

major development projects today are financed from foreign sources: the Cabora Bassa Dam, the steel plant in Beira, the Japanese iron ore works at Namapa, the harbour built by the Japanese at Macala, the search for oil and other minerals, even minor manufacturing industries have been developed from foreign companies. Without this backing the strain of the fighting would almost certainly bring about a complete economic collapse. The United Nations has recognised this, and in Resolution A/RES/2184 - xxi -

"... also condemns the financial activities operating in the territories under Portuguese domination, which are exploiting the material and human resources and which are an obstacle to the progress of the people towards liberty and independence".

Portugal finds support in all those powerful combines which have invested in southern Africa, where they receive very favourable conditions. Support also comes from political, military and economic alliances typified by NATO and EFTA. It is from NATO that Portugal derives a large part of her military strength in that she receives all the equipment she needs for the defence of her European territory. This includes maintaining a military force of at least 80,000 soldiers. The training of all military officers in the regular army and in the counter-insurgency forces is carried out by NATO. Also, due to the departure of France from NATO, Portugal has been chosen as a headquarters of the NATO navy. Even assuming that Portugal abides by the NATO agreement prohibiting the use of her equipment outside the NATO area, therefore, she still starts off with a great advantage in having her home needs taken care of, as she can concentrate her own resources abroad. There is no clause in the NATO agreement which prohibits the use of NATO-trained personnel elsewhere.

EFTA has a membership of seven countries in Europe, and is an economic alliance with the purpose of developing the economies of those countries which are not members of the Common Market. As such, the Portuguese economy profits directly out of her membership,

for EFTA...../

for EFTA services include encouraging investments in Portugal by other member states, who thus prop up her weak economy while at the same time benefiting from the low labour costs there.

Links in southern Africa

Although in earlier years Portugal tried to emphasise the difference between their own professedly multi-racial policy and the apartheid of South Africa, she is being forced into ever closer association. On 4 April 1967 Le Monde reported on the meeting of South Africa's Defence Minister, Mr. Piet Botha, with Salazar and other members of the Portuguese Government in Lisbon, and said: "In the course of these talks security problems in Mozambique and Angola were raised..." Later in the year Mr. Vorster, Prime Minister of South Africa, in reply to a protest from Britain at the presence of South African military forces in Rhodesia said that it was imperative that South Africa should intervene in order to defend her interests in southern Africa. As has already been shown, South Africa also has economic investments in Mozambique.

Links with Rhodesia are also important to Portugal, who derives income from them in several ways. Although not nearly as important as the export of workers to South Africa, in 1963 no less than 119,871 Mozambicans went to work in Rhodesia, 6,387 of these in the mines (UN statistics), and Mozambique gains in the taxes remitted by these migrant workers. This source of labour even more vulnerable than Rhodesia's own to police action, under constant threat of deportation, could increase in importance in the event of industrial action within Rhodesia in the Smith regime. Mozambique is linked to Rhodesia by road and rail, and with Beira the nearest port to Salisbury and Bulawayo, 10 per cent of her gross national income comes from transit services. 80,000 tourists yearly travel along these roads to holiday at Mozambique resorts, and this number is likely to increase now that Rhodesian passports and currency have been declared invalid in many other countries. Mozambique still

accepts...../

accepts both, and thus can also be used as an outlet for Rhodesian finance.

In 1965 trade between the two countries was of relatively small importance, accounting for 1.9% of Mozambique's imports and 3.1% of her exports. It has increased considerably in the last two years and there are signs that it may increase considerably in the future, as in 1964 a commercial agreement was drawn up to start in 1965, allowing for favoured treatment which would not appear in the 1965 figures. In 1966 a mission of Portuguese bankers and industrialists visited Rhodesia to review the possibility of "an increase in commercial and industrial interchange between the Metropolitan and Overseas Portugal and Rhodesia", as reported in Tribune on 20 November 1966. In the previous July the Rhodesian Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr B.H. Musette, visited the Mozambican trade fair:

"The principle object of the visit of the Rhodesian Minister is to bring about a major increase in economic relations between Mozambique and Rhodesia". Diario Popular, Lisbon, 8.7.66.

All this acts as confirmation of the fact that in present circumstances Mozambique is playing a considerable role in the sustenance of Mr. Smith and his rebel government in Rhodesia; a situation that will not change while Mozambique remains an 'Overseas Province' of Portugal.

During the last decade there has been a confrontation in most parts of Africa between the indigenous peoples and the colonial powers. This was largely resolved with the independence of the majority of countries, but in the areas remaining under minority rule there is a deeper quarrel, and a fiercer battle, repercussions of which reach through both independent Africa and the rest of the world. The importance of the struggle continuing in Portugal's Territories has been recognised by the United Nations, who expressed themselves in a Resolution last year as:

"Gravely concerned about the critical and explosive situation

which is...../

which is threatening international peace and security owing to methods of oppression and the military operations which continue to be used against the African peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination".

The Resolution also:

"Reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese domination to achieve freedom and independence in accordance with the General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve this right".

The Portuguese territories have been the first in southern Africa to sustain an armed struggle, and to begin programmes of social reconstruction, and the movements are gathering momentum.

On 11 January 1968 Salazar admitted that:

"If the troubles there (in Africa) continue very much longer, they will diminish our ability to carry on".

When Portugal is forced to leave Africa, not only will she leave very little behind her to commemorate her '500 year old association', but the whole pattern in southern Africa will be changed.

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