



THE CONCLUDING ARTICLES IN THE SERIES :

## SOUTH AFRICA IN THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

### (6) The Portuguese Territories

by MURIEL FISHER

**A**T THE END of our clockwise tour of the New Africa, we in South Africa find ourselves in the position of being protected from a largely hostile continent by Southern Rhodesia, whose future hangs in the balance, and by the Portuguese territories of Angola on the West Coast and Mozambique on the East Coast.

Although events in Southern Rhodesia are followed with keen interest, South Africans know extremely little about their Portuguese neighbours. This ignorance is largely due to Portugal herself. Prime Minister Salazar, dictator for more than 30 years, has until recently discouraged the inflow of foreign investment and the outflow of information about Portugal's "overseas Provinces".

To-day, however, the situation is changing. Portugal and South Africa find themselves the joint targets of pressure from the Afro-Asian group at United Nations, Portugal as the last stronghold of European colonization in Africa, South Africa because of her policy of racial discrimination. Inevitably, then, these two governments are drawing closer in mutual assistance and a determined effort to withstand these pressures.

Angola, with a population of nearly 5 million, stretches from the Congo in the North, juts into Northern Rhodesia and ends on the border of South West Africa and Bechuanaland. We know how important South West Africa has become in our political set-up in recent years. Mozambique, with its 6½ million people, serves as a most convenient buffer between South Africa and the openly hostile African states of Nyasaland (or Malawi) and Tanganyika. It is therefore greatly to Dr. Verwoerd's advantage that Dr. Salazar's hand should be strengthened in his refusal to bow to African demands for independence for these Portuguese-governed lands.

#### ANGOLA

**B**Y THE END of 1961 the Portuguese provinces in Africa were practically the only European possessions showing no change of policy in the African Revolution. As in Portugal itself opposition was repressed and criticism silenced.

But change was inevitable. It began in March 1961 with a violent uprising in Northern Angola of the Ba-Kongo people, determined to seize the independence achieved by their tribal brothers in

the former French and Belgian Congos. Many Whites in isolated areas were killed before the Portuguese could react with military force and harsh reprisals. After nearly three years the rebels under **Roberto Ho'den** are still entrenched in the dense bush of the North, holding down some 40,000 Portuguese troops, of whom some 7,000 are local recruits.

#### The Portuguese puzzled

This "little Angolan war" puzzles the Portuguese, both in Lisbon and in Angola. They cannot understand why "their Africans" should revolt against them. There is no parallel with South Africa, since there is no colour bar in Portuguese territories, intermarriage has been encouraged and the "assimilados" or educated Africans enjoy the same political rights as the Whites.

The trouble is that educational facilities have been so inadequate and the standard of living so low that only about 40,000 Africans in the Portuguese territories have achieved this status. At the other end of the scale are the many workers virtually enslaved by the compulsory contract system, enforced by heavy penalties, and badly paid.

Perhaps the puzzled Portuguese also lose sight of the fact that the present struggle is but a modern version of Portugal's 400-year war against the Ba-Kongo. Since 1491, when Portuguese missionaries began to work in the Congo, and 1574, when Portugal went further South into the lands of King Ngola, and founded Luanda, now the capital, the Ba-Kongo have resisted Portuguese attempts to tame them. Now the centuries-old opposition has been strengthened by the great new upsurge of African nationalism, and Portugal has not yet been able to quell it.

### Flourishing economy

Angola has a flourishing economy based on coffee, sugar, cotton, diamonds from the Kasai River, and various tropical products, but the key to her prosperity is coffee. Luanda, the picturesque seaport capital, is a mixture of the very old and the very new, the new sky-scrapers having arisen during the recent boom in coffee.

When the war in the North broke out, many coffee plantations were destroyed or abandoned, but with the rebels more or less confined to one area, the coffee crop has broken all records. But while coffee booms, the Liberation Army continues its guerilla warfare, reinforced by trainees from Algeria. Their stronghold is over the border in the Congo and they declare that they will never give up the struggle.

Equally adamant is Dr. Salazar in his determination never to grant independence to Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea on the West Coast. World pressure has, however, made Portugal realize that far more attention has to be paid to these territories, and the past few years have seen an urgent effort to improve schools and hospitals and to raise the living standard. Large industrial and irrigation schemes are proceeding rapidly. The new Camambe Dam, south of Luanda, is second only to Kariba in its hydro-electric output and is only one of several irrigation schemes. The power is being used by new factories and foundries, the aim being to convert both Portugal and her overseas provinces from rural to industrial countries.

### MOZAMBIQUE

**M**OST SOUTH AFRICANS know Lourenço Marques, the holiday resort so close to our border. But there are two Mozambiques: the line of coastal resorts in the South, and the long stretch of Northern Mozambique, mostly Black and almost unknown to South Africa. There plans are being carried out for mines, collieries, hydro-electric schemes and the settlement of thousands

of immigrants on multi-racial farming projects.

Rice is being grown on the fertile lands of the Inhamissa Project, lands which were formerly swamps, and similar schemes are on foot in the Limpopo and Zambesi valleys. Given time and money, Portuguese territories could be models for the rest of Africa.

### No race discrimination

Everywhere the races are completely integrated, in schools, swimming baths, hotels, agriculture, industry and marriage. The Portuguese are simply not interested in race discrimination.

Soldiers guard the northern frontiers, lest the "little war" repeat itself in Mozambique, while officials work feverishly to turn the province into an African Brazil. The people of Northern Mozambique resent the fact that their capital is far away in the South. They regard Nampula as the unofficial capital and they feel that their Government should share the developments and dangers of the North, where the winds of change can be felt blowing over the Tanganyikan border.

Portuguese soldiers in Africa fulfil a dual role. They are there to protect the Provinces and, as part of the Government's "psycho-social" campaign, to convince the millions of Africans that they are friends and helpers. Soldiers build bridges, teach in the schools and give medical attention. This "psycho-social" campaign is also directed at making the African work harder in his own interest.

### Uneasiness

But time is against the Portuguese and there is uneasiness, particularly in Angola. Many Portuguese in Luanda do not like the Salazar regime, but to say so is to court arrest and "fixed residence" in Portugal. (We call it "house arrest".) They do not see how Portugal, neither strong nor wealthy, can defy the world indefinitely or even long enough to build up the model territories she is so desperately working to create. Yet the 200,000 Whites in Angola are determined to stay.

Dr. Salazar has yielded to pressure so far as to hold a plebiscite in August 1963 on Portugal's oversea policy. The result was overwhelmingly in his favour. In September he yielded even further and agreed to hold talks with U.N. in Lisbon on plans for greater autonomy in his overseas provinces. He is also for the first time encouraging foreign industry and investment.

One of the results of the Addis Ababa Conference was the determination to oust Portugal from Africa. The attack came in July 1963, not on

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(Rand Daily Mail)

## SWAZILAND

**F**ERTILE, well-watered and rich in minerals, Swaziland has attracted more Whites, mainly from South Africa, than the other Protectorates. One-third of its 300,000 people are farming citrus, sugar and timber for paper mills. **Havelock** is the world's largest asbestos mine and Japan buys large quantities of iron ore from Swaziland. A new railway line now under construction will run not through South Africa but to Lourenço Marques.

Of the three Protectorates Swaziland has the best prospects of achieving a viable independence, but only because her economy is so closely inte-

grated with that of South Africa. The Swazis themselves are mainly poor and badly educated.

## Divided politically

But in spite of its natural advantages, Swaziland is divided politically between the traditionalists, who support the leadership of the **Ngwenyama** (the Lion), their Paramount Chief, **Sobhuza II**, and the Nationalists, who are again divided into various political parties. The Whites, who are mainly responsible for Swaziland's rapid development, are yet another political factor.

Swazi politics are highly involved. Here tribalism and African nationalism are clashing even more strongly than in other African states. Nationalism is the modern trend, but tribalism, which gives security, is still of great importance to the less educated tribesman.

The clash became most obvious at the Constitutional Conference in London in January 1963. The Swazi National Council, which supports the Paramount Chief, and the European National Council, headed by Mr. Carl Todd, were in agreement on a "50-50 scheme", which would give equal representation in the legislative assembly to the 9,000 Whites and the 250,000 Swazis, with the White members elected on a common roll and the Africans elected by tribal custom, i.e. public acclamation. A situation unusual in Africa then arose of only minor demands for "one man, one vote" from the smaller political parties, demands which would deprive the Paramount Chief of much of his power. Nationalism was thus opposing traditionalism.

Also opposed to the "50-50 scheme" were the Resident Commissioner and his officials, who put forward proposals which would eventually result in majority rule for the Africans.

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the obvious target of Mozambique, but on **Portuguese Guinea**, part of which was invaded by revolutionaries. Guerillas seized the swampy southern part and troops had to be flown out from Lisbon to defend the territory, still another strain on Portugal's resources.

### Looking southward

Naturally, Portuguese eyes are turning southward to the only other country equally determined not to yield to world opinion. At the end of 1963, after lengthy discussions, Portugal and South

Africa agreed on the construction of a dam on the Kunene River, the Angola-S.W.A. border, which, with a hydro-electric scheme, will change the face of South West Africa. Ovamboland will be freed from the threat of drought, but that is not all. The **Odendaal Commission** is expected to recommend the creation of Bantustans in parts of South West Africa and Ovamboland is likely to be the first. There are Ovambos over the border in Angola and obviously Portugal and South Africa have many joint plans for the future.