53-73.


3 Phrase from a statement by Eca de Queiroz, quoted from Hammond, Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960, p. 352.


8 Ibid., The Third World, p. 73.

9 Ibid., p. 69.


15. Marcelano Caetano became head of the Portuguese state after the death of Antonio Salazar in 1970.


19. The requirements that the indígena had to satisfy to relinquish special status included: 1) over eighteen years of age; 2) spoke correct Portuguese language; 3) engaged in gainful employment; 4) attained the acquired level of education and social habits; 5) not have refused military service or deserted.


In 1960, 37,873 Angolan born Black Africans had the same status as whites and mesticos. See Réne Péllissier, "Angola" in Africa South of the Sahara, Europa Publications, Ltd., 1976, 6 ed., p. 129.


Pelissier, Africa South of the Sahara, p. 129.


The UPA party led by Holden Roberto was responsible for the mid-March, 1961 rebellion in northern Angola. After many factions in the nationalist movement in Angola, the MPLA led by Agostinho Nego was victorious over Portuguese colonialism and internal factions between parties. Guerilla warfare in Gunea-Bissau was launched in 1962 under the leadership of the late Amilcar Cabra. FRELIMO in Mozambique succeeded in launching guerilla warfare in September 25, 1964 under the leadership of the late Eduardo Mondlane.

See Report of the Special Committee, A/5160, p. 27 for a summary of the reforms which were introduced by Portugal after the uprising in Angola.

See Antonio Alberto de Andrade, Portugal: Many Races, One Nation, (Lisbon, February, 1961), pp. 43-44.


Ibid., p. 12.


41 Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, Road for the Future, Lisbon: SNI, 1963, p. 71; also see his Declaration on Overseas Policy, Lisbon, 1963, for the justifications for Portuguese rule and how Salazar proposed to set certain untruths straight that were circulated in regards to official African policy.


44 Ibid., p. 28.

45 According to the Committee's Report, p. 29, minimum wage in Mozambique established by law 90 escudos per month for agricultural workers and 130 escudos for industrial workers; in the southern districts wages were 205 and 245 escudos, respectively. The native tax which was replaced by the imposto domiciliario was 90 escudos in the north and 300 escudos in the south.


50 Working Paper, p. 16.

51 Ibid., p. 16.


57 Ibid., p. 537.


60 See the findings of the Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour.


67 Ibid., p. 132.

68 Ibid., p. 111.

69 Ibid., p. 124.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has been evolutionary in character. The developmental format of this thesis was necessary since contemporary events in Portugal, vis-à-vis, the African colonies, needed this framework. The developmental theme aided in the critical analysis of the colonial situation and the neo-colonial reforms which were made from the 1950's.

We have depicted the rise of a small seafaring European country which grew to possess a mighty colonial empire. We have seen the measures which Portugal used to keep an iron grip on the African colonies. We have also seen the demise of Portugal as a powerful colonial contender in the wake of international pressures and African opposition.

The focus of this study has been the elements of continuity in colonial Africa, which Portugal utilized to quiet criticisms. We have examined four areas of indigenous life prior to and after 1950: social organization and administration, legal definition of the indígena, the developments of education and labor practices in the colonies. Historically, the Portuguese exploited these areas to keep a tight hold on the African territories.

Portuguese rule in the African territories was harsh and repressive. The injustices inflicted upon the African population were given international prominence through the writings of some English journalists. The turn of the twentieth century was also the time when local Angolan
writers wrote fiery works to denounce Portuguese colonialism in Africa. However, the time of the "free press" in Angola was short-lived. With the rise of the former dictator, Salazar, into Portuguese politics, most journalistic efforts were suppressed and information on Portuguese rule in Africa was only in passing.

Toward mid-century, Portugal was vying for a place among international bodies. The feudalistic, agricultural and backward development of Portugal was challenged and the metropole came under heavy criticism from international bodies and the indigenous population which was advancing in nationalistic strides. Rather than comply with standards of the United Nations particularly, Portugal embarked on a course to revamp its antiquated repressive regime on the continent. Subsequently, Portugal began a series of "pseudo-reforms" to legally restructure its colonial rule without changing the basic infrastructure of the old regime. The reforms essentially reinforced its dominant position in the African territories.

Where education was the medium to promote native social status, the administrative apparatus operating from Lisbon curtailed African mobility in the higher echelons of the civilian bureaucracy. Where the natives could relinquish the "non-civilized" connotation of indigenous status, they did so at the expense of their own culture and experiences. Few Africans actually attained status as *assimilados* as statistics bore out. The educational system was inadequate to accommodate the mass African population and this reinforced the "non-civilized" notion expressed about the natives. Where Africans could not rise above
the restrictions on attaining citizenship and on receiving adequate education to acquire the proper social background, many Africans were considered idle and non-productive to society. They were subject to the rigors of the notorious contract labor system.

The reforms in the four areas of indigenous life were not drastically different from the manner in which the colonies were ruled prior to 1960. Portugal essentially gained a more comfortable control over the colonies. Rather than use antiquated measures to ensure continuity, they developed more sophisticated means through paper reforms and the legal system. The reforms were cosmetic changes in Portuguese-African policy and the basic elements of the system were never harmed, until the 1960's when the nationalist guerilla movement began to materialize. The nationalists scored a decisive victory for African independence and the Portuguese colonial regime came to a complete end in 1975.
TABLE 1
SUMMARY OF SCHOOL STATISTICS, 1950-1954, ANGOLA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education and Type of Institution</th>
<th>Number of Institutions</th>
<th>Total Students Enrolled--1954/55 School Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRIMARY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Primary Schools</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>10,979</td>
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<tr>
<td>Primary Mission Schools</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>2,565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Primary Schools</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>4,252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudimentary Education, Mission Schools</td>
<td>919</td>
<td>40,502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>58,298</td>
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<tr>
<td>General</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Liceus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Private Liceus</td>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vocational1</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1,977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Training2</td>
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<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1Vocational schools included public, commercial and industrial schools and private commercial and industrial; public agricultural and schools of arts and crafts.

2Teacher training included: public normal and subsidized and recognized normal school.
TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF SCHOOL STATISTICS, 1950-1954, MOZAMBIQUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education and Type of Institution</th>
<th>Number of Institutions</th>
<th>Total Students Enrolled—1954/55 School Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>Subsidized Primary</td>
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<td>Mission Schools</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Primary Schools</td>
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<td>Private Primary Schools</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1,241</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subsidized Rudimentary</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mission Schools</td>
<td>1,566</td>
<td>212,428</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Rudimentary</td>
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<td>34</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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<td>237,389</td>
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<tr>
<td>General</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Public Liceus</td>
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<td>988</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Commercial and Industrial</td>
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<td>Trade and Other Vocational</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Teacher Training</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education and Type of Institution</th>
<th>Number of Institutions</th>
<th>Total Students Enrolled—1957-58 School Year</th>
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<td><strong>PRIMARY</strong></td>
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<td>Primary Schools, Public</td>
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<td>Primary Schools, Private</td>
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<td>5,319</td>
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<tr>
<td>Primary Mission Schools</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rudimentary Mission</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>83,060</td>
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<tr>
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<td>General</td>
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<tr>
<td>Private Liceus</td>
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<td>Industrial and Commercial</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agricultural, Public</td>
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<tr>
<td>Technical, Private</td>
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<td>211</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teacher Training</td>
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<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Articles


