Anatomy of Colonialism

lethargic state from which it only came out in the 18th Century with the 'discovery' of the gold and diamond mines in *Minas Gerais*, also in Brazil. However, this golden epoch was of a rather short duration for in 1822 Brazil became independent from Portugal and the 'mother country' continued its normal course as an indebted, poor, and stagnated country.

But one may ask oneself again: What did all this money get spent on? Most of it was wasted on several commercial ventures which only benefited the other European countries, while the rest was lavishly spent on many luxurious objects to satisfy an infernal and offensive but . . . simple-minded love of luxury.

For example, the Salazarist 'historians' themselves, very delighted, narrate that King John V, without knowing what to do with so much gold brought in from Brazil, ordered that the *Mafra Convent* be built for him and that a huge carillon from England, made of solid gold, be used on the structure. The British industrialists, having considered this an absurd expenditure, decided to ask whether the Portuguese monarch was really ordering from England a solid-gold-made carillon. Simpleminded, the King of pirates, with the intention of boasting his wealth, ordered in reply two similar solid-gold-made carillons!

Finally, by the end of the 19th Century and during the first 67 years of the 20th, Portugal enjoyed a new period of national grandeur, thanks to the exploitation of the peoples and wealth of her African colonies, more particularly Angola.

But, as in the past, Portugal did not industrialize itself. Most of the tremendous profits made in the colonies are and continue to be sucked up by the international monopolies, while the relatively small but still big portion which accrues to the small Portuguese oligarchy is lavishly wasted in the Estoril casinos as well as at the expensive cabarets in Paris.

Therefore we are, in reality, faced by a factual demonstration of the incapacity on the part of the Portuguese leaders to bring their country out of its secular retardation. This fact is so entrenched in the mentality of the present leaders of the fascist regime of Portugal that they don't even hesitate to boast publicly that 'Portugal is and will always be an agricultural country!'

But no wonder. Why will this not be the case if this country has already accustomed itself to live as a parasite of other peoples?! . . .

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**Caetano: No Essential Change**

**FRELIMO**

*This extract is from* Mozambique Revolution, the principal publication of FRELIMO which appeared in Dares Salaam. It is found in No. 40, 25 September 1969, under the title 'Caetano, Capitalism, and Cabora Bassa.'
Cold hard economic facts lie behind all the myths and nonsense which Caetano and others within the Fascist Portuguese government have put forward for maintaining their colonial rule in Africa. They are determined to hold on to their colonial possessions in Africa because these are the greatest source of their wealth, and they help to maintain the Fascist domination over Portuguese workers and peasants. That is why virtually half of Portugal's budget is devoted to the war in Africa.

At the same time, other capitalist countries also have taken a keen interest in the wealth which Portugal robs from Africa. To some extent Portugal fears the competition of countries like the USA and West Germany which have entered the economy of Mozambique and Angola, but Portugal needs the help of these capitalist nations both at home and abroad. Consequently, Caetano has inherited from Salazar the policy of selling the riches of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea to the allies of NATO, with the specific intention of using them as a shield against the ever expanding action of FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC. Franco Nogueira, Portugal's Foreign Minister, has openly stated that: 'The Portuguese government is in a position to demand the co-operation of Western powers in the defence of Portuguese possessions in Southern Africa.'

However, the propaganda of the Liberation Movements and their progressive allies forced Portugal to pay lip-service to some liberal tendencies in the capitalist countries. Her NATO allies have always been willing to help Portugal deceive public opinion in the West. E.g. Britain, being a major investor in Portugal and in the Portuguese colonies, has always helped to whitewash Portuguese Fascism and protect Portugal from its critics. Since Caetano came to power, the British press have engaged in a campaign to present him as a 'liberal', claiming that he is carrying out reforms within Portugal. The deliberate lie that Caetano is a 'liberal' is intended to prepare the way for increasingly close relations between Portugal and the Western capitalist nations, especially with regard to Portugal's colonial policies.

One of the many contradictions of colonialism is that, although the colonialists wanted quick profits, they were not even competent enough to discover how rich Africa really was. This was particularly true of the Portuguese who always hoped that in Africa they would find gold lying around on the ground ready to be picked up. In Mozambique this was not the case, so the Portuguese said that Mozambique was poor. In recent years, it has been becoming more and more obvious that Mozambique has tremendous mineral potential, apart from its agricultural wealth.

Western powers have looked with greedy eyes at the signs of the riches which lie under the soil of Mozambique, and by sharing out the whole of Mozambique in huge concessions to Western capitalist companies, the Portuguese government is gaining revenues to carry out its war of oppression, as well as giving other capitalist nations a direct stake in maintaining Portuguese colonialism. This is the way that Caetano is strengthening Portugal's alliances with all capitalists, racists and imperialists.

Mozambique has been appearing quite frequently in the last year or two
in the financial and commercial journals of the capitalist world. They have been discussing the possibilities of coal, petroleum, natural gas, asbestos, bauxite, iron, titanium, beryl, colombo-tantalite, lepidolite, crome, nickel, bismuth, gold, silver, uranium, diamonds, microlite, tourmaline and mica.

Ever since the discovery in 1965 of natural gas in Pande (not far from Beira) all the Western powers have been eager to prospect for oil and natural gas in Mozambique, for the geological signs are all favourable. The Portuguese government has granted concessions to over one dozen companies, coming from the USA, West Germany, France and South Africa. Most of these companies, such as Gulf Oil and the IPC, are already notorious for their exploitation of the Middle East, Latin America and other parts of Africa. Their presence in Mozambique represents a further threat to the peoples of Mozambique. In fact, the policy of encouraging these companies is part of the Portuguese war against the people of Mozambique.

Portuguese Colonialism in the Age of Imperialism

CONCP

Extract from a pre-conference discussion document prepared by CONCP for the International Conference of Solidarity held in Rome in June 1970.

Portugal, the least advanced of the imperialist powers, has held on to its colonies in Africa — Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique — longer and more desperately than any other. In the process its subordinate role in the world imperialist system has deepened: the last of the colonial powers is now little more than a neo-colony itself. Pressed from above and below — by international business and political interests abroad; by the working class and peasantry at home; and by the rising force of the liberation movements in the overseas territories — the Portuguese ruling class finds itself left with little time and little space . . . .

Relative to Portuguese, foreign investment has always played a dominating role in the overseas territories although in absolute terms, and compared with recent developments, it has not been so very large. As a businessman in Mozambique put it: 'When you judge the Government's attitude to foreign capital today, you'll do well to remember that when Salazar took over in Portugal just about forty years ago Mozambique was virtually owned by foreigners — many of them British.' This situation can be traced back to the beginning of the century when the chartered company was established as the instrument of control — like the Cia da Mocambique which had sovereign rights over the province of Manica e Sofala and was financed by British, French and Belgian capital. This branch of foreign involvement is manifested today in some of the large plantation and transporting companies like Sena