ARTICLES

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# PORTUGUESE COLONIAL LEGACY IN LUSO-AFRICAN STATES – A FACTOR LEADING TO STATE DYSFUNCTIONALITY OR FAVORABLE TO DEVELOPMENT?[1]

ABSTRACT    Among historical factors leading to state dysfunctionality phenomenon on the African continent, colonial legacy is most often indicated. It is a common perception that colonialism understood not only as colonial rule but also as colonial legacy is the main responsible for today's African crises of statehood. The study focuses on Luso-African continental states (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau) that have quite a similar historical experience, not only the difficult and long war for independence, but also lack of political stability in the postcolonial period (civil wars, coups d'état, experiments with socialism and one-party system). The article is an attempt to reflect on the hypothesis that the Portuguese colonial legacy can be perceived as a historical factor leading to state dysfunctionality, however its evaluation should be more complex, as from today's perspective it could bring some benefits that derive most of all from the common official language, similar historical experience and some sense of the Luso-African or Lusophone identity. The paper is based on the qualitative analysis of the already existing data, critical reading of the literature of the subject, as well as qualitative data gathered during author's study visits to Portugal, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

Keywords: Luso-Africa, Portuguese colonialism, state dysfunctionality, colonial legacy

*We have been in Africa for four hundred years, which is rather more than to have arrived yesterday.*

António de Oliveira Salazar, 1960[2]

*Luanda was not dying the way our Polish cities died in the last war. There were no air raids, there was no 'pacification', no destruction of district after district. There were no cemeteries in the streets and squares. I don't remember a single fire. The city was dying the way the oasis dies when the well runs dry: it became empty, fell into inanition, past into oblivion. But that agony would come later; for the moment there was a feverish movement everywhere. Everybody was in a hurry, everybody was clearing out. Everyone was trying to catch the next plane to Europe, to America, to anywhere. Portuguese from all over Angola converged on Luanda.*

Ryszard Kapuściński, *Another Day of Life*[3]

## INTRODUCTION

Among historical factors leading to state dysfunctionality phenomenon on the African continent, colonial legacy is most often indicated. It is a common perception that colonialism understood not only as colonial rule but also as colonial legacy present to a greater or lesser extent in all former colonies is the main factor responsible for today's African crises of statehood. In support of this hypothesis, one can think about the problem of African borders – most of them determined by European powers as a consequence of the Berlin conference (1884-1885),[4] and additionally sanctioned by the principle of *uti possidetis*[5] – adopted by newly independent African states in 1964 during the summit of the Organization of African Unity in Cairo. According to this principle the inherited colonial boundaries should remain and be respected in postcolonial times.[6]

As a result of this top-down partition of the continent between colonial metropolises, the borders of one territory were often inhabited by people of different ethnicity

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[2]     Quoted from M. Meredith, *Historia współczesnej Afryki. Pół wieku niepodległości* (The State of Africa: A History Of Fifty Years Of Independence), transl. S. Piłaszewicz, Warszawa 2011, p. 131.

[3]     R. Kapuściński, *Another Day of Life* (Jeszcze dzień życia), transl. W.R. Brand, K. Mroczkowska-Brand, London 1987, p. 10.

[4]     The conference was convened to Berlin by the Chancellor of the Second Reich Otto von Bismarck. Twelve European countries, as well as the United States and Turkey took part in several months of deliberations (1884-1885). Although the future of the Congo was the main topic of the conference, in reality it led to partition of Africa between the European powers. The process would last till the beginning of the First World War and is known as *Scramble for Africa*. W. Dobrzycki, *Historia stosunków międzynarodowych 1815-1945,* Warszawa 2010, pp. 306-308.

[5]     *Uti possidetis, ita possideatis* – lit. As you possess, so may you possess.

[6]     W. Lizak, *Afrykańskie instytucje bezpieczeństwa,* Warszawa 2012, pp. 35-36. A good example is the situation in Cabinda, discussed further.

and language, sometimes conflicted with one another. The majority of colonial authorities were usually only interested in pursuing their own goals without taking care of the local populations. In order to achieve these goals, they were favoring some ethnic groups that inhabited the territories that had fallen under their control, and in consequence conflicting them with the rest of the colonial population. Such a policy of *divide et impera* was made even more effective through, inter alia, giving support to smaller ethnic groups, thus ensuring their loyalty; in return, they were supposed to control larger groups, what fueled even more inter-ethnic hostility.[7]

In case of research on state dysfunctionality, it also seems that there is no major difference which European colonial power the former colony belonged to in the past[8]. The infamous leaders of the rankings of dysfunctional states usually reflect the then state of ownership on the African continent. Hence, one can find among them former dependencies of practically all colonial powers. On the other hand, Ethiopia is on the list among the most dysfunctional states (according to *Fragile States Index* – in 2017 and 2018 it occupied 15th position)[9], which cannot be explained by the experience of a colonial past.[10]

Such examples might lead to the question whether the colonial past was really a factor leading to state dysfunctionality of African states. Among the counterarguments one may find the issue of population growth. As one of the main obstacles that hindered the development of Africa in pre-colonial times, a small number of inhabitants in relation to the size of the area is often indicated. It was not until the colonial times that a demographic explosion was recorded, mainly as a result of progress in the field of agriculture (such as the introduction of new edible plants), medicine (e.g. mass vaccination, use of antibiotics) or some basic education. As a consequence, over the years 1950-1999, the population of the African continent increased almost 3.5 times (from 221 to 767 million). According to some researchers, an increase in population number was one of the factors leading to the process of decolonization, as well as the main

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[7]    R. Kłosowicz, „Państwa dysfunkcyjne w Afryce Subsaharyjskiej", in R. Kłosowicz (ed.), *Państwa dysfunkcyjne i międzynarodowe wysiłki zmierzające do ich naprawy*, Kraków 2014, pp. 15-16, 18-19; D. Kopiński, „O wpływie wieloetniczności na rozwój gospodarczy w Afryce Subsaharyjskiej", *Afryka. Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Afrykanistycznego*, no. 27 (2008), pp. 41-44; R. Blanton, T.D. Mason, B. Athow, „Colonial Style and Post-Colonial Ethnic Conflict in Africa", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 38, no. 4 (2001), pp. 473-491; M.F. Gawrycki, A. Szeptycki, *Podporządkowanie – niedorozwój – wyobcowanie. Postkolonializm a stosunki międzynarodowe*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 170-171. For instance, Daniel N. Posner lists Angola among the ten most ethnically diverse African countries. D.N. Posner, "Measuring Ethnic Fractionalization in Africa", *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 48, no. 4 (2004), p. 857.

[8]    Beside the economic issues, in this matter former British colonies seemed to cope better (at least at first) with their newly gained independence. The degree of preparation and education of the local elites was definitely higher what was the consequence of so-called *indirect rule* that required the education of lower administrative staff. R. Kłosowicz, *Konteksty dysfunkcyjności państw Afryki Subsaharyjskiej*, Kraków 2017, pp. 146-147.

[9]    "Fragile States Index – Country Dashboard", *The Fund for Peace*, at <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/country-data/>, 15 September 2018.

[10]    R. Kłosowicz, „Państwa dysfunkcyjne w Afryce...", pp. 17-18.

driver of changes in Africa. On the eve of independence, 60 per cent of the inhabitants of the colonies were very young people (under 15 years of age). A decade earlier – in the 1950s, the most active members of nationalist movements were not much older (30 per cent of them were between 15-24 years old). Peace and internal security, mortality decline, better nutrition, modern European medicine, shorter intervals between consecutive births, etc. have resulted in huge demographic progress. On the other hand, the situation in which the birthrate became higher than the economic growth led to a constantly deepening poverty of the inhabitants of the colonies/newly independent states.[11] It was no different in the case of territories belonging to Portugal – a state that initiated the conquest of Africa.

Lusophone Africa consists of states that were formerly Portuguese colonial territories. Two of them (Cabo Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe)[12] are island-nations and they will be excluded from this study. The island nation states have their own specificities. Although historical factors are not without importance for the development of their statehood, it seems that geographical factors, together with their very small populations make their situation quite different from the continental Luso-African states. Moreover, in almost all the rankings of dysfunctional states, the Luso-African island states occupy better positions than the rest of Luso-Africa.[13] Luso-African continental states (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau)[14] have quite a similar historical experience, not only the difficult and long war for independence, but also lack of political stability in the postcolonial period (civil wars, coups d'état, experiments with socialism and one-party system). Some of them, such as one-party system or coup d'état attempts, have been also experienced by Luso-African island nations, however, in general it is thought that these states enjoyed greater political and social stability than the rest of Luso-Africa. In their independent history they also managed to avoid civil wars that devasted the economy and social relations in Angola and Mozambique (and to lesser extent also in Guinea-Bissau).

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[11]    A. Kosidło, „Kolonializm w Afryce – próba bilansu", *Olsztyńskie Studia Afrykanistyczne*, vol. 2 (2011), pp. 36-37; P. Collier, J.W. Gunning, "Why Has Africa Grown Slowly?", *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 13, no. 3 (1999), p. 15.

[12]    Formally Republic of Cabo Verde and Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe.

[13]    In "Fragile States Index 2018": Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe occupied 92nd position, while Republic of Cabo Verde 110th. In the same edition of the FSI Angola was classified on 33rd, Mozambique on 36th and the Guinea-Bissau on 16th. "Fragile States Index 2018", *The Fund for Peace*, at <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/data/>, 1 September 2018.

[14]    Officially there is one more Lusophone country in Africa – Guinea Equatorial. Although it was a Portuguese colony just from 1472 to 1778 and its contact with the former metropolis was rather limited, in 2010 its government adopted Portuguese as one of the official languages (next to Spanish and French). The reason behind it was to enter Community of Portuguese Language Countries (*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa,* CPLP), which Guinea Equatorial finally did in 2014, and attained some political goals. Thereby the author does not consider Guinea Equatorial a Luso-African country. In her opinion "Luso-African" means not only being a Portuguese colony in the past but also continuing the use of Portuguese as an official language, as well as the visible existence of some elements of Portuguese culture that remained incorporated in the local culture long after the end of the colonial period.

The article is an attempt to reflect on the hypothesis that the Portuguese colonial legacy can be perceived as a historical factor leading to state dysfunctionality, however its evaluation should be more complex, as from today's perspective it could bring some benefits for further development of Luso-African states. These possibilities, which are not always used to the extent they could have been, are derived most of all from the common official language, similar historical experience and some sense of the Luso-African or Lusophone identity. The paper is based on the qualitative analysis of the already existing data (available statistics, the press, and official documents), critical reading of the literature of the subject, as well as qualitative data gathered during study visits to Portugal (2010-2015), Mozambique (2015) and Guinea-Bissau (2016) in the form of participant observation, interviews, and informal talks.

## PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

The presence of the Portuguese on the African continent dates back to the conquest of Ceuta in 1415. Then Portugal marked her presence in West Africa – one of the first permanent Portuguese settlements in this area was São Jorge da Mina (today's Ghanaian port city of Elmina), founded in 1482. In the 16th century Portuguese possessions extended from the coast of today's Morocco through the shores of present-day Angola and those of East Africa.[15] Together with the Portuguese came also Christianity. For example, in the Kingdom of Kongo (the territory of today's northern Angola, the Republic of the Congo and partly of the DRC) several thousand people converted to Christianity, including the royal family.[16] However, the most infamous card in the colonial period was definitely the development of the Atlantic slave trade, in which the Portuguese also played the role of pioneers. They had been involved in this practice since the mid-15th century. For the most part, African slaves were exported to the territory of Brazil – Portuguese colony in America, although in the earlier period they had also been sent to Spanish colonies on the American continent (nearly 600,000).[17] Initially, the Atlantic slave trade route led to the New World from West Africa, where the main slave trading centers were port of Cacheu in present-day Guinea-Bissau and the islands of Santiago (now belonging to Cabo Verde) and São Tomé island (now part of the Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe).[18] Later, the latter became the main transshipment hub port for slaves imported from the territories of present-day Angola. It is estimated that from the territory of Angola itself, which gained the nickname "the Black Mother" (*Mãe Negra*), between two and three

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[15]    R. Kłosowicz, „Państwa dysfunkcyjne w Afryce...", pp. 16.

[16]    R. Oliver, A. Atmore, *Dzieje Afryki po 1800 roku* (Africa since 1800), transl. K. Salawa, Warszawa 2007, p. 39. In preserved correspondence between the royal court in Lisbon and the court of the Congolese ruler, the latter is, moreover, treated as equal to the king of Portugal. Ibid., p. 39.

[17]    Especially in the years 1580-1640 – during the union of the Spanish Crown and the Portuguese Crown.

[18]    The very first port used by the Portuguese in the slave trade was the previously mentioned São Jorge da Mina (Elmina).

million Africans were taken away (some estimates mention even four million). It explains the very small, for such a large territory, population that inhabited this colony in the early 20th century.[19] To understand the importance of the Atlantic slave trade for Portugal, it is worth to bear in mind that as late as in 1820 slave trade brought Portugal 85 per cent of all government revenues from the colonies[20].

In the first centuries of colonization, however, the overseas possessions were not a place of settlement for the Portuguese people. The situation began to change in the period of Scramble for Africa (1884/1885-1914). The authorities in Lisbon started gradually encouraging Portuguese people to leave the country and establish farms in the interior of the colonies[21]. This "departure from the coast" by supporting inland colonization was dictated by the desire to enforce the actual territorial authority over the claimed colonial possessions, which until now were not fully controlled. It was also important to try to solve the economic and demographic problems of the metropolis itself. A Portuguese settler, in the area he occupied, was in fact a one-man colonial company: he collected taxes, enforced law, recruited workers, and created his own security forces.[22] That was the order of things in the largest Portuguese continental colonies in Africa: Angola and Mozambique, the situation was different in Guinea-Bissau. Although the Portuguese arrived there early – in 1446 – they remained on the coast for years, without venturing inland. Moreover, until 1879 the territory of present Guinea-Bissau was jointly administered together with the neighboring colony of Cabo Verde.[23] The authorities in Lisbon did not really control the territory of Guinea-Bissau, hence, at the beginning of the 20th century, they conducted numerous military campaigns aimed at changing this state of affairs. In 1915 they finally managed to control the Bissau-Guinean mainland (since 1879 known as Portuguese Guinea), but it took three more military operations in 1917, 1925 and 1936 to take under control the islands of Bijagós. Portuguese desire to control whole territory of the colony did not result in

[19]    L.A. Newson, S. Minchin, *From Capture to Sale: The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early Seventeenth Century*, Leiden–Boston 2007, pp. 1-4; P.E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, Cambridge 2012, pp. 36-38; D. Wheeler, R. Pélissier, *História de Angola* (Angola), trans. P.G. Serras Pereira, P. Almeida, Lisboa 2011, p. 73.

[20]    R. Kłosowicz, *Konteksty dysfunkcyjności...*, p. 141.

[21]    See more: R.J. Hammond, *Portugal and Africa 1815-1910: A Study in Uneconomic Imperialism*, Stanford, CA 1966.

[22]    R. Oliver, A. Atmore, *Dzieje Afryki po 1800 roku...*, p. 180.

[23]    Both then and in later years, Cape Verdeans (and not white Portuguese) were playing the role of the Bissau-Guinean elite. The population of the Cape Verde Islands in its majority was mixed-race and it enjoyed much greater favor of colonizers. This will arouse – especially in later years – Bissau-Guinean resentments. It is worth noting, however, that the above-mentioned better treatment by the Portuguese was often devoid of tangible benefits. The area of the Cape Verde islands is particularly vulnerable to drought, which in the past also caused famines. In the first half of the twentieth century in the years 1901-1904, 1920-1921, 1941-1943 and 1947-48 they cost the lives of tens of thousands of people. Colonial authorities did virtually nothing to prevent or reduce this tragedy. K.D. Paterson, "Epidemics, Famines, and Population in the Cape Verde Islands, 1580-1900", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2 (1988), p. 291.

its economic and social development. The transport infrastructure was very poor and practically no investment in any field of the colony's economy was made. The colonial authorities did not provide to its inhabitants even the most basic public services, Guinea was the most neglected and underfinanced Portuguese colony in Africa.[24] As Gavin Williams points out, it is difficult to understand what the Portuguese could do in Guinea-Bissau, besides defending their credibility as a colonial power, then it may still be surprising that they defended it so fiercely (the national liberation war lasted long 11 years, 1963-1974, and during the fighting they went to such extreme measures as using napalm and defoliants).[25]

The Portuguese were not much interested in improving the living conditions of the indigenous population of the colonies – scarce investment in health care or education that would include the African inhabitants of the territories had been made. Similarly as in other colonial entities, these issues were often left to Christian missions or to private philanthropists. Even some tasks of the State, in order to minimize expenses, were passed on to private licensed companies.[26] A good example is the Mozambique Company (*Companhia de Moçambique*), which operated in the central provinces of today's Mozambique. Established in 1891 with the headquarters in the city of Beira, it was a commercial venture not only with Portuguese but also with British, German and French capital. In return for 7.5 per cent of profits from the income, it was granted a 50-year license from the Portuguese government. In the area of its activity it maintained its own administration, postal service and currency; it also had the right to recruit its own officials and police forces.[27]

For decades, no preparatory steps had been taken to transfer power to Africans in the future. The authorities in Lisbon did not suppose that the process of decolonization would be so rapidly accelerated as a result of the Carnation Revolution.[28] However, before that happened, in May 1926, the First Portuguese Republic was overthrown as a result of coup d'état. Six years later, António de Oliveira Salazar came to power. In

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[24]   P.K. Mendy, "Portugal's Civilizing Mission in Colonial Guinea-Bissau: Rhetoric and Reality", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 36, no. 1 (2003), pp. 37-39, 41-45, 48.

[25]   G. Williams, "Nationalisms, Nations & States: Concluding Reflections", in E. Morier-Genoud (ed.), *Sure Road? Nationalisms in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique*, Leiden 2012, p. 244. In fact the Guinea-Bissau War of Independence was commonly known as „Portugal's Vietnam". Comparing the national liberation war in Guinea-Bissau to what the Vietnam War is for Americans, was due not only because of the use of napalm and phosphorus bombs or torture and executions in combating the national population, as well as its forced resettlement, but also as a synonym of a prolonged and bloody conflict. P.K. Mendy, "Portugal's civilizing Mission ...", p. 57.

[26]   R. Kłosowicz, *Konteksty dysfunkcyjności...*, p. 143. The colonial rule in Africa was supposed to be cheap for the European taxpayers. For example, in the British doctrine the colonies were intended to be fiscally self-supporting. G. Austin, "African Economic Development and Colonial Legacies", *International Development Policy / Revue internationale de politique de développement*, no. 1 (2010), 11 March 2010, at <https://journals.openedition.org/poldev/78?lang=es>, 25 September 2018.

[27]   E. Allina, *Slavery By Any Other Name: African Life under Company Rule in Colonial Mozambique*, Charlottesville–London 2012, pp. 2-25.

[28]   T.J. Moss, *African Development. Making Sense of the Issues and Actors*, Boulder, CO/London 2011, p. 25.

1933 he introduced a one-party, right-wing, authoritarian regime (by some historians even described as fascist) called *Estado Novo* ("the New State"), the end of which will be put by the Carnation Revolution of April 25, 1974.[29] The change of government in Lisbon had an obvious impact on colonial policy. A few years before the establishment of *Estado Novo*, in the period after the coup of 1926 called *Ditadura Nacional* ("the National Dictatorship", 1926-1933), the Colonial Act (*Ato Colonial*, 1930) was adopted, as a result Portugal's former "overseas possessions" were transformed into provinces of the Portuguese state, thus becoming its integral part.[30]

Portugal itself was one of the poorest European countries, and certainly the poorest colonial power. Its industry was underdeveloped, and the standard of living was not much higher than in some African territories. Having colonies was crucial for its economic existence. During his rule (1932-1968) Salazar fueled Portugal's attachment to colonial possessions, playing on the national pride and recalling the glorious pages of Portuguese history. At the end of the 1960s, more than 250,000 Portuguese colonists lived in Angola, and other 130,000 in Mozambique. The acceleration took over after the Second World War, especially in the 1950s. In Angola, the number of white settlers increased from 44,000 in 1940 to about 325,000 in 1974. Considering the then socio-economic underdevelopment of Portugal itself, newcomers from the metropolis were mostly poorly educated (in the case of the Portuguese that arrived in Angola – more than half of them had never gone to school, and the majority of the rest had only four primary school classes completed), nevertheless, in the African colonies, the best jobs and the most fertile farmland were waiting for them – this caused considerable dissatisfaction especially to the local mixed-race elites.[31]

## LUSOTROPICALISM

Apparently, life in Portuguese colonies in Africa (especially Angola and Mozambique) looked quite idyllic for white settlers. While in the rest of the continent at the end of the 1950s and at the beginning of the 1960s of the 20th century the anti-colonial struggle was culminating, in the Portuguese colonies it was still relatively calm. In Angola, the cultivation of coffee flourished, oil was just discovered,[32] with a promise of great-

[29]   Portuguese authoritarianism additionally radicalized around 1936 in reaction to the events in neighboring Spain. As long as the victory of troops loyal to General Franco was not final, the regime in Lisbon looked with concern at the conflict taking place near its borders. T. Gallagher, *Portugal: A Twentieth-Century Interpretation*, Manchester 1983, pp. 85-89.

[30]   A. Malaquias, *Rebels and Robbers. Violence in Post-Colonial Angola*, Uppsala 2007, p. 33.

[31]   R. Oliver, A. Atmore, *Dzieje Afryki po 1800...*, p. 304; A. Malaquias, *Rebels and Robbers...*, p. 35; J.M. Penvenne, "Settling against the Tide: The Layered Contradictions of the Twentieth-Century Portuguese Settlement in Mozambique", in C. Elkins, S. Pedersen (eds.), *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*, Abingdon–New York 2005, pp. 79-93.

[32]   Although the drilling for oil in Angola had been going on since 1915, the first commercial oil discovery (south of Luanda) took place in 1955. One year later the field went on production. T. Koning,

er development of mining. Both Angola and Mozambique attracted foreign invest-
ments, and their cities: Luanda, Lourenço Marques (today's Maputo), Beira, Lobito,
and Benguela, were the most modern African cities at the time. In 1960 Luanda be-
came even the third largest "Portuguese" city, after Lisbon and Porto[33]. In addition, in
the service of the Portuguese empire, the theory of Lusotropicalism came in. In a sci-
entific way (or pseudo-scientific, as some want) it was defending Portuguese colonial-
ism. Its author, a Brazilian sociologist and anthropologist, Gilberto Freyre, in the 1930s
published two books (*Casa grande e senzala* and *Sobrados e mucambos*), in which he
presented the origin of the Brazilian society and the role of the Portuguese colonizers.
Freyre emphasized the role of black people in shaping Brazilian society and drew atten-
tion to the specificity of Portuguese colonialism. In his opinion, for the Portuguese as
a nation that comes from the tropics itself (he indicated that the climate of Portugal is
close to tropical one), it was easier to acclimatize and adapt to the conditions in the col-
onies, what is more, according to Freyre, they were devoid of racial prejudice and they
had a unique tendency to miscegenation. Freyre also compared the Portuguese coloniz-
ers with British or French ones, and these comparisons came out in favor of the former.
Already in the 1930s, Lusotropicalism theory appealed to Portuguese intellectuals, and
in the academic year 1937-1938 its author held a series of lectures in Portugal. The the-
ory was recognized by senior state officials who convinced Salazar that it was the ideal
ideological foundation for Portuguese colonial policy. As a consequence, Lusotropi-
calism was popularized among broader social masses,[34] justifying the need to maintain
the colonial empire and intensify colonization efforts. According to this theory, Por-
tuguese colonizers were better than the colonizers of other colonial powers, because
they were devoid of racism.[35] Such visions aroused national pride and strengthened
the attachment of the Portuguese to colonial possessions that were already treated as
an integral part of the state.[36] Lusotropicalism has become a Portuguese version of the

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"Milestones in Angola's Oil History", *GEOExPro*, vol. 9, no. 3 (2012), at <https://www.geoexpro.com/articles/2012/10/milestones-in-angola-s-oil-history>, 22 June 2018.

[33] M. Meredith, *Historia współczesnej Afryki...*, pp. 130-131.

[34] Including the reports written by Gilberto Freyre during his tour of Portuguese colonies funded by the Portuguese government. His publications in his servile tone towards the Salazar state constitute a kind of paradox of Lusotropicalism, of which Wojciech Charchalis wrote as follows: *"[...] the theory of Lu-sotropicalism was created in the 1930s in order to ennoble former slaves and recognize their contribution to the development of Brazilian culture and society, and less than 20 years later, its creator allowed to entrust himself, his authority and his thoughts in service of colonial oppression, to fight freedom aspirations of the countries of Black Africa. I do not want to believe that unconsciously [...]"*. W. Charchalis, „Luzotropika-lizm – dwa przypadki transatlantyckiej wymiany tej samej idei", in: J. Łapott , E. Prądzyńska (eds.), *Ex Africa semper aliquid novi*. vol. 1, Żory 2014, pp. 129, 131. (author's translation).

[35] Interestingly, such beliefs seem to be still alive in the Portuguese society. During her visits to Portu-gal since 2010, the author has heard such references in the informal talks with educated Portuguese people, indicating the distinction of Portuguese colonization from other European colonial powers' policy, and above all emphasizing the lack of racism among the Portuguese, which can be "proved" by numerous mixed relationships leading to miscegenation.

[36] W. Charchalis, „Luzotropikalizm – dwa przypadki...", pp. 126-131; G. Freyre, *Casa-grande e senzala*, São Paulo 2003, G. Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, São Paulo 2013 [electronic versions].

"White Man's burden" – a mission-of-civilization towards people at a lower level of development, perceived as a gift that Portuguese colonizers, devoid of prejudice, carry to colonized people, for example by entering into interracial sexual relations with them.[37]

In Portugal's policy towards its colonial possessions, however, there were fewer such clichés as those presented by the Lusotropicalism theory. In the light of the most important colonial documents: *Estatuto Político, Social e Criminal dos Indígenas de Angola e Moçambique* (1926), *Ato Colonial* (1930)[38], *Carta Orgânica do Império Colonial Português e Reforma Administrativa Ultramarina* (1933), and *Estatuto dos Indígenas Portugueses das Províncias da Guiné, Angola e Moçambique* (1954) the indigenous population of the colony did not have in fact any public rights, but instead it could be forced to work on various types of public utility projects, such as the construction of a road or a bridge, in the form of so-called *contratados* ("contractors"). There was also a category of *assimilado* ("assimilated") – a Europeanized native who lived according to the social rules of the colonizer.[39] Until the early 1960s, a native who wanted to receive such a status had to demonstrate an excellent knowledge of Portuguese language in speech and writing, have a certain income, submit a number of documents and certificates, as well as pay the stamp duty.[40] Even though such a candidate obtained Portuguese citizenship, he was not equal to white Portuguese citizens, even if they were the poorest illiterates. Furthermore, an *assimilado* always had to carry an identity card with him to be able to "prove his citizenship". He was paid less than a white settler in the same position, and in socio-cultural matters it was somewhat "required" from him to distance himself from the local community. According to the 1950 census,[41] there were about 30,000 *assimilados* in Angola, while in Mozambique there were less than five thousand of them.[42] As it can be noted, the system introduced by the Portuguese did not have, in fact, so much in common with all these grandiloquent slogans of 'predestination to colonialism' and 'better colonizers' embedded in the theory of Lusotropicalism.

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[37]    P. Duara, *Between Empire and Nation: Settler Colonialism in Manchukuo*, in C. Elkins, S. Pedersen (eds.), *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*, Abingdon–New York 2005, pp. 70-71.

[38]    The Colonial Act – already mentioned earlier.

[39]    W. Charchalis, „Luzotropikalizm – dwa przypadki...", pp. 125-126; M.P.G. Meneses, "O 'indígena' africano e o colono 'europeu': a construção da diferença por processos legais", *e-cadernos CES,* no. 7 (2010): Identidades, cidadanias e Estado, at <https://www.ces.uc.pt/myces/UserFiles/livros/693_04%2520-%2520Paula%2520Meneses%252023_06.pdf>, 18 October 2018.

[40]    Peter K. Mendy among the requirements for the *assimilados* in Guinea-Bissau also indicates a certificate of "good behavior" issued by the authorities of a district inhabited by a person applying for such a status. The number of *assimilados* in Guinea-Bissau was small, and even among them, despite all the requirements, there were illiterates. At the dawn of the struggle for independence in 1963, only 14 people (including Amílcar Cabral – the father of the Bissau-Guinean and Cape Verdean independence) had a higher education degree. P.K. Mendy, "Portugal's Civilizing Mission...", pp. 42-43, 57.

[41]    In the 1960 census this information was not included.

[42]    W. Minter, *Portuguese Africa and the West*, London/New York 1973, pp. 19-21.

## DIFFICULT PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION

As Patrick Chabal points it out, by 1960s, mainly due to UN pressure, Portugal had introduced some 'cosmetic' changes in its colonial administration but in reality Portuguese colonial rule was the same as in the 1930s.[43] The Year of Africa (1960) somehow missed the Portuguese territories, however, this fact did not pass unnoticed. The independence processes in other parts of the African continent became a catalyst for accelerating the outbreak of anti-colonial struggles in Luso-Africa. First, there was an uprising that broke out in Angola in 1961 and in the following years it transformed into multifaction war for independence. In 1963 war of independence started in Guinea-Bissau, although the beginning of the struggle can be trace back to 1959 and the Pidjiguiti massacre when the colonial forces violently suppressed the strike of dock workers.[44] In 1964 the fighting started in Mozambique. The end to all conflicts has been brought by the already mentioned Carnation Revolution that took place in Lisbon 25 April 1974. As a consequence of the events in Portugal, almost immediately, the independence to Portuguese colonial territories in Africa was granted. First to obtain it was Guinea-Bissau – on 10 September 1974, then a year later Mozambique (25 June 1975) and Angola (11 November 1975).[45]

In the case of Guinea-Bissau, despite the bloody war on the territory of the colony (officially the anti-colonial struggle was a joint effort: Bissauan-Cape Verdean, however, the fighting was taking place on the territory of Portuguese Guinea), granting independence was the least demanding from the point of view of the Portuguese – the colony was deprived of natural resources and infrastructure, and because of the ongoing conflict became highly problematic. In this situation Guinea-Bissau was in fact in some sense abandoned. It was so much easier as the independence fight was led only by one nationalist movement – the African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde (*Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde*, PAIGC), which was handed power after the end of the conflict. The situation was similar in the case of Mozambique, where in practice, until the independence was granted on 25 June 1975, the only opposition party to the colonial power was the Mozambique Liberation Front (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*, FRELIMO). However, it did not protect Mozambique from falling into another conflict just after becoming independent, this time a civil war which ideologically became a part of the ongoing Cold War. The opponent of FRELIMO in this conflict was the Mozambican National Resistance (*Resistência Nacional Moçambicana*, RENAMO), supported by Rhodesia and later by apartheid South Africa as an anti-communist force.[46] The situation in Angola was even more

[43]    P. Chabal, „National Liberation in Portuguese Guinea, 1956-1974", *African Affairs*, vol. 80, no. 318 (1981), p. 77.

[44]    Ibid., p. 80-81; D. Wheeler, R. Pélissier, *História de Angola...*, pp. 249-273;

[45]    M. Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, London 2009, pp. 523-527; 535-540.

[46]    Most authors (including the expert on RENAMO – Alex Vines) have no doubt that the group was

complicated, at the dawn of independence there were in fact four political-military groups: the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (*Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola*, MPLA), the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (*União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola*, UNITA), the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (*Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola*, FNLA) and, regarding Cabinda province, the Front for Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (*Frente para a Libertação do Enclave de Cabinda*, FLEC).[47] In spite of longer negotiations over the transfer of power than in other Portuguese colonies, concluded by the Alvor Agreement (10 January 1975), which guaranteed Angola's independence along with the province of Cabinda, a civil war broke out shortly after independence. In the course of the conflict the two main and largest opponents were MPLA and UNITA. The latter presented itself as "truly African", which coincided with the concept of *négritude*, to which its leader, Jonas Savimbi, himself referred to. UNITA presented the so-called black nationalism and in its ranks predominated the ethnic group of Ovimbundu. The

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founded by the Rhodesian intelligence – Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) with the support of South Africa, which later took over financing of the movement. However, Mary Kaldor in her book *New & Old Wars. Organized Violence in a Global Era* mentions the Portuguese special forces as the ones responsible for the foundation of RENAMO. A. Vines, "Renamo's Rise and Decline: The Politics of Reintegration in Mozambique", *International Peacekeeping,* vol. 20, issue 3 (2013), p. 376; M. Kaldor, *New & Old Wars. Organized Violence in a Global Era*, Cambridge 2009, p. 99; See more: G. Morgan, "Violence in Mozambique: Towards an Understanding of RENAMO", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 28, issue 4 (December 1990), pp. 603-619.

Portuguese agents were also suspected to stand behind the murder of Amílcar Cabral (20 January 1973) in the capital of Guinea – Conakry, where PAIGC had its headquarters in exile. Officially the long knife was Innocente Camil, former commander of the independence movement's Navy, however, in the declassified US documents from this period, the responsibility is attributed to the Portuguese secret services. M.F. Gawrycki, J. Kurowska, „"Internacjonalistyczne" misje Hawany"*,* in M.F. Gawrycki, W. Lizak (eds.), *Kuba i Afryka. Sojusz dla rewolucji,* Warszawa 2006, pp. 315-318; *Portuguese Guinea: the PAIGC after Cabral*, United States of America Department of State, 1.02.1973, Declassified PA/HO Department of State E.O. 12958, as amended 4 May 2006, at <http://2001-2009.state.gov/documents/organization/67534.pdf>, 17 July 2015.

47    FLEC's independence claims are based on the assumption that Cabinda has never really been part of Angola. It has no geographical border with Angola, although the essence of this argument lies in the fact that it was a separate Portuguese colony, which gives it and its populace the right to independence. The territory of Cabinda became the Portuguese protectorate under the Treaty of Simulambuco, signed in 1885 during the Berlin conference. Cabinda was recognized as a "protectorate" with special privileges (while Angola had the status of a full colony at that time), and since 1900 it was known as the Portuguese Congo. In the Charter published in 1996, the self-proclaimed government of the Republic of Cabinda gives two further arguments. First, it points out that Cabinda was considered to be separate from Angola in the Portuguese constitution of 1933, and secondly, that in 1964 the Organization of African Unity recognized this territory as a territory separate from Angola, which must be decolonized. On the other hand, when it turned out that Cabinda had oil deposits, in 1956 Portugal without hesitation decided to break the Treaty of Simulambuco and make Cabinda a full-fledged province within the colony of Angola. P.D. Williams, *War and Conflict in Africa,* Cambridge/Malden, MA 2011, pp. 104-105; C.I. Denhez, "Independence or Autonomy: The Right to Self-Determination in the Enclave of Cabinda", *Carleton Review of International Affairs*, vol. 1 (2009), p. 38; J.M. Mabeko-Tali, "Entre économie rentière et violence politico-militaire. La question cabindaise et le processus de paix angolais", *Politique africaine*, no. 110 (2008), pp. 65-66.

main support base for UNITA was the population living in southern and central Angola, mainly rural areas. UNITA's biggest antagonist – MPLA was mostly popular in the north-western part of the country, especially in the district of the capital Luanda and the coast, among the mixed race population (*mestiços*) and the Ambundu people, but also white Angolans. The political divisions of Angolans, conditioned by the origin from a specific region of the country and ethnic identity, in practice dates back to the colonial times. In the late 15th century Portuguese merchants came to the shores of today's Angola and contrary to what one might think, they were not always willing to pay taxes to the Portuguese crown. Instead, they preferred to act on their own, enriching themselves with the slave trade. Settling in this territory, they mixed with the native population, creating a new "ethnic group" – the already mentioned *mestiços*. At the end of the 19th century when Lisbon was finally in real control of those territories and due to the ban on slave trade enforced by the British, they switched to trade in other goods: wax, rubber and ivory. This Euro-African social group, acting as a kind of intermediary between the authorities in Lisbon and the local population, enjoyed a prosperous life and high social status. The situation changed after Second World War, when the Portuguese government began to encourage hundreds thousands of its citizens to emigrate to Africa. Although they were mostly poorly educated and without any qualifications after their arrival they were taking the jobs previously occupied almost exclusively by *mestiços*. Suddenly the old and rich mixed-race families from the coast, such as Dos Passos, Dos Santos, or De Matos were alienated by the new 'racial' metropolitan policy, which recognized the colonies as a vital part of Portugal, which, like the rest of the country, should be managed from Lisbon. The wealthy Euro-African coastal families, deprived in fact of a different option, turned to the only group that wanted and was able to help them – the Portuguese Communist Party (*Partido Comunista Português*, PCP). In this way MPLA was born – founded by the bourgeoisie from the coast, which was enriched by the slave trade.[48]

Together with the war for independence this protracted conflict situation in Angola lasted for forty years. We can distinguish at least three phases – an anti-colonial one (Angolan War of Independence, 1961-1974)[49], a Cold War phase (1975-1991)[50] and a war for raw materials – oil and diamonds (1992-2002). The end of the conflict was possible only after the death of a long-time leader of the UNITA Jonas Savimbi in 2002. It is estimated that this multistage armed conflict cost the lives of around one

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[48]   J.A. Marcum, "UNITA: The Politics of Survival", in H. Kitchen (ed.), *Angola, Mozambique and the West*, New York 1987, pp. 8-11; R. Dowden, *A tick bigger than the dog: Angola*, in *Africa: Altered States, Ordinary Miracles*, London 2009, pp. 203-207.

[49]   The ceasefire was signed on 25 April 1974. The Independence was granted to Angolan people over a year later.

[50]   Its declining phase began with the signing of the Bicesse Accords (*Acordos de Bicesse*) on 31 May 1991, which introduced multiparty democracy in Angola. However, UNITA rejected the results of the 1992 general elections and resumed fighting. The Bicesse Accords were finally reaffirmed by the Lusaka Protocol (*Protocolo de Lusaka*) of November 20, 1994 that was supposed to start a process of national reconciliation, but in fact it did not end the conflict.

million people (some estimates say 1.5 million), and a further four million (or more) Angolans had to leave their homes, becoming refugees or internally displaced persons (IDPs).[51] The results of the turmoil of war and the associated damage were also infrastructure deficiencies. A good example is the Benguela railway line (*Caminho de Ferro de Benguela*, CFB), which connected the port of Lobito on the Atlantic coast with the city of Luau, located at the border with today's Democratic Republic of the Congo. Its construction began in 1903, and 26 years later, in 1929, a 1344-kilometer long traction crossed Angola latitudinally in half. In 1983, the Benguela railway ceased to function, and in 2002, from the mentioned 1344 km of tracks, only a 30-kilometer section along the Angolan coast remained in use.[52] It cannot be also forgotten that the colonial infrastructure was often destroyed by the so-called *retornados* – the Portuguese settlers in panic leaving the former colony in 1975 (similar was the case in Mozambique). They not only deprived the newly formed states of most competent human capital, but also took away all kinds of goods that were able to move, while destroying all that was impossible to take with them.[53]

Similarly as in the Angolan case, the Mozambican civil war became a theater of Cold War operations and prolonged implementation of the hegemonic policy of a regional leader – South Africa. After the Carnation Revolution the white South African government began to look for a new idea regarding its regional policy. Until then, colonial Angola and Mozambique or white Rhodesia had been seen as "a sanitary cordon" that separated South Africa from the rest of "black Africa", perceived as instable and

[51]    D. Jankowski, „Konflikt w Angoli. Historia, geopolityka, wyzwania na przyszłość", *Biuletyn Opinie*, no. 37 (2009), at <http://fae.pl/biuletynopiniekonfliktwangolihistoriaterazniejszoscprzyszlosc.pdf>, 2 January 2012; W.M. James, *Historical dictionary of Angola,* Lanham, MD 2011, pp. 64-65, 129.

[52]    However, it must be admitted that after the civil war the Angolan authorities have made some efforts regarding this issue and in 2015 the entire line was officially put into use. It cost 161 billion euros (including 4.5 million euro for the mine clearing of the land where the railway tracks go by) and the entire work was carried out by the Chinese company China Railway Construction Corporation (CRCC). G. Mills, "From confusão to estamos juntos? Bigness, development and state dysfunction in Angola", in C. Clapham, J. Herbst, G. Mills (eds.), *Big African States*, Johannesburg 2009, pp. 130-131; *Desminar o novo Caminho-de-Ferro de Benguela custou mais de 4,5 milhões de euros*, Agência Lusa, *Observador*, 13 February 2015, at <http://observador.pt/2015/02/13/desminar-o-novo-caminho-de-ferro-de-benguela-custou-mais-de-45-milhoes-de-euros/>, 23 July 2015.

[53]    The journalist of *Los Angeles Times*, who regularly commented on the situation in Angola, wrote at the time about 750,000 Portuguese leaving Angola (perhaps the number itself was inflated), taking with them literally everything: telephones, telephone lines, taps, typewriters, or melting coins for silver. In later years in Luanda and other major cities in Angola there was a strong conviction that if there is no water in the taps, it is not the fault of the municipal office dealing with waterworks or the lack of properly trained plumbers, but the Portuguese who took all the plans of waterworks with them and they did not want to give them back until the Portuguese company was hired to preserve the waterworks system. D. Lamb, "Only the skyline remains. Angolan prosperity fades", *The Stanford Daily*, May 20, 1980, vol. 177, no. 61, [reprinted from the *Los Angeles Times*], at <http://stanforddailyarchive.com/cgi-bin/stanford?a=d&d = stanford19800520-01.2.9 & e = ------- en-20--1 – txt-tx-IN ------- #>, 5 September 2015; S. Kraft, "Legacy of Spite: Ex-Colonies Give Portugal the Blame", *Los Angeles Times*, 23 May 1989, at <http://articles.latimes.com/1989-05-23/news/mn-682_1_portuguese- south-africa-angola-and-mozambique>, 5 September 2016.

a security threat. Such a safety buffer was an important element of the regional security policy for the regime in Pretoria. However, after the withdrawal of the Portuguese, it de facto ceased to exist. The increasingly weak position of Ian Smith's government seemed to determine the fate of Rhodesia, hence South Africa decided on the necessity of both direct (Angola) and indirect (Mozambique) interventions in the region. South Africa's involvement was also related to its own internal problems concerning the activity of SWAPO (South West African People's Organization) in South-West Africa and the African National Congress (ANC) within its own national territory. In both cases, the militants of these groups sought help and shelter in the territories of Angola and Mozambique respectively.[54]

Over 15-year civil war was also devastating to Mozambique – it is estimated that 100,000 Mozambicans died as a result of hostilities, and another million because of its indirect consequences (hunger, lack of access to health care etc.). The warfare of both sides of the conflict was not devoid of brutality, however, it should be remembered that to a large extent, the war escalation of violence was the consequence of RENAMO's military strategy, based on kidnapping, plundering, mutilation of civilians and the use of child soldiers.[55] However, the use of soldiers under 18 or even 14 years old was present in both RENAMO militias and the FRELIMO government forces. The figures indicate that during the demobilization period after the end of the civil war, 23.3% of all FRELIMO soldiers (over 16 and half thousand) were under 18 years old. Among RENAMO soldiers, the rate of minors was twice as high and amounted to 40.7%, which was about 9 thousand, as the RENAMO's forces were less numerous. In order to ensure their loyalty, the children were often forced to murder their own families, so as to completely deprive them of the possibility of returning to their previous life.[56] The RENAMO militias excelled in the violence against civilians: bullying, torture, rape and a scorched-earth policy were a planned war strategy.[57] The immediate goal of these activities was to instill an overwhelming fear. Testimonies of the victims give a full sense

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[54]  M. Meredith, *Historia współczesnej Afryki...,* pp. 290-291; H. Campbell, "The Military Defeat of the South Africans in Angola", *Monthly Review. An Independent Socialist Magazine*, vol. 64, no. 11 (2013), at <http://monthlyreview.org/2013/04/01/the-military-defeat-of-the-south-africans-in-angola/>, 2 September 2015; P. Chabal, "Angola and Mozambique: The Weight of History", *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 17 (2001), pp. 216-232; see more: S. Funada-Classen, *The Origins of War in Mozambique. A History of Unity and Division*, Somerset West 2013.

[55]  P. Domingues, "The Health Consequences of the Mozambique Civil War: an Anthropometric Approach", *Documents de Travail du Center d'Economie de la Sorbonne*, *CES Working Papers*, 2010.10, p. 8, at <ftp://mucri.univ-paris1.fr/pub/mse/CES2010/10010.pdf>, 1 October 2018; R. Oliver, A. Atmore, *Dzieje Afryki po 1800 roku...*, p. 416.

[56]  G. Seibert, "Mozambique, vagaries of violence and power in post-colonial", in J. Abbink, M. De Bruijn, K. Van Walraven (eds.), *Rethinking Resistance: Revolt and Violence in African History*, Leiden 2003, p. 255; M. Kaldor, *New & Old Wars...*, p. 99.

[57]  On the violence against civilians was also based *Gandira* – a forced labor system created by RENAMO, which consisted of four elements: 1) work in the field for the benefit of soldiers, 2) handing to soldiers part of the produced food and transporting it to the place they indicate, 3) transporting all other goods needed by soldiers, 4) sexual slavery of women. V. Igreja, *The Monkeys' Sworn Oath. Cultures of Engagement for Reconciliation and Healing in the Aftermath of the Civil War in Mozambique*,

of this phenomenon: forcing to kill members of their own family, unusual mutilation of both living and deceased, deliberate prolongation of dying in agony, forcing mothers to mutilate and kill their own children (mainly infants), rapes and other types of sexual violence.[58]

In comparison with the conflicts experienced by Angola and Mozambique, several months of civil war in Guinea-Bissau in 1998 seem to be a slightly significant event, and, above all, a short-lived episode. Nevertheless, the lack of a major internal conflict during the first decades of independence did not mean political or social stability: coups d'état, government crises, deepening economic collapse created in this tiny West African state a permanent post-conflict situation that would continue in the 21st century.[59]

## WHERE THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL LEGACY CAN LEAD A POST-COLONIAL STATE – THE CASE OF MOZAMBIQUE

From the perspective of complicated historical relations between Mozambique and the former metropolis, and in the situation of a constant inflow of young Portuguese economic emigration, it seems interesting to look closer at the perception of Portuguese colonial legacy through language policy implementation in Mozambique[60]. The Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique, adopted on 16 November 2004, in its article 10 states that the Portuguese language is the official language of the state, although already in the article 9 emphasizes that the state recognizes the value of national languages (native languages) as a cultural and educational heritage, it also has to take care of their development and dissemination as these languages express the Mozambican identity.[61] Nevertheless, according to the data collected during the census in 2007 only for 10.7 per cent of Mozambicans Portuguese language is the mother tongue (first language), another 50.4 per cent of respondents declared knowledge of the Portuguese language and its use as a second language. In turn, 85.3 per cent of Mozambicans pointed out as their mother tongue one of 20 Bantu languages spoken in Mozambique.[62] It is estimated that 99 per cent of the Mozambican society is able to communicate

PhD Thesis, Universiteit Leiden 2007, pp. 153-155, at <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/12089/ front.pdf ?sequence=6, 30>, June 2012.

[58] K.B. Wilson, "Cults of violence and counter-violence in Mozambique", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 18, no. 3 (1992), pp. 531, 533-535.

[59] See more: J. Mormul, „Historyczno-polityczne uwarunkowania kryzysów państwowości w Gwinei Bissau", *Afryka*, 46 (2017), pp. 41-71.

[60] On this subject, also see: J. Mormul, "Portugalskie dziedzictwo językowe i kulturowe w Mozambiku – bękart kolonializmu czy nadzieja na lepsze jutro?", in A. Żukowski (ed.), *Tradycja i nowoczesność w Afryce. Społeczeństwo – polityka – gospodarka*, Olsztyn 2017, pp. 99-118.

[61] *Constituição da República de Moçambique,* Presidência da República de Moçambique, at <http://www.presidencia.gov.mz/files/republica/constituicao_republica_moc.pdf>, 1 March 2017.

[62] F. Chimbutane, *Rethinking Bilingual Education in Postcolonial Contexts*, Bristol–Buffalo–Toronto 2011, p. 37.

in the Bantu languages (at least in one of them). Over the period 1983-2003, Portuguese was the only language in the state education system in Mozambique, although there were experiments with bilingual education, conducted by the National Institute for Education Development (*Instituto Nacional para o Desenvolvimento da Educação*, INDE). Since 2003, mother tongues have been included in formal primary education. The main argument is that most Mozambican children starting primary school do not know Portuguese, what results in their poor academic performance and reluctance to continue education. In 2008, there were already schools offering bilingual education in all ten provinces of Mozambique (although they were in the minority)[63]. The current system is transitional, its purpose is to help the development of bilingualism in students who do not know Portuguese when they start primary school education. Thus, it aims to increase the effectiveness of teaching in Portuguese through the initial socialization and literacy of the student in his native language.[64]

In order to understand the continuing dominance of the Portuguese language in Mozambican system of education, it is worth looking at the position of the Portuguese language through the prism of the young state's history. Already during the national liberation struggle FRELIMO chose Portuguese as the official language of a future independent Mozambique, seeing it as a factor that could unify the Mozambican society and reconcile the interests of various ethnic groups in the absence of a single African language whose users would constitute the vast majority of the country's population.[65] Paradoxically, as Wojciech Charchalis points out, the "Portugalisation" of Mozambique or Angola started with particular intensity with the withdrawal of the Portuguese and the independence of these territories. In the conditions of civil wars that have been going on since the mid-1970s, the multilingualism of Angola and Mozambique was a major communication problem, hence the use of the Portuguese language in contacts between representatives of different ethnic groups seemed quite natural and practical.[66]

This approach was also in line with the "philosophy" of the first president of the independent Mozambique – Samora Machel (1975-1986): "For the nation to live, the tribe must die" – he saw the greatest threat to the newly created state in its linguistic and religious diversity, hence any attempt to revive ethnic or language identity was

[63]    S. Patel, G. Chambo, F.F. Tembe, *Bilingual Education in Mozambique: Nowadays Situation*, Maputo–Mozambique 2008, at <http://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/Legacy/sitefiles/file/46/10824/mozambiquepresentation.pdf>, 25 September 2016.

[64]    E. Rzewuski, „Disce puer/puella linguam bantam... Reforma językowej polityki oświatowej w Mozambiku", in E. Rzewuski (ed.), *Języki, kultury i społeczeństwa Afryki w procesie przemian. Referaty sesji naukowej zorganizowanej w dniu 4 grudnia 2009 r. z okazji 40-lecia afrykanistyki w strukturach Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, Warszawa 2010, pp. 99-100.

[65]    A.J. Lopes, "The Language Situation in Mozambique", in R.B. Kaplan, R.B. Baldauf (eds.), *Language Planning in Malawi, Mozambique, and the Philippines*, Clevedon et alt. 1999, pp. 89-105. In the 2007 census among native languages users, the majority of respondents declared knowledge and use of the makua language (25.4%). F. Chimbutane, *Rethinking Bilingual Education...*, p. 37.

[66]    W. Charchalis, „Lusotropicalismo e lusofonia – dois projetos coloniais portugueses", in W. Charchalis, B. Trocha (eds.), *Mitologizacja kultury w polskiej i iberyjskiej twórczości artystycznej*, Zielona Góra 2015, p. 271.

perceived as an act of tribalism, what in Mozambique's socio-political conditions at the time was tantamount to a counterrevolutionary attitude. Moreover, in the period after independence, the propagation of the Portuguese language was also favored by internal migrations – from rural areas to cities, where even the basic knowledge of the language of former colonizers used to help in finding a job and adapting in a new environment.[67]

Thus, the question is how to evaluate initiatives aimed at strengthening the position of African languages in Mozambican society, e.g. including them in the state education system (traditionally Portuguese-speaking). Some view in them an attempt of linguistic decolonization. Although such initiatives enjoyed the support of the native population, in reality it sometimes happened that when parents could choose between a bilingual school (with an African language as one of the languages of instruction) and a monolingual school (where the only language of instruction was Portuguese), they chose the latter, seeing in Portuguese-language education a better future for their children and an open road to a career. Such behavior confirms the high status of the Portuguese language not only in the Mozambican system of education, but also in the society where language stigmatization by students and their parents is still visible. They have much less appreciation for native languages, although the fact that they are taught at school has been perceived positively. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that the teaching of the Portuguese language is equally positively perceived (both in the urban environment, in which Portuguese is traditionally more widespread, and in rural one), identified with "a good investment in the future". Moreover, young Mozambicans who do not remember colonial times or the national liberation war, often see in Portuguese language the symbol of Mozambican national identity.[68] The tendencies that can be observed in the last 10-20 years to affirm the Bantuphony, do not have to mean the resignation from belonging to the community of Lusophony. Especially that, as it seems, within the younger generation Mozambicans are much more willing to reconcile the two trends – belonging to the Lusophony, while at the same time being pride of Bantuphony. An interesting example can be found in the results of a survey, published in 2010, which was conducted among nearly 300 students from Mozambique and Portugal. They were asked about the issues related to collective memory regarding common history. In the questions concerning social identification and collective memory of colonial history, Mozambican participants showed a higher level of identification with Portugal than Portuguese students with Mozambique, it is worth noting that apparently the degree of identification was less impacted by practically unambiguously negative assessment of colonialism by students from both states.[69]

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[67]   E. Rzewuski, *Disce puer/puella linguam bantam...*, pp. 91-92, 94.

[68]   E. Dyrvig Hellesøe, K. Hejslet Larsen, K. Cacoline Hoandi, T. Vigne, R. Rasmussen Harsbo, V. Gregersen, *Linguistic identity in Postcolonial Mozambique – with a focus on education,* Autumn 2014, pp. 39-44, at <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/43029554.pdf>, 16 June 2018.

[69]   However, it should be emphasized that the Mozambicans have more often indicated in their responses events related to the violence and oppression of colonizers. R. Cabecinhas, J. Feijó, "Collective Memories of Portuguese Colonial Action in Africa: Representations of the Colonial Past among

Interesting conclusions can be also drawn from the statistics provided by the Afro-barometer – a pan-African research network that conducts public surveys on political, economic and social matters in more than 30 African countries. Unfortunately, out of Luso-African continental states the surveys have been carried out only in Mozambique. The latest data available is from the sixth round of surveys conducted in 2014-2015. Two questions seem to be relevant in regard to the attitude towards former colonial power. In first one the participants were asked which country (or organization) has the most influence on Mozambique. According to more than a half of the respondents (52 per cent) it is China, 'former colonial power' (in this case – Portugal) was indicated in only 5 per cent of the answers (Figure 1). In the second question of interest the interviewees had to point out the country that would be the best model for the future development of Mozambique. The answers to this question were more divergent, however, 36 per cent of the respondents indicated the Chinese model, while equally 15 per cent American and South African, only 6 per cent viewed the former colonial power as a development model worth to follow (Figure 2). As it was already mentioned, there is no available data with answers to these questions from other Luso-African continental states. Nonetheless for the same round sixth of Afrobarometer surveys there are available data for the island-nations of Cabo Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe. The answers of the respondents from these countries could be quite surprising. In the first question – 25 per cent of Cape Verdeans thought that Portugal had the most influence on Cabo Verde, in case of Sao Tomeans the same answer gave 17 per cent of the respondents. Responding to the question regarding the development model to follow, similarly like Mozambicans only 7 per cent of Cape Verdeans were of opinion that it should be the former colonial power, respectively the same way thought 12 per cent of Sao Tomeans.[70] Different set of conclusions can be drawn from the findings of this survey, taking into account that both Cabo Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe are generally perceived as far less dysfunctional than the rest of Luso-African states, their societies may still see Portugal as a viable player and power. However, it is hard to state unequivocally if there is a correlation between state dysfunctionality in Luso-Africa and the way the former colonial power is perceived. Does it mean the former metropolis is less involved in those continental states like Mozambique? Or maybe the reason behind it is the question of self-identification of the population from the island-nations of where the majority are people of mixed-race (European and African descent[71]), although it might

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Mozambicans and Portuguese Youths", *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2010), pp. 36-40.

[70]  Afrobarometer, R6 2014/2015 (Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe), at <http://afrobarometer.org/online-data-analysis/analyse-online>, 19 September 2018.

[71]  What can coincide with the concept of historically grounded Luso-African identity in this part of Africa – its origin comes from the descendants of the 16th and 17th century Portuguese settlers and adventurers in Senegambia, Guinea and Cape Verde (so-called *lançados*) that often took African wives. The group membership was based mostly on cultural characteristics. See more: P. Mark, *"Portuguese" Style and Luso-African Identity: Precolonial Senegambia, Sixteenth-nineteenth Centuries*, Bloomington–Indianapolis 2002.

be a far-fetched and oversimplified conclusion. It seems, however, that the perception of the colonial legacy is probably far more positive in the aforementioned Luso-African island-nations than in Mozambique.
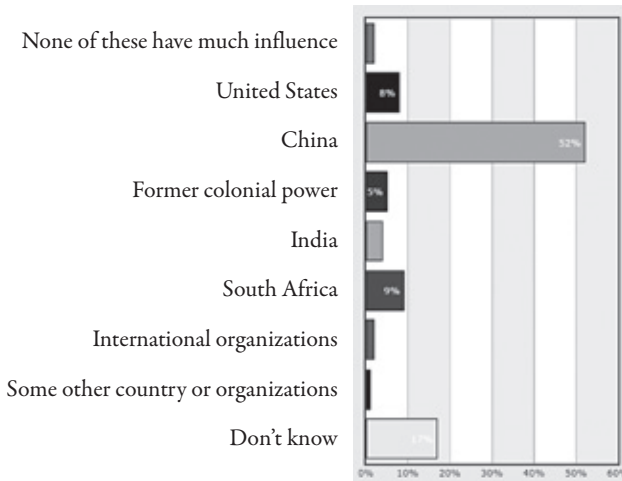


Figure 1. Country with most influence. The question: *Which of the following do you think has the most influence on Mozambique, or haven't you heard enough to say?* (Afrobarometer, R6, 2014/2015)[72]
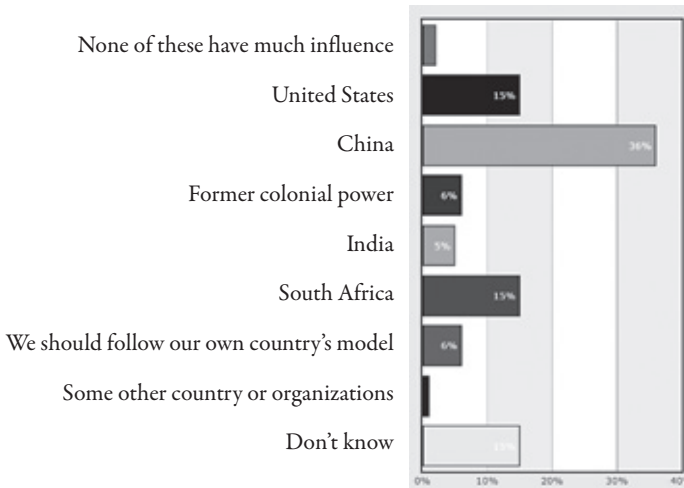


Figure 2. Model country for development. The question: *In your opinion, which of the following countries, if any, would be the best model for the future development of our country?* (Afrobarometer, R6, 2014/2015)[73]

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[72]   Afrobarometer, R6 2014/2015 (Mozambique), at <http://afrobarometer.org/online-data-analysis/analyse-online>, 19 September 2018.

[73]   Ibid.

## CONCLUSIONS

There is no doubt that the influence of the colonial period can be observed in the political, economic and social conditions of Luso-African states, being the consequences of Lisbon's economic and social policy towards her colonial territories, the lack of adequate infrastructure or well-educated elites that could take over power from the colonizers. It seems significant, for example, that all of the leaders of anticolonial struggle in the Portuguese continental colonies (Agostinho Neto, Eduardo Mondlane, Amílcar Cabral) although they were very well-educated abroad, were exceptions among their countrymen at that time. The negative consequences of colonial rule are often indicated as the main source of dysfunctionality of postcolonial states. However, in the case of Luso-Africa, it seems that more emphasis as regards historical factors leading to state dysfunctionality should be placed on the experience of internal conflicts in the Cold War period or the processes of transformation into an independent post-colonial state. From the mid-1970s, Angola and Mozambique became the arena of proxy wars, in which the great powers, with the help of their allies, tried to keep as much influence in the region as possible. While analyzing the transformation processes from a colony into an independent state, in the case of the largest Luso-African countries, it is worth to notice the multitudes of white Portuguese colonists who in a hurry left Mozambique and Angola. The so-called *retornados* not only did deprive the newly formed states of the most competent human capital, that was managing the territories so far, but also took with them all kinds of movable goods, at the same time without resistance destroying all that had to be left behind. Therefore, in the case of Luso-African states, one of the obstacles to development was, to some extent, the lack of access to a certain part of the common colonial heritage, sometimes worked out together with the colonizers, than the mere fact of its existence.

The legacy of Portuguese colonial rule does not have to have only negative effects – on the contrary, it may also be a carrier of some development potential, which properly used, could positively pay off in the future. Although more research has to be done on the subject, theoretically it seems that the common Portuguese linguistic and cultural heritage could be an important and beneficial factor for the economic and social development of Lusophone Africa. In practice, however, judging by the example of the untapped potential of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*, CPLP), which includes all former Portuguese colonies in Africa, as well as Portugal, Brazil, Equatorial Guinea and East Timor, this potential has not been fully discovered. Since its foundation in 1996, CPLP mainly focuses on cultural and political cooperation (with mixed results), still not using its huge economic potential, which may come as a surprise, taking into account the fact that its Member States constitute a 240-million market.[74] Although Luso-African states are also members of other regional integration bodies, such as: the Economic Community

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[74]    A. Bondoso, *Lusofonia e CPLP: Desafios na Globalização,* Viseu 2013, pp. 87-113; W. Lizak, *Afrykańskie instytucje...*, pp. 375-407.

of West African States (ECOWAS) or the Southern African Development Community (SADC), it nevertheless seems that such an organization as CPLP could provide a completely new quality in mutual relations and became a much wider forum not only for the cooperation between post-colonial states and their former colonial power but also for searching for better solutions to some of these states' development challenges.

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