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Editors

The Palgrave Handbook of African Colonial and Postcolonial History

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CHAPTER 8

Administration, Economy, and Society in the Portuguese African Empire (1900–1975)

Philip J. Havik

Portugal's Third Empire was governed by three different regimes from the early 1900s to 1974: a monarchy, the First Republic, and the New State (Estado Novo). For most of the modern colonial period until the end of empire (1926–1974), the empire was governed by the New State dictatorship, which emphasized political transitions and ideological rationales for colonial rule. The antecedents of its Third Empire are particularly important for the shaping of myths and mystifications regarding imperial history that have persisted in the postcolonial context.[1] The wake-up call provoked by the British Ultimatum of 1891, when Portugal was in the midst of a deep economic crisis, has figured ever since as a historical marker for the country's colonial renaissance.[2] Following the independence of Brazil in 1822 (at a time when most Latin American territories had shed their colonial ties) and the protracted civil war in Portugal (1822–1833), attentions shifted towards Africa.[3]

However, given that the dream of a 'new Brazil' in Africa would only come to partial fruition after the Second World War, it long remained

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confined to the realm of fiction and fantasy.[4] The 'turning point' of the British Ultimatum was thus largely a political event which propelled Portuguese authorities into action, obliging them to extend Portugal's claim to sovereignty over African territories by military means. Portugal's protracted campaigns to break the resistance of African populations, which preceded and coincided with the First World War in which it participated, set the tone for the country's affirmation of its modern imperial role.[5] The emergence largely unscathed of a neutral Portugal from the Second World War without, however, having made significant investments towards colonial development as Great Britain and France had done (from 1929/1940 and 1946 respectively), also points towards a particular trajectory. The fact that until the 1930s Portugal largely depended on re-exporting (processed) colonial raw materials to wealthier European countries such as Great Britain and France shaped subaltern inter-imperial relations.[6] Finally, Portugal's refusal to decolonize at the time most other European nations were doing so, while linking the destiny of the nation to retaining its control of its African territories, forms another key indicator of Portuguese specificity in empire.[7] The armed struggles which marked the end of empire and its collapse coincided with a change of regime, denoting a distinct historiographical perspective on modern Portuguese colonialism. Thus, the 'shuffling of papers', which in the Portuguese case was to continue for a decade-and-a-half after most African territories had achieved independence, placed the process of decolonization in markedly different international contexts than its European counterparts.

The historiography of Portugal's modern imperial enterprise has largely emphasized four contentious issues[8]: the racial categories guiding colonial administration, forced labor practices, economic (under) development, and armed conflict. In geographical terms, publications have mainly centered on Portugal's continental African colonies such as Angola and Mozambique, owing to their sheer size and economic relevance, relegating other territories such as Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe, and the Cape Verde Islands to a marginal role. Therefore, the principal emphasis will be put here on the main theatres of empire, without however neglecting the periphery. The geography of empire is significant here, given its dispersal across the continent and insular locations: the lack of territorial unity mirrors the centrifugal nature of imperial rule. The notable lack of territorial cohesion, or imperial dislocation, which contrasts with French and Belgian imperial clusters and the British 'corridor' would however strengthen the need for stressing imperial unity across countless continental and maritime boundaries. At the same time, its global reach would engender narratives on the 'integralist' nature of the Portuguese empire 'from Cabo Verde to Timor'.[9]

In the following sections, the four principal strands identified above will be addressed in three separate sections, which cast a broad perspective upon the historiography of Portugal's Third (African) empire during the period under consideration. Besides including data culled from published sources, this

chapter is also based upon archival research and includes data from hitherto unpublished documents.

The Racial Dimensions of Colonial Rule

Portuguese administration in Africa generally adhered to the practice of 'direct rule', borrowing from centralized metropolitan traditions as well as bearing similarities with the French example. Despite formal appearances, in practice colonial rule was characterized by a heterogeneous administrative culture: while direct rule was the custom in rural areas where the bulk of *indígenas* or native African populations lived, in urban centers indirect forms prevailed, with selective forms of representation limited to *civilizados*, i.e. those with Portuguese civil status. In some areas, public administration actually 'shared' control with private concessionaires, whether companies or individual planters. In a highly dispersed and centrifugal empire, forms of governance in continental and insular territories differed: whereas the latter had been settled from the 1500s under a feudal regime, the former emerged under the nation-state erected upon the foundations of the constitutional monarchy in 1833. The slave trade, which provided the bulk of insular populations, enabled *latifúndio* type property (based on slave labor) to dominate in Cabo Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe, where it was well entrenched in the 1870s when trafficking was abolished. The de facto *mise en valeur* of continental areas beyond coastal regions only began in earnest during the end of the monarchy (1910) and the early years of the First Republic. Laws on land concessions severely limited the access of 'natives' to land concessions,[10] while labor and fiscal legislation imposed special regimes for indigenous Africans.[11]

From the 1850s, colonial affairs fell under the auspices of the Ministério da Marinha e Ultramar, transformed into the Ministério das Colónias (Colonial Office) following the proclamation of the Republic in 1911.[12] The establishment of a colonial administration in the continental territories claimed by Portugal at the Berlin Conference followed protracted 'wars of "pacification"' in continental colonies until the early 1920s.[13] From 1914 onwards, a unitary imperial blueprint for colonial administration based on the *indigenato* system (similar to the French *indigénat*) was passed by republican lawmakers. Subsequently, statutes were introduced regulating 'native' civil and penal rights and labor, which further refined already existing racial definitions of colonial populations. These criteria would remain in place until 1961 when, under international pressure, racial *indigenato* laws were abolished. Given that these laws referred to Portugal's continental colonies, insular possessions with a particular emphasis on Cabo Verde, a Creole society, remained largely peripheral to these policy shifts.[14] Owing to their 'civilized' status, Cape Verdeans were to become important subaltern administrators of empire in Portugal's continental African colonies.[15]

Nevertheless, the legal imposition of racial criteria[16] permeated all aspects of colonial rule, i.e. administrative hierarchy and culture, the rights and obligations of settlers and 'natives', and their access to services. However, variations were common, owing to differences in: population density; African political, ethnic and religious institutions; local economic conditions; and the presence of colonial 'elites'. Also, processes of inter-ethnic mixing, miscegenation, and creolization had resulted in hybrid social formations, especially in urban areas.[17] Members of these groups were to give voice to a budding African civil society, publicizing their views in pamphlets and journals while forming local associations, above all following the republican turn in Portugal in 1910.[18]

The question of miscegenation led some foreign observers to hold that 'racial mixing' was actually condoned, and much more common in Portuguese than in British or French colonies.[19] Seasonal, tropical cycles (i.e. the rainy and dry seasons) also created annual disparities in terms of production, consumption, mobility, and revenue generation between *indigena* and *civilizado* populations. Distinctions were also felt between urban and rural areas, where the bulk of African populations resided. In the latter, administration was organized in *circunscrições* (administrative districts) and *postos* (administrative posts), whereas municipalities and districts (*câmaras municipais* and *concelhos*) exercised authority in urban environments. A two-tier system operated with segregated courts, labor relations, educational and health services. African communities were divided into *regedorias* where local ethnic chiefs (*sobas* in Angola and *régulos* in Mozambique and Guinea) appointed by district administrators exercised delegated authority under the *chefes de posto*. Nevertheless, chiefly authority was, with few exceptions, systematically undermined by administrative officials in Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique.[20] Land concession policies allowed considerable scope for individual settler-planters to freely manage their estates, which often included entire 'native' villages. Large company concessions controlling vast estates in the Centre and North of Mozambique and Angola exercised extensive leverage over indigenous communities in terms of labor recruitment and work contracts, mobility, taxation, trade, health, education, and socialization. Reports show that administrative officials often failed to verify the tax levies and labor contracts in these concessions.[21] Similarly, the owners of cocoa plantations, or *roças*, on the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe also formed a small but powerful *latifúndio* elite who, counting on a subservient administration, exercised a notable hegemony over many aspects of insular life.[22]

The transformation of 'natives' into workers, tax payers, and producers relied on the native identification (ID) system, labor 'contracts', hut and poll taxes, and the imposition of export crops. The local bureaucratic apparatus for the registration of tax payers, laborers, and crop producers was generally understaffed and underfunded. As a result, the circulation rate of officials was relatively high compared to British and French regimes. Owing to an inefficient administration and large-scale evasion, the civil register and the emission

of ID cards was faulty and full of lacunae, allowing Africans to 'slip through the net'.[23] The emergence of 'bureaucratized' officialdom and its tendency to cut corners was the result of the broad brief of district administrators, acting simultaneously as lawmakers, judges, tax collectors, labor agents, and employers, whilst also appointing ethnic chiefs and being responsible for the maintenance of public order and security in their respective districts.[24]

The reforms introduced with the Reforma Administrativa Ultramarina in 1933 attempted to redeem this situation by depicting them as 'men of action' rather than armchair bureaucrats. Thus, administrators were expected to regularly visit their districts and interact with chiefs they appointed, reorganized in *regedorias*, and above all with local village heads.[25] However, in practice they delegated these tasks to 'their' subaltern *chefes de posto* and locally recruited administrative guards or *cipaios*. The latter served as a key pillar of civil authority in terms of the extraction of labor, taxes, and crops, and the gathering of information.[26] The exercise of administrative authority over natives (*indígenas*) was expressed in terms of twin complementary tasks, i.e. law and order on the one hand and 'protection' and the 'civilizing mission' on the other. The latter function was generally relegated to religious (Catholic) missions charged with proselytization and 'rudimentary' primary education, especially in rural areas, whilst Protestant missions were tolerated.[27]

Besides local administrators, fiscal departments (*Fazenda*) and those responsible for native affairs (*Negócios Indígenas*) exercised their own autonomous authority over African populations. In insular colonies, these responsibilities pertained to the *Curadoria Geral dos Serviçais e Indígenas*, above all with regard to plantation labor. Special central and urban administrative bodies were responsible for relations with settler communities, which were particularly relevant in the case of Angola and Mozambique. The Colonial Act of 1930 consolidated the legal framework based on the distinction between *civilizados*, whose status was similar to that of Portuguese citizens, and *indígenas*.[28] A novel intermediate but unstable category, the *assimilados*, or assimilated Africans, originally proposed by French colonial specialists such as Girault in the late 1800s, had already been introduced in 1926 for Angola and Mozambique, followed by Guinea the year after. Despite claims regarding the progressive transformation of customs and integration of Africans into colonial society, the criteria were applied with great caution while the status initially granted was reversible, thus restricting the potential number of assimilated citizens.[29] By 1950, there were 30,089 (0.08%) assimilated citizens in Mozambique, 4.349 (0.75%) in Angola and 1478 (0.29%) in Guinea.[30] In insular colonies such as Cape Verde and São Tomé, legal distinctions differed: the indigenous statute did not apply to the Creole population of the former (given civilizado status in 1947), while the latter was only extended to the population of São Tomé and Príncipe in 1953.[31]

Subsequent constitutional and legislative reforms in the 1950s (which incorporated the *indigenato* status in the Portuguese constitution of 1954)

maintained discriminatory norms based on more subtle distinctions between 'primitive natives' and 'evolving natives' having absorbed some European influences, and 'detribalized natives', i.e. those who assumed a Europeanized lifestyle whilst maintaining some traces of native culture.[32] The latter were viewed with concern, given their unstable social status, thus necessitating their progressive integration into the assimilado category.[33] Nevertheless, these belated attempts at retaining colonies while 'refining' racial distinctions and the criteria for the 'civilizing mission', which were subject to growing criticism from international and anti-colonial quarters, had little impact. Although the *indigenato* laws were formally abolished in 1961 they remained deeply ingrained in colonial culture. The reforms coincided with the beginning of the colonial wars, when nationalist movements took up arms against colonial rule, first in Angola in 1961, and thereafter extending their struggle to Guinea in 1963 and Mozambique in 1964.

Labor, Production, and Taxation

Metropolitan and colonial legislation were to establish the parameters for the recruitment and contracting of 'native' labor from 1878 onwards.[34] Hence the term '*contrato*' (contract) which, while underlining the seemingly voluntary nature of these agreements, was associated with abusive practices, which found expression in the local vernacular.[35] Legal regimes varied between forced, penal, and contract labor, as did the methods of public and private recruitment. Following the introduction of the Native Labor Code in 1899, successive alterations were to refine criteria and alter procedures in 1899, 1914, 1928, and 1954, without however altering its basic racial precepts until 1961. Establishing the 'moral obligation for natives to work', labor legislation effectively imposed formal remunerated employment, created a pliable workforce, and monetized the economy in a modernizing effort based upon the notion of social engineering.[36] The latter also included the introduction of the hut tax in the late 1800s and early 1900s, in Mozambique (1880s), Guinea (1903) and Angola (1906); distinct fiscal systems operated in insular colonies, strongly centered on municipal authorities. Direct native taxes were imposed in continental colonies by means of military 'pacification' campaigns and subsequently transformed into poll and personal tax regimes.[37] Owing to ever changing fiscal criteria, their arbitrary application, the lack of means-testing, the abundant use of fiscal surcharges as stop-gap measures, extraction and evasion became a cat-and-mouse game in which guards and traders doubled as tax collectors.[38] In order to circumvent legislative norms regarding compulsory labor (which in essence was a variable direct tax paid in kind) new direct taxes were introduced from the 1930s.[39] Large-scale ethnic migrations took place in Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique, settling hitherto uncultivated areas while working on short contracts to supplement income. Many sought refuge across the border.[40] Road construction for military and

civil purposes, which enabled the penetration of hitherto untapped resources, was largely achieved through coercive schemes.[41] The introduction of cash crops such as cotton, coffee, cocoa, sisal, sugar and peanuts (which also involved compulsory measures in the case of cotton and rice in Mozambique, cotton and coffee in Angola, cocoa in São Tomé and Príncipe and peanuts in Guinea) was meant to provide colonial export-based revenue while being re-exported via the metropole to other European countries.[42]

The extraction of 'native' labor power, taxation and export crops (the pillars of colonial rule) became an integral part of the *esprit de corps* of colonial officialdom. Portuguese labor codes created conditions for a large-scale migrant labor system focused on public works. Private contractors benefited from the cooperation and complacency of administrative authorities. In this respect, they did not essentially differ from similar legislation in other colonial territories.[43] However, the perception of Portugal's weakness as an imperial power was to fuel international pressures following the foundation of the League of Nations in 1919. Previously, abusive labor regimes had been denounced from the late 1800s onwards, for São Tomé and Angola.[44] Large-scale labor migration from Mozambique to the Southern African mines, facilitated by the Natal railway built in the late 1800s, gave rise to the first labor conventions with South Africa and agreements with miners' associations.[45]

Spearheaded by the International Labor Organization (ILO) and missionary societies, international campaigns against compulsory labor in colonial Africa focused above all on the humanitarian dimensions of 'contract' labor and debt bondage.[46] The *Curadoria dos Negócios Indígenas* in continental colonies (called *Curadoria dos Serviçais e Indígenas* in São Tomé and Príncipe) exercised the trusteeship with regard to 'native' employees.[47] However, reports showed that central and district services were not verifying the situation in rural areas with regard to labor recruitment and contracts.[48] Acting as the sole executors of native policies and supervisors of their implementation in rural areas, administrators acting as trustees often rubber stamped 'contract' labor. The penalties imposed on local populations could range from fines to correctional penal labor.[49]

The idea that the Portuguese were 'colonizers by vocation' was severely tested in 1925 with the publication of the caustic report by Edward Ross on labor conditions in Angola, based upon interviews with '*contratados*'.[50] Putting Portuguese governing circles on the defensive, such denunciations were to play a key role in shaping legislation, propaganda, and the 'civilizing mission' in Portuguese colonies.[51] The revised labor code of 1928 and the 1926 and 1929 laws on native rights for Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea incorporated a number of international legal formulae following Portugal's ratification of the League's 1926 convention on slavery. However, by rejecting the convention on forced labor in 1930 (together with France [ratified 1937] and Belgium [ratified 1944]), based on the principle of foreign non-intervention in Portuguese colonial affairs, practices on the ground remained

unaltered.[52] Although subsequent reforms essentially perpetuated the legal and political framework, the colonial inspection service would provide an alternative perspective from the mid-1930s onwards, based upon visits and enquiries conducted in loco, which could result in disciplinary action. Inspection reports were to document administrative practice, compliance with legal and procedural standards, and identify problems and correct them whenever possible. Strong criticism of labor conditions in Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique (including forced labor by women and children) and their impact on African populations were expressed with some regularity in inspection reports.[53] As public health became an increasing concern in the 1940s and broad reforms were introduced for the empire as a whole, reports began to emphasize the need for stricter rules for the recruitment, transport, and treatment of laborers in accordance with procedures adopted in other African colonies.[54]

Based upon his experience as a provincial governor and as a probing inspector in Angola and in the 1940s in Mozambique, Henrique Galvão became one of the major critics of Portuguese colonial administration. Galvão's 1947 report before the Committee of Colonial Affairs of the Portuguese National Assembly amounts to a strong indictment of Portuguese rule, above all in Angola, the 'jewel in the Crown' of empire.[55] The report highlighted the administrative incapacity to implement 'native affairs' policies with regard to African labor, taxation, and production, which had in turn provoked a veritable demographic exodus to neighboring colonies while destroying the foundations of the African family.[56] By laying bare the difference between propaganda and practice, it revealed serious contradictions with regard to the implementation of labor, tax, and production policies. It also highlighted the serious lack of human and material resources, of competent officials, and of an effective organization on the ground capable of relating to African populations' conditions and needs.[57] The wide-ranging nature of his statement, and the fact that it was made by a high-ranking figure and MP, enhanced its political significance, which was immediately grasped by the British embassy in Lisbon.[58] Nevertheless, in international forums, some inspector colleagues vehemently denied the 'existence of a generalized system of compulsory labor' in Angola, Mozambique and São Tomé, and Príncipe.[59]

Despite submitting another report commissioned by the then Minister of Colonial Affairs on Mozambique, which arrived at similar conclusions, Galvão's warnings remained unheeded and he became a persona non grata and one of the regime's major critics in exile.[60] Although highly critical of the ad hoc nature of governance, the lack of de facto territorial administrative control, and of reforms in terms of 'native affairs', the supporter-turned-opponent of the New State's methods did reserve praise for a private labor regime. DIAMANG, a private diamond-mining company with mixed Portuguese, Belgian, French, and US capital, operated a large concession in the North East of Angola.[61] Heralded by its administrators and authorities as a

showcase of colonial modernity, the inhuman conditions to which workers in the DIAMANG mines in the Lunda region of Angola were subjected were denounced by Gilberto Freyre, the Brazilian proponent of 'lusotropicalism', which was adopted as the New State's official ideology in the 1950s (see below).[62] Simultaneously, other reports by foreign scholars also strongly criticized labor conditions in Southern Mozambique and the absence of the 'racial harmony' that 'lusotropicalism' preached.[63] By the time the complaint by newly independent Ghana was submitted to the ILO in 1961 on Portugal's non-compliance with the Forced Labor Convention (which Portugal had ratified in 1956), nationalist movements in Angola had already taken up arms against Portuguese rule.[64] The Batepá massacre of workers by plantation owners in Saõ Tomé in February 1953, the Pindjiguiti uprising of stevedores in the port of Bissau (Guinea) in August 1959, the Mueda massacre in June 1960 in Mozambique, and the popular revolt in the COTONANG-controlled Cassange area in Northern Angola in January 1961 (generally regarded as the spark that ignited anti-colonial resistance) revealed the increasingly tense labor relations, heavy-handed colonial repression, and authorities' political ineptitude.[65]

Economic Modernization and Armed Conflict

Soon after civil administrations were established in recently occupied African territories in the 1920s, the 1926 military coup in Portugal and the 1929 world crisis served to temper ambitious development plans. The New State regime curbed public investment, the colonial civil service was subjected to rigorous cuts and controls, and new taxes and surcharges were meant to balance the budget as revenues from export crops sharply decreased because of lower world market prices.[66] The reversal of the devolution of colonial autonomy under the first Republic was reinforced by the fiercely nationalist regime's attempt to put in place autarchic economic policies that largely depended on 'closed' circuits between colonies and metropole. In the meantime, new strata of (mostly Portuguese) landed property holders affirmed themselves, whilst large private companies with Portuguese and foreign capital (such as the Sena Sugar Estates, the Companhia de Mozambique, DIAMANG and COTONANG) emerged as important economic actors, producing sugar, coffee, cotton, sisal, cacao, peanuts, rice, maize, rubber, and diamonds. Railway corridors were built linking coastal ports in Mozambique (Beira, Lourenço Marques) and Angola (Lobito, Benguela) to their respective (British and Belgian) hinterlands. At the same time, the economies in insular territories tended to lag behind, owing to the small scale transactions in the trade of raw materials (coal, salt) or processed food (canned fish) in the case of Cape Verde, or cocoa, copra, coconuts, and coffee in São Tomé and Príncipe.[67]

Although metropolitan authorities encouraged European settlement, Portuguese emigration to continental colonies proceeded in a controlled fashion

Table 8.1 Population of Portugal's former African colonies (1926–1970). *Source* Boletim Geral das Colonias, 3, 21, 1927; Celia Reis, 2000; Censo Populacao de, 1950; Provincia Guine, 1959; Anuario Estatistico de Angola, 1933; Anuario Estatistico Mozambique, 1960; AEU (Anuario estatistico Ultramar), 1943, 1954, 1965, 1972

	Population								
	Guinea		*Angola*		*Mozambique*		*Cabo Verde*	*S. Tomé*	
	Indigenous	*Total*	*Indigenous*	*Total*	*Indigenous*	*Total*	*Total*	*Indigenous*[a]	*Total*
1926								20,301	58,907
1927							150,160		
1928	384,394	386,425			3,814,407	3,849,977			
1933			2,972,587	3,098,281					
1940	345,267	351,089	3,646,399	3,738,010	5,030,179	5,085,630	181,286	28,456	60,490
1950	502,457	510,777	4,009,911	4,145,266	5,640,363	5,732,317	148,331	16,768	60,159
1960		519,229		4,830,449		6,578,604	201,549		63,485
1970		487,448		5,673,046		8,233,834	272,072		73,631

Note

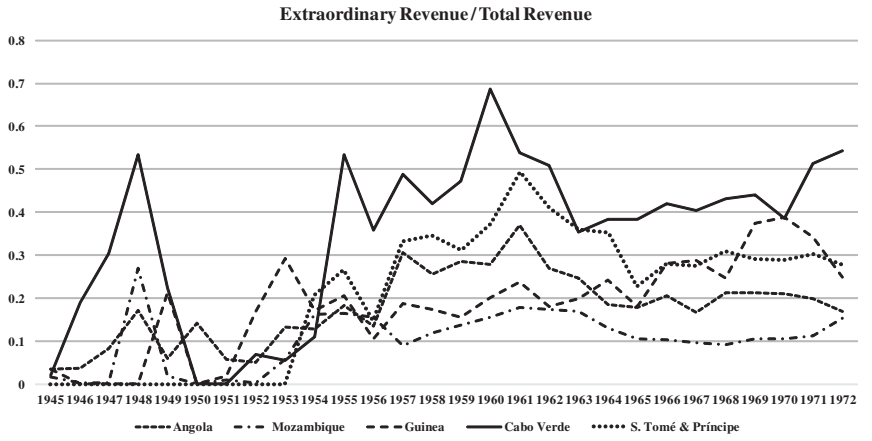
[a]Figures for indigenous populations do not include '*servicais*' or contract laborers

until 1945. From then on it was encouraged by the New State regime, albeit in a highly selective fashion, leading to a significant growth of colonial ranks and urban populations through migration from Portugal to Angola and Mozambique.[68] Europeanized African 'elites' emerged in continental cities in Angola (Luanda, Huambo, Benguela, Malanje, Uíge), Mozambique (Lourenço Marques, Beira, Chimoio, Tete), and Guinea (Bissau and Bafatá).[69] Urban development projects also flourished from the late 1940s in a coordinated effort toward infrastructural, architectural, and sanitary modernization.[70] At the same time, the influx of Europeans caused indigenous Africans (whose numbers grew significantly from the 1930s) to be relegated to the urban periphery in terms of housing, jobs, and services.[71] The end of empire between 1950 and 1970 was to witness a large population increase (32% overall) in Portugal's African colonies, signaling a notable African demographic momentum (see Table 8.1).[72]

Tax regimes, land concession policies, agricultural extension, and health services were expected to facilitate European settlement in order to promote exports of cash crops and raw materials to the metropole.[73] At the same time, reformist tendencies became apparent in administrative circles, as some officials adopted paternalist attitudes towards African populations, highlighting discrimination, and advocating reforms.[74] This coincided with a shift in terms of tax revenue from African towards European strata in (growing) settler colonies such as Angola and Mozambique, contrasting with greater burdens being put on the shoulders of Guinean populations.[75] With the aim of 'nationalizing' colonial economies and societies, Portuguese investment in trade, industry, and agriculture was officially promoted. Portuguese conglomerates such as the CUF (Companhia União Fabril) and the 'imperial bank', the Banco Nacional Ultramarino, which issued currency and supervised financial transactions, exercised effective control over colonial economies and imperial trade flows.

A two-pronged policy served to strengthen economic ties between Portugal and Europe, as well as with its empire. This was symbolized by Portugal joining the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1959 and the establishment in 1962 of the Portuguese Economic Space (*Espaço Económico Português* [EEP]), which was meant to further economic integration in the empire. This process of economic internationalization relied on the influx of Europeans, which, although most returned to Europe, succeeded in attracting a significant number of settlers. By 1960, the European presence in Angola and Mozambique had reached over 170,000 and 97,000 respectively, quadrupling compared to 1940, further rising between 60 and 70% until 1970 (see Table 8.1).[76] European settlement coincided with a considerable increase in the prices of export commodities on world markets after 1945, leading to a coffee, peanut, and cotton boom in Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique respectively.[77]

The 1950s were to witness a concerted effort to infuse colonial economies with much needed capital investment in order to modernize their rudimentary infrastructures whilst enhancing Portugal's reputation abroad. The *Planos de Fomento* (Development Plans) introduced from 1953 onwards in metropolitan Portugal and its colonies (I: 1953–1958; II: 1959–1964; *Plano Intercalar*, 1965–1968; III: 1969–1973) signified a change of course towards state-led modernization and private investment[78] but falling short of 'welfare colonialism'. Although partially inspired by broad investment programs introduced in the British and French empires to modernize their economies and increase self-sufficiency,[79] Portuguese programs started out by centering on infrastructural investment rather than promoting social and economic welfare. Social dimensions were only addressed from the mid-1960s as a result of pressures from the international organizations and nationalist liberation movements,[80] with the additional caveat that colonies were expected to fund a large part of the costs with self-generated revenue.[81] Despite the fact that in absolute terms Angola and Mozambique were by far the main beneficiaries of the Plans' investment programs, relatively speaking, Cape Verde (which had just emerged from a severe and deadly famine in 1947[82]) would champion the financial assistance provided between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s. São Tomé and Príncipe would be second to Cape Verde in relative terms, as its cocoa export economy steadily declined (from the 1920s onwards). Prospecting for natural resources in the 1950s was to result in the finding of oil deposits in Angola, while iron ore, manganese, and copper were also mined there, as were bauxite and coal in Mozambique (Fig. 8.1).



Sources: AIC (Anuário Estatístico Império Colonial), 1949; AEU (Anuário Estatístico do Ultramar), 1951, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1972.

Fig. 8.1 Total Revenue (*c.*1949–1972)

Portugal's membership of the United Nations in 1955 coincided with the birth of nationalist movements in its colonies. The UPA/FNLA, MPLA and UNITA in Angola, PAIGC in Guinea and Cape Verde, MLSTP in São Tomé and Príncipe, and FRELIMO in Mozambique shared a common goal but differed in terms of political programs, ideologies, mobilization strategies, and guerilla tactics.[83] A significant number of future nationalist leaders, such as Agostinho Neto, Mário Pinto de Andrade, Holden Roberto, Jonas Savimbi, Eduardo Mondlane, Samora Machel, and Uria Simango had been trained in (Protestant and Catholic) mission schools which often operated with foreign (non-Portuguese) personnel and funding. The armed struggle waged by these movements in Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique against Portuguese rule (1961–1974) led to the stationing of large numbers of Portuguese troops and military personnel and the rapid growth of a security apparatus.[84] In the face of the 'nationalist threat', 'white elites' in the colonies also called for greater autonomy from Lisbon, which initially reacted sympathetically while promoting a program of public investment to allay the concerns of local economic interests.[85] Securitarian considerations and social engineering went hand in hand with the regrouping of Africans in *aldeamentos* or model villages located close to roads, bringing them under military control whilst providing access to basic infrastructures and services. In the 1950s, significant inputs were also directed towards agricultural settlement schemes (*colonatos*) for rural Portuguese families introduced in Angola and Mozambique, providing them with land, tools, seeds, housing, livestock, extension, and health services.[86] Thus, the idealized notion of a rural way of life deeply rooted in the New State's make-up was combined with a push towards implementing economic development, repressive counter-insurgency methods and intensifying Portugal's 'civilizing mission'. Its 'lusotropicalist' ideology, which professed the competence and adaptability of Portuguese colonizers in the tropics, and expounded the virtues of a 'harmonious, multiracial, pluri-continental nation' which included the metropole and 'overseas provinces' was under threat.[87]

Although nationalist movements rapidly debunked this myth and countered colonial rule with armed resistance, the programs of both colonizer and contestants had certain aspects in common, such as a strong emphasis on nation, modernization, and the state's role in it.[88] Whereas Portuguese armed forces took their cue from counter-insurgency strategies developed by the British in Kenya,[89] nationalist forces adopted guerilla tactics and mobilization drives first tested in Asia and Latin America, reinventing them in Africa in territories with a complex ethnic mosaic.[90] Crucially, the wars of liberation illustrated the large-scale mobilization of Africans by both anti-colonial and colonial sides, thus deeply affecting African societies.[91] Owing to overlapping and competing responsibilities, administrative officials (many of whom felt increasingly sidetracked by their military counterparts) protested at the lack of knowledge and incompetence of the Armed Forces in terms of comprehending local traditions.[92] Although the Portuguese economy experienced significant economic growth as a result of industrialization during the 1960s and early 1970s, as

would Angola,[93] the lack of monetization, credit facilities, and capital, red tape, and above all armed conflict, were to hamper economic and social development in the colonies. From the mid-1960s onwards, the financial contributions of the colonies to the metropolitan economy were to decrease significantly, being overshadowed by remittances from Portuguese emigrants in Europe.[94]

The pressure from nationalist movements, above all in Guinea and Mozambique, was to provoke an acceleration of reforms in the late 1960s towards developmental programs which included social welfare, for example in terms of health and education.[95] Public health and social services were expanded for African populations, while secondary schools were introduced from the 1950s as well as institutions for higher education in Angola and Mozambique in the 1960s. At the same time, nationalist movements erected new, rudimentary forms of government in their own liberated areas, above all in Guinea and Mozambique, while offering social support and educational and health services to mobilized rural communities. However, as social-engineering efforts intensified, repressive interventions such as the aforementioned *aldeamento* policy would be forcibly applied on a large scale by the Portuguese Armed Forces during the colonial wars in order to exercise control over indigenous populations.[96] The heightened social, political, economic, and racial tensions resulting from armed conflict were to uproot hundreds of thousands of Africans. As they fled to neighboring countries where nationalist movements kept their bases, the regionalization of armed conflict directly involved independent states such as Senegal, Guinea-Conakry, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo/Zaire, Zambia, Rhodesia, Malawi, South Africa, and Tanzania. In the course of the war, Portugal also established strategic military alliances with neighboring countries such as South Africa and Rhodesia in the Alcora Treaty of 1970.[97]

The nationalist diplomatic offensive, internal political tensions, and the broad international condemnation of Portugal's colonial wars were to culminate in the Carnation Revolution in April 1974 which overthrew the New State dictatorship. The subsequent decolonization process would result in the independence of Guinea-Bissau (1974), followed by Mozambique, Cabo Verde, São Tomé, and Príncipe and Angola in 1975.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a broad view of the policies and practice of administration and its impact upon the economy and society in Portugal's former African colonies over a period of 75 years. The contradictions and discontinuities between policy and practice in empire, and the reactions of African populations to colonial rule have been highlighted, with regard to racial precepts, labor relations, economic development, and violent conflict. It revealed three principal strands for an analysis of the former Portuguese empire in Africa: the (aspiring) imperial nation in overreach, the lack of imperial unity, and the

ad hoc nature of colonial rule on the ground. Dominated for the most part by the New State dictatorship, the deep-seated concern with the identification of the Portuguese nation with empire was to increasingly insulate the regime from political change in Africa and beyond. The belated attempt to develop its colonies coincided not only with late industrialization in Portugal and its turn towards Europe, but also with the nationalist challenge in Africa. The sudden but inevitable collapse of empire in the mid-1970s, which was associated with the regime's wars in Africa, set in motion processes of decolonization, long after other colonial nations had shed their respective possessions in Africa. The regime's refusal to negotiate with nationalist movements and embrace the idea of decolonization, and the mounting momentum of nationalist movements' campaigns served to regionalize and internationalize these conflicts during the Cold War. These struggles and the delayed end of empire were to leave a legacy fraught with long-term implications for its deeply divided former colonies, above all in the case of Angola and Mozambique.

Notes

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2. Richard J. Hammond, *Portugal and Africa, 1815–1910: A Study in Uneconomic Imperialism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966).
3. Valentim Alexandre, "O Império Português (1825–1890): ideologia e economia," *Análise Social* XXXVIII, no. 169 (2005): 959–79.
4. Valentim Alexandre, *Origens do Colonialismo Português Moderno* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1979); and by the same author, "Ideologia, Economia e Política: a questão colonial naimplantação do Estado Novo," *Análise Social* XXVIII, no. 123–24 (1993); and also *Velho Brasil, Novas Áfricas: Portugal e o Império (1808–1975)* (Oporto: Afrontamento, 2000).
5. René Pélissier, *Les Campagnes Coloniales du Portugal, 1841–1941* (Paris: Flammarion, 2004).
6. William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire (1825–1975): A Study in Economic Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983); and Pedro Lains, "An Account of the Portuguese African Empire, 1885–1975," *Revista de História Económica* 16, no. 1 (1998): 235–63.
7. Omar Ribeiro Thomaz, *Ecos do Atlântico Sul* (Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ/Faperj, 2002); Cláudia Castelo, *"O Modo Português de estar no Mundo": o Luso-tropicalismo e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa (1933–1961)* (Oporto, Portugal: Edicões Afrontamento, 1998).
8. The four strands are discussed in Malyn Newitt, *Portugal in Africa: The Last Hundred Years* (London: Longman, 1981), and in a condensed form, by the same author, in "The Late Colonial State in Portuguese Africa," *Itinerário* 23, no. 3–4 (1999): 110–22.
9. Luís Reis Torgal, *Estados Novos, Estado Novo: ensaios de história política e cultural* (Coimbra: Universidade Coimbra, 2009).

10. SEMU, Concessões de Terrenos nas Províncias Ultramarinas. Carta de Lei de 9 de Maio 1901 (Lisbon: Secretária de Estado da Marinha e Ultramar,1901).
11. Barbara Direito, Terra e africanos no pensamento colonial português, c. 1920–c. 1945, *Análise Social* XLIX, no. 213 (4.º) (2014): 768–93.
12. Pedro Tavares de Almeida and Paulo Silveira e Sousa, "Ruling the Empire: The Portuguese Colonial Office (1820s–1926)," *Revista da História das Ideias* 27 (2006): 1–33.
13. Réné Pélissier, *Les Campagnes Coloniales du Portugal.*
14. Sergio Neto, *Colónia Martir, Colónia Modelo: Cabo Verde no pensamento ultramarino português, 1925–1965* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2009).
15. Alexander Keese, "Imperial Actors? Cape Verdean Mentality in the Portuguese Empire Under the Estado Novo, 1926–1974," in *Imperial Migrations: Colonial communities in the Portuguese World*, ed. Eric Morier-Genoud and Michel Cahen (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 129–48.
16. The standard legal formula asserted that '*indígenas*' or natives were "all individuals pertaining to the black race or descended from it, who by their education and customs do not distinguish themselves from the common traits of that race" (Regulamento Geral do Trabalho dos Indígenas, *Diário do Governo*, 262, 25-11-1899).
17. Christoph Kohl, "The Limitations and Ambiguities of Colonialism in Guinea Bissau: Examining the Creole and 'Civilised' Space in Colonial Society," *History in Africa* 43 (2015): 169–203; Wilson Trajano Filho, "The Creole Idea of Nation and Its Predicaments: The Case of Guinea-Bissau," in *The Powerful Presence of the Past: Integration and Conflict Along the Upper Guinea Coast*, ed. Jacqueline Knorr and Wilson Trajano Filho (New York: Berghahn, 2015), 157–84; Gerhard Seibert, "Crioulização em Cabo Verde e São Tomé e Príncipe: divergências históricas e identitárias," *Afro-Ásia* 49 (2014): 41–70; Jacopo Corrado, *The Creole Elite and the Rise of Angolan Proto-Nationalism, 1870–1920* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2007); and Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (London: Hurst, 1997), 127–46.
18. See for exemple the pamphlet *Voz d'Angola Clamando no Deserto* (1901) in Angola, the journals *O Africano* (1906–1918), *O Comércio da Guiné* (1930–1931) in Guinea, *O Brado Africano* (1918–1974) in Mozambique, *Claridade* (1936–1960) in Cape Verde and *A Liberdade* (1919–1923) in São Tomé. After 1926, press freedom was suppressed, only to be challenged from the 1950s by nationalist movements and cultural associations.
19. Visit by French Diplomatic Adviser of the AOF to Portuguese Guinea, *Voyage en Guinée Portugaise*, August 1959; Ministére des Affaires Étrangers (MAE), Paris, Direction Afrique-Levant, Série: GP, Sous Serie: I, Dossier III: Guinée Portugaise, 1953–1959; Report HM Consul Luanda, A.J.S. Pullan, on a tour of southern Angola, 18–28 July 1955; and National Archives, London, FO 371/113878.
20. Newitt, *Portugal in Africa*, 105.
21. Luís Augusto Vieira Fernandes, Relatório da Inspecção aos Serviços Centrais e Provinciais da Colonia de Moçambique, 1940–41; AHU, MU, ISAU.
22. Augusto Nascimento, *Poderes e Quotidiano nas Roças de São Tomé e Príncipe* (Lousã: Tipografia Lousanense, 2002), op cit. 108.

23. Alexander Keese, "Taxation, Evasion and Compulsory Measures in Angola," in *Administration and Taxation in Former Portuguese Africa, 1900–1945*, ed. Philip J. Havik, Alexander Keese, and Maciel Santos (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 98–137.
24. Philip J. Havik, "Tchon I Renansa: Colonial Governance, Appointed Chiefs and Political Change in 'Portuguese' Guinea," in *Ethnicity and the Long-Term Experience*, ed. Alexander Keese (Berne: Peter Lang, 2010), 155–90.
25. Decreto-Lei (D-L) 23:229, in *Diário do Govêrno*, 261, 15-11-1933.
26. Maria Conceição Neto, "In Town and Out of Town: A Social History of Huambo (Angola), 1902–1961" (PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), UCL/London, 2012), 265–78; and Philip J. Havik, "Direct or Indirect Rule? Reconsidering the Roles of Appointed Chiefs and Native Employees in Portuguese West Africa," *Africana Studia* 15 (2010): 29–56.
27. Susana Goulart Costa, "Portugal and the Building of an Imaginary Empire," in *Religion and Politics in a Global Society: Comparative Perspectives from the Portuguese Speaking World*, ed. Paul C. Manuel, Alynna Lyon, and Clyde Wilcox (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2013), 33–46. In 1940, Portugal and the Vatican signed a concordat and missionary convention, formally recognizing and regulating the key role of Catholic missions in empire.
28. Acto Colonial, D-L 22.465, *Diário do Governo*, 83, 11-4-1930, Carta Orgânica do Imperio Colonial Português, D-L 23.228, *Diário do Governo*, 261, 15-11-1933. The latter was subject to alterations in 1946 (Portaria 11: 380, 11-6-1946).
29. Estatuto Civil, Político e Criminal dos Indígenas, D-L 16.473, *Diário do Governo*, 30, 6-2-1929.
30. Peter K. Mendy, *Colonialismo Português em África: a tradição de resistência na Guiné Bissau (1879–1959)* (Bissau: INEP, 1993), 313.
31. Patrícia Ferraz de Matos, *The Colours of the Empire: Racilaised Representations During Portuguese Colonialism* (New York: Berghahn, 2006), 50; and Seibert, "Crioulização," 66.
32. Lei Orgânica do Ultramar Português, D-L 2.066, *Diário do Governo*, 135, 27-6-1953.
33. José Carlos Ney Ferreira and Vasco Soares da Veiga, *Estatuto dos Indígenas das Províncias da Angola, Guiné e Moçambique* (Lisbon: Authors' Edition, 1957).
34. Regulamento para os Contratos de Serviçais e Colonos nas Províncias de África Portuguesa, *Diário do Governo*, 237, 18-11-1878; Regulamento Geral do Trabalho dos Indígenas, *Diário do Governo*, 262, 25-11-1899; Regulamento Geral do Trabalho dos Indígenas nas Colónias Portuguesas, *Diário do Governo*, 1ª série, 187, 14-10-1914; *Código do Trabalho dos Indígenas nas Colónias Portuguesas de África* (Luanda: Colónia de Angola, 1928); and D-L 3966, Estatuto dos Indígenas Portugueses das Províncias da Guine, Angola e Moçambique, *Diário do Governo*, 110, 20-5-1954.
35. On the practice and term *chibalo* used in Mozambique, see Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (London: Hurst, 2009); Valdemir Zamparoni, "Colonialism and the Creation of Racial Identities in Lourenço Marques, Mozambique," in *Africa, Brazil and the Construction of Trans-Atlantic Black Identities*, ed. Livio Sansone, Elisée Soumonni, and Boubacar Barry (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2008), 20–43; Bridget O'Laughlin,

"Proletarianisation, Agency and Changing Rural Livelihoods: Forced Labor and Resistance in Colonial Mozambique," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28, no. 3 (2002): 511–30; Jeanne Penvenne, *African Workers and Colonial Racism: Mozambican Strategies and Struggles in Lourenço Marques, 1877–1962* (Oxford: James Currey, 1995); and Allen Isaacman, "Coercion, Paternalism and the Labor Process: The Mozambican Cotton Regime, 1938–1961," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18 (1992): 487–526.

36. Art. 1, Regulamento Geral do Trabalho dos Indígenas, *Diário do Governo*, 262, 25-11-1899.
37. Philip J. Havik, "Colonial Administration, Public Accounts and Fiscal Extraction: Policies and Revenues in Former Portuguese Africa (1900–1960)," *African Economic History* 41 (2013): 162–226; op. cit. 174.
38. Neto, In and Out of Town, 288: "In the search for a way out of *indigenato* constraints, 'natives' used migration, deception, tax evasion and every possibility offered by the system".
39. The *contribuição braçal* (Port: Manual Contribution), a compulsory labor tax, was introduced in Guinea in 1935 and in Mozambique in 1942.
40. Newitt, *Portugal in Africa*, 102–4; and Neto, In and Out of Town, 256–65.
41. Philip J. Havik, "Motorcars and Modernity: Pining for Progress in Portuguese Guinea (1915–1945)," in *The Speed of Change: Motor-Vehicles and People in Africa: 1890–2000*, ed. J.B. Gewald, S. Luning, and K. Walraven (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 48–74; and Neto, In and Out of Town.
42. Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire*, 116–45; and M. Anne Pitcher, *Politics in the Portuguese Empire: The State, Industry and Cotton, 1926–1974* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
43. Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and José Pedro Monteiro, "Internationalism and the *Labours* of the Portuguese Colonial Empire," *Portuguese Studies* 29, no. 2 (2013): 142–63.
44. Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, *The 'Civilising Mission' of Portuguese Colonialism, 1870–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2015); Catherine Higgs, *Chocolate Islands: Cocoa and Slavery in Colonial Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012); Lowell J. Satre, *Chocolate on Trial: Slavery, Politics and the Ethics of Business* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005); William Gervase Clarence-Smith, 'Labour Conditions in the Plantations of São Tomé and Príncipe, 1875–1914,' *Slavery and Abolition* 14 (1993): 149–67; and James Duffy, *A Question of Slavery: Labour Policies in Portuguese African and the British Protest, 1850–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).
45. Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 482–516.
46. Daniel R. Maul, "The International Labour Organization and the Struggle Against Forced Labour from 1919 to the Present," *Labor History* 48, no. 4 (2007): 477–500.
47. Jeremy Ball, *Angola's Colossal Lie: Forced Labor on a Sugar Plantation, 1913–1977* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Eric Allina, *Slavery by Any Other Name: African Life under Company Rule in Colonial Mozambique* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012); and Gerald Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).
48. António de Almeida, Relatório de Inspecção da Colónia de Moçambique, 1947; AHU, ISAU.

49. Arts. 12 & 13, Estatuto Político, Civil, Criminal dos Indígenas, 1929.
50. Edward A. Ross, *Report on Employment of Native Labor in Portuguese Africa* (New York: Abbott Press, 1925). Similar accusations had already been made and would continue to be voiced by Protestant missionaries, which in part influenced the timing and urgency of Ross's visit.
51. For a detailed analysis of the Ross Report, see Bandeira Jerónimo, *The 'Civilising Mission'*, Chap. 5. The idea of Portugal as a colonizing and civilizing nation by vocation, was reiterated in art. 2 of the Colonial Act of 1930: "It is the organic essence of the Portuguese Nation to engage in the historical function of possessing and colonizing overseas dominions and to civilize the indigenous populations included in them".
52. Report, J. Coutinho, Colonial Ministry, Lisbon, 27-4-1938; AHU, DGAPC, 436-A.
53. Mário Costa, Relatório da Inspecção Administrativa da Colónia da Guiné, 1944–45; AHU, ISAU, Mç. 2245; José N. Nunes de Oliveira, Relatório Inspecção Geral Colonia de Angola, Lisbon, 4-2-1944; AHU, MU, ISAC; and Fernandes, Relatório da Inspecção aos Serviços Centrais e Provinciais, op.cit.
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55. Exposição do deputado Henrique Galvão à Comissão de Colónias da Assembleia Nacional em Janeiro de 1947; AHU, ISAU, 1943–1970.
56. Exposição do deputado Henrique Galvão, 10.
57. Ibid., 50–54.
58. Report, Sir Nigel Ronald, British Ambassador, Lisbon, to Foreign Office in London, confidential, 29-4-1949, National Archives London, FO 371/73954.
59. Nunes de Oliveira, Confidential, Report to Minister of Colonies, Inspecção Superior Administrativa Ultramarina (ISAU), Lisbon, 14-2-1953; AHU, ISAU, Angola, Guiné, Moçambique, STP, Timor, 1944–1961.
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61. Todd Cleveland, *Diamonds in the Rough: Corporate Paternalism and African Professionalism on the Mines of Colonial Angola*, *1917–1975* (Athens: Ohio University Press/Swallow Press, 2015).
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63. Marvin Harris, *Portugal's African "Wards": A First-Hand Report on Labor and Education in Moçambique* (New York: The American Committee on Africa, 1958); James Duffy, *Portuguese Africa* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 317–28.
64. Bandeira Jerónimo and Monteiro, "Internationalism and the *Labours* of the Portuguese Colonial Empire," 155–61.
65. Gerhard Seibert, "Le massacre de Fevrier 1953 á São Tomé: raison d'être du nationalisme santomeen," *Lusotopie* (1997): 173–92; Aida Freudenthal,

"A Baixa de Cassanje: algodão e revolta," *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos*, 18–22 (1995–1999): 245–83; Leopoldo Amado, Simbólica de Pindjiguití na cultura libertária da Guiné, *Guineidade*, 21-2-2006, http://guineidade.blogs.sapo.pt/15548.html; Michel Cahen, "The Mueda Case and Maconde Political Etnicity: Some Notes on Work in Progress," *Africana Studia* 2 (1999): 29–46; and Diogo Ramada Curto, Bernardo Pinto da Cruz and Teresa Furtado, *Políticas Coloniais em Tempo de Revoltas—Angola circa 1961* (Oporto: Afrontamento, 2016).

66. Havik, "Colonial Administration," 168/169.
67. Armando Castro, *O Sistema Colonial Português em África* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1980), 222–31, 377–81.
68. Cláudia Castelo, *Passagens para África: o povoamento de Angola e Moçambique com naturais da metrópole (1920–1974)* (Oporto: Afrontamento, 2007).
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72. INE, *Anuário Estatístico de Portugal* (Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1954; 1972); and *Anuário Estatístico do Ultramar* (Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1954; 1972).
73. Castelo, *Passagens para África*, 61–98.
74. Keese, *Living with Ambiguity*, 162–75.
75. Havik, "Colonial Administration," 191, 197; and Philip J. Havik, "'Taxing the Natives': Fiscal Administration, Labour and Crop Cultivation in Portuguese Guinea (1900–1945)," in *Administration and Taxation*, ed. Havik, Keese and Santos, 167–227.
76. Castelo, *Passagens para Africa*, 79, 143.
77. D.A. Abshire and M.A. Samuels, *Portuguese Africa: A Handbook* (London: Praeger, 1969), 255–58, 270–71; and Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire*, 198–99.
78. Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and António Costa Pinto, "A Modernizing Empire: Politics, Culture and Economy in Portuguese Late Colonialism," in *The Ends of European Colonial Empires: Cases and Comparisons*, ed. M. Bandeira Jerónimo and A. Costa Pinto (Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2015), 51–80.
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92. Inquêrito Funcionários Administrativos, Guiné e Moçambique, 1972; AHU, MU, ISAU.
93. Nuno Valério and Maria Paula Fontoura, "A evolução económica de Angola durante o segundo período colonial—uma tentativa de síntese," *Análise Social* XXIX, no. 129 (1994): 1193–208.
94. Lains, An Account of the Portuguese African Empire, 255/6. Between 1961 and 1970, an average of 26% of the Portuguese government budget (8% of GNP) went towards military expenditure; 242, 251. In 1970, more than 120,000 Portuguese troops were stationed in Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique. Although metropolitan emigration to the colonies was strongly promoted by the regime in the 1960s, by then the major migratory flux was directed towards Northern Europe.

95. Bandeira Jerónimo and Costa Pinto, "A Modernizing Empire."
96. João Borges Coelho, "Da violência colonial ordenada à ordem pós-colonial violenta Sobre um legado das guerras coloniais nas ex-colónias portuguesas," *Lusotopie* (2003): 175–93.
97. Amélia Neves de Souto, Relações entre Portugal, África do Sul e Rodésia do Sul e o Exercício Alcora: elementos fundamentais na estratégia da condução da guerra—1960–1974, in *As Guerras de Libertação e os sonhos coloniais*, ed. Meneses and Martins, 143–69.

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