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Neocolonialism: the relationship between Portugal and Angola

Theoretical analysis on the post-1975 consequences of the Portuguese colonial
domination

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“When someone asks me about violence, I just ... I just find it incredible. Because what it means is that the person asking that question has no idea what black people have gone through... what black people have experienced in this country since the time the first black person was kidnapped from the shore of Africa.”

Angela Davis in (Olsson, 2011)

Abstract

Abstract

Portugal dominated the political, economic, socio-cultural, and linguistic realms of Angola for nearly five centuries as its coloniser. After the fall of the Portuguese dictatorship, and a thirteen year-long independence war, Angola reached independence in 1975.

This thesis is a theoretical analysis, from a white Portuguese point of view, of the historic and current relationship between Portugal and Angola.

The analysis begins with the study of the economic relation of the two states since the beginning of colonial domination to the current days. Next, it moves to an analysis of the socio-cultural domination that the Portuguese occupation undertook. Advancing to the Portuguese point of view on the colonial domination, I study the construction of the myth of the ‘good coloniser’, still present in the Portuguese discourse, which I analyse in the following chapter. Lastly, I study the role of the CPLP (Portuguese abbreviation for the Community of Portuguese Language Countries), particularly its role in maintaining the Portuguese language, a tool of colonial domination. This multidimensional analysis is framed from a ‘development perspective’, particularly to understand how ‘development’ has been used as an overpowering tool in Portuguese discourse.

The conclusion of this thesis is that Portugal not only holds a dominant position in its relationship with Angola, but also that, similarly with the colonial period, ‘development’ has been used as a means to obtain economic gain.

Topics: Neocolonialism, colonialism, development

Content Warning: the thesis will mention and discuss the following topics: racism, colonialism, slavery, suicide, and rape.

Resumo

Portugal dominou os campos político, económico, socio-cultural e linguístico de Angola por quase cinco séculos como seu colonizador. Depois da queda da ditadura Portuguesa, e de treze anos de guerra pela independência, Angola conseguiu a sua independência em 1975.

Esta tese é uma análise teórica, de uma perspetiva branca portuguesa, da relação histórica e atual entre Portugal e Angola.

A análise começa pelo estudo da relação económica entre os dois estados, desde o começo do domínio colonial até ao período corrente. De seguida, segue para uma análise do domínio socio-cultural que a ocupação portuguesa. Avançando para o ponto de vista Português, estudo a construção do mito do “bom colonizador”, ainda presente no discurso português, que analiso no capítulo seguinte. Por fim, estudo o papel da CPLP (Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa), particularmente o seu papel na manutenção da língua portuguesa, uma ferramenta de domínio colonial. Esta análise multidimensional está enquadrada numa “perspetiva de desenvolvimento”, usada particularmente para compreender como o ‘desenvolvimento’ tem sido usado como uma ferramenta poderosa do discurso português.

A conclusão desta dissertação é que Portugal não só mantém uma posição dominante em relação a Angola, como, tal como durante o período colonial, ‘desenvolvimento’ tem sido usado como meio de obtenção de vantagem económica.

Tópicos: neocolonialismo, colonialismo, desenvolvimento

Alerta de conteúdo: esta tese irá mencionar e discutir os seguintes tópicos: racismo, colonialismo, suicídio, escravatura e violação.

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Table of abbreviations

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ANG	Angola
BIPOC	Black, indigenous, and other people of colour
CoE	Council of Europe
CPLP	Portuguese abbreviation for the Community of Portuguese Language Countries
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
FEMAFRO	Association of Black, African and Afro descendent Women in Portugal
FRELIMO	Portuguese abbreviation for Liberation Front of Mozambique
GDP	Gross domestic product
HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus infection and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
IILP	Portuguese abbreviation for the International Institute of the Portuguese Language
INMUNE	Institute of the Black Woman in Portugal
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MPLA	Portuguese abbreviation for People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola
PAIGC	Portuguese abbreviation for African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde
PALOP	Portuguese abbreviation for African Countries of Portuguese Official Language
PT	Portugal
SA	South Africa
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, commonly known as the Soviet Union

1. Introduction

“The experienced reality of racism, the subjective encounters, experiences, struggles, knowledge, understanding and feelings of Black people with respect to racism, as well as the psychic scars of racism causes us (...) only become visible in public and academic spheres, when the normality of white national culture is suddenly disturbed, when our experiences with racism endanger the comfort of white society. At the moment, we and our reality with racism become visible, spoken and even written, not because we might be in danger or at risk, or need guardianship, but rather because such an uncomfortable reality disturbs white common immunity.”

(Kilomba, 2010)

Over the past few years, BIPOC activists all over the World have been trying to talk about and act to dismantle racism and colonial heritage. With the advent of social media, information has been shared and broadly available, however, it is still viewed much as a “black people’s problem” to dismantle oppressive, racist, and colonial systems. As a white, European person, I believe black, brown, and indigenous peoples have been facing racism for as long as we have been *inflicting* it, so it is our duty to dismantle the systems of oppression we have created and have been feeding for centuries.

Living in a former colonial country, Portugal¹, racism is not a new topic for me. I was raised in a racist society, so I have witnessed and engaged in racist actions. However, contrary to most recent movements growing in my home country, I do believe not only that Portugal is institutionally racist but also that, even though we no longer have colonies, we still have colonial attitudes toward our former colonies.

My thesis for this dissertation is that Portugal still maintains the power relation it previously had with one of its colonies, Angola. **The statement I argue is that the colonial domination Portugal inflicted was political, cultural, economic, and linguistic, and that to this day, Portugal continues to foster that relation using some of these pillars in Angola.**

This maintenance of domination of a former coloniser to a former colony is called *Neocolonialism*, a term coined by Kwame Nkrumah:

¹ Between 1415 and 1999 Portugal administered territories in the Atlantic coast of Africa, the Indian coast of Africa, Brazil, India, China, and the Indo-Australian Archipelago.

1. Introduction

“The neo-colonialism of today represents imperialism in its final and perhaps its most dangerous stage. (...) Old-fashioned colonialism is by no means entirely abolished. It still constitutes an African problem, but it is everywhere on the retreat. (...) In place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism we have today neo-colonialism. The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside. The methods and form of this direction can take various shapes.” (Nkrumah, 1966, p. ix)

The objective of this thesis is to show that the economic system in Angola is still dependent on outside actors, particularly Portugal, and that the domination that Portugal once had has changed forms but continues to have Portugal as main beneficiary.

The process through which I will develop my research will be sequence of different aspects that characterised the shared history of the two countries (Portugal and Angola): economic history, the various other forms of domination during the colonial period, how Portugal constructed the myth that it was a “good coloniser”, and the current reality. This last topic will be divided into the social view on the former colony from a Portuguese point of view, and the CPLP.

Lastly, this multidimensional analysis will be framed from a ‘development perspective’, particularly to understand how ‘development’ has been used in Portuguese discourse and if that corresponds to the Angolan reality.

The study of the current institutional relations: nationality law, language, education and the CPLP have an importance of, similarly to the economic factor, allowing for a comparison with the colonial period. Education is particularly important because it is through education that racism and colonial ideals are perpetuated or not, so it is important to understand what Portuguese people think of the past to understand what is done regarding the relations between Portugal and the former colonies, namely Angola. For this last part, I will include some personal experiences as a Portuguese student and also on my family’s, for their experience was during which Angola was still a colony².

² The independence of Angola came only after the end of the Portuguese dictatorship in 1974. Independence Day is celebrated on November 11th, 1975.

1. Introduction

Lastly, I will try to show that the current relationship between Portugal and Angola continues to benefit more the economic development of Portugal, and the cultural and linguistic domination of the former colonial power. To draw this conclusion, I will try to show both countries' socio-economic profiles throughout the decades, their relationship, and identify which parts of both populations have benefited from that relationship. For this, I will resort to legal documents, socio-economic reports, news articles, and political analysis.

With this thesis I am willing to use my locus of speech (Ribeiro, 2017) to call on the attention of white Europeans to our responsibility in this matter and also to try to dismantle certain ideas of white saviourism (No White Saviors, n.d.).

Adding my personal experience as well as my family's and black Portuguese friends is a way of showing what the daily experience of racism is and how it was been constructed by the institutionalised school system in Portugal. This thesis is also about my own personal experience and journey of deconstructing my own colonial and racist thinking.

Portugal is very far from facing its colonial past. We still believe we were "the good colonisers". We still refuse to look at ourselves as "racist". With this thesis I intend to show how urgent it is that we start dismantling our colonial beliefs and learn from our past mistakes.

2. The relationship between Portugal and Angola

2. The relationship between Portugal and Angola

To begin my analysis, I shall present a chronology of the relationship between Portugal and Angola, identifying the important dates for a better understanding of the various periods of the relationship between these two states.

1482 – Arrival of Portuguese explorers to the coast of Angola

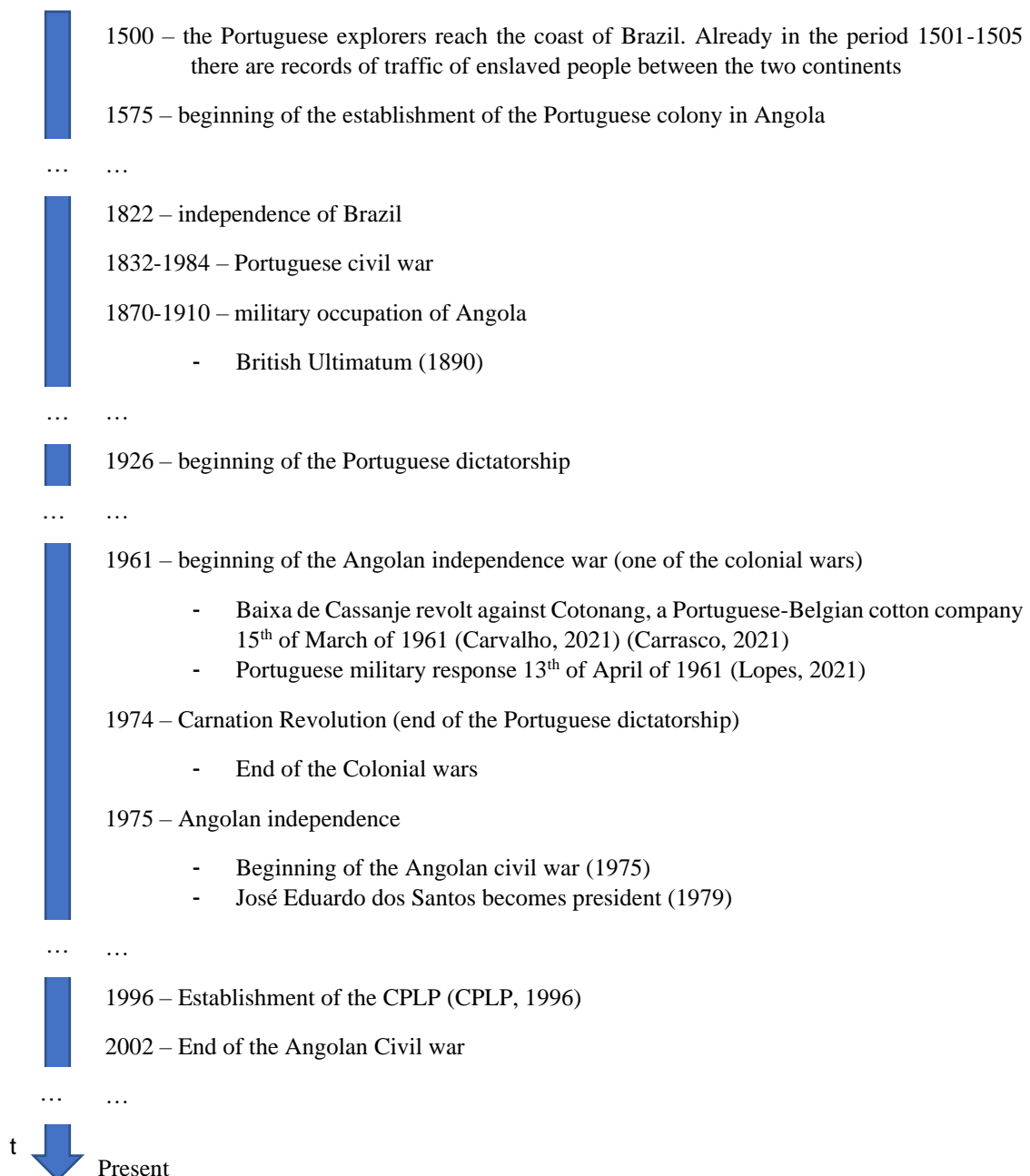


Figure 1 – Timeline of the most important events in the Portuguese and Angolan relationship

2. The relationship between Portugal and Angola

2.1. Economic history

In this chapter, I will try to clarify what was the Portuguese colonial enterprise and how the different pillars of domination were inflicted: economic, cultural, and linguistic. Political domination will be the overarching pillar, responsible for these three domains and also with direct consequences.

The colonial conquest of Portugal began in the 15th century with the conquest of Ceuta and ended in 1999 with the handover of Macau to the People's Republic of China. Before that period, all trade from Africa, the Middle East and Asia that came to Europe – the known world – was under Arab control, so European buyers had to pay to Arab merchants for the products. The Portuguese decided they wanted to control the trade routes. Portuguese greed for African slaves led us to begin the enterprise in Africa, first with the conquest of Ceuta and then moving south, and for Asian spices with the will to discover the maritime route to India (Henriksen, 1973). Portugal believed that by sea, instead of by land, the route from India would be faster. It was in this route that Portugal acknowledged that Africa was much bigger than initially thought, that the Indo-Australian region was known to the European, etc.

It was during this endeavour that, in the 1480s, the Portuguese navigators reached the shores of what would be Angola. From that moment on, the relation between the indigenous peoples of the region and the Portuguese people would be shaped interconnectedly. Considering that the “discoveries” started as an economic enterprise, it is no surprise that the relations between all territories reached by Portuguese sailors and the Portuguese crown was one that was economically shaped, namely one of exploitation of territory, peoples, and resources. Throughout the 5 centuries of Portuguese imperialism, as the nation's economic needs changed, as the political thought matured, so did the economic relations between Portugal and the dominated territories.

Henriques, cited in Pacheco, et al. 2018 proposes the following distinction of the several macro-economic periods of the Portugal-Angola relation:

- Pre-colonial period: began in 1482 when Portugal reached the shores of Africa in the region of the Congo River estuary. This period was marked mostly by direct exchanges of produce and similar commerce relations.

2. The relationship between Portugal and Angola

- Colonial mercantilism: roughly between 1575³ and 1885. The most important feature of this period was that the transatlantic trade of enslaved people⁴ was strengthened and consolidated. Mercantilism was designed to maximize the exports from Angola, minimizing the imports from Portugal. Slavery dominated trade during this period because, although it was treated as a trading product, it boosted production and exportation in other regions (mostly in Brazil) as it served as free labour force.
- Colonial capitalism (1885 to 1975):
 - In 1885, began a period marked by the war of military occupation. The Angolan territory was vast, and this endeavour had the objective of reaching the entirety of it to establish an effective Portuguese domain.
 - In 1910 new production relationships were established, namely via forced labour (called *Contrato* in Portuguese language), the exploration of new materials (especially mining) and the creation of new factories. All of these new enterprises were under Portuguese domain, be that the state of Portuguese families or companies.

This division is similar to the one proposed by Oliveira Costa (cited in Ribeiro, 1988, pp. 167-169). However, this author looks in more detail to the balance of the economic scale of Angola in relation to Portugal, arguing the history shared by the two countries was marked by the following three periods:

1. 1575-1836: characterized by the exportation of enslaved people out of Angola and a smaller value of imported goods in exchange.
2. 1840-1931:
 - a. 1840-1902: exportation of other products parallel to the trade of enslaved people.
 - b. 1902-1930: liberalization of exports and changing of production policies. Due to the new arrival of white Portuguese families to the Angolan territory, production was focused on producing goods that could be used

³ Establishment of the Portuguese colony of Angola. In this year, hundreds of Portuguese soldiers, and families – colonists – reached Angola to start a new life in the territory and exert their power over the indigenous populations.

⁴ I chose to use the expression “enslaved people” rather than the word “slave” because using “slave” helps in collective racist constructions and removes the weight of an outside will to enslave the people. People being “slaves” creates an idea that that was a characteristic of those people, part of their identity, rather than an imposed condition by outside actors, such as the Portuguese traders, bourgeoisie, and monarchs. “Slave” is a fixed term, an identity term, that has been naturalized. “Enslaved” expresses a condition or a circumstance.

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locally rather than exported. The trade balance faced a deficit in relation to imports from Portugal.

3. 1957-1963: the trade balance reaches an equilibrium and eventually even surplus because of the policies implemented by the Portuguese Dictatorship.

There are some similarities between both models. First of all, the importance of the trade of enslaved people from the early days of the relation. Second of all, it is clear that there was a significant change in the economic and trading relations that occurred in the nineteenth century. Lastly, there was a liberalisation of the markets that became more production driven in the beginning of the twentieth century. Finally, the last period of this relation was marked by the Portuguese dictatorship of the *Estado Novo* (Portuguese for New State). All of these changes coincide with Portuguese historical political changes that I will describe forward.

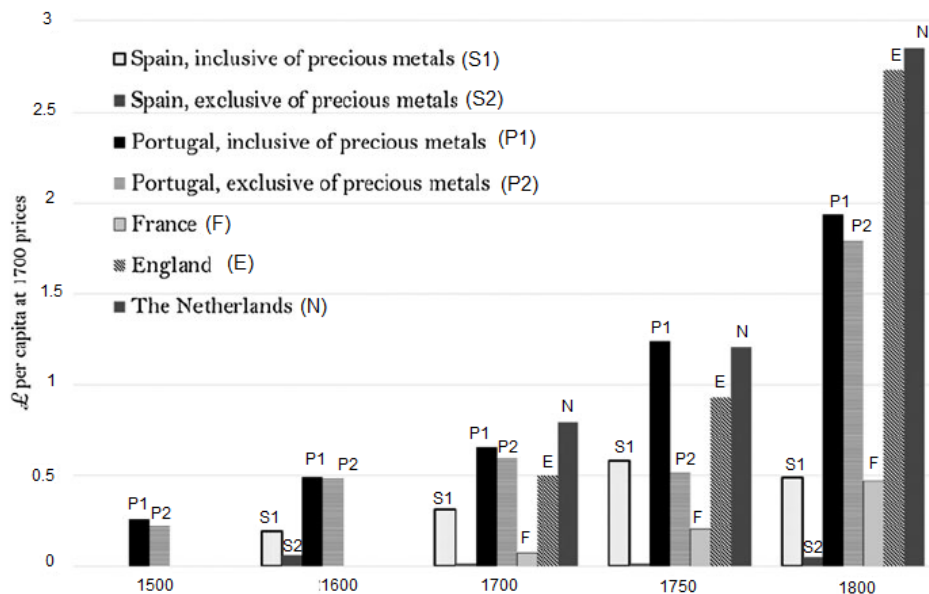
Considering that, it is also crucial to look at the trade from the Portuguese perspective. Graphic 1 shows the amount of capital per capita the empires rendered each of the major European colonizers between 1500 and 1800. At first, only Portugal shows capital flowing from the colonies, as the first state to be involved in overseas trade directly. In the 1600s, Spain begins trading in the Americas. The following colonial powers only join one century later.

As Costa, et al. note, throughout these centuries, Portugal was “consistently one of the most significant among the ‘Atlantic traders’”. The trend of its growth was by a factor of 300 with gold and 200 without the metal, a trend that only slightly (24 percent) decreased in the last fifty years of the studied period (Costa, et al., 2014). The impact of the precious metals (especially gold in the Portuguese case) was significant but it relates mostly to the trade with Brazil. From the African colonies (with Angola being the majoritarian part) the trade was mainly dominated by the traffic of enslaved people. Thus, by looking at the graphic it can be concluded that the trade with Brazil was at a semi constant rate, but the trade with Angola had a massive increase from the 17th to the 18th century (it nearly quadrupled, whereas the trade of gold less than doubled in the same period).

This massive increase of trade in Angola is related to the trade in Brazil. In the pre-colonial period, Portugal mainly served as the sole transporter of products from the territories to the European countries, controlling several routes, as intended. This was of extreme importance not only because it opened the doors of European trade markets to the Portuguese economy but also because it gave Europe access to new products at more competitive prices to those offered

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by the Arab traders (Amaral, 2008). However, with the settlement in Brazil, Portugal realized that it could not only transport but also invest in the production of certain products. Brazil was then transformed into a gigantic producer of sugar plant and minerals (such as gold) and, later on, Angola of cotton and coffee. This was the beginning of the mercantilist era. To foster the new production method, Portugal began enslaving the indigenous populations of Brazil (Paraíso, 1994), and also to traffic enslaved people across the Atlantic Ocean to work on the plantations and mines, taking advantage and even strengthening some previously existing oppositions between different ethnic groups (Alexandre, 1993). The bigger the trade of enslaved people, the larger the production in Brazil.



Graphic 1 – International trade per capita

(Costa, et al., 2014), labels added by author

The primary beneficiary of all trade from the colonies was the Portuguese Crown. On one hand, the Crown influenced investors and families to move to Brazil to command the production sites and trafficking (Amaral, 2008). There were networks across the ocean, with white Portuguese people working on both sides of the Atlantic, to negotiate with Angolan Kings, traffic and receive the enslaved people in Brazil and channel them to plantations and mines (Amaral, 2008). On the other hand, the Crown also invested in the traffic of enslaved people. All trade and production (be that of enslaved people or not) between and from the

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colonies was mainly controlled by the Portuguese crown (Amaral, 2008). In the cases the crown was not directly controlling trade, it imposed “heavy tributes on traders” or participated in the ventures in a joint fashion (Amaral, 2008).

When Brazil became independent in 1822, the Portuguese Crown lost the control over the entire production of Brazil but intended to keep the slave trade between Angola and Brazil, the most profitable of the trade routes (figure 2). As a consequence, Portugal set its interest on the other side of the ocean, in Angola: unable to control the route from the Brazilian coast, Portugal would be responsible for capturing the slaves in Angola, transporting and/or selling them to Brazilian merchants (Alexandre, 1993).

To achieve this position the Portuguese crown strengthened its presence in the African continent. What initially had been done by mere *feitorias* (trading posts in the shores) (*vide* annex I), was substituted by a heavy military enterprise throughout the rest of the century and also the encouragement of Portuguese families to move to the African colonies to start their own selling businesses, as had been done with Brazil. Eventually, Portugal also started selling enslaved people to other territories and European powers, which in their own turn also joined the enslaved people trade from their own colonies. Nonetheless, Portugal kept its role as the primary trader (Slave Voyages, 2021).

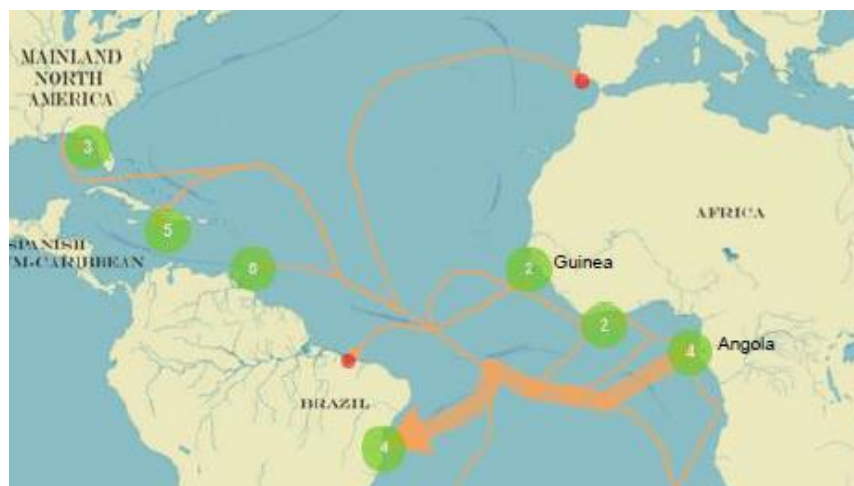


Figure 2 – Map of the Portuguese led transatlantic trade of enslaved people (Slave Voyages, 2021), African countries’ names added by author

2. The relationship between Portugal and Angola

Coincidentally, the independence of Brazil happened only a decade before the Portuguese Civil War (1832-1834) in which the absolute power of the crown was substituted by the liberal views of both politics and economics (Alexandre, 1993). The Civil War opposed Absolutists and Liberals, having the latter win. The liberal ideals brought new reality: industrial capitalism, which needed a free market to thrive (Rato, 1983).

This change in the political and economic organization, had several consequences. Initially the biggest impact was the loss of the monopoly of colonial trade from the Crown. Consequently, several events followed: individual investors and families moved to Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea to start trading the enslaved people themselves, and also start their own local productions and exploration of the local riches. With the new families and the new necessities in the colonies, a new type of needs and, as consequence, a new direction of flow of both capital and product from Portugal to the colonies arose. This was the reason behind the balance of trade that Ribeiro mentions: even though there was an increase in production in the African colonies (mainly raw materials), that growth was matched with an increase of imports from Portugal of consumption goods, which, even though in smaller quantities, were more expensive, balancing the exports and imports between Angola and Portugal.

Also, other European states eventually directly entered the trade on those territories, for now they could invest directly in the African territories under Portuguese domain. Several companies were created at the time by other European colonisers such as Belgian, France or Britain in Angola. In order to maintain its profit from the Angolan production, the Portuguese Crown created production and commercial tariffs to all that was traded and produced in and from Angola (Rato, 1983).

The liberal revolution in Portugal also had another consequence in the colonies: the expropriation of the colonial lands under religious domain. The Portuguese bourgeoisie was the main beneficiary of this expropriation, and quickly monopolized the means of production in the colonies and the political power. In the Portuguese territory, the means of production were secured by rural workers, in the colonies by uncontrolled exploitation of black indigenous peoples – forced labour (Rato, 1983).

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In the second half of the nineteenth century, there was the final reason that led Portugal to enforce its presence in Angola in a more severe way: the British Ultimatum⁵ (Alexandre, 1993). The Portuguese crown yielded to the Ultimatum fearing the full force of the British military power.

Nonetheless, in the Berlin Conference (1884–1885) it had been defined that historical revindication of territory no longer served to reclaim possession of territory, only “effective occupation”. As a result, the Portuguese Crown ordered a new military occupation of their territories. Between 1878 and 1926, more than 150 Portuguese military operations stormed in all of Angola (Pélissier, 1997) (Figure 3), aiming at maintaining and enlarging the Portuguese domination in the region. The military opened the way for families and investors to move to the territory as well.

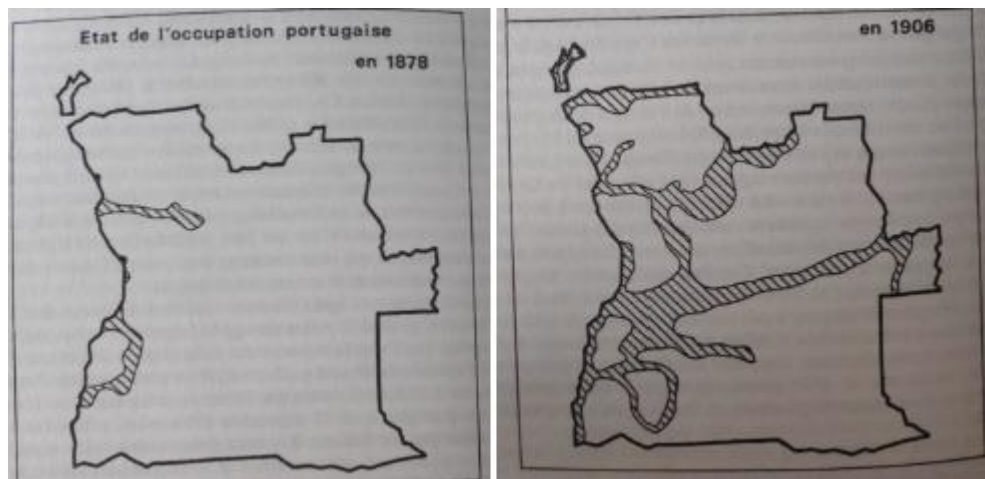


Figure 3 – State of the Portuguese occupation of Angola

Left side: in 1878, right side: in 1906 (Pélissier, 2004)

⁵ The Ultimatum was an ultimatum by the British government delivered to the Portuguese crown in 1890. Presented in 1890, the document aimed to force the Portuguese military forces out of some territories in Africa. The UK wanted to connect Cairo to Cape Town but in doing so it needed Portugal to retreat from the territories between Angola and Mozambique. The Ultimatum was delivered saying that Portugal should move away from that region, otherwise the British army would attack the Portuguese forces in the region.

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2.1.1. Twentieth century

2.1.1.1. Before the Angolan independence

As I stated above, during the nineteenth century Portuguese families were incentivized to move to the colonies and settle there. This movement of people created a new route of products: from Portugal to the colonies, rather than just from the colonies to the mainland, balancing trade between the two territories. This was because of the expected level of life that the Portuguese families wanted to have in the overseas territories.

This reality continued into the twentieth century. The republic that followed the liberal monarchy was a very politically unstable one, which also influenced many families to move to the African continent in search of opportunities and better life conditions. The first decades of the century were marked by an unstable economy and political system in Portugal, which contrasted with a more stable way of life in Angola (and the other colonies) for white people, a result of the exploitation of black and indigenous people in farms, mines, and other production sites. In the 1890s, the economic crisis was felt massively in Portugal due to the commercial bourgeoisie whose interests did not match the interests of the Portuguese population. The generalized crisis worsened in the country for several banking agencies going into bankruptcy due to the bourgeoisie speculation-focused activities (Rato, 1983, p. 1127), and their allyships with European capital. During this period, the liberalization of exportations from Angola to Portugal was at its peak, and was not balanced by an importation of goods, because eventually the region was self-sufficient enough to produce enough for the population living there.

The situation shifted with the Dictatorship. The Estado Novo changed the policy on the colonies and created a new policy: the Colonial Act of 1930 which put an end to administrative and financial decentralization (Rato, 1983). As the liberal policies of his predecessors had allowed for other European investors to invest their capital in Angola, there was then a considerable amount of production and riches whose exploitation and trading was not under the control of the Portuguese state. In order to augment the Portuguese access to products and natural resources, and in consequence to improve Portugal's profit, Salazar ordered the pillage of the territories still under indigenous control (Rato, 1983), issuing the Colonial Act. The Colonial Act not only took possession of the lands, but also obliged the population to work, be that for the interests of the state, or for neighbouring countries (in Mozambique several thousand workers were forced to go to SA and Zimbabwe (Rato, 1983)). The Colonial Act gave

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Portugal the right to force indigenous people of the colonies to go to other territories to work. The salary of those people was divided between the Portuguese state or company/person responsible for the workers and the workers themselves (Rato, 1983). The measure was yet another way in which colonial powers joined forces on behalf of economic gain. Via this accord with mainly SA, Portugal managed to maintain profit from the exploitation of African people, without having to invest in any way.

In Angola, Portugal re-reached the balance of trade (Ribeiro, 1988). What it is important to say is that Angola was mainly a raw-material export territory, but an importer of products ready for consumption, and Portugal was the opposite. Salazar managed to create a flow of products between the two, focusing the production on the internal market (Valério & Fontoura, 1994).

Another important factor was the investment in the colonies themselves. After the Second World War, all countries were granting independence to their colonies, but Portugal countered that trend⁶. To balance the international pressures, Portugal claimed that all of the overseas territories were part of Portugal, as one big, unified country, so the state and several Portuguese companies started to develop big infrastructure (roads, railroad tracks, dams, ports, etc.) in the colonies to prove there was no difference between “European-Portugal” and “overseas-Portugal”.

In 1977, two years after the Angolan independence, Edgar Rocha studied the impact of the colonies in explaining the economic growth of the Portuguese economy during the last decades of the colonial period. The conclusion was that 25% of Portuguese exports were to the colonies and 16% of the imports were from the colonies (Rocha, 1977). Overall, the “overseas empire contributed to ‘around 20 percent’ to Portugal’s per capita income” (Combrink & van Rossum, 2021). In the decade preceding its independence, Angola was responsible for more than half of the imports from the colonies and received around 40% of the exports (table 1).

It is important to analyse this relation from the Angolan standpoint (table 2), in order to understand the scope of the exploitation of the Angolan work force and natural resources. It is clear how the majority of goods that Angola exported were to Portugal, which discouraged the trade with other countries and the international relations that derived from them. The high percentages that can be seen in table 2 are due to the nature of the domination of Portugal over

⁶ more on chapter 2.3

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the Angolan economy. Being a colony of Portugal, Angola had to prioritize selling to Portugal and often time selling with lower prices. The fact that most production and factories were owned by Portuguese merchants that had moved to the territory contributed to this relation as well: the companies sometimes were headquartered in one of the two territories, but the production was done in Angola because it was cheaper, and the abundance of raw materials was greater. However, the selling of the products was done in Portugal both to Portuguese citizens and to international buyers, with the profit being Portuguese, not Angolan.

Years	Imports (%)	Exports (%)
1960-62	51,6	37,6
1964-66	55,5	44,9
1968-70	52,2	45,6

Table 1 – Share of Angola in the Portuguese colonial trade

(Rocha, 1977, p. 599), translation by author

Products	Exports to Portugal
Bananas	96% - 97%
Coffee	57% - 76%
Corn	95%
Palm oil	85%
tobacco	87% - 91%
Sisal	93% - 96%

Table 2 – Percentage of Angolan exports to Portugal in 1971-72 for six products

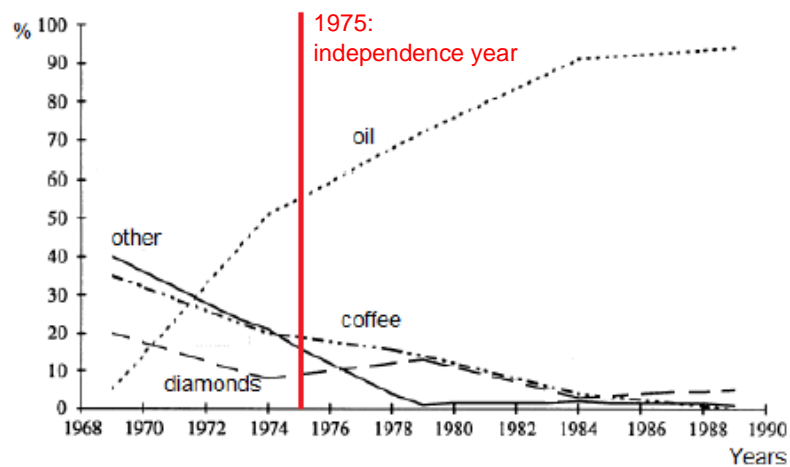
Table developed by author with data retrieved from (Rocha, 1977)

It is clear the exploitation of Angola was of major importance for the Portuguese economy: before the independence of Brazil, Angola was the source of enslaved people, after it became a new epicentre of development and success and eventually it became one of the most important shares of the Portuguese *per capita* income. As Costa, et al. (2014) stated, “in the long run

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Portugal's empire demonstrated a considerable degree of dynamism and contributed positively to the economic fortunes of the mother country".

Another example of Portuguese dynamism was the final period during the Portuguese dictatorship: the liberal period. In the last decade of the Estado Novo, colonial trade was opened to the European market, a bigger and more evolved market. The result was an atrophy of the local industry, focusing on one central commodity: oil (graphic 2).



Graphic 2 – Angola exports from 1968 until 1990

(Valério & Fontoura, 1994, p. 1205), translation by author

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2.1.1.2. After the Angolan independence

In this part I will analyse the economic and socio-political impact that the colonial domination had on the newly independent country: Angola. I will support my approach in Thomas Piketty's work *Capital in the Twenty First Century*, more specifically his analysis on inequality (chapter 7) and capital ownership (chapter 12).

One important indicator is the average national income. As previously stated, in the period before the independence of Angola, the region was developing specifically because of investment by the white Portuguese families that lived in the region and invested in commerce, mining and production, as well as infrastructure construction. However, it is important to remember who such development benefited. During the colonial domination, Portugal first used slavery and in a later period forced labour (of both adults and children) (Rocha, 1977). The majority of those workers were not paid or paid very poorly. Development and economic indicators for that period ignore the fact that a big portion of the population (mostly from the black Angolan population) did not have access to fairly paid jobs, infrastructure, health services, sewages, and so on. Considering the apparent effort that the Portuguese Regime made to bring the two economies closer, it would be expected to see a growth in Angola enough to match that of Portugal. In contrast, what was measured was that throughout the decades, as Angola grew, Portugal grew as well and at a similar rate, always showing better results (graphics 3 and 4): improving the economic capacities of Angola was important and necessary to improve those of Portugal. This proximity began to change in the final years of the independence wars (1961-1974) and more abruptly after the Carnation Revolution⁷. This trend can be seen in both GDP per adult (graphic 3) and in the average national income (graphic 4). In the years after the separation of both states' economies, both Angola and Portugal saw their growth and income decrease. The reality only changed for Portugal when it became a member state of the EU, in 1986 (red vertical line in graphics 3 and 4).

Analysing the period after the decade of the independence in more detail (table 3), it is possible to conclude that, even though the average national income in Angola is still lower than the value it had in the 1970s (graphic 4), inequality has increased, and that is due to the fact that the top 10% of the population have progressively been earning more throughout the

⁷ Portuguese revolution that took place on 25th of April of 1974 and ended the dictatorship and, as the consequence, the colonial rule. One of the main reasons that fostered the revolution was the desire to end the colonial war.

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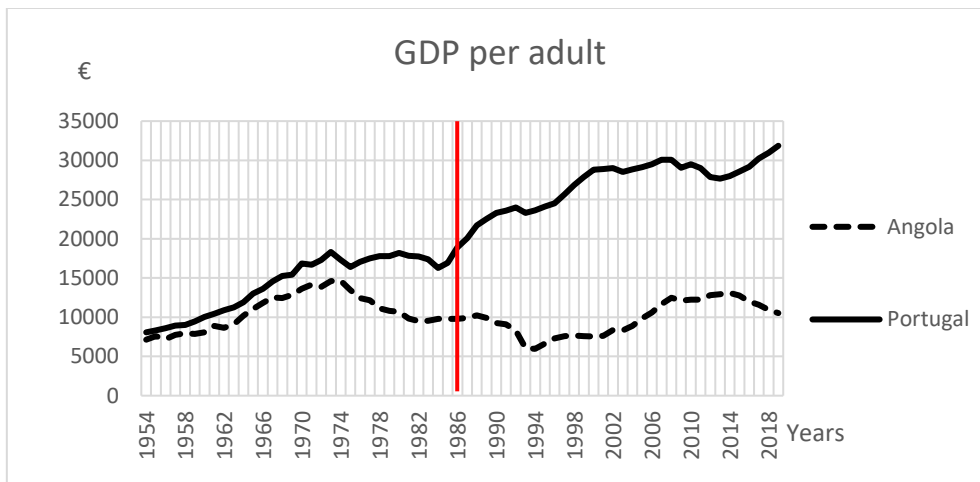
decades. Remembering the analysis shown by Piketty (2014) – prediction for the USA for example – it is not that uncommon for inequality to grow. However, considering the fact that Portugal and Angola had a similar path until the Angolan independence it would be expected that the years forward were not so different. In table 3 it can be seen that in Portugal the increment of inequality has been more controlled, particularly in the last decade in which the bottom 50% and the middle 40% increased their income share, whereas the top 10% decreased their income share. In the case of Angola, the share of income received by the bottom 50% has been decreasing, while the share of the top 10% and 1% have been increasing. Comparing the table below (table 3) with table 7.1 (Piketty, 2014, p. 247), it is possible to conclude that Angola has now a level of very high inequality, and Portugal of high inequality.

The numbers in table 3 are particularly important to keep in mind particularly because more recent analysis in Angola state that the country is not a good country to start a new business, getting electricity or even trading across borders (*vide* annex II). By contrast, the country ranks higher in protecting investors, which may serve as a justification for the high values shown underlined in table 3. A cross analysis of the data in graphic 4 and table 3 paves way for concluding that Angola is a country where those who already own capital to invest are much more protected than those on the bottom of the population, especially considering that the access to basic necessities such as electricity is a challenge. Another information that adds to this analysis, is the fact that “close to 80% of the government’s fiscal revenues come from oil and that oil represents about 98% of all exports and is the main source of foreign direct investment (FDI)” (graphic 2) (Jover, et al., 2012). It becomes clear how the government wants to protect investment and invests less in protecting its people and fulfilling their rights: economically speaking, at least in a shorter run, protecting investment and capital owners protects the government’s revenue as well.

Trying to understand the variation found in the period 2010-2019 in table 3, it is important to understand the national production as well as the political reality in Angola. I recalled the information in graphic 2 and tried to understand whether exports were still mainly focused on oil in more recent decades. In 2018, fuels (oil, natural gas, and other petroleum products (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries, 2021)) were more than 92% of all Angolan exports, the next product group being merely short above 3% of exports (graphic 5). All of oil, natural gas and other petroleum products production is overseen by Sonangol, a

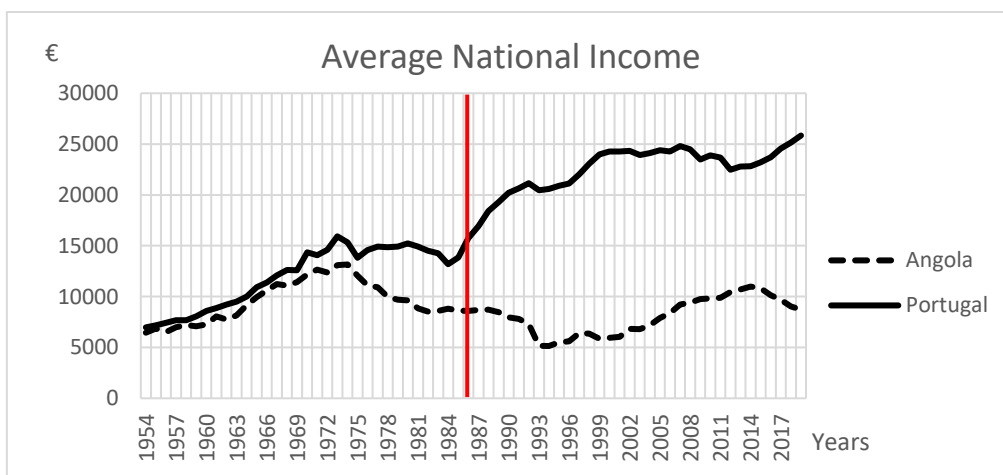
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parastatal company. This means that the capital of that company is managed by private investors but the consequences of bad management, fraudulent contracts or theft are paid by the state – as has happened (Pegg, 2020) (Amnesty International, 2021) – at the expense of the population. Additionally, many companies are managed or even owned by a small group of people, many of them of the family of the former President José Eduardo dos Santos (again, the most notable being Sonangol and the country's sovereign wealth fund (FSDEA)).



Graphic 3 – GDP per adult in Angola and Portugal between 1954 and 2019

Graphic elaborated by author with data retrieved from (World Inequality Database, 2021)



Graphic 4 – Average national income in Angola and Portugal between 1954 and 2019

Graphic elaborated by author with data retrieved from (World Inequality Database, 2021)

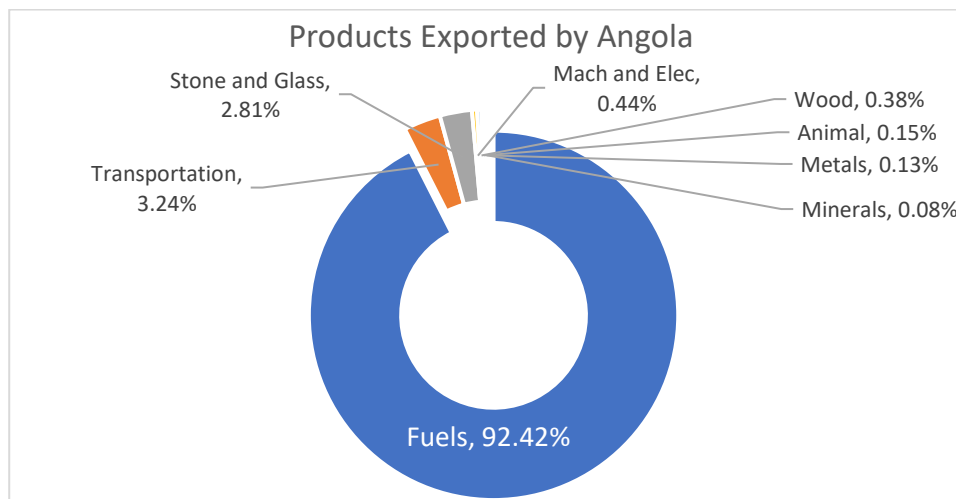
2. The relationship between Portugal and Angola

Pre-tax national income share - decade average (%)														
	1980-1989		1990-1999				2000-2009				2010-2019			
	ANG	PT	ANG	Var.	PT	Var.	ANG	Var.	PT	Var.	ANG	Var.	PT	Var.
Bottom 50%	13.8	21.5	13.0	-3.0%	18.4	-7.8%	11.4	-6.6%	18.0	-1.1%	10.8	-2.7%	18.8	2.2%
Middle 40%	38.4	45.9	37.2	-1.6%	44.1	-2.0%	35.6	-2.2%	43.2	-1.0%	34.7	-1.3%	43.6	0.5%
Top 10%	47.8	32.5	49.8	2.0%	37.5	7.1%	53.0	3.1%	38.8	1.7%	54.5	1.4%	37.6	-1.6%
Top 1%	<u>15.1</u>	9.4	<u>16.4</u>	4.1%	11.3	9.2%	<u>18.3</u>	5.5%	10.7	-2.7%	<u>22.0</u>	9.2%	11.1	1.8%

Table 3 – Table of the decade average pre-tax income share of population groups in Angola and Portugal between 1980 and 2019

Table elaborated by author with data retrieved from (World Inequality Database, 2021)

Var. – Variation in comparison to the previous decade.



Graphic 5 – Top eight product groups exported by Angola in 2018

Graphic elaborated by author with data from (World Integrated Trade Solution, 2021)

2. The relationship between Portugal and Angola

At the same time, the labour conditions are scarce and youth unemployment is increasing (Amnesty International, 2021). Remembering table 3, it is safe to assume that the capital gains are increasing for the elites of the country, sometimes at the expenses of public investment or foreign investment, but the country as a whole is not accompanying such growth – the income of the bottom 90% of the population has been decreasing (table 3) and the economic growth has been negative in the past decades, even though the population has been growing (Focus Economics, 2020).

The role of Portugal in this blatant inequality is not one that can be overlooked. Portugal is the second most important import partner of Angola when considering capital values, but the first when considering share of products (table 4) and the sixth export partner (table 5). The relative position of Portugal is interesting when considering other massive production countries, such as the USA (6th), Brazil (7th) or India (9th), that rank lower in the Angolan import partners list. The trade difference between Portugal and Angola results in a trade balance that is negative for Angola: -1,114,261.03 US\$ thousand (World Integrated Trade Solution, 2021).

It is also important to note the relative importance of other former colonial powers, such as Belgium⁸ and the UK, both in the top 10 import partners (table 4), and Spain and France, both in the top 10 export partners (table 5).

These two tables help conclude that, even though Angola got its independence nearly five decades ago (1975), the effects of the colonial domination are still present. As Valéria and Fontoura conclude, the productive sector of the economy was destroyed to keep satisfying the wishes and demands of the liberal international market, rather than the national demands. The national production was focused in mainly one product: oil, that answers the international needs, particularly those of Europe and other super industrialized countries, which in turn created an enormous scarcity of other products, which in turn were imported by the former colonial powers, as had happened during the colonial period.

Additionally, Angola has continued being a ground for financial enrichment based on cheap labour force. In March of 2021, the Portuguese government approved the concession of a state guarantee of 252.5 million euros to the Angolan National Bank so that the Portuguese constructor company Mota Engil would be paid for the requalification of a naval base on the

⁸ Belgium has a strong impact in Angola as well. Several ethnic groups were parted between Portuguese and Belgium control, be that in Angola or the DRC. Additionally, when Portugal opened the doors for international investment, Belgium also invested in Angola.

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prolific north region of the country (Villalobos, 2021). This type of accords benefits firstly the Portuguese company, secondly the Portuguese banks via interests paid for the loan, the export partners of oil and gas which will have better access to the petrol region and the Angolan company Sonangol – which is controlled by the dos Santos family. The Angolan people will be used as a cheap labour force, while their natural resources continue being exploited and their government continues being focused on external interests rather than national ones.

	Partner country	Import Share in Total Products (%)	Imports (US\$ Thousand)	Import Partner Share (%)
1	China	74.8	2,331,102.4	14.5
2	Portugal	88.0	2,188,398.4	13.7
3	Singapore	26.3	1,542,715.0	9.6
4	Belgium	45.8	1,055,377.2	6.6
5	Togo	0.4	952,383.6	5.9
6	USA	47.8	788,584.4	4.9
7	Brazil	43.7	760,973.8	4.8
8	SA	65.6	606,772.6	3.8
9	India	36.3	494,176.0	3.1
10	UK	41.6	455,691.3	2.8

Table 4 – Angola main import partners in 2018

Table elaborated by author with data from (World Integrated Trade Solution, 2021)

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	Partner Country	Export Share in Total Products (%)	Export (US\$ Thousand)	Export Partner Share (%)
1	China	8.7	24,517,058.3	58.2
2	India	4.2	3,768,940.5	9.0
3	USA	22.4	1,470,132.7	3.5
4	Spain	9.7	1,250,554.9	3.0
5	SA	40.81	1,161,852.1	2.76
6	Portugal	36.3	1,074,137.4	2.6
7	UAE	12.3	884,725.1	2.1
8	France	22.8	734,551.3	1.7
9	Thailand	0.6	649,626.3	1.5
10	Canada	4.1	647,164.3	1.5

Table 5 – Angola main export partners in 2018

Table elaborated by author with data from (World Integrated Trade Solution, 2021)

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2.2. Multidimensional domination

“As a race we are now deprived of those things that are morally and legally ours”

(Universal Negro Improvement Association & African Communities' League, 1920)

Portugal got to the shore of Africa in the 15th century. In order to succeed in the desired economic domination, it was necessary to break the existing relations, power structures and ethnic/family bonds. The partition of Africa among the several European colonial states was an endeavour that all states took part in, and Portugal was no exception. By sending explorers, soldiers, officials, missionaries, Portugal had an active role in forcing the populations into the Portuguese way of life, religion, language, and culture (Henriksen, 1973), designing new borders in accordance with the other European states' domination, rather than ethnic land occupation.

The partition of Africa and the new definition of borders had a role of strengthening the nationalist ideas in the population, rather than family or ethnic feelings, siding the populations with the Portuguese colonialists, and not with their similar neighbours. The idea was to break the bond between peoples, weakening the populations, making it easy for the merchants to be able to dominate the population.

In this chapter I will focus on the particular case of Angola, considering this dissertation analysis the relation between Angola and Portugal, but a table with the various ethnic groups of Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique can be found in annex III.

In Angola there are 10 different ethnic groups, excluding the extra ethnic groups that have emerged as a result of the white colonial presence in the African continent (Creole) (Shoup, 2011). I will not include Creole because Creole is a result of the Portuguese colonisation, rather than a pre-existing ethnic group, and in this section, I intend to show the impact of Portuguese colonisation in the different ethnic groups already existing in the region. A list of those groups, their population, geographic distribution, and language is found on table 6.

Many of the ethnic groups that exist in Angola have been in the region for millennia, such as the BaTwa, whose culture has existed for more than 25,000 years (Shoup, 2011, pp. 44-46), the Ovimbundu, whose ancestors arrived on the region around 1,000 CE (Shoup, 2011, pp.

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236-238) and the San, believe to be the “oldest inhabitants of southern Africa, stretching back more than 12,000 years ago” (Shoup, 2011, p. 147)

Similar to the peoples of Europe, the various groups of Africa had a vast network of both peaceful relations and rivalries, had their own culture (composed of rituals, economic practices, lineage, religion etc.), language and political organisation. A good example of peaceful relations was between the BaTwa, the various Bantu peoples and the Kuba (from the DRC):

“The BaTwa, as hunters and gatherers, helped provide meat and honey to the Bantu in trade for iron goods and agricultural products. In some situations, the two were able to develop a symbiotic relationship, and the Kuba of Angola and southern Democratic Republic of Congo have brought BaTwa into their mask societies. That is, among the masks made and worn at special occasions are those that represent BaTwa with a noticeably large head, large, bulging forehead, and wide nose. Called a bwoon mask, they are worn at funerals of important men who belonged to the initiation societies.” (Shoup, 2011, p. 45)

Looking at the political organisation there are a few important groups to mention: the Vili, the Kongo and the Mbundu, and the Lozi.

The Vili people were organised in the Loango kingdom, “established long before the arrival of the first Europeans and (...) located at the mouth of the Congo River in the 13th or 14th century” (Shoup, 2011, p. 316). “When the Portuguese first encountered them, they had one of the most powerful states along the Atlantic coast of central Africa” (Shoup, 2011, p. 316) and reached a territory that today are “parts of Gabon, Congo (Brazzaville), and the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) and included not only Vili, but also Kongo people” (Shoup, 2011, p. 316).

The Mbundu were divided into several kingdoms; one of them, Kingdom of Ndongo, fell under the power of the Kongo kingdom in the 15th century, which opened way for the total loss of the Ndongo kingdom to the Portuguese (Shoup, 2011, pp. 153, 192):

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“In 1683, Ndongo was conquered by the Portuguese. By the end of the 18th century, nearly all of the western Mbundu lands were under Portuguese control. During the 19th century, commercial sugar and coffee plantations expanded into Mbundu territory, and the Portuguese had the greatest impact on the Mbundu” (Shoup, 2011, p. 192)

As for the Kongo people, the group was formed into one big, powerful, and flourishing kingdom when the Portuguese reached the region in 1482. The strength of the kingdom was heavily undermined by the armed power of the European traders and by the Ovimbundu invasion in 1568. In order to get help from the Portuguese, the king allowed the seizure of Luanda Island which facilitated the establishment of the Portuguese colony in the mainland a few years later (1576) (Shoup, 2011, p. 154). In 1665, the Portuguese defeated the Kongo army, and the kingdom was eventually broken apart as divided among the Portuguese, the French, and the Belgian colonists (Shoup, 2011, p. 155).

The Lozi were and still are to this day a very important group. They are directly related to the creation of the state of Zambia and the African National Congress (Shoup, 2011, p. 169). Their influence was not negatively affected by the colonial period.

Other groups were deeply affected by the Portuguese. The natural habitat of BaTwa people was cut down, forcing them to move to towns, falling to situations of forced labour (Shoup, 2011, p. 45); Lunda agriculture techniques were exploited and changed by colonisers in order to introduce sunflowers and pineapples for mass production, and their fishing skills have been exploited in recent fish farming (Shoup, 2011, p. 173). Also, the Ovimbundu faced forced labour in farms and heavy taxation by the Portuguese, a direct effect of the migration of Portuguese and Cape Verdean people to Ovimbundu areas (Shoup, 2011, p. 238).

But the destruction of the groups' differences was even further. One important influence was that of missionaries, who for five centuries held activities in all of the Portuguese empire (Levi, 2009). Priest and Jesuit fathers were part of the expeditions to the African continent since the beginning of that endeavour, and seldom did any explorer sail without a religious representative in its fleet (Johnston, 1966 cited in Levi, 2009, p. 365). Thus, Christianity quickly became associated with the idea of domination, military power, and conquest for the local people. The fact that Christianity was taught at the same time and by the same people as

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the Portuguese language, the two were also connected. Portuguese then became a *lingua franca*, the language of trade, of economic power, and the idea of adoration to the Christian god grew attached to that feeling. Two distinct responses emerged from this reality: on one hand, populations converted to Christianity out of fear of the Portuguese power, as a form of accommodation to the culture and demands of the new power (Levi, 2009, p. 369). On the other hand, already powerful families, such as kings and their families, wanted to go to the metropole to learn Portuguese, the teachings of the Portuguese, and their religion, for they believed it would confer them more power. When those leaders came back to their African regions of origin, they helped the missionaries in the process of Christianisation.

Additionally, the mentality of the missionaries was not that the African people they encountered were equal to them. As can be read in the scriptures of the Capuchin *Missio Antiqua* delegation, which was in activity between 1645 and 1835, they considered African people “uncivilized, devoid of any good thing, and ugly things” (“*Africa inculta. D’ogni ben pura. Piena d’ogni bruttura*”, translated by Cavazzi, 1969, cited in Levi, 2009, p. 375. Emphasis added). This type of belief was transposed to the language learning process: Portuguese was the beautiful language, the language of development, of civil people; African languages were the language of bad, uncivilized, ugly things.

Missionaries were part of military expeditions, helped strengthen political ties between the Portuguese and the local Kings, created schools to teach the indigenous groups, all with the basis that the African peoples needed to be civilized, an idea that was, throughout the time, shared with the political elite of the metropole. In fact, the religious orders were given territory expropriated from the locals to manage (Rato, 1983).

Several groups lost or practically lost their religion and cultural practices as a result of the missionary missions and their partnership with the colonial authorities: Khoikhoi lost contact with their pre-contact traditions (Shoup, 2011, p. 149), the vast majority of Lozi are now Christian after a vast period of missionaries in the area they inhabit (Shoup, 2011, p. 168), missionaries took advantage of the fact that the Lunda people believed in a supreme entity and in the 20th century most Lunda were converted to Christianity (Shoup, 2011, p. 173), there are no San people still living as their ancestors did before European contact (Shoup, 2011, p. 149). Also, the Portuguese settlers established farms in the 20th century in the Ovimbundu territory, forcing them out of their rural homes into the city, in search of jobs. They eventually lost their language and religion (Shoup, 2011, p. 237)

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Name	Population	Geographic distribution (countries)	Language (language group)
BaTwa	80.000	Angola, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, DRC, Botswana, Zambia, Namibia	With no own language. Most speak Kirundi and Kinyarwanda
Chokwe	1.16 million	Angola, DRC, Zambia	Wuchokwe (Bantu)
Khoisan (Khoikhoin and San peoples)	97.500	Angola, Botswana, Namibia, SA, Zambia, Zimbabwe	Khoisan
Kongo	10 million	Angola, DRC	Kikongo (Bantu): composed of some 50 dialects
Lozi	800.000	Angola, Zambia, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Botswana	Silozi (Sotho)
Lunda	1.5 million	Angola, DRC, Zambia	Cilunda or Kilunda (Bantu)
Mbundu	2.42 million	Angola	Kimbundu (Bantu), divided in two groups: Ambundu and Awkauananda
Ovambo	1.15 million	Angola, Namibia	Oshivambo (Bantu)
Ovimbundu	4 million	Angola (migrant workers in Zambia and SA)	Umbundu (Bantu)
Vili	11.200	Cabinda (Angolan enclave), Gabon, Republic of Congo	Vili (Bantu)

Table 6 – Ethnic groups in Angola, population, geographic distribution, and language.

Table elaborated by author with data from (Shoup, 2011)

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Lastly, I shall mention the stark difference between the Mbundu and the Ovambu. As previously said, the Mbundu were completely dominated by the Portuguese. Their land and production were appropriated by the settlers, which in turn had a deep impact in their culture. Their efforts for assimilation were not welcomed. Even though the group converted to Christianity, and many are well educated, few were fully recognized as assimilated according to Portuguese government policy (Bandeira Jerónimo & Monteiro, 2020). As Shoup notes, prior to the start of the pro-independence movements in 1961, only 1% of the Angolan population was seen as “civilized” or “assimilated” (Shoup, 2011, pp. 192-193), the rest being considered subhuman, being subjugated to forced labour on their previous land (Carrasco, 2021, p. 35) (Rato, 1983, p. 1128).

Contrary to the Mbundu, the Ovambu lived far from the Portuguese economic interests so escaped their power, and, most importantly, the Atlantic enslaved people trade (Shoup, 2011, p. 235).

Important to understand how people who were trying to assimilate were treated, is the *Estatuto do Indigenato*, common Portuguese name for the Political, Civil and Criminal Statute of the Indigenous Peoples of Angola and Mozambique (1926) and Guinea (1929) (Bandeira Jerónimo & Monteiro, 2020). The statute formally settled the difference between a “citizen” and an “indigenous person” (Bandeira Jerónimo & Monteiro, 2020). The civil and political organization of the “indigenous” population was decided by the local authorities, contrary to that of the white European “citizens” which was managed by the metropole (Bandeira Jerónimo & Monteiro, 2020). Additionally, there were several differences in relation to taxation, property, the use of land, and even education (Bandeira Jerónimo & Monteiro, 2020). Both “indigenous” taxation and “indigenous” education were designed to foster production and labour, with schools focusing on manual and craft learning (Bandeira Jerónimo & Monteiro, 2020). Also, indigenous people had specific individual identification documents which stated the physical traits of the person, their profession and their boss, their salary registration as well as their taxes, hospitalizations, vaccinations, and also criminal background (Bandeira Jerónimo & Monteiro, 2020) (Arquivo Nacional: Torre do Tombo - Direcção-Geral de Arquivos, 2008). This statute crystallised the political difference between white and black populations in the former colonies: different colour meant different rights, different education, different taxes, different law. To further deepen the differences, in 1928 the Portuguese state issued a new

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labour code, the Indigenous Labour Code, which stated that the indigenous peoples had the moral duty of labour.

A few things can be concluded of the Portuguese presence in the African continent. The multidimensional control was necessary in order to destroy former alliances, weaken the largest groups and also set fights among the different groups, rather than against the colonising power. Additionally, internal fights and discords could be used for the capture of future enslaved people.

As a conclusion, the multidimensional impact of Portugal in Angola related the economic interests with political control via the destruction of former existing political structures, cultures, religions, and languages. Another important aspect was the introduction of firearms in the region (by the military and the settlers) which changed the dimension of wars. Christianity and the Portuguese language, which were taught and imposed in parallel with the economic obligations and the political domination, created an idea that power was related to the Portuguese language, violence, Christianity, and the Portuguese way of life.

Finally, it has become clear that racism was present throughout the entirety of the Portuguese presence in the African continent, be that because the missionaries did not believe the black population were even people (“ugly things”) or because the political power first enslaved millions (5,848,265 between 1500 and 1900 (Slave Voyages, 2021)) and then, forced them into labour using blatant discriminatory laws such as the *Estatuto do Indigenato*.

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2.3. Construction of the myth of the “good coloniser”

“Because we – Portugal – from one side are surrounded by the sea, and from the other have a wall with Castile”

Gomes Eanes de Zurara, justifying the Ceuta endeavour,
cited in (Amaral, 2017) translation by author

I grew up learning and listening that Portugal had been a “good coloniser”. I learned that we were not murderers like Spain in Southern America, rather that we taught the “Blacks” and the “Indians” how to be ‘developed’. We taught them religion, to speak Portuguese. In school and in university, the colonial period is called “the Discoveries”. Our national anthem has references to this period, and so does our national flag. In high school we study “The Lusiads”, an epic poetic book about that period and “The Message” a poetic book on the great period of the ‘discoveries’ and about how our destiny is still to be fulfilled. Critical analysis of our history and literature is seldom desired. We are taught to be proud of our past.

This idea that Portugal was a good coloniser has been constructed throughout the centuries. The first idea that comes to mind is the concept of lusotropicalism, a concept developed by the Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre in the twentieth century, which I will elaborate further on. However, the idea comes from way before that period, from the period of the British Ultimatum.

The feeling of pride and magnificence associated with the colonial past started from the beginning of the overseas endeavour. During the initial period of the sailings and expansion, it was widely felt across the population that “a magnificent future awaited Portugal” (Henriksen, 1973). As stated in chapter 2.1, the economic exploitation of the colonial dominations started from the start (in the fifteenth century when Portugal reached the shores of Africa in Ceuta), putting to practice the idea that magnificence was the destiny of Portugal. During the Monarchy, a sense of pride was developed towards the colonial conquest and the maintenance of the colonial domination, and also a sense of security, for time and again the country was

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reminded that were it not for the colonial power, Portugal would be too weak, and would be a part of Spain⁹ (Henriksen, 1973).

Although Portugal had been profiting from colonial trade for centuries, in the eighteenth century onwards the British and the Dutch Empires surpassed it (graphic 1). The Netherlands began the 18th century with more than double the GDP *per capita* of Portugal (3,377\$ to 1,572\$ respectively) (Groningen Growth and Development Centre, 2020). Britain reached that mark in 1798 in the following century (3,161\$ to 1,558\$) (Groningen Growth and Development Centre, 2020). For comparison, in 1750 the GDP *per capita* of Portugal was 2,184\$, whereas that of Britain was 2,702\$ and the Netherlands, 3,777\$. In half a century, Britain improved dramatically its GDP, while Portugal lost economic capability (graphic 6). Much of the idea that Portugal was a good coloniser relates to this aspect. The argument used by many was that the goal of Portugal was not to abuse the dominated territories, rather to trade with them, which justifies the fact that our economic gain is of a lesser dimension than that of Britain or The Netherlands. The argument used is: because we gained less than other European colonisers, it is proof that our colonial actions were less severe.

When Britain issued the Ultimatum, in 1890, Portugal had lost the control of the Brazilian empire, the primary source of riches and products at the time. Filho (2004) identifies this period as the primordial era of the development of the idea of fragility of Portugal in comparison to the rest of the European states. Filho (2004) denotes the importance in the national feelings that the declarations of the Foreign Affairs Minister at the time, Hintze Ribeiro had. Humiliated by Britain, France and the other European states, Portugal opted for a subservient approach, describing itself as a small modest nation at the margins of Europe, resigned to the imperial and military forces of the European potencies, “weak, poor, unhappy (...) but honest and heroic” (Filho, 2004, p. 30). The view of Hintze Ribeiro was repeated by other ministers, in the Portuguese literature: Portugal was a small, poor, weak country that had ventured the unknown with honesty to show the world the wonders of development (Filho, 2004).

Portugal had been trying to argue with Britain for years, offering economic benefits, access to their own colonies, but Britain wanted total control of the region of today’s Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Malawi, which Portugal claimed for itself. In 1884-85, the Berlin Conference gathered the then colonial powers but failed to include Portugal. This exclusion of Portugal

⁹ Reference to the end of the second dynasty when Portugal lost its independence to Spain due to a loss of a war in Ceuta. The young king died leaving no descent, which allowed the Spanish king to take the Portuguese crown.

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helped foster the idea that the rest of the colonial powers did not see Portugal as an equally powerful country, with a seat at the table of decision making. The Conference decided that Historical claims over territories were not enough to claim a territory and demanded actual military action in the territories, which led Britain to issue the *Ultimatum* to Portugal, threatening military action if Portugal did not give up on the territories Britain wanted. By that time, the economic power of Britain was three to four times that of Portugal (graphic 7).

Thus, Portugal fed a public idea that even though we were a poor country, a weak country, a small country compared to the other European states, we found the courage to navigate “through never before sailed seas” (Camões, 1572). Throughout the years, Portugal managed to associate the Portuguese existence with the concepts of frailty, humiliation, pessimism, which were confirmed by the independence of Brazil, by being ignored in the European political arena and eventually by the British *Ultimatum*. Portugal fostered the idea that the Portuguese people were fighting alone against powerful opponents.

The idea that Portugal was a small country with little economic power, but that even so managed to sail the globe and colonize diverse peoples and lands provided the Portuguese people with a feeling of even more pride, glory, and honour. As for the merchant elite, the colonies allowed Portugal to enter the European trade market (Filho, 2004) (Henriksen, 1973). Such pride shook the support for the crown when the Monarchy conceded to the demands of the British *Ultimatum*, just a few decades after the loss of Brazil. The Republic was established in 1910.

However, the First Republic failed to maintain the pride the colonies granted: the economic fallout, the deficit between the Portuguese metropole and the colonies and the international crisis, the participation in the World War, created large-scale poverty, which in consequence led to national discontent. The Portuguese dictatorship (1926-1974)¹⁰ started in Portugal only 16 years after the republican revolution and lasted for 48 years. During that period, the state intended to revive the national cohesion and pride of the overseas territories.

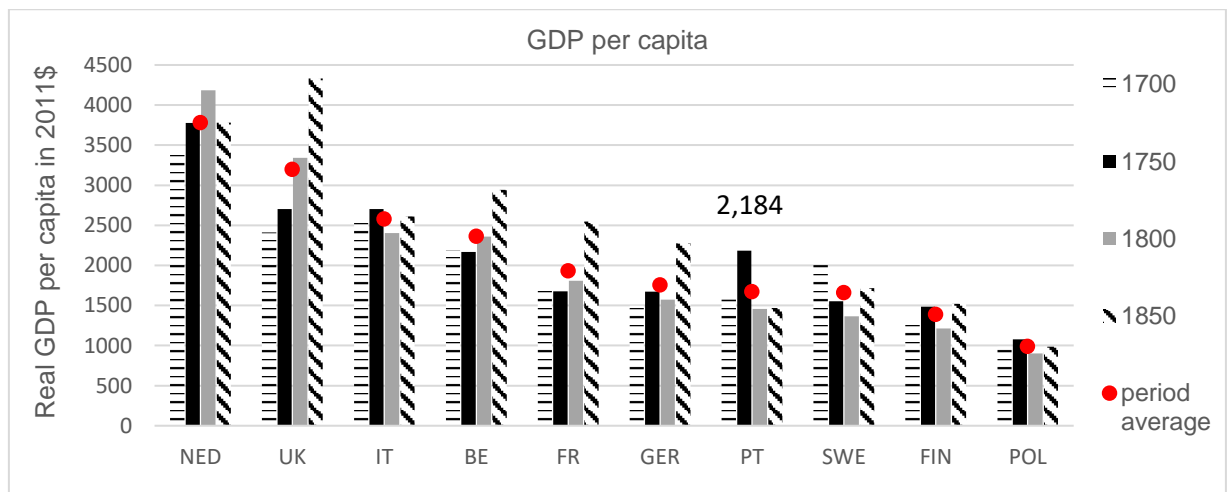
The Estado Novo propaganda had two periods: the first which focused on the economic relations between Portugal and the colonies, and a second that had the goal of convincing the international community that the Portuguese colonial domination was “good”, not based on racism, and that, hence, Portugal could keep its overseas territories.

¹⁰ initially a military dictatorship and since 1933 a corporatist regime called Estado Novo.

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The first period was marked by the strengthening of the colonial production system. The Colonial Act of 1930 created not only an obligation of the indigenous peoples of the African colonies to comply with labour desires of the Portuguese metropole, but also created a safe and economically promising space for white Portuguese people to move there (Rato, 1983). This context was maintained until the period after the second World War, when the European states lost the control of their colonial domains and wanted Portugal to grant independence to theirs as well, under the argument of respect for Human Rights.

The Estado Novo propaganda changed its agenda and started to try to convince national and international thought that Portugal was “pluri-continental and multiracial” (Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010), arguing that Portugal was not just the European territory but also the colonies. This way, the colonies were not separate dominations but equal parts of the Portuguese territory¹¹. The period of the “discoveries” hence continued to be portrayed as the “golden period” of Portuguese History, for it had allowed for the enlargement of our national territory and population. The “discoveries” and its result were a “core symbol of national identity” (Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010).

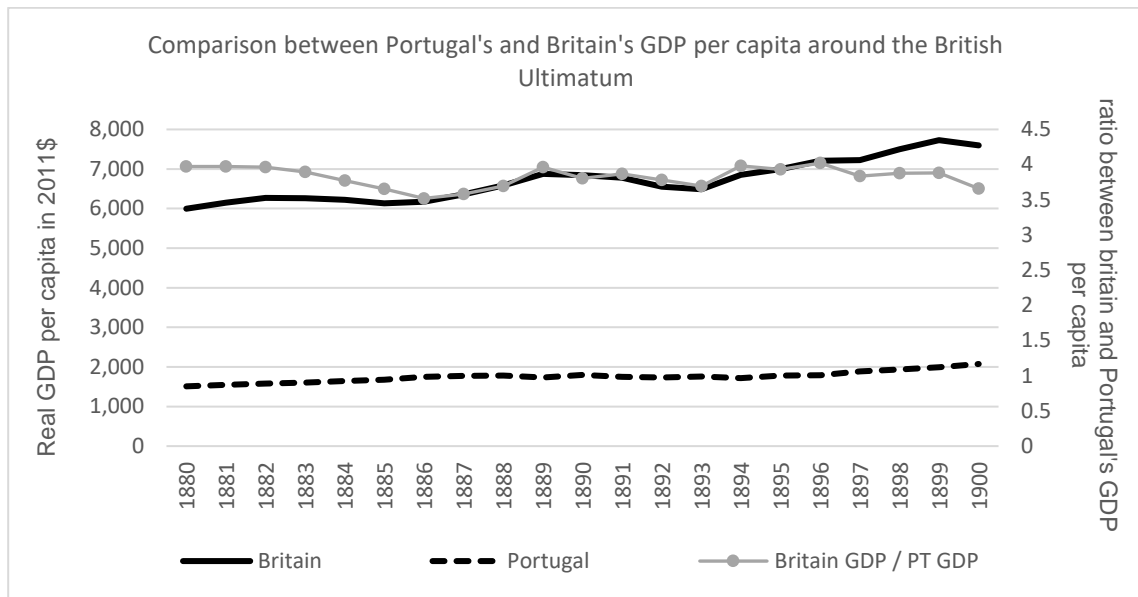


Graphic 6 – Real GDP *per capita* in 2011\$ from 1700 to 1850

Graphic developed by author with data from (Groningen Growth and Development Centre, 2020)

¹¹ Vide annex IV

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Graphic 7 – Comparison between the GDPs *per capita* in 2011\$ of Britain and Portugal between 1880 and 1900

Graphic developed by author with data from (Groningen Growth and Development Centre, 2020)

To further strengthen this idea, Adriano Moreira, Minister of Overseas between 1961 and 1963, adapted the concept of lusotropicalism, developed by Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre in 1933. Lusotropicalism “emphasizes the uniqueness of Portuguese colonial relations based on the Portuguese capacity to deal with people from different cultures” (Vala, et al., 2008). The main focus was that Portugal had a history of ethnic and cultural mixes due to the long history of contact with Muslim people and Jewish people in the Iberian Peninsula in precolonial times (Araújo, 2013)¹², so the Portuguese people were natural empathic towards different people, especially black people. This empathy, this natural capacity or ability to relate to other peoples is considered a specific Portuguese trait according to this view, which would serve as a justification to the argument that there was no racism in the relationship between Portugal and the former colonies (Vala, et al., 2008).

¹² Contrary to what lusotropicalism states, both Muslim and Jewish people were on multiple occasions expelled from the territory or forced into assimilation to the Portuguese costumes and Catholic religion

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“Luso-tropicalism became the common rhetoric of the regime ... promoting the idea that the Portuguese empire was a single political unit, spread across the continents, and multi-racial, with a kind of easy co-existence of different peoples and cultures, in absence of racial prejudice”. Marcos Cardão, historian cited in (Sousa, 2021)

Lusotropicalism was the argument present in justifying the need to maintain the colonial domination: Portuguese colonial domination was not a Human Rights’ violation as the international community feared, it was a mission to create a lusotropical civilization of “racial fusion and Christian conversion in order to produce a seemingly homogenized society” (Henriksen, 1973). This discourse allowed for close to slavery situations to continue happen in tea and cotton plantations (Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010), under the veil of lusotropicalism. Portuguese colonialism began being considered kinder and less conflict driven than that of Spain or England, not only internally but also for the European economic and political powers. Sailors, kings, and all those related to the ‘discoveries’ period continued (and continue) being portrayed as the heroes that allowed for the intercontinental Portugal to be formed, that foresaw the economic opportunity overseas, and conquered fear for the future success of the nation.

This discourse had another consequence: the erasure of the black people’s impact in their own history. The lusotropicalist theory centres the white Portuguese person as ‘good’, ignoring the participation of other actors. For instance, the discussion of slavery is residual. It is mentioned that Portugal participated in the traffic of enslaved people but arguing that slavery was part of the societies at that time. This is factual information. Several societies even centuries before used slavery. However, Portugal started the Transatlantic slave trade, the most lucrative route of this traffic. This information is rarely mentioned, maybe because they contrast with the idea that our colonial period was ‘not violent’. On the contrary, it is mentioned that Portugal was one of the first countries to abolish slavery in 1761. However, it is never added the very important aspect that this date only related to slavery in continental Portugal. Slavery and the traffic and use of enslaved people between and inside the Portuguese colonies existed until the end of the 19th century, with the participation of the successive Portuguese rulings. Furthermore, in all of that period, black African people are described as *passive* agents. According to Portuguese discourse, black people were ‘discovered’, enslaved, and then saved. Their revolts against trafficking, slavery or forced labour are never told or taught. As passive agents, the History of Portugal is never told considering their perspective. Mentions of their

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revolts and civil movements are inexistent in school history textbooks. The only black people's revolts that figure are the violent ones – in which cases the reasons behind them are not told and ignored – to show how “animalistic” and “underdeveloped” the black people are, that resort to violence to solve their issues, thus justifying the “help” of the Portuguese colonisers, missionaries, etc. A good example of the selection of information discussed is the start of the independence war in Angola as well as during the war. It is frequent the description of the violence carried out by black independentists, but not that by white people. At the time the war was happening, Portuguese newspapers and media outlets, as well as textbooks, were revised by the government's censorship, which explains why the information did not reach the average Portuguese living in continental Portugal). Nonetheless, even nowadays it is rare to mention the violence perpetrated by white people, before the war and which could lead to the revolt of black people, and also during the war. The use of napalm, mass graves, and children's assassinations were among the actions of the Portuguese army in the war with Angola (Carrasco, 2021).

Without considering the abuse and suffering of the colonised populations, the comparison with larger and more powerful countries is unfair. Murder and genocide are not the only forms of colonial violence – although Portugal did participate in them in Brazil. Ignoring the other forms of violence, or even describing them from a Portuguese point of view rather than from the colonising countries' point of view, several abuses and violence were reframed under the guide of lusotropicalism. Lusotropicalism helped reinforce the idea that Portugal was a mere economic partner of its colonies and that the colonial social relations between the colonised regions and Portugal was one of sharing, because Portuguese people have a natural ability to be open to different cultures. Hence, forced assimilation was reframed into multiculturalism, rape into miscegenation, forced labour and slavery as development, destruction of cultures and practices as civilization processes.

As Vala, et al. state, the adoption of lusotropicalism shielded the Portuguese colonisation, presenting it as more humane than any other colonial endeavour by the neighbouring European states. This social construct creates a discourse in which Portugal is tolerant toward different traditions, values, and peoples (Vala, et al., 2008) and covers every abuse perpetrated.

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“The imperial heritage offered abundant examples of the regime's nationalistic abstractions--Duty, Faith, Service--that strengthened the foundations of the New State and provided the inspiration for a new Século Maravilhoso (Marvellous Century). The reliance on colonialism as a means to national revival is not a new one in Portugal. Since the sixteenth century the goal of all regimes has been national revival, and many have embraced colonialism as the instrument of regeneration.” (Henriksen, 1973)

The symbology of the possession of colonies was so strong during the Estado Novo, that during that period, the noneconomic factors to keep the colonies exerted great power over the population (Henriksen, 1973). Feelings of “nostalgia, patriotism, national revival, political stability, and the call of destiny” (Henriksen, 1973) were significant motives for the unyielding of colonial rule. Also, maintaining the colonies also served to divert “discontent away from poverty and repression in the metropole” (Henriksen, 1973). The international struggle to maintain the prestige of the colonies and the power they conceded in the international arena, were two characteristics of the Salazar-Caetano¹³ regime, which led some African leaders to recognize that the statesmen only maintained the colonial domination to maintain that prestige (Henriksen, 1973).

In schools, lusotropicalism was taught as the dogma, the State organised events to show the diversity of the Portuguese people, such as the “Portuguese World Exhibition”, and streets and neighbourhoods in Portugal were named after the colonies or cities in the colonies.

¹³ Salazar was the chief of government during the Estado Novo until 1968. Was succeeded by Marcello Caetano until 1974.

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2.4. Current Portuguese discourse on colonialism

This chapter is dedicated to understanding the construction of the “social memory” of the Portuguese colonial period in recent decades. According to Cabecinhas (2019), social memory is the “process and product of the creative activity of people and groups, in permanent reconstruction, that influences and is influenced by the trajectories of life and the surrounding environment” (translation by author). A great portion of people alive today in Portugal were born after the ending of the Portuguese colonial period, so the opinion on the topic is based on what people were taught and their social environment.

I have talked about the “construction of the myth of the good coloniser” and lusotropicalism, a more recent concept¹⁴. For this chapter, my goal is to understand if there is a continuum with the previous ideas of lusotropicalism or if the period after the decolonization was marked by different ideas.

Throughout an analysis of the socio-political environment as well as the education system, it will be possible to see that the “politics of memory” existing in the Portuguese society is paired with a “politics of silence”, for the history that is told only selects parts of what happened, thus silencing the rest (Cabecinhas, 2019).

Lusotropicalism was implanted in the Portuguese population via propaganda and education, so in this chapter I will analyse the approach of the Portuguese State to the topic of the colonial period, with a particular focus on nationality, language, and education.

The first aspect clear in political discourse is the complete lack of the questions of “race” and/or ethnicity, and a gradual substitution of the racial discourse for a discourse of immigration (Araújo & Maeso, 2013). Additionally, there is a de-politicization of racism, in political, academic, and pedagogic discourses (Araújo & Maeso, 2013). This process is paired with an ever-present idea that Portugal is and always has been multicultural, that the “expansion” was multicultural, and that it results from the Portuguese natural characteristics:

¹⁴ For time reference, both my parents were already alive when it was implemented in Portugal

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“Portugal likes to be an open country that receives people who come from all of the world [...] connecting people from all over the world is part of our DNA. We started 600 years ago connecting Europe to Africa, to Asia, to America. Next year we commemorate the 500th anniversary of the first circumnavigation sailing trip by Fernão de Magalhães. Ever since, we were a gathering point between people and cultures. A migration pole and a global trade booster.” Prime Minister António Costa, at the Web Summit 2018, cited in (Cabecinhas, 2019), translation by author

This type of discourse is in no way different from the lusotropicalist ideas. Neither was the Expo98. The Expo98 was a World Exhibition in Lisbon to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the discovery of the maritime route to India. In this exhibition, that took place in 1998, the State built a new bridge called “Vasco da Gama” (the name of the Portuguese sailor who discovered that route), a train and metro station named “Oriente” (Portuguese for “Oriental”), an oceanarium with representations of all Oceans, the mascot’s name was an homage to navigator Gil Eanes, and in the exhibition itself there were pavilions named after: utopia, oceans, Guinea-Bissau, and Macau.

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2.4.1. Nationality

In Portugal, the nationality law was changed as a consequence of the Carnation Revolution. The new law was approved in 1981 and had five reviews so far (1994, 2006, 2015, 2018 and 2020). In the chapter I will analyse the articles related to nationality by origin/birth (article 1) and naturalisation (article 6).

The Portuguese Nationality Law (Lei da Nacionalidade, 1981-2020) has a *jus sanguinis* basis: the main motive to be considered Portuguese is to have a Portuguese parent. For children born in Portugal to immigrant parents, for the child to be able to be granted Portuguese nationality, it is necessary that the parent have been living in the country for a certain period of time. Initially the period was of six years, which resulted in many children being barred nationality, particularly those born in families coming from the former colonies (Araújo, 2013). Throughout the different versions, the period of six years has been altered. The 2020 revision of the law has decided on just one year (article 1).

As for naturalization (article 6), initially there were a set of requirements that a person had to fulfil in order to be able to apply for naturalization. However, the government could grant the applicants naturalization or not. The requirements were:

- a) To be above the age of majority or legally independent.
- b) To be living in the Portuguese territory or that under “Portuguese administration” for at least six years.
- c) Sufficient knowledge of the Portuguese language.
- d) Moral and civil repute.
- e) Ability to ensure subsistence.

For descendants of Portuguese people, members of Portuguese language communities and foreigners called to work for the Portuguese state, requirements b) and c) could be disregarded.

The 2006 revision changed the law in a very important way: from that year on, the government *had* to grant naturalization to everyone who met the criteria. The mention of territories under Portuguese administration was removed, as well as requirements d) and e). It was also added the naturalization for children, distinguishing between those born in the Portuguese territory and those born outside. After several changes in the following revisions of the law, from 2020 on, children born in Portugal, had to have at least one parent living in

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Portugal for 5 years prior to the naturalization request, regardless of the residency status. Children also had to only have one year of education completed, to be granted naturalization. Naturalization processes for people under 18 years of age were ruled free of charge, contrary to other processes.

Also in 2020, it was ruled that people who, in 1974, were not granted Portuguese nationality for not living in the territory for more than 5 years would now be granted Portuguese nationality if they had been living in Portugal ever since and had not been attributed another original nationality. Their children would also be included in the process. This new measure was focused on granting Portuguese naturalization to all of those who had come from the former colonies during the colonial wars. For those who were white and had been to the colonies in the past they were already considered Portuguese but not those who were born there to white Portuguese parents and only returned to Portugal after the independence. It also, and more importantly included black people who came from the former colonies to Portugal. This measure is particularly important because, before 1974, there was a stark difference between black and white people living in the former colonies, so their recognition as citizens when they came to Portugal fleeing the wars was dramatically different. White Portuguese people were considered *citizens*, black people from the colonies were considered *indigenous* (recall the *Estatuto do Indigenato* that I mentioned in chapter 2.2) (Bandeira Jerónimo & Monteiro, 2020). This was a first step in recognising that migration and the colonial past are not divorced and in fact, particularly when related to the former colonies, are very much related (Araújo, 2013).

However, the existence of a law that states certain rights, and the access to those rights are two different things. Even though the law aims for an open regime, in practice the processes take years to conclude. The process requires multiple visits to security services within the Ministry of Internal Affairs, a vast amount of documents, money, and patience. Numerous complaints have been denounced by migrant and/or anti-racist associations, such as the *Solidariedade Imigrante* (Immigrant Solidarity) and *SOS Racismo* (SOS Racism). Children still take more than a decade to get Portuguese nationality and in the 2021 census there were still people who could not justify their Portuguese nationality: black people who came from the former colonies as Portuguese *indigenous* and not because they were born in the current Portuguese territory.

Even though the Law is changing towards a more open and progressive society, the living reality is still that people do not have access to citizenship or even nationality rights, particularly

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black people who need to go through extra efforts in institutional services, pay and be subjected to racist and xenophobic workers.

Portuguese nationality was always denied to black people, even when they were the basis of the labour force in the colonial territories and economic growth in Portugal. Black people were also denied Portuguese nationality after independence when they came living in Portugal because they did not have Portuguese families. Before independence, black people were not considered citizens, rather were considered *indigenous*. After independence was achieved, and because of the instability in the regions (practically all former Portuguese colonies in Africa fell into civil wars after independence), many black people fled to Portugal. Because they previously were not considered citizens of Portugal and because once in Portugal, they did not meet the criteria for naturalisation, they were once again denied that right.

To try to tackle this situation (and a vast number of other issues related to ethno-racial discrimination), activists in Portugal have been pushing for the inclusion of ethno-related questions in the Census, in order to understand the scope of the presence of racialized people in the country, so that the state can answer accordingly and provide the necessary infrastructures where they are needed and in the quantity they require to work efficiently (Roldão, et al., 2019) (Sousa, 2021). One example is the lack of enough people in services that deal with migration and citizenship for migrants, as well as the scarcity of those services on the Portuguese territory. Knowing the true reality of the migrant and non-white community in Portugal would facilitate the appropriate answer to the community's needs, granting them the rights that are lawfully theirs (Roldão, et al., 2019) (Sousa, 2021).

The 2021 Census did not include any ethno-racial related question.

Portuguese nationality is in such a way related with whiteness that every person in Portugal who is not white faces a constant array of questions. Kilomba describes and analyses those questions in detail in the chapter 21 of *Plantation Memories*. The white contact with black people put black people in the position of the *other*, the *different*, the one from *not here*. Grada Kilomba states that being asked for one's nationality is a "moment of being placed outside the *white* nation – being asked when one intends to leave because one's 'race' does not belong 'here'". (Kilomba, 2010)

This duality of the white national and the black migrant over-emphasizes the "binary vision of development: the global south is poor, wrecked by disease and poverty, aspiring to emigrate

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to the rich, developed and modern North” (Araújo, 2013). Araújo calls this process the “immigrant imaginary” which serves the purpose of maintaining the idea that Portugal is a ‘tolerant’ host country, more developed, without ever mentioning the traumatic past that caused the devastation in the global south. The duality of colours can be seen in the sympathy experienced by white immigrants in contrast with that experienced by black immigrants in Portugal:

“Throughout the 1980s and the 1990s, black high-skilled workers in low-skilled jobs did not enjoy as much public sympathy as white Eastern European immigrants. Nowadays, the position of the white ‘immigrant’ is often used as a depository and mode for official solutions (e.g., professional requalification), while the black colonized immigrant is assumed to have been assimilated – or else blamed for failure to integrate. (Araújo, 2013, p. 35)

	2001		2011		Variation 2001-2011	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1º Brasil ←	31.869	14,1	109.787	27,8	+77.918	+244,5
2º Cape Verde ←	33.145	14,6	38.895	9,9	+5.750	+17,3
3º Ukraine	10.793	4,8	33.790	8,6	+22.997	+213,1
4º Angola ←	37.014	16,3	26.954	6,8	-10.060	-27,2
5º Romania	2.661	1,2	24.356	6,2	+21.695	+815,3
6º Guinea Bissau ←	15.824	7,0	16.360	4,1	+536	+3,4
7º UK	8.227	3,6	15.774	4,0	+7.547	+91,7
8º France	15.359	6,8	14.360	3,6	-999	-6,5
9º China	2.176	1,0	11.458	2,9	+9.282	+426,6
10º Spain	9.047	4,0	10.486	2,7	+1.439	+15,9
Total	226.715	100,0	394.496	100,0	+167.781	+74,0

Table 7 – Registered variation of the 10 main nationalities living in Portugal between 2001 and 2011

(Oliveira & Gomes, 2014), translation by author, arrows on the black majority countries¹⁵

¹⁵ Contrary to common discourse, Brazil is a black majority country. See table in annex V

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Additionally, given the large number of black migrants that have come living in Portugal (table 7) and the fact that the number of black Portuguese people is not diminishing, there have been new ways of deterring the discussion of racism. Araújo calls out the *immigration industry*, in which black culture is consumed.

“There is a domesticated fusion of ethnic sounds to make them sophisticated, exotic flavours conveniently shelved in specific supermarket areas, and Portuguese Roma pupils occasionally contained in separate classrooms under pretext of their special educational needs and cultural idiosyncrasies.” (Araújo, 2013, p. 29)

“In our festivities when, for instance, our Africans... when we do something to do with music, or with dance... indeed, it’s wonderful to see them dance! (...) it brings us a huge joy (...) I remember, for instance, the dances, the songs in which they make instruments with a tin can if necessary... moments of theatre in which... in which they put... hmmm... their way of speaking, their language or dialect. And so, it’s moments like this of enormous enrichment and of cultural interchange that benefits all.” (a Portuguese teacher cited by Araújo, 2013, p.40)

Araújo defines this use and consumption of the immigration culture as *immigration industry* and argues that it functions as a way of erasing the racial and cultural differences, “concealing (post)colonial dynamics” (Araújo, 2013), feeding on the idea that the Portuguese culture is open and tolerant to difference. However, the part of the culture is only accepted because the *white* nationals want to consume it, because it “brings us a huge joy” (Araújo, 2013).

In the passage above, a teacher describes the inclusion of “our Africans”. “Our Africans” this property over black people of African descent immediately raises two questions:

1. Does any teacher refer to their white students as “our Europeans”? The answer is no. I have heard the expression “our Africans” (or worse word that I shall refrain from using) but never “our whites”, or “our Europeans” or even “our Portuguese”.
2. Are all black students from the same country of Africa? Do they speak the same language? Do they have the same culture? Do they dance the same dances? Just as Portugal is different from their neighbouring European countries, so are all African

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countries. And even inside African countries there are different ethnic groups with different languages and cultures (chapter 2.2).

The rest of the citation is no less troubling. The teacher is describing how the black student's culture brings them joy, how they are entertained with their language, dancing, and songs. Black culture is turned into entertainment rather than a culture that for centuries the Portuguese colonists tried to destroy.

Lastly the teacher recalls the event as a moment of "enormous enrichment and of cultural interchange that benefits all". Nevertheless, in no moment the teacher mentioned a learning process, or even a process of sharing. The benefit is thus only for the pleasure of white people that are amused by black people's culture. Black people are only allowed to practice or share their culture in certain situations that white people allow, and white people only allow such sharing when it amuses them, not as a tool of learning and sharing. In the given description, black people are surrounded by white people who perceive their language and their culture as entertainment, rather than a piece of their identity.

The type of phenomenon described in the two citations above, that is by no means rare, is no different from the Portuguese kings and sailors who ventured the oceans for Indian spices or exotic products, it is no different from the Portuguese merchants who traded African products, no different from the colonialists who stole art pieces from the African peoples, no different from white Portuguese masters who abused and raped their enslaved black women and children. It is a process of abusing non-white culture and non-white bodies for the entertainment of white people. These experiences (and many others) are examples of a society that has avoided a conversation about its colonial past and sanitised all past wrongdoings, including the topics that are historically related to it, and so is bound to repeat the same mistakes.

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2.4.2. Language

The Portuguese language is still deeply impregnated with racist ideas, that would in itself be enough for a complete dissertation. In this section I will mention a few aspects that I believe are relevant to the present work.

There is a plethora of common expressions in which “black” is synonym for bad, ugly, inferior, dirty, terrifying, exclusion, unlucky, and so on. And it is not just the words. Common dialogue includes ideas of the inferiority of black people, various jokes make fun of black people and portray them either as animals, as less intelligent, servants, or as criminals. I have heard several examples throughout my life, and continue to listen, but I will not elaborate on that to not perpetuate them. What is important to mention here is the prevalence of these words and ideas in the media, education system, news outlets, etc. These types of ideas come from very long ago. In fact, in the 15th century, before the concept of “race” was defined, in the practice of the population administration of the Iberian Peninsula¹⁶, the way of referring to groups of black people was a synonym to that of enslaved people (Araújo & Maeso, 2013).

Considering specific words, Grada Kilomba developed an incredible glossary of the words common in the Portuguese language, with their origin and historical meaning, that are used to relate to black people. When reading about the issue of racism and our colonial past, I came across several mentions of the words *mestiço* and *mulato*, both by investigators and journalists. I will translate what Grada Kilomba says on both these words:

- Mestiça/o – word whose origin lies in the canine reproduction, to define the crossing of two different breeds, which originates from a mongrel dog, i.e., a dog that is considered impure or inferior. (Kilomba, 2019), translation by author
- Mulata/o – word originally used to define the crossbreeding between a horse and a mule, i.e., two different animal species, which gives origin to a third animal, considered impure or inferior. (Kilomba, 2019), translation by author

Further in the book, Kilomba clarifies that these words were only used to mention people resulting of interracial relations where one of the persons involved was not perceived as white and the other was white. The approximation of the animal world, the ideas of infertility, of

¹⁶ Portugal and Spain

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prohibition, were only evoked when it was visible that the two people involved were of different races (Kilomba, 2019).

Additionally, these words had an additional function: create the illusion that the person was not fully black, but still not fully white. This creates a lack of identity: those called any of the words above mentioned are not seen as black, are pushed away from identifying with the black cultures, struggles, experiences, but at the same time are not white, are not treated as white, have not the same privileges as white people (Kilomba, 2019). This process parts people from their communities and serves as another tool of community destruction and weakening.

Also “miscegenation and *mestiçagem* are discursively constructed as the passing of Portuguese blood for the others, and rarely the other way around” (Vale de Almeida, 2006), which shows a clear importance given to Portuguese blood, that “saved” black people from being entirely black.

Through the process of miscegenation, the Portuguese found another argument to the idea that “Portugal was never racist” and that the “colonial period was not violent”. Common in Portuguese discourse is the phrase: “Portugal created the *mulato*” or “there is Portuguese blood all over the World”. The intention behind these phrases was to say that Portuguese people in Africa cared so much for black women that they had children with them, and that they *shared* their blood across the globe to the women they encountered and fell in love with, a lusotropicalist approach.

This type of discourse is so common that the idea that there was a clear power relation between Portuguese sailors, Portuguese military men, or even Portuguese enslaved people owners, and black women, and therefore the reason of those births is probably rape, is far from being considered. In fact, the words are in such a way rooted in the Portuguese language that it is constantly used by black people as well to describe themselves, or by people to describe family members, without even realising the true meaning of the word being said.

This is different from the existing terms for “black”. As the well-known differences existing in the USA, in Portugal we also have different terms: *negro/a* and *p-* (somewhat equivalent to the n-word). Both have heavy colonial ties, however the first has been coined as a political term, and the second is historically the most commonly and violently used term towards a person (Kilomba, 2019). Black people in Portugal use both to talk of themselves and

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their communities, as a reclaiming process of the term, however, white people are asked to use the less violent term *negro/a*¹⁷.

Another example is the Portuguese name for slave ships. In Portuguese, the word used is *negreiros*, which comes from the word *negro* that means black. Using the word black to describe a boat that trafficked enslaved people, creates a parallelism between the terms, equating the two, equating black people to an inferiority status, a status of complete exploitation and lack of rights.

In regard to the Portuguese language spoken by African black people, there is a Portuguese word that is a mixture between the word p- and the Portuguese word for “Portuguese” (“*p-tuguês*”). Naturally, people from Portuguese-speaking African countries have an accent (which differs from Angola, to Mozambique, to Guinea-Bissau, etc.), as do Brazilian people, or Portuguese people from different regions of the Portuguese territory. Oftentimes, the accent is referred to as “Portuguese of the monkeys”.

Lastly, it is important to mention that, not only do these words and expressions are used in the communication media, state documents, and in education, but also, I have read many of these terms during the elaboration of this dissertation in published articles and books. Even some people who study the topics of racism and Portuguese colonialism use these words and expressions ignoring their history, the trauma they carry, and the requests of black communities in Portugal for the use of more respectful terms.

The fact that racist words and expressions are so prevalent and dismissed as “harmless” is based in the idea that Portugal is not racist because we were always open to different cultures and people who are ethnically different, the lusotropicalist view. Likewise, because we formed the idea that our colonial past was not violent, the idea that the language that resulted from that period transmitted traumatic feelings or recalls a violent past gets disconnected. Racism is only believed to be possible to exist in a reality when the population is not open to difference, which, according to the lusotropicalist approach does not represent the Portuguese population.

¹⁷ Some black people prefer to be referred to by the term p-, usually because of some negative experience with the other term. As written above, both terms have a heavy history and in a racist society both can be used in derogatory ways that can cause trauma.

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2.4.3. Education

The ideas of lusotropicalism are still very present in the Portuguese discourse, even after nearly 50 years have passed since the restoration of democracy and the independency of the former colonies. As I have been describing, racist and superiority ideas balanced with a belief that Portuguese people are tolerant is part of common discourse and institutional communication. That is because lusotropicalist ideas are still taught in school, are present in museums and tourism infrastructure even though the Estado Novo was dismantled (Sousa, 2021). In Portugal, education is mandatory until a child has a complete secondary education. However, not all students have the same education in secondary school but do in the previous cycles.

In this chapter, I will analyse the education in Portugal through the analysis of textbooks, the opinion of teachers and also the perception of university students regarding the colonial period comparing Portuguese students with students from the PALOP. In this way, I try to describe the environment students are involved in and the result of that environment.

For starters, slavery and the teaching of this period (that endured for more than three centuries in the Portuguese territories) “has occupied a relatively marginal place in Portugal, being some kind of parenthesis in the vast narrative of the pioneering of the Portuguese Expansion” (Araújo & Maeso, 2013) (translation by author), which have been accompanied with political, academic and pedagogic discourses that de-politicise the colonial period and evade the debate around racism (Araújo & Maeso, 2013). When mentioned, slavery is portrayed as something natural, and justified for the greater good of development: it was a *necessity* rather than a *choice* (Araújo & Maeso, 2013). I remember being taught this in school. The objectification of the enslaved person comes naturally as a result, usually described as a commodity in History textbooks (Araújo & Maeso, 2013). I also remember this. I remember in history tests questions such as: what products did we bring from Africa? And we had to answer: ivory, slaves, and so on. During the COVID-19 pandemic in home-schooling¹⁸ I saw similar questions being asked. This is a current situation. Additionally, slavery is used to show that Portugal was responsible for the creation of multicultural societies (Araújo, 2013),

¹⁸ Classes for mandatory years of education were transmitted on a national television channel.

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strengthening the argument that we have always been open to ethnic diversity (lusotropicalism).

It is also taught that slavery was a global system, therefore the Portuguese did nothing different. Three points here must be said: first other countries doing terrible things is no excuse; second, we did something different, we started transatlantic slave trade and were the clear majority trader of enslaved people of the world (graphic 8) – a fact that is practically never mentioned in school; third, it is not a global system if there is a group of people that is systematically enslaved and a group that systematically enslaves – global is if everyone does it in the same way.

Another aspect that is important to mention is the complete lack of mention to the political action of enslaved people. The study of the process of ending the Portuguese enslaved people trade is merely described as a sudden gaining of consciousness from a handful of incredible white powerful men. This process of ignoring the enslaved people's fight for liberation and rights deepens the process of dehumanization. Because all enslaved people at the time were black, or at least non-white, processes such as this contribute for the dehumanization of BIPOC people as a whole. The history that is told in which white people gain consciousness of their wrong doings at their own pace and BIPOC people have no influence in the process, puts the white person in the saviour position of black and indigenous peoples that did not even realize the brutality they were subjected to. The white person is the conscious one, the intelligent, the person able to analyse a situation and change their minds; BIPOC people are ignorant and unconscious of the terrible conditions they live in and incapable of defending themselves.

In order to have a more exact information of what history textbooks teach, Araújo and Maeso analysed 8th grade history textbooks and came to the following conclusions:

“In the analysed textbooks there is a predominant narrative that considers the “positive aspects of colonialism”, in a logic that assumes that historical processes can/should be analytically disaggregated, based on the positive and negative consequences they brought. This action is rooted in the idea that modernity, and concretely the called ‘expansion’, was a triumph.” (Araújo & Maeso, 2013, p. 159)
translation by author

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“The textbooks help in the validation of the colonial vocabulary and logic, assuming with critic a division between passive ‘races’ to be enslaved – the black – and the indigenous that were inserted in the political space with a certain political action, but that nevertheless needed to be ‘defended’ and ‘sheltered’ by clergymen. This narrative strengthens the construction of the slave as a subject incapable of any political action, and avoids the debate ‘race’/power, consigning the phenomenon of slavery to the idea of a past “wrong”, completely surpassed. Thus, the idea of “Europe and the “European citizen” as motors of history and politics is granted, ignoring that, in a large scale, the abolition of slavery was due to the political action of enslaved people and enduring processes of rebellion and resistance.” (Araújo & Maeso, 2013, p. 160) translation by author

Additionally, the representation of enslaved people often tries to portray a group of people who were happy and carefree, with frequent depictions of people dancing or celebrating. This type of representation also helps to construct the idea that enslaved people were not worried about or even suffered with their condition and that it was the good spirit of the white Europeans that saved them from their “condition” because it was morally wrong (Araújo & Maeso, 2013).



Graphic 8 – Countries that traded enslaved people and their percentage of total trade between 1500 and 1900

Graphic elaborated by author with data from (Slave Voyages, 2021). Additional scheme in annex VI

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Another perverse aspect is the idea that the former colonies were “discovered”, an idea that is clear in textbooks. This type of discourse centres the discourse around European people: the territories, the land, the products, the peoples were only discovered from the point of view of the European, from the point of view of those who lived there the territory had been discovered, in some cases, millennia ago (see chapter 2.2 for examples). This perspective dismisses other peoples, putting them in a secondary position, less important, inferior. Additionally, because the European presence in the territory included a process of culture destruction and forgetfulness, their history is only told from the moment the Europeans reached their territory on, because their past was purposefully obliterated (Ribeiro, 2018). The colonial period, via culture imposition, missionaries, and the kidnapping and trading of people between continents, the culture and history of indigenous people was dismissed and forced into disappearance.

Additionally, teachers have similar views which add to their racist ideas as well. The idea that black people from the PALOC are less intelligent was not only an idea shared by missionaries. In fact, the use of the word *p-tuguês* is associated with the idea that the people from the PALOP speak a “different kind of Portuguese” because they do not know how to speak “correct Portuguese” thanks to less intellectual abilities. It becomes evident that this assumption is racist when it is compared for example the number of languages white Portuguese students speak with that of black students from the PALOP. Portuguese students speak on average one or two European languages (including Portuguese), whereas students from the PALOP speak an average of three or four languages, including native African languages and European ones (Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010).

Teachers commonly believe their black students to be naturally less intelligent because they are “African”.

“He can’t, he can’t express himself and then he makes mistakes, he speaks really... when he writes it’s really like an Angolan and ... he doesn’t understand what he reads, he doesn’t. and then he doesn’t make an effort and he himself once told me, ‘I am dumb’ [laughs], literally those were his words, ‘I am dumb and, so, I can’t.’” Teacher cited by (Araújo, 2013, p. 36)

“I don’t see that [ethnic difference] is a problem. The only need that emerges is... in terms... say, intellectual terms” another teacher cited by (Araújo, 2013, p. 37)

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A professor that laughs about the difficulty of a student understanding class and them feeling dumb rather than helping them through their difficulties because they write “really like and Angolan” probably would not have the necessary care of teaching the colonial period from a non-Eurocentric perspective. Assimilation to Portuguese culture is commonly perceived as necessary for the academic success of black students, but, as Araújo identifies, “‘race’ [defers] the possibility of becoming truly assimilated. Hence the relation between racism and educational success is masked by assumptions of inferior early-academic experiences and qualifications” (Araújo, 2013).

These types of attitudes and assumptions towards black students are also present in university professors. I remember in my Political Science bachelor having a Political History Professor that used to ask every black student whether they needed Portuguese lessons and, even after they responded, in Portuguese, that all their education had been in Portuguese and that they did not need Portuguese lessons, or that they had been born in Portugal, she kept on pressuring them into having Portuguese lessons.

Considering these attitudes by teachers, it becomes evident that the “Eurocentrism in the curricula and textbooks goes unchallenged and the perception that racially and ethnically marked students have cultural and linguistic deficits prevails” (Araújo, 2013).

It is important to mention that many teachers today were taught either during the dictatorship or by teachers and Professors whose career was mainly during the dictatorship. Without institutional changes and Education programme adaptations the change of mentalities cannot be reached. However, the Ministry of Education and its structures have been continuously reported first by the *European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia* and then by its successor the *Fundamental Rights Agency*, as having a bleak practice of diversity (Araújo, 2013).

In fact, there is an assumption that the fact that Portuguese schools have students from multiple backgrounds, which added to the idea that we are naturally tolerant, created the discourse that we are *intercultural* and that our education is *multicultural*, even though never have we done a proper analysis of our past and our role in History. This assumption results in a ‘celebratory’ multiculturalism in which Portugal emerges as a victorious precursor of interculturality and all differences that are still present are problems resulting from migrant people’s difficulty in assimilating (Araújo, 2013).

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Thus, since around the beginning of the new millennium, ‘integration’ has been explained as a success due to our history of “soft colonialism and miscegenation”, being racism a marginal phenomenon (Araújo, 2013).

In order to study the impact of education in young people, Rosa Cabecinhas elaborated a study on the memory of the Portuguese colonialism in university students from Portugal and the PALOP (Cabecinhas, 2019) (Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010). Her conclusions were unsurprising:

“While Portuguese students focused on the ‘discoveries’ and silenced the colonial violence’, the young people from the African countries of Portuguese language point out the colonial violence, the liberation fights and the conquering of national independence.” (Cabecinhas, 2019)

“The memories of Portuguese young people are aligned with the hegemonic representation of the history of Portugal as a country that ‘gave new worlds to the world’, but not aligned with the views of the young people who inhabit those ‘new worlds’”. (Cabecinhas, 2019)

Some differences that I also wish to note are:

- Portuguese students used terms such as “discoveries” having varied feelings towards the period, whereas students from the PALOP used terms such as “Portuguese occupation” and “Portuguese colonization” and pointed slavery, traffic, and massacres frequently.
- Regarding slavery, its abolition was mentioned by 17% of the Angolan students, and the slave trade itself by 10%. In Portugal, the mentions of these events were residual (Cabecinhas, 2019).

As a conclusion, even though the Portuguese dictatorship and its propaganda ended nearly 50 years ago, their consequences are still present in today’s education system and young people still ignore the consequences of colonialism and lack a critical view on the country’s past. On the contrary, even after decades of dictatorship, armed violence and political instability, the former colonies have managed to pass a completely opposing view on the shared history of their countries with Portugal.

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In Portugal, the vision of History, even though it is portrayed as universal, is incomplete because it lacks the vision, the perspective of African, American, Asian people who were colonised (Araújo & Maeso, 2013). Discussions on racism and “race” continue being answered with a need for “empathy” rather a proper discussion of the past and the effects of the colonial domination, which, after decades of being underestimated and ignored, have only contributed to the maintenance of postcolonial societies (Cabecinhas, 2019).

To this day, consciously or unconsciously, lusotropicalism is taught in Portuguese schools, in history classes, in literature classes. To this day young people are taught how “good” we were to the entire populations whose lives, culture, and land we destroyed.

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2.5. CPLP

As previously discussed, the various colonies of Portugal were defined among the colonisers, that put together several different ethnic groups and imposed their culture, religion and, most importantly, their language (chapter 2.2). To this day, what connects Angolan people to Mozambican people is their *official* language, the language the Portuguese colonisers brought with them and imposed upon the populations. Today, news agencies, government institutions, schools, use Portuguese as the form of communication.

However, the languages of the peoples are not lost, and for many it is still their mother language. In Angola, 71.15% of the population speak Portuguese (Observatório da Língua Portuguesa, 2016), in Timor only 23.5% and Mozambique only 10.7% (Ribeiro, 2018).

In Angola, 28% of the population speak one native language (national language) at home, with people speaking more than one (Observatório da Língua Portuguesa, 2016). Umbundu is the second most spoken language after Portuguese, existing more than other 10 spoken languages (Observatório da Língua Portuguesa, 2016). Some national languages are already being taught in schools, however, during the 2014 *Congresso Internacional de Língua Portuguesa* (International Congress of Portuguese Language), promoted by the Angolan University Jean Piaget, it was remembered that the “negative charge” associated to the use of national languages during the colonial period is still very present in many families, who prefer that their children only learn Portuguese. I recall what I wrote in chapter 2.2 about the missionary process of Portuguese learning and how the African languages were perceived in comparison.

The CPLP was established in 1996. Its original members were Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and São Tomé and Príncipe. East-Timor joined the CPLP in 2002, and Equatorial Guinea in 2014. In this section, I will analyse the website of the CPLP, the Constitutive Declaration of the CPLP and some aspects of the CPLP forums.

When I began studying and reading more about the CPLP, my first step was to check its website and look for the history tab. It begins like this:

“The idea of the creation of a community of countries and peoples that share the Portuguese Language – fraternal nations by a historic heritage, by a common language and by a shared vision of development and democracy – was dreamt by

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many throughout the times” (Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa, 2021), translation by author

The idea that the nations of the CPLP were “fraternal” in the past was strange to me. If anything, the former colonies share a history of being dominated, colonised, exploited, destroyed, but Portugal does not share that past from the same side. Also, the common language is only in an official capacity. As I stated above, even though in Angola the number of people who speak Portuguese is high, in East Timor it is short of a fourth of the population, and in Mozambique it roughly passes 10% of the population.

This statement is only one of many that helps maintain the meta-narrative that Portugal was a “good-coloniser”, that what Portugal was “not that bad”. This statement is shifting Portugal’s role from oppressor to brother, to equal.

Another dubious description of the CPLP can be found in the tab related to its members.

“The area of the globe occupied by the Member-States of the CPLP is very vast. It is 10.742.000 km² of land, 7.2% of the planet’s land (148.939.063 km²), spread across 4 continents (Europe, America, Africa and Asia).” (Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa, 2021), translation by author

This type of discourse is very similar to the Estado Novo’s argument that “Portugal is not a small country” (annex III). The necessity to show the vastness of the territory of the Portuguese language – which is a mark of the Portuguese colonial empire that remains present – indicates an inherited need to show the Portuguese enterprise with spreading their influence overseas.

I will now analyse the Constitutive Declaration of the CPLP, from July 1996. The CPLP was formed with the main objective of diffusing and enriching the use of the Portuguese language. It declares the creation of the IILP and states more institutions with such goals should be created. The countries also pledge to invest in professional training, scientific and technologic investigation and university cooperation, and support of the arts and culture in the Portuguese language.

In terms of values, the declaration starts by stating that the signatory states are “imbued with everlasting values of peace, democracy, rule of law, human rights, *development* and social justice”. (CPLP, 1996) (Emphasis added, translated by author). As so many other international institutional documents, “development” is never defined. Further along the document it is

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stated that each country will respect the rest of the countries' integrity and own political, economic, and social development, but adds that there will be defined sovereign policies and mechanisms in those areas (CPLP, 1996). This means that every country will have goals defined supranationally, and only the way to reach such goals could be internally defined. That is not national development freedom. Different approaches on development have different goals, as I will elaborate in the following chapter.

Also, in this document can be seen, as on the website, an alternative historical reality. The states begin by declaring to consider imperative the need to:

“Consolidate a national and multinational cultural reality which grants individual identity to the countries of Portuguese Language, reflecting the special relationship existing among them and the accumulated experience of years of fruitful concertation and cooperation.” (CPLP, 1996), translation by author

Throughout the entire declaration there are references to the common past of the countries, but always with a positive connotation: “compromise to strengthen the solidarity and cooperation ties that unite the countries”, “historical bond ... of centuries-old coexistence”, “strengthen the human ties, solidarity and fraternity between all peoples of Portuguese language”, among others (CPLP, 1996). It is a challenge to look at the common past between Portugal and Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe and even Brazil and see a past of cooperation, coexistence or even fraternity, when records show slavery, rape, forced labour, and even destruction of livelihoods and extinction of entire indigenous communities' culture.

Another issue that it is important to note is that the will to strengthen whatever bond that the states declare to have existed, is only directed towards “Peoples of Portuguese language”, regardless of wanting to promote measures of eradicating racism, racial discrimination, and xenophobia. It is contradictory that while proclaiming to want to support anti-discrimination, which is rooted in colonial experiences, the CPLP describes a different historical past than that which happened and focus its work in maintaining and even enlarging one pivotal form of domination over entire ethnic groups: the Portuguese language.

The first forum after the gathering in Lisbon for the approval of the constitutive Declaration was the Forum I, also in Lisbon, which resulted in the Lisbon Declaration. The majority of the values of the Constitutive Declaration were repeated and some protocols

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between the ministers of internal affairs of the several states were signed, now also by East-Timor. One important issue that I wish to note is the importance given to areas of “elected prime collective action: security and public order, migration and borders, and civil security” (CPLP, 2008) (translation by author). It is interesting that an international community focused on the Portuguese Language is now focused on security and borders, declaring a number of measures to try to prevent criminality or illegal migration. This topic was reinforced in every forum since; police forces, migration officers, prison guards, were regularly congratulated for their work (CPLP, 2008) (CPLP, 2011) (CPLP, 2013) (CPLP, 2015).

Regarding the police force, this appreciation is particularly appalling. In Portugal the violence against black people by the police, has resulted in more than 10 registered deaths in the period between the first forum and the fourth (Grosso & Vieira, 2020) (Ba, 2018) (Plataforma Gueto, 2013) (Ferreira, 2002). The conditions of the prisons and the police ill-treatment of people under their custody in Portugal have been condemned by the ECHR and time and again reported by Amnesty International Annual and local reports. In Brazil, the reality is no different: black people, indigenous and people of the *favelas*, are disproportionately ill-treated and killed by the police. The Brazilian annual report of Public Safety (Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, 2015) precisely noted this aspect, also noticing that the discrimination of this groups was also present in judicial institutions. In Angola, the lack of accountability of the police has also been reported by Amnesty International, there are constant reports of police violence, torture, and ill-treatment, particularly towards those that opposed the government of president dos Santos. In Guinea-Bissau, the fear of torture and ill-treatment was also a widely reported issue, particularly for journalists.

Now, among the goals of the CPLP (CPLP, 1996) there are the following:

1. Contribute to the fostering of human bonds, solidarity and fraternity among all Peoples that use the Portuguese language as the foundation of their specific identity. (Translation by author)
2. Promote actions of cooperation and coordination between states in a multilateral way to ensure the respect for Human Rights in each country and around the World. (Translation by author)

Considering these goals, congratulating the police for their work is turning a blind eye to the constant abuse of power (in all of the states of the CPLP) and clear racism (both in Portugal

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and Brazil), which go clearly against “human bonds, solidarity and fraternity” and are a violation of Human Rights.

At the same time, there is also a goal to eradicate discrimination and racism (CPLP, 1996). The praise of the government forces that are maintaining violence and death upon racialized communities contradicts that fight.

White people’s way of life, lives and security are not being threatened by those forces, but those of black people are, by death, violence, and fear. This can be seen in two ways. First, violence is greater in black majority countries or countries where the prevalence of more diversity is higher. Violence in former African colonies not only is greater but it also happens in more diverse ways: police involvement in violent killings of pacific protesters, torture, forced detentions, sexual violence, etc. are recurrent and have been reported for years (Amnesty International, 2021) (Human Rights Watch, 2021), comparing with Portugal, a white majoritarian country, where police violence is directed towards minorities as a whole (Amnesty International, 2021). Secondly, in those more ethnically diverse countries, such as Brazil, violence is directed more towards non-white minorities (Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, 2015). This violence towards black people, be that in countries where black people are the minority (such as Portugal) or the majority (such as Angola) are practices of control population and power demonstration by states and elites, that were inherited from the colonial period. The oppression of black people started as soon as the Portuguese navigators began putting black people in shackles, trafficking them in slave ships, and then enslaving them, beating them, raping them, and killing them, regardless of age or gender, and has evolved throughout the time. Both political and security forces were inherited and evolved from the period in which black people were equated to ‘violent animals’ that needed to be civilized and forced into submission. The violence towards black people prevails, it just changed forms.

One of the arguments that could justify the choice of mentioning law enforcement would be ignorance of the past and present reality that black people experience in the member states of the CPLP. However, the above-mentioned documents were discussed and signed by Internal Affairs Ministers, who are responsible for the safety and security of the citizens of each of their countries. Arguing that they ignore that reality of the black populations calls in itself for preoccupation. It is their job to know and adjust measures according to different needs. Also, if a student like me has access to this type of data and reports, so do government officials.

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If ignorance cannot be the reason, if ministers know the role that law enforcement plays in maintaining power relations between white population and black population, between those in power and their populations, then the mentioning of police forces was purposefully put *because* of their relationship with black people or *regardless* of that relation. Either way, there is a clear disregard for black lives, black experiences, and black feelings. This stepping over black experiences by government officials shows the lack of care that institutions have for their non-white populations.

Regarding migration control, border control includes two types of borders: the air borders between Portugal and the former colonies, and the former colonies and their neighbouring countries.

In 2008, the year of the first CPLP Forum, people from the former Portuguese colonies were responsible for 48% of other nationalities living in Portugal (6% from Angola) (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, 2008). As for residency requests, nationals of the former Portuguese colonies were 59% (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, 2008). As for refusals of entering the Portuguese territory, Brazil, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau were part of the top 5 nationalities on the list (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, 2008). In 2015, year of the latest Forum, 42% of people living in Portugal from other nationalities were from the former colonies (5% from Angola), residency requests were made from a majority of citizens from former Portuguese colonies, regardless of the entering mechanism, and as for refusals of entering the Portuguese territory, 39.4% were from Brazilian nationals, and Angolans were also in the top 5 nationalities represented on the list (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, 2015).

To talk about land borders, I recall the aspect of culture destruction and group separation. The current borders of Angola, Mozambique, or Guinea-Bissau e.g., were drawn by colonizers, with no regard for ethnic groups, their family ties and cultural heritage. To this day, there are groups that share language, religious belief, cultural practices, and even blood ties, that are separated by state borders. I presented several examples in chapter 2.2. The role of the CPLP in this aspect is maintaining that separation via the promotion of the Portuguese language. As done several centuries ago, the Portuguese language continues to be used as separation policy: even those people who live in Angola, Mozambique or Guinea-Bissau that do not speak Portuguese – the official language of these countries – via contact with the language, those who live inside the borders recognise Portuguese and may even understand it. Those from neighbouring countries most likely have zero contact with the Portuguese language.

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Knowledge, or understanding, of the Portuguese language can be used as a test in border control to distinguish between nationals and illegal immigrants that want to be connected with their people. The CPLP goal of promoting the Portuguese language for everyone, regardless of ethnic group or native language, comes from a wish to distinguish between those inside the borders of the CPLP, and those outside of it. This distinction not only serves a practical border control effect, but it also breaks communities from within, establishing deeper divides, disturbing group strength. This objective makes even more sense when one remembers how the independence movements in Angola began: in the region of Angola populated by Kongo people, who drew inspiration from the DRC's independence and revolt against white colonisers (Carrasco, 2021). Weakening the ties inside ethnic groups across borders is a form of population control and helps decrease their will to rebel against oppressive regimes (such as that of Angola, e.g.).

Regardless of the harm caused by law enforcement, official documents show that governments are proud of their work. It raises the question: the national security protocols that the ministers of the CPLP are aiming to achieve are made for *whom*?

As António Pinto Ribeiro (2018) states “the Lusophony is, thus, the remaining marking of a no longer existing empire” (translation by author).

3. Theories of Development

“Development is a label for plunder and violence, a mechanism of triage.”

Claude Alvares (1992) cited in (Summer & Tribe, 2013)

In this chapter, I will talk about “development”. Although this is a broadly used concept, there are different meanings to this word, which differ in terms of goals and methods through which it is believed to be possible to attain such goals. Additionally, I will talk about the role that the concept of development had throughout the Portuguese colonial period and how that impacted existing political and economic structures in Angola.

Defining “development” in itself would be grounds for an entire dissertation, especially because several theories have surfaced in different contexts. Nonetheless, the term has been present in the colonial discourse since its beginning, and in international relations and political discourse ever since, including between Portugal and Angola since the independence of the latter.

In an attempt to define “development”, Summer and Tribe (2013) reached the three following conceptions:

1. “‘Development’ as a long-term process of structural societal transformation” (emphasis added), such as historical change. According to this perspective, the focus lies on the societal shift in one dimension, one aspect, which is commonly described as “modernisation”. As a consequence, there are changes in other dimensions that are related to the primary dimension (such as labour relations, production, laws, etc.).

This view is the basis behind the concepts of “developed” and “developing” countries, in which western countries are considered the historical definers of what the goal of development is and that the rest of the world must be eager to achieve. According to this conception, development is a synonym of financial and industrial structure, which “poor countries” lack, and which would support changes in other societal dimensions.

2. “‘Development’ as a short-to-medium term outcome of desirable targets.” (Emphasis added) this approach is based on defining “short- to medium-term ‘performance indicators’ goals or outcomes – which can be measured and compared with targets (for

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example changes in poverty or income levels)” (Summer & Tribe, 2013). International agencies use this approach in their work.

A good example of this approach is the UN MDG: eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, achieve universal primary education, promote gender equality, and empower women¹⁹, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability, and lastly global partnership for development (United Nations, 2008).

3. “‘Development’ as a dominant ‘discourse’ of western modernity”. This approach exists in opposition to the two previous ones and is sometimes referred to as ‘post-development’, ‘post-colonial’ or ‘post-structuralist’.

It argues that a division of the world based on ‘development’ will always be controversial and determinist, be that because of the colonial period and its consequences, or economic objectives and their achievement, especially because the view centres western countries as the norm.

Many of the thinkers that support this approach are from the global south or from former colonised regions. Their approach in many cases comes from a criticism of the former two approaches, the lack of intersectionality²⁰ and consideration for local matters, cultures and historical practices and needs.

One of the most notorious critics of the western discourse of development is Arturo Escobar. Escobar’s approach to development encompasses the inclusion of social movements and ideas, whose impact he believes to be vast. Escobar argued that the centring of grassroots movements in the ‘third world’ countries’ political structures helped provide “new possibilities for satisfying human needs”, as well as new political practices (Escobar, 1992). This change should be paired with the transition of current top-bottom hierarchies of decision – being the western countries at the top, and poor nations’ populations at the bottom – to horizontal bottom-up structures. The author argued that this change would decrease the distance between intellectuals and activists and grassroots members, which would result in more reality-based approaches and

19 I would like to clarify that “gender equality” here means equality between cisgender men and cisgender women. Transgender people, intersex people, non-binary people and any other gender and sexual identities are completely ignored. Likewise, “women” is reported exclusively to cisgender women.

20 Intersectionality is a concept proposed by Kimberlé Crenshaw, who proposed that people with multiple oppressions suffer not only the consequences of each individual oppression but also oppressions that are the result of the interaction of two (or more), which often times reinforce each other. Crenshaw’s theory was originally aimed at explaining the experiences of black women, who suffer from being both black and female, but has since been applied to several other contexts.

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policies, with further knowledge of the link between macro level thinking and micro level consequences. Escobar points out that the absence of this link is one of the crucial failures of hegemonic development approaches. Additionally, the author argued that only by giving space for grassroots movements in the political arena would the different intersectional problems surface as new actors.

New subjectivities are appearing, a reflection of the reconversion of subjectivities which usually accompanies important social and cultural transformations. The categories of the 'underdeveloped' and the 'poor' are witnessing a hopeful fragmentation; women, indigenous peoples, the peasantry, various types of urban groups, the environment, questions of peace and security, and so forth, are achieving a new visibility which makes them important historical subjects in their own right. (...)." (Escobar, 1992, p. 423)

Thus, Escobar defends a more plural approach to development, one that voices the necessities of the peoples and that works with the people and inside the communities to come up with solutions. This vision is parallel to that of Ashwani Saith who has argued that the hegemonic discourse on development (the western discourse) exclusively localizes the problems in the "third world" but constantly applies agendas and "solutions" developed by industrialized countries. These are based on western standards of living which, in turn, are considered absolute, even though no consultation of the affected countries was ever considered (Saith, 2007, cited in Summer & Tribe, 2013). Saith argues that the result of the lack of participation of third world countries in the international discourse on development has led to already clear results, which he points in his criticism to the MDGs. The author defends that the MDGs lack the consideration of new dimensions of development, such as participation, democracy, sustainable livelihoods, vulnerability, and risk (Saith, 2007, cited in Summer & Tribe, 2013).

Nonetheless, there has been a change in the indicators of development, from merely economic ones to indicators based on wellbeing, which can include psychological and social dimensions. However, this shift from an "objective" discussion on wellbeing, that can be mathematically calculated, to a subjective discussion of wellbeing, maintained the main problem within development policies: the top-down approach (White and Black, 2004 cited in (Summer & Tribe, 2013)), from the western dominant countries to the southern dominated countries, from policy makers to those affected by policies. The problem still relies on the will

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of wanting to find a global view for “development”, which would justify the use of macro level policies that can be used in several countries and regions of the globe (Kingdon and Knight, 2004 cited in (Summer & Tribe, 2013)). As a result, the conditions that thus constitute wellbeing and development indicators are defined by the perceptions of rich people, of aid agency officials, or members of the development community, rather than the perceptions of poor people (Chambers, 1983, 1997, cited in (Summer & Tribe, 2013)).

Looking at the propositions of scholars that oppose the current hegemonic view of development it is important to also note that not only they oppose the means but also the theoretical basis. One example would be the case of inequality between cisgender men and women. It is part of the common dialogue among development institutions that women’s rights are less respected in poorer countries, because they are less developed, however, an in-depth study of the why of that inequality is lacking, as well as the historical reasoning behind that inequality.

When thinking about the gender gap in 2020, the average person would be surprised to know that Nicaragua (5) and Rwanda (9) are in the top 10 countries of the ranking, and that countries such as Cuba (31), Bolivia (42), Zambia (45), Zimbabwe (47), Bangladesh (50) or Cape Verde (52) appear on the list before the USA (53) does (World Economic Forum, 2020). Countries such as Namibia (12) or Burundi (32) appear before Portugal does (35).

Looking back in time to before the colonial period, several ethnic groups in Africa had different approaches to the position of women in their societies compared to that of the European countries at the time. One example is the Yoruba, an ethnic group from modern-day Nigeria (Shoup, 2011). Historically, Yoruba women participated in politics, religion, and economics, occupying important traditional roles, including being village and town chiefs, or priests (Oluwole, 1997). Additionally, women were responsible for commerce, being in charge of selling the family’s products, having access to one or more occupations, property, and skills (Oluwole, 1997). Another example is the fact that several ethnic groups were in fact matrilineal, an aspect that was often times related to the women’s power in the groups and political decisions, as well as their property of land, such as the Akans, the Baule (which were also matriarchal), the Beja, the Bemba, the Bini/Edo, some Dogamba groups, some Igbo groups, the Kongo, among others (Shoup, 2011). It is also common for deities to be women. In Angola, the Chokwe, Lozi and Lunda groups each exists because of lineages of women, the Kongo people were matrilineal, the Lunda were originally matrilineal but then evolved to be both

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patrilineal and matrilineal with equal importance, the Mbundu were under the rule of a princess in their most prosperous period, and for the Ovimbundu, the political power was equal for both men and women (Shoup, 2011). As Sophie B. Oluwole states there is “abundant evidence to the fact that colonialism actually worsened the position of the African woman in many societies”.

In current hegemonic view of development there is a complete lack of historical perspective on current events, namely that the states and entities that today defend “development” are often times the same that were responsible for massive Human Rights violations, regression of freedom and wellbeing, destruction of culture and socio-political structures, as well as stable economic relations. Amartya Sen (1999, cited in Summer & Tribe, 2013) believes development as means to achieve freedom, or to dismantle the restrictions to different abilities or opportunities to lead the kind of lives people desire. For centuries, “development” has been used by more or less the same group of countries to dominate the political, social, economic, natural and production capacities of other states, without care for their opinions, their cultures, or their history. Women have been taken from their roles, indigenous peoples have been dispossessed of their lands, farmers have been prevented from respecting crops and fields, fishermen and women have been forced away from sustainable practices.

The inconsideration of local perspectives, and local knowledge has been the norm, which can be an explanation to the clear opposition that so many scholars have developed to “development”.

[Development has been] a mechanism for the production and management of the Third World... ... organizing the production of truth about the Third World... ... Development colonized reality, it became reality... ... Instead of the kingdom of abundance promised by theorists and politicians in the 1950s, the discourse and strategy of development produced its opposite: massive underdevelopment and impoverishment, untold exploitation, and oppression... ... Development was – and continues to be for the most part – a top down, ethnocentric, and technocratic approach, which treated people and cultures as abstract concepts, statistical figures to be moved up and down in charts of progress The discourse [of development] actually constitutes the problems that it purports to analyse and solve. (Escobar, 1992: 413–4, 419; 1995: 4, 44–5) cited in (Summer & Tribe, 2013)

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With this last sentence, “[development] actually constitutes the problems that it purports to analyse and solve” it becomes clear that the current approach of development, from the eyes of those living the consequences of the applied policies, is in no way different from the historical problems that created the inequality and shortages it wants to destroy, and in fact is perpetuating those relations.

The idea that “development” has been a (supranational) tool to impose power and administration over those considered “less developed” in a similar fashion to that used during the colonial period, with no regard for local strategies or local thoughts on the matter, is a thought not only shared by the scholars mentioned but also by anti-globalization scholars such as Indian environmentalist Claude Alvares, ecofeminist Vandana Shiva and also the USA economist Joseph Stiglitz.

Stiglitz argues that the financial and commercial goals of powerful actors, are at the root of globalization and global development policies, which result in stark differences between what is aimed at the “developed world” and what it imposes in the “developing world” via economic pressures, supranational organizations, international corporations, etc.:

“Europe defends its agricultural policies not just in terms of those special interests, but to preserve rural traditions. People in small towns everywhere complain that large national retailers and shopping malls have killed their small businesses and their communities.” (Stiglitz, 2002, p. 247)

The economist argues that this “market fundamentalism” allows for completely opposite views on what the western countries deem as important and priority for wellbeing in their own territories versus in southern, impoverished territories. Additionally, Stiglitz also agrees with the lack of transparency that exists within the institutions that claim to be helping “developing countries”. Stiglitz, just as Escobar, Saith, and many other scholars, argues that development cannot flow in a top-bottom direction, with no regard for representation or regional realities, much less if the top decision-making people have no knowledge of the reality they are working on.

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“While almost all of the activities of the IMF and the World Bank today are in the developing world (certainly, all of their lending), they are led by representatives from the industrialized nations. (By custom or tacit agreement, the head of the IMF is always a European, that of the World Bank an American.) They are chosen behind closed doors, and it has never even been viewed as a prerequisite that the head should have any experience in the developing world. The institutions are not representative of the nations they serve.” (Stiglitz, 2002, p. 19)

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3.1 Development in the Portuguese historical discourse

In Portugal, the main voice against the hegemonic globalization and development principles is Professor Boaventura de Sousa Santos, who has been promoting the “epistemologies of the South” as of massive international importance in the global arena. Additionally, there are other voices, which rose from sociology and anthropology fields in recent years, sometimes focusing on the racist impacts of hegemonic policies, on migration, and so on. Among these are Marta Araújo and Cristina Roldão, authors that I have studied for the elaboration of this thesis. Additionally, and following the thought of Escobar, grassroots movements have been the root of much political criticism in Portugal as well as alternative propositions.

In the case of the relation of Portugal with the former colonies, historical analysis, migration rights as well as the rights of the black and other non-white minorities, social groups such as *SOS Racismo*, *FEMAFRO*, *Iniciativa Cigana*, *Consciência Negra*, *INMUNE*, *Solidariedade Imigrante*, have been at the forefront of political change and have been included in law-making processes.

As I have shown in chapter 2.4.1., there have been some improvements regarding nationality rights, but the discrimination that particularly black and other non-white people face in day-to-day life in Portugal, as well as the social fabric of Portugal (that can be deduced from the language used and the education that has been the pillar of the formation of generations), is still impregnated with racist and colonial ideals.

Considering that national policy has shown to be moving in a more progressive direction, but that education is still lacking, as well as societal consciousness, I will try to understand what has been perceived in Portugal as ‘development’.

As I have hinted in chapters 2.3. and 2.4 (particularly 2.4.3), Portugal has constructed and fostered an idea that its mission was one of civilizing the continents that were different from Europe. The “good coloniser” had thus a “civilizing mission” (“*missão civilizadora*”) that consisted in the spreading of the Portuguese culture, religion, and way of being as the civilized, “developed” one. Considering there can be identified a few targets to reach (faith, language, culture), it can be said that this view of development fits within the second conception presented in chapter 3. However, although the Portuguese elites defended these to be the developing

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objectives, none of them were in fact political policies or even substantiated by the Portuguese government. In fact, the imposition of the catholic faith, or the Portuguese language were tasks of the missionaries, whereas politicians, military personnel and merchants were just worried about trade and the exploitation of land and people.

This reality is well present in the revindications of the pro-independence movements of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and the other colonies. In his work, “Struggle for Mozambique”, Eduardo Mondlane speaks of the impact of the Portuguese government as a colonial power, giving examples:

“The Portuguese government leased out large tracts of land to foreign companies, which not only acquired rights over natural resources, but were also allowed to control directly the lives of all Africans living within these leased areas (...) [including] ample rights to force all able-bodied men, and sometimes women and children as well, to work in their plantations at nominal pay. (...) The capital of these companies, partly Portuguese but largely foreign, was extremely small in relation to the areas allotted, an indication that exploitation rather than development was the intent and that any provisions for building schools and hospitals, or otherwise promoting the welfare of the population were not taken very seriously, if proposed at all.” (Mondlane, 1969) (Emphasis added)

“Since the thirties, Portugal has been very successful in her efforts to encourage immigration to the African territories (...). The result of this has been the development of a clear white group, separate from and superior to the rest of the population: the central areas of towns are white (the African population lives in slums around the edges) there are white cinemas, white restaurants, hospitals have separate wards for white people, and in Beira even the buses are segregated.” (Mondlane, 1969) (Emphasis added)

Mondlane talks about ‘development’ to discuss the enterprises that Portugal led in the former colonies because, as previously mentioned, the development of the colonies was, since the early times of colonialism, the argument that justified all actions overseas, including violence. Forced labour was justified as development because labour connected the “Africans” with their human side rather than their “animal side” (Bandeira Jerónimo & Monteiro, 2020) (Carrasco, 2021).

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Looking back, the “discoveries” began as a desire of the Portuguese Crown to obtain commercial domination over certain products, competing with Arab merchants. The fact that the African continent was much bigger than initially thought by the “wise” European people of the time, and that different peoples lived in those territories was in fact a “discovery” to the white elites (not to the Arab peoples who were already present in territories as south as Mozambique, and certainly not to the various African ethnic groups).

“[Ceuta] was the beginning. Ceuta, as a beginning, as traineeship, was very good, but rapidly our kings and other rules realised there was nothing there important to us, and that moving down on Africa, looking for India, and before that, looking for the riches of Guinea and other things, was for the best.” (Amaral, 2017) translated by author, emphasis added.

Analysing history, Portugal has highly benefited from the relationship with the former colonies: not only did Portugal have access to several raw materials, but also gained access to the European market, dominated the enslaved people trade, and even gained new opportunities for families to develop their own personal wealth by moving to the former colonies and exploiting the resources and labour force in the regions. On the opposing side, the colonies were barred from entering the international markets, were imposed prices, tariffs, and economic goals by the Portuguese.

In sociological terms, the reality is no different. To bring about ‘development’, i.e., the Portuguese “more advanced culture”, or just basic education (that the Portuguese elites believed to be lacking) in the African peoples (perceived as “primitive” or “animalistic”), one would think that schools would be a priority. In fact, education was a tool, as I have also stated, to impose the Catholic faith and the Portuguese language, but apart from faith and language driven education, the scarcity of schools built by the Portuguese in the former colonies is overpowering. As Mondlane states, these types of infrastructures began to exist when the white Portuguese began moving to the colonies and raising their families there. Schools, hospitals, and other services began existing to serve the white population, and to this day there is a clear difference between the regions that were once inhabited by white majorities and those inhabited by mostly black people (Meneses, 2021).

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The lack of education and political preparation in the former colonies was no secret for the Portuguese elites. In fact, Diogo Freitas do Amaral, Portuguese politician who founded the Christian Democratic party and was its leader after Adriano Moreira, recognized it recently:

“If the international circumstances [independency of neighbouring African countries] were other, and had we had the time to promote the gradual access of the masses of those countries to education, culture, the knowledges required to run a country, we could have prepared [independency] (...) and in ten, twenty, thirty years we could have accomplished a more natural independency. (...) [But] the policy of Lisbon, defended by Mr Salazar, was an absolute 'no' to any evolution in that direction”. (Amaral, 2017) translated by author

Amaral recognizes that there was a deliberate barring of the access of African students to education in the colonies. The politician says that in just a few decades the Portuguese could have formed people to run their own countries. If in five centuries of occupation such formation was not achieved it was not for a lack of ability, it was for a lack of will. The lack of will, as Amaral also notes when he points out the position of the former Portuguese dictator regarding the subject, was from the Portuguese side. In fact, most independence movements made education their priority: already during the independence wars the MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC had schools in the liberated regions and even sent students to other countries to study such as Cuba or the USSR (Meneses, 2021).

“I believe it was in the 70th anniversary of Amilcar Cabral²¹, that there was a big meeting, in Cape Verde, and many of us were invited and we were waiting by the sign to be taken inside, and I was talking, many of us hadn't seen each other in many years, we had arrived from São Tomé, Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, and we were speaking in Russian because we had studied in the Soviet Union. And Marcelino dos Santos²² and Mário Soares²³ and someone else pass by us, and Mário Soares comments something: do you see Marcelino, this is the post-25th of April youth, the lusophone youth, and Marcelino answers: but they are speaking Russian.” (Meneses, 2021) translation by author

21 Guinea-Bissau and Cape-Verdean revolutionary, and founder of the PAIGC, born in 1924 and assassinated in 1973

22 President of the Mozambican People's Assembly (1977-1995)

23 Portuguese prime minister from 1976 to 1978 and from 1983 to 1985 and later President of the Republic (1986-1996)

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Another approach would be looking not at the indicators of what was done during the period Portugal was in the colonies, but at the result, in an approach close to that of the first conception of development in chapter 3. Considering that my focus for this thesis is the relation between Portugal and Angola, I will analyse this approach from the perspective of this relation, rather than that of all African former-colonies, whose realities change from country to country. Considering that Portugal ruled over Angola for nearly five centuries, it is possible to assume that there might have been a “long-term process of structural societal transformation”, which in fact happened, and that I will clarify below. What I will analyse here is whether that transformation aimed for the development of people of Angola or was merely a consequence of the development of Portugal.

Comparing the before and after of the colonisation in Angola, there are clear differences. I will analyse the following: the territory, culture, and language, which are all interrelated, politics and economics.

The most important part is the fact that the country Angola, with its borders, is a product of colonisation. It does not relate to specific groups or cultural practices. On the contrary, as I have discussed in previous chapters, ethnic groups were divided, their social fabric shattered, their faith and culture destroyed by all of the colonialist countries, which later argued that it was their language that united the countries they had formed. It is true that after independency there was a need to find some common denominator to several groups of different ethnic and historical backgrounds, as well as practices and socio-political views; the Portuguese language (as well as the English or the French language) was chosen as the consolidating denominator – with leaders such as Amílcar Cabral²⁴ defending this measure (Meneses, 2021), solely as a practical measure and not to benefit or give more power to one particular group over the others.

In terms of the political structure, it is important to note that, by the time of independence, the different groups in Angola had not had control over their lives, some for decades, others for centuries. The world the newly independent Angola was facing was a capitalist world, with an extractive and profit driven culture. For many of the Angolan groups, to draw inspiration from pre-colonial practices could be a challenge. On one hand because this knowledge was in many cases destroyed by colonial practices and Christianisation missions, on the other hand because the pre-colonial reality was dramatically different from the post-colonial socio-

²⁴ Pan Africanist revolutionary founder of the PAIGC.

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economic reality. Even in those cases where groups suffered less historical erasure, and are in contact with their ancestral practices, their applicability still lacks practicality. Additionally, the liberal profit driven society would eventually give preference to one method of production, ruling or living as a whole in the society, which would give preference to one particular group's culture and identity over others. This could result in those other groups feeling diminished and inferior in society's view, which could lead to massive ethnic opposition, similar to what happened in Rwanda (e.g.).

Currently, Angola lacks political freedom (Freedom House, n.d.) (Amnesty International, 2021) (Human Rights Watch, 2021). Angola not only was under a dictatorship for 38 years (under the rule of President José Eduardo dos Santos) but also has kept the same party (MPLA) in power since 1980 to this day.

In the past, several groups had vastly different political structures, the majority ruled by monarchs but oftentimes supported by the elders, women's groups, and so on (Shoup, 2011). The common person was close to the decision-making process in many of the different ethnic groups present in Angola (Shoup, 2011). With the domination first by the Portuguese crown and after by the Portuguese government, the decision-making processes lacked the participation of the local people.

Tyrone Savage (2006) argued that the lack of political stability in the DRC was due to an historical inheritance of no political freedom or even contact with the decision-making processes during the Belgian colonial domination. The situation in Angola is not that different from that of the DRC. The two countries inclusively have some ethnic groups in common and were drastically marked by the trade of enslaved people and labour exploitation. Also, both countries were dominated by unreachable, far-away entities, which were economically and militarily powerful. Nowadays, both countries have gone through a dictatorship, and the economic and political power remains hostage to a small group of families, the elites. As a conclusion, if the current situation in the DRC is traced back to the colonial Belgian domination (Savage, 2006), comparing both the individual traits of the rulers and the consequences on the populations of that ruling, then, in a similar way, the current situation in Angola could also be a result of the colonial Portuguese domination. The political inheritance not only set a path for lack of accountability but also for poor political freedom, corruption, and protection of the elites.

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Lastly, the economic perspective is no different. As I have shown in chapter 2.1, during the colonial period the economic power was completely dominated by the Portuguese, by the dominant power. The conditions of that domination changed throughout the time, but that reality was always a constant. Additionally, since the beginning, the production and exploitation of Angola's resources were export driven, either to Portugal or to the remaining European countries. Since the Portuguese liberal revolution at the end of the 19th century, conditions for private investors, either Portuguese or international were created, fomenting their investment in the region.

The current reality in Angola is very similar to what the colonial Portuguese power did: tax deductions for elites and investors (both national and international), protection of the elites from answering for their financial crimes and also failing to answer to the population's needs, all this without political consequences (Jover, et al., 2012). In addition, many companies are managed or even owned by a small group of people, many of them of the family of the former President dos Santos (the most notable being Sonangol and the country's sovereign wealth fund (FSDEA)). Oil and gas continue to dominate the country's GDP as well as its exports, in a clear export driven economy (graphics 2 and 5). It can be concluded that the economic structure that the colonial enterprise created left Angola dependent on international trade and international investment, while simultaneously creating a huge economic gap between the elites and the common citizen.

As a conclusion, there was a clear "societal transformation" in Angola as a result of the Portuguese occupation. First, Angola as a country was created and the Portuguese language became the official language. Secondly, the different political structures that existed and the former relationships that existed between different groups, be that on trade or war alliances, ceased, being replaced by a corrupt, dictatorial, central state. Lastly, the populations that thrived prior to colonisation and lived off the land, now depend on international trade, face poverty (Muschketat, 2021), the destruction of their habitats and the over exploitation of their natural resources.

Portugal has tried to show itself as a force of "development" as a synonym of civilization, a discourse that remains being taught and defended (as mentioned in chapter 2.4.3). Looking from a perspective of societal transformation it is clear that such transformation has existed however it is doubtful if that change benefited the population of Angola, rather it seems to have

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served as a stepping-stone for Portugal to equal itself to the other economic power of Europe (chapters 2.1 and 2.3). Analysing the process via a perspective of “short-to-medium term outcome of desirable targets”, the conclusion is no different: the outcomes benefited Portugal, and the benefits for Angola could have been far better had there been a will to reach them.

As a conclusion, “development” was used by Portugal as an excuse to exploit the people and the resources of Angola, as a means to benefit economically and internationally from that control. “Development” was but a “dominant ‘discourse’” used to justify the occupation of the Angolan territory.

4. Discussion

“Neocolonialism is at work on two fronts – in Europe as well as in the underdeveloped countries. Its current framework in the underdeveloped countries is the policy of aid, and one of the essential aims of this policy is to create a false bourgeoisie to put brakes on the revolution and to enlarge the possibilities of the petty bourgeoisie as a neutraliser of the revolution”.

Amílcar Cabral in (Cabral, 1969, p. 60)

My proposition for this thesis is to analyse whether or not Portugal has been exerting a neo-colonial domination over Angola since its independence from a development studies point of view. To elaborate on that it is necessary to establish the political and economic domains of colonial domination and then verify how that power has shifted (Nkrumah, 1966).

The colonial control began with two vectors: product exportation and the propagation of the Christian faith. The primary objective of the colonial enterprise was the control of trade routes, an objective that becomes clear not only in the fact that the first centuries of the Portuguese colonial period were mercantilist (export from the occupied territories driven) but also in its confirmation by historians (such as Diogo Freitas do Amaral). The propagation of the Christian faith happened parallelly, but initially by pressure of missionaries, not of Portuguese rulers. This partnership was developed later on. Since the beginning of the overseas endeavours, missionaries have participated with the goal of ‘civilising’ the populations that would be found. It was confirmed that, as Ribeiro (2018) states, “Colonize and civilize have always been together”.

The Portuguese control of the Angolan exploitation, labour and investments resulted in an export driven economy, which to this day is dominated by oil (graphic 5) and the interests of the European countries, an inheritance from the colonial period. Table 5 (top 10 Angolan export partners) is particularly important to support this statement because countries such as Portugal, Spain or France are in the same table as China, India or the USA, countries with a significantly bigger population and therefore increased needs. The fact that Portugal exports in quantities comparable to those of China despite having a much smaller population, shows that colonial patterns of trade still prevail. These results show the Portuguese economic domination, and that the national production is still directed at the needs of the European countries, namely

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Portuguese ones. If we compare the exports to Portugal, considering its population, with that of the other countries on the same list, Portugal is by far the focus of Angola.

Similarly, Portugal is the second Angolan import partner (table 4), which, again can be traced back to the colonial period. Angola's trading opportunities were defined by the Portuguese government, i.e., only the opportunities that benefited Portugal were opened to the Angolan trade. As a result, when Portuguese families were motivated to move to Angola, their needs that were not met by the country's production capacity were imported from Portugal. Even during the liberal period, the imports of Angola were mostly from Portugal. As the Portuguese occupation defined the production in Angola as export driven, Angolan resources, companies and production are all focused on the desires of the international partners, rather than national needs. As a consequence, Angola needs to import a vast number of products, benefiting other countries rather than itself. In this case, Portugal is the country that benefits the most, with a positive balance of more than one billion US\$ in trade with Angola.

This part of the analysis opens way to the **first conclusion**: Portugal continues to dominate the economic structure of Angola. Economic domination was a primary objective of the Portuguese colonial project, which has implications in the current economic relation between Portugal and Angola, that in turn grant the continuation of the Portuguese economic domination over Angola.

The domination of Portugal was not only in economic terms. The dismantling of cultural structures and the breaking of ethnic groups was part of the colonial enterprise, a goal shared among all colonial powers. To exemplify, the territory of the Kongo people was divided among the Portuguese and the Belgian (territories that correspond to parts of Angola and the DRC) (recall table 6), which resulted in the separation of the populations themselves. The Portuguese language and way of life were imposed from the beginning, and were equated to power, superiority, civilization, goodness, contrary to the "African way" which was uncivilized, ugly, and bad.

Analysing today's education system in Portugal, it is possible to see that these preconceptions on the inferiority of African people still remain in historians and professors, particularly in regard to the lack of "intelligence" of black students.

Additionally, there also persists an idea of the superiority of the Portuguese language when compared with other languages. This idea was analysed from two approaches. First, the

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existence of the CPLP and its goal of enlarging the use of the Portuguese language as well as only financing cultural and education programs if they can be done through the teaching and promotion of the Portuguese language. Secondly, even considering that many black students (native to African countries) sometimes speak more than one language, the accent, or the lack of perfection in the communication via the Portuguese language are perceived as a lack of intelligence. This vector constitutes an additional form of domination, in the socio-intellectual realm. The continuation of the fallacy that the use of Portuguese language equates intelligence, financial support (support for cultural and education programs via the CPLP), and civilization, serves as another form of domination of the Portuguese to the Angolan people.

Thus, the **second conclusion** can be drawn: Portugal maintains a socio-intellectual domination via the value attributed to the Portuguese language and the importance of broadening its use in the Angolan territory. This knowledge of the Portuguese language was used as a ‘civilizing’ tool during the colonization period and is still used to rank a person’s intellectual capacities.

The third conclusion derives from the discourse that Portugal has developed throughout the centuries that it was a ‘good coloniser’. This discourse is the basis for the lack of analysis for racism in the Portuguese society. The construction of the myth of the ‘good coloniser’, based on the idea that Portugal was ‘less violent’ than the rest of the European colonisers, found strength in adaptation of the lusotropicalism theory. The idea that Portugal was less violent speaks to the lack of research and common knowledge on the Portuguese past in relation to the colonial enterprise. As mentioned throughout this thesis, it is estimated that Portugal (be that the Portuguese Crown directly or Portuguese merchants with the support of the Portuguese state) was responsible for nearly 47% of all transatlantic traffic of enslaved people. This traffic not only was done in complete inhumane conditions²⁵, but also is related to the kidnapping of people from the shores of Africa, their families and cultures, and the subjugation of millions of people to the condition of slavery. Slavery was a violent practice related not only to the forced labour, but also to rape, violence, and death.

“From an objective point of view, it is hard to believe that the relations between Portuguese and colonized people were cordial. It will suffice to remember that De Las Casas wrote not only about the extermination of Indians by Spanish colonizers, but

²⁵ It was frequent for people to die in the slave ships from diseases contracted in the transatlantic traffic, from dehydration, malnutrition, exhaustion, to even suicide.

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also about the extermination of Black people by the Portuguese (De Las Casas, 1552/1996). It should also be noted that between 3 million and 18 million Africans were made slaves and transported to Brazil, and that the Portuguese colonization in this last country led to the death of 5 million native Indians.” (Vala, et al., 2008)

Additionally, as concluded just above, the inheritance of the Portuguese colonialism in the former colonies is still present in current days, both in the economic structure of Angola and in the Portuguese perception of the characteristics of black people from the former colonies.

Recalling interracial relations, it is argued that, because the state supported inter-racial relations, it could not be racist. These types of relations existed in two realms: first, as an economic advantage, and second (as stated in various parts during chapter 2) under the form of rape and abuse. It has already been discussed that the economic advantage was always for the colonising force, in the case, Portugal, so it is doubtful that the support for inter-racial relations was innocent. As for the second type of relationships, it has been far used for the inferiorization of the different cultures (Vala, et al., 2008), and has always been seen as ‘the Portuguese have their blood everywhere’ but never that ‘Portuguese blood *comes* from everywhere’ (Vale de Almeida, 2006). The lineage of the Portuguese would never be “spoiled” with other races’ blood, only *other ‘races’* got the right to the Portuguese blood. Apart from the fact that there was a clear relation of power involved, and that most of those relationships happened between master and enslaved person, or coloniser and colonised, that fact that the Portuguese person involved, the *white* person, is always the actor, is always the one passing on the blood, but never the one *receiving*, is never the *passive* participant in the relationship, supports the idea that these types of relations were by no means consensual or even between human beings that were considered equal. Because the existing relations between white and black people during the colonial period were never seen as equal, it cannot be assumed that the relation itself was nothing else but a tool of dominance, of power.

The discourse supported by lusotropicalism, that states that Portugal naturally connects with other ethnic groups and ‘races’, is thus a cultural barrier to more research, political policies, political action, and to a national discussion in relation to the impact of the Portuguese past actions not only in other countries but also in the Portuguese people’s racism today.

The lack of discussion on racism and the impact on the colonial period becomes clear in the Portuguese nationality law, particularly because it still fails to recognise that migration from

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the former colonies is deeply impacted by the consequences of the Portuguese occupation, but also because of the lack of resources allocated for migration, resulting in laws that have few applications in practical life.

On the same line of thought, the lusotropicalist mentality does not allow for a natural understanding of the inter-racial reality that Portugal lives as a result of migration. Rather, it maintained the idea that Portugal is open to other cultures, which sets Portugal as the subject of the action, as the one that receives, as the one open for others to assimilate, as the one that is “so good that even lets other people practice their cultures”. This relation becomes clear when the culture of migrant people is used as a product of fun, of consumption, to the Portuguese masses, and is *adapted* to the Portuguese desires. This represents a lack of respect for the culture and practice of other people, which in turn is substituted by the idea that the culture and identity of black people is a commodity for the amusement of white people. The use of other cultures and identities is traced back to the objective of the overseas travels; the Portuguese Crown wanted the Indian spices, and the entirety of the African endeavour happened while the Portuguese sailors intended to discover the maritime route to India. Food is a significant part of a group’s culture and identity, which has since been dominated, exported, and even adapted to the likes of the European consumers.

The lack of confrontation that the Portuguese have with its colonial past and the consequences it can bring to current days has been a preoccupation of the CoE. In March of 2021, Dunja Mijatović, CoE Commissioner for Human Rights stated concern with the persistence of discrimination in Portugal against Roma people and people of African descent (Moleiro, 2021). In the memorandum, Mijatović stated there needed be a more in-depth education model of the colonial period, and of the role of the Portuguese in slavery (Moleiro, 2021) (AlJazeera, 2021).

The **third conclusion** is, thus, that the myth of the ‘good coloniser’, associated with lusotropicalism not only served as an excuse for justifying the maintenance of the colonies when all African countries were gaining independence, but also serves as an excuse to avoid current discussions on racism and both past and present actions.

I shall now recall the neo-colonialism definition by Kwame Nkrumah:

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*“The neo-colonialism of today represents imperialism in its final and perhaps its most dangerous stage. (...) Old-fashioned colonialism is by no means entirely abolished. It still constitutes an African problem, but it is everywhere on the retreat. (...) In place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism we have today neo-colonialism. The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality **its economic system** and thus its political policy is **directed from outside**. The methods and form of this direction can take various shapes.”* (Nkrumah, 1966, p. ix) (Emphasis added)

From the first conclusion, I argue that the control of the economic system of Angola continues to be directed from outside forces, particularly Portugal. That control is not a direct control, as it was during the colonial period, but exists via the definition of Angolan national production, and, most importantly, by the fact that Angola depends on Portugal as one of its primary import partners.

This type of domination is supported in a number of ways. The first is language as well as the link between the domain of the Portuguese language and intelligence or civilization. Development programs, cultural programs and so on, proposed by the CPLP are all based on the idea of the importance of the Portuguese language as a driver of knowledge. As innovation and knowledge are directly related to the growth of human development and the country's value (Azuh, et al., 2020), focusing the activities on fostering programs in Portugal or based in Portuguese knowledge, rather than supporting and investing in local programs and practices, serves as a boost for the economic gap between the two countries. Hence, language can also serve as a tool of economic domination.

The idea that the Portuguese socio-political-economic way was the best, most civilised, most 'developed' was considered a fact, which was supported by that belief that the Angolan (and African people in general) were less intelligent, more animalistic, and therefore needed to be dispossessed of their habits and traditions.

Finally, the lack of internal analysis in Portugal in relation to its colonial past, the dogmatic belief that Portugal was 'not that bad', removes Portugal from the important discussion on racism and xenophobia existing in its institutions, education, common language, and thought. In order to improve not only its relations with Angola but also its relationship with afro-

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descendant people living in Portugal, granting them the human rights they deserve, Portugal needs to look back without prejudice and face the actions perpetrated.

“Due to its endurance and systematic exploitation, colonialism translated into soft power that lasts until the present-day. Formally we are living in postcolonial times, but colonialism persists in people’s minds, shaping personal trajectories and intergroup relations.” (Cabecinhas & Feijó, 2010)

Lastly, there is a common theme to all these vectors: the idea of ‘development’. Political and religious discourse has argued that ‘development’ was the driving force of the colonising period since its beginning, an idea that has been persistent in political discourse, institutional communication, and education until the present. However, the concept of ‘development’ is but a tool of domination used by the Portuguese hegemonic discourse in order to avoid responsibilities, profound internal analysis, or even admitting racist conceptions of superiority based on century-old ideas of discourses (such as the “myth of the good coloniser”).

In the colonial history between Angola and Portugal, the local experiences were rarely (if ever) taken into consideration, be that in the case of agriculture, mineral exploitation, political organization or even trade. On the contrary, existing structures were destroyed and ancestral knowledge was replaced by an extractive policy.

In common days, these ideas still persist in racist language, in the persistence of the superiority of the Portuguese language in comparison with other African languages, and even in the idea that Portugal investing in Angola is a way of “helping in its development” – investments that only happen because Portuguese companies benefit from those actions. In fact, even though there have been multiple projects, partnerships and Portuguese investment in Angola’s development, inequality and poverty in Angola have risen in the last decade, with the bottom 50% of the population losing 2.7% of income share, and the top 1% gaining 9.2% (table 3).

Inequality is thus the main difference between Portugal and Angola, particularly in economic terms. This difference was carved by the colonial past and the dependencies created in terms of production and exporting habits in Angola during the Portuguese occupation. The economic domain is maintained not only via economic exploitation, but also via a social-intellectual approach, which is also anchored in ideals developed during the colonial relations and fostered ever since.

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It has been argued that inequality is acceptable in situations such as the Angolan present situation because the advantages outweigh the violence that has resulted from the process of development and also of the suffering that inequality causes today. Pro-colonial development approach contests this. The lack of consideration for the opinions of the populations affected, not only serves as an additional layer of oppression, but also blocks the discussion of other methods of internal and human development, which could bring about economic structure as well as human necessities without inequality (Escobar, 1992). The hegemony of western development views bars the diversity of the discussion on the topic, preventing new ideas to emerge and potentially address the violence that several peoples in the globe have dealt and still deal with (Escobar, 1992).

5. Conclusion

In this dissertation, I analysed the relation between Portugal and Angola after the independence of Angola, comparing it with the colonial era power relation between the two.

I have compared economic tendencies, both on imports and exports in Angola in relation to Portugal, concluding that Portugal still plays a significant role in trade and production in Angola. To further understand the relation between the two states, I also studied the other dimensions of domination, such as language and culture, which I found are present now in the form of racism, the believed supremacy of the Portuguese language and it being perceived as more civilized and a symbol of power and development.

As a conclusion, and based on the definition of Kwame Nkrumah, I can state that Neocolonialism is a strong characteristic of the relation that Portugal has with Angola. This relation is an economic relationship of power, which is supported by cultural, social, and linguistic domination, as well as an inheritance of destruction, lack of political freedom and lack of education.

Another conclusion is that the meta-discourse always used was the idea of ‘development’ as an excuse for the prioritizing of Portuguese benefits over Angolan lives and basic human rights. This discourse is still being used today, in education, in public policy and in both national and international institutions as the driver of investment in Angola. An example is the CPLP, which sets ‘development’ as its goal, but that bases its action on language (a form of maintaining colonial cultural, demographic, and social domination), while also having a clear disregard for the ethno-racial issues at hand.

With this research I believe to have contributed to connecting the several theoretical work on different areas (such economics, history, and education) and identifying out the impact that those indicators in connection with each other have in the current relation between the two countries and the populations involved, as well as clarifying the historical evolution from the colonial Portuguese period to the current neo-colonial period.

This work made clear the white supremacy that prevails to this day in academia. Even when researching topics exclusively African or even Angola, often the majority of the results would be or white European studies, followed by white American ones (from the USA and Brazil). It

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was frequent that even direct quotes from African leaders would appear first mentioned by someone else (white) than in the original writing.

Lastly, my conclusions point in one direction: that grassroots movements, BIPOC, migrant communities still have a very insignificant role in policy making. Many of my findings have been discussed in grassroots movements for decades but have failed to reach the *status quo*.

The issues of black people, of the former colonies, are not considered a white Portuguese issue by common white Portuguese discourse. The hegemony of lusotropicalist dogmas prevents us from looking back, recognizing the actual reality of what happened, analysing the present day and the existing racism (social and institutional), or even consider change.

I finish this dissertation with the desire that, in the very near future, more white Portuguese people start looking at racism and colonialism as a *white people* problem that we need to address, particularly with a self-evaluating eye.

"The function of freedom is to free someone else."

Toni Morrison

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Annexes



Annex I – *Feitorias* of the Portuguese Empire in the Atlantic Ocean in the 16th and 17th centuries

(Costa, et al., 2016)

10 topics covered in the ranking:	Angola's 2012 ranking (out of 183 economies)
Starting a business	167
Dealing with construction permits	115
Getting electricity	120
Registering property	129
Getting credit	126
Protecting investors	65
Paying taxes	149
Enforcing contracts	181
Resolving insolvency	160
Trading across borders	163

Annexes

Annex II – Ease of doing business index in Angola

(Jover, et al., 2012)

Angola	BaTwa	Lozi	Ovambo
	Chokwe	Lunda	Ovimbundu
	Khoisan	Mbundu	Vili
	Kongo		
Guinea Bissau	Diola	Senufo	
	Fulbe	Wolof	
	Mande		
Mozambique	Lemba	Swahili	
	Makonde	Tsonga	
	Shona	Yao	

Annex III – Ethnic groups in the three biggest former Portuguese colonies

Table elaborated by author with data retrieved from (Shoup, 2011)



Annex IV – Portugal is not a small country

Map trying to show the “true size” of Portugal, considering the former colonies as parts of the Portuguese territory (Galvão, 1934)

IBGE Ethnic Designation	Share of Brazilian Population in 2010 Census
Branços (White Brazilians)	47.73%
Pardo (Combined European, Native, and African Ancestry)	43.13%
Pretos (African-Brazilians)	7.61%
Amarelos (Asian Brazilian)	1.09%
Indigena (Indigenous Brazilian)	0.43%

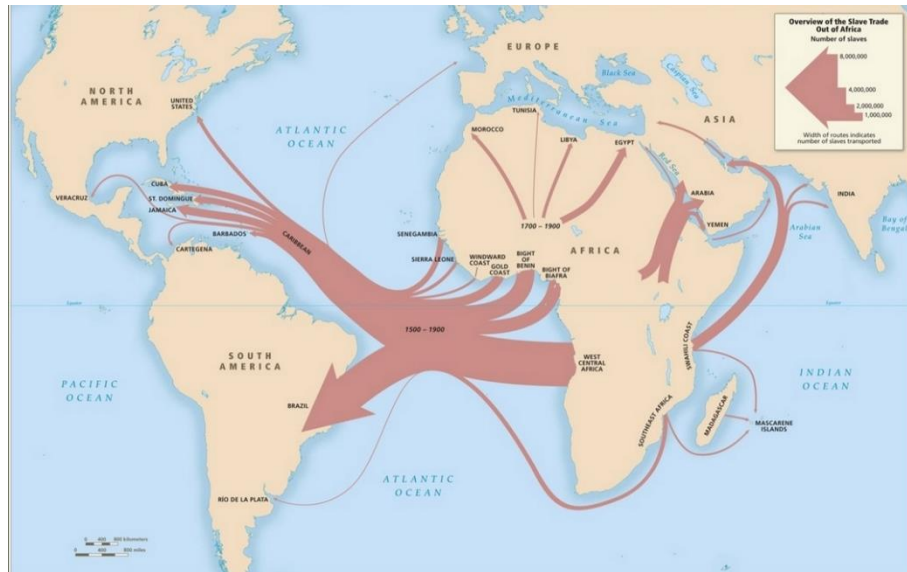
} 50.74%

Annex V – Largest ethnic groups in Brazil

(WorldAtlas, 2017), brace added by author

Annexes

The category described as “pardo” – people resulting of interracial relations – was a colonial way of implementing the idea that the person was not fully black because there was some white blood in them. However, they are not considered white and face similar discrimination.



Annex VI – Overview of the trade of enslaved people out of the African continent, 1500-1900

(SlaveVoyages, n.d.)