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THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

MAP

Oferta da Agência Geral do Ultramar



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THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

A Study of the Overseas Territories of Portugal and their Development

PORTUGAL OVERSEAS

The Portuguese Overseas Territories, consisting of the Provinces of Cape Verde, Guinea, S. Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, Moçambique, the State of India, Macao and Timor, cover an area of approximately 800,000 square miles, and contain a population which may be estimated at roughly ten million. Angola and Moçambique are far the largest. Madeira and the Azores form part of metropolitan Portugal.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

IT would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the Portuguese contribution to the history of European colonization. When, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, Prince Henry the Navigator conceived the idea of sending his cockle-shell caravels to explore the "Unknown Seas", the world was a very small place. Apart from the continent of Europe and the shores of Africa across the Mediterranean Sea, practically nothing was known of the vast masses of land and water which lay beyond. Some of the highly valued produce of the East found its way to Venice at second hand, but of the lands which produced such valuable things, and of the people who lived in them, there were only rumours. The Moors, hereditary enemies of the Portuguese, and their Arab brethren to the East, were a barrier which could not easily be passed. Rumours did not satisfy the young son of Don John I and his English wife, Philippa of Lancaster. He had a passion for facts, and made it his life work to obtain them as scientifically as the conditions of his time allowed.

The power of the Moors in Portugal had been broken when Afonso Henriques, in 1147, threw them out of the Lisbon they had occupied for four hundred years, and eighty years later there were no Moors left in Portugal. But they remained firmly established in parts of Spain, and there was an inexhaustible reservoir of them across the comparatively narrow water south of the Algarve. In 1415, Don John I and his sons determined to rid Portugal of an ever-present danger, and carried the war into the enemy's country, capturing Ceuta. It was apparently then that Henry the Navigator formed the idea of discovering, somewhere in Africa, Christian allies who might be induced to attack the Moors from the rear, and either squeeze them out of existence or at least divert their attention from the Iberian Peninsula. Somewhere in Africa, too, it was rumoured, there was the Christian kingdom of Prester John, and this kingdom Henry determined to find. To that end, and perhaps with a vague idea of discovering a way to India by sea, he began his great enterprise of exploration in the "Unknown Seas". In 1418 and

the following year, the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira were discovered and, shortly afterwards, colonized. Before 1440, all the islands of the Azores had been reached. Like Madeira, they became, as they have been ever since, an integral part of Portugal itself.

By now, Henry's sailors had acquired experience, confidence, and skill. He had developed a type of ship well fitted for even more hazardous voyages. The time had come when he might undertake the exploration of the coast of Africa. In 1454, Gil Eanes passed Cape Bojador, and the coast was followed southwards to Cape Verde and the Nuno River. In 1460, the Portuguese caravels got so far as the Cape Verde Islands. In this year Prince Henry died. He had not discovered Prester John's kingdom, or the sea route to India, but he had inspired his fellow-countrymen with a zest for exploration and maritime adventure, and he had initiated the opening-up of the world to whatever European civilization might seek to do with it.

The work went on and, for a long time, the Portuguese were left to do it alone. In 1482, Diogo Cão reached and explored the Congo river, which the Portuguese call the Zaire. Here he established friendly relations with the native ruler, and there followed one of the most interesting experiments in colonization—if so it may be called—which has ever been attempted. It was that of transforming a native and heathen kingdom into a native and Christian State based on the model of Portugal itself. Unfortunately, because of an unhappy assembly of circumstances, things went wrong and, as the Portuguese kings had acquired other interests, the attempt was not resumed.

The Cape Route to India and China

The Portuguese went on. In 1498, Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope, sailed up the east coast of Africa, and crossed to Calicut in India. Thereafter, Portuguese fleets sailed regularly to India, losing many ships and men in their comings and goings. Factories were established on both sides of the Indian Ocean by agreement with the local rulers. In 1506, Afonso de Albuquerque set up headquarters at Goa; shortly afterwards he captured the great trading centre of Malacca, which was regularly visited by both Chinese junks and Arab dhows, and Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf, which was of almost equal importance. Albuquerque's brilliant mind realised that only by occupying and holding strategic points on the coast could the Portuguese succeed in maintaining the elements of an empire which, year by year, thrust its outposts farther and farther away from Portugal itself.

By the end of the sixteenth century the Portuguese were established all the way down the West African coast from Guinea to Angola; up the East African coast as far as Cape Guardafui; from the Persian Gulf down the Malabar Coast and on to Ceylon; and, more loosely, in the Moluccas and other Indonesian islands; and they had made contact with China, where Macao was founded by amicable arrangement, and Japan.

All this, of course, was not colonization. It was the establishment of trading stations without penetration in depth, but it achieved its purpose. As a result of her trade with the East, Portugal became

one of the richest countries in Europe, and it was not long before she found herself compelled to defend the positions she had gained in the East against Spaniards, Dutch, and English. With her limited resources in man power it was more than she could do, especially with Brazil to think about on the other side of the Atlantic. In those days nobody troubled about Africa, and she was left alone there, except for a short period in the seventeenth century when the Dutch occupied Luanda in Angola; but in the East, which was the coveted source of wealth, she was, as the years went by, to lose everything but the regions about Goa, Damão and Diu in India; Macao in China, and half the island of Timor. But though centuries have passed since she lost Ceylon and Malaya, Portuguese traditions still linger and are cherished there, a witness to the intensity of the influence which the Portuguese have always exercised over the peoples with whom they have been in contact.

Colonization of Brazil

The colonization of Brazil took quite a different course. The country was "officially" discovered by Pedro Alvares Cabral in 1500, though it seems probable that the Portuguese had been there before but said nothing about it, to avoid interference by their Spanish rivals before they were in a position to cope with it. The occupation of Brazil was definitely a colonizing project. It began with the formation of small settlements along the coast. Later, stretches of coastline were apportioned to individuals approved by the King, with the right to extend into the hinterland as far as they could go, exploiting whatever natural resources might be discovered, subject to rights which the King reserved to himself in certain specified "rich" products.¹ These territories were called "captaincies", and in 1548 they were unified under the control of a Governor General.

Unfortunately, we cannot follow here the course of the Portuguese colonization of Brazil. It was important in many ways, and its problems affected the course of colonization elsewhere, especially in Africa. The native inhabitants of Brazil, described so charmingly in the letter to the King, Don Manuel, by Pero Vaz da Caminha when Cabral's fleet reached Brazilian shores, proved physically and temperamentally unsuited for the tasks which their new rulers sought to lay on them. With the development of plantations, it became necessary to import a labour force. So began the recruitment of Africans from Angola and elsewhere, and the traffic in slaves which, demoralizing in itself, denuded the African colonies of man-power to an extent the results of which are still being felt. It had the further effect of absorbing the energies and activities of the Portuguese in Africa which might otherwise have been better employed in genuine colonial development.

It was not until the nineteenth century that the Portuguese possessions in Africa began to assume the importance which they have today. By that time, what was left of the empire in the East

¹When Paulo Dias de Novais was sent by the King Don Sebastian to colonize Angola, some system of the same sort was obviously intended there, but circumstances were entirely different and a different line had to be taken.

had lost a great deal of its economic and political importance, though the sentimental bond between continental Portugal and her remaining scattered outposts remained strong. But Portugal was now terribly weak. She had been rich, and she had deserved her wealth, but it had come from sources outside herself and, when she lost it, she had nothing to fall back upon. She fell behind in an economic race, the pace of which was set by rivals with greater resources than her own. The period during which Portugal was governed by the Kings of Spain, from whose enemies she received many a hard blow, had left a scar which had never been fully healed. Then, as the nineteenth century opened, came the Peninsular War, in which Napoleon's armies ravaged the country to an extent seldom recognised, and the royal family was obliged to seek refuge in Brazil. As a final blow, Brazil, which had been the apple of Portugal's eye, declared itself independent in 1822.

The Eclipse of Empire

In this same year a Constitution, based on the fashionable French model, was imposed upon Portugal, and, for the next hundred years, the country—and its colonies—suffered from a succession of politicians who were more concerned with the enunciation of fine-sounding sentiments and policies than with facing up to hard, practical, everyday facts. The student who laboriously ploughs through the colonial legislation of the nineteenth century will find masses of pious resolutions, often most admirably inspired and worded, and volumes of enacted laws, practically none of which was ever carried into execution. The African colonies, particularly, needed men of energy and understanding, without doctrinaire preconceptions. They seldom got them. They needed carefully thought-out plans and money for development, especially when the abolition of the slave trade left them practically bankrupt. They were given plans, usually forgotten soon after their inception, but little money was available and it was often wasted. Instead, it was solemnly proclaimed that, all men being free and equal, the African natives living in the bush were full citizens of Portugal, entitled to the splendid privilege of a vote in parliamentary elections, and subject to precisely the same laws and regulations as any other citizens of Portugal, white or black. Needless to say, this announcement did not make much difference to anyone.

In such circumstances, and because of considerable administrative inefficiency, it is not surprising that the colonies stagnated. There was no systematic study of the possibilities, and their political importance was hardly realised. It was even suggested by publicists by no means devoid of patriotism that they were only a useless and dangerous source of expense. If anyone would buy the colonies, why not sell them and be done with them?

The world outside Portugal took much the same view, but it was absurdly short-sighted. The colonies had become, and have remained, an essential element in Portuguese life. In Angola, for example, the Portuguese had been for centuries, living and trading, building churches and teaching the natives, and even putting the rest

of the world in their debt to an extent which has never been properly recognised.¹ To the African, the expression "white man" was synonymous only with "Portuguese". Portuguese influence extended—thinly indeed in the heart of the continent—from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. Portuguese traders of the type of Silva Porto, living deep in the bush and continually making trading expeditions to regions which were visited by no other white men, were more than traders. Silva Porto's notebooks and diaries, many volumes of them, contain masses of information about the flora and fauna of the country, and much extremely valuable ethnographical material. They understood the natives, accepted them, and were accepted by them, on equal terms. And they were trusted. They were "unofficial"; they were often uneducated, but the work such men did to prepare the way for a genuine colonization was considerable. Besides such traders, there were settlements of Portuguese fishermen, especially in the region of Moçamedes, living incredibly hard lives, but persevering—and remaining. There were small farmers, mainly from Madeira, living, in their traditional way, lives equally hard on the tablelands beyond the Chela mountains. Their descendants are there today. This was colonization, and colonization without conquest.

The Division of Africa

Then, almost suddenly, and largely as a result of the much publicized travels of Livingstone and Stanley, the industrial countries of northern Europe, and even the United States, began to take an interest in African colonies. The Berlin Conference of 1885 declined to recognise historic claims to territories which were not "effectively occupied", and the Portuguese territories of Angola and Moçambique were consequently threatened by newly-arrived neighbours who declared that the Portuguese occupation was anything but effective in the regions remote from the coast, and that they, therefore, might step in and occupy on their own account. There was pressure from the Belgians beyond the Congo River, and from the British, personified by Cecil Rhodes, coming up from South Africa. The Germans set themselves up in South-west Africa and began investigating the region of the Cunene. The Portuguese had long cherished the idea of uniting Angola and Moçambique. They now had to abandon the idea, especially after the "Ultimatum" from Britain in 1890.

"Effective occupation" in the sense which the term now assumed, was quite out of keeping with the Portuguese tradition. It was a harsh, mechanical process, which took little account of what are now called "human rights". To a great extent it meant the destruction of the basis upon which the whole Portuguese concept of colonization had been built up. But, short of surrendering their heritage to intruders whose claims rested ultimately upon their superiority in material strength, the Portuguese had no option in the matter. In due course, in the years between 1890 and 1918, the occupation of Angola and Moçambique was made "effective". Thereafter, the

¹Who, for example, realises that the staple foods of the African of today were first brought to the continent by the Portuguese; or that it was a Portuguese doctor from Luanda who, in the early seventeenth century, first made a systematic study of tropical diseases?

course of development of the two great African provinces followed more modern lines, and it would have proceeded more rapidly if two essentials could have been forthcoming at the same time—good and far-sighted administration, and adequate financial resources. The men who were needed for the former indeed appeared, but they were only half-heartedly backed by the Government at home: the money was not forthcoming. Portugal, especially after the substitution of a republic for the ancient monarchy, was politically unsettled and financially unstable.

New Life for the Empire

The Portuguese "New State", since 1928 inspired and fostered by Dr. Salazar, has brought the colonial empire—though it is no longer so called—back to its traditional position in the life of the nation. That position was defined in the Colonial Act of 1930-33, for the drafting of which Dr. Salazar himself was responsible. The system of administration was prescribed in the Organic Charter and the Reform of Overseas Administration which were issued in 1933 when Dr. Armindo Monteiro was Minister of the Colonies. Perhaps the most striking of all the reforms initiated by Dr. Salazar's Government has been the insistence that each colony (or province) should live within its own resources, balancing its Budget year by year, and maintain its financial structure on the lines so successfully followed in metropolitan Portugal.

COLONIAL PRINCIPLES AND POLICY

It is customary to discuss colonial development as though it were based on more or less clearly defined and scientific principles. In fact it would appear that the principles are more often invented to explain the policies, and that the policies themselves are more truly rationalizations of courses of action decided upon empirically. We have seen how the Portuguese set out on their career as a colonizing people. In the years that followed, it would hardly be correct to say that they obeyed any particular principles—with one important exception—or followed any coherent or consistent policy. The exception is that they were sincerely convinced that they had a civilizing mission which they could, and must, carry out through the ever more widespread divulgation of the Christian religion. They never lost sight of this and, even in the days when anti-clericalism induced them to abandon their flourishing missionary enterprises, they were never happy about it. Men like Antonio Enes and Mousinho de Albuquerque, who may truly be said to have saved the colonies for Portugal in the early years of the present century, never ceased to insist on the essential need for Portuguese missionaries. Looking back into the past, the work of St. Francis Xavier in India and the Far East owed its inception to the missionary zeal of the King, Don John III. In Brazil, the work of the Jesuit missionaries on behalf of the native population was combined with an experiment in colonization which the Marquês de Pombal, who hated the Jesuits, brought to an untimely end. This experiment is being seriously re-studied today by enlightened young colonialists

in Portugal in the belief that some of the methods employed in it might help in the solution of the great problem of persuading the native populations of the African provinces to settle down in fixed agricultural communities instead of wandering about the country.

But for the most part, except perhaps in Brazil, there was no following of an established policy. The Kings of Portugal sought to enrich themselves and their country. They became rich from their trade with the East, and so long as it lasted they remained rich. In Africa they were always hoping to find gold and silver, and they were nearly always disappointed. Later, the slave trade brought them a considerable revenue every year. And there were fortunes to be made by private individuals, sufficiently large to encourage a steady stream of adventurers. From time to time, unusually far-sighted Governors suggested schemes for something more like colonization, but it always happened that something turned up to prevent their realization. In Angola, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the remarkable Governor, Sousa Coutinho, came nearer to the development of a colonizing, even an industrializing, policy, than anyone else had done, but his successors did not share either his intelligence or his energy; and nothing else was done until the nineteenth century, when attempts were made to establish small agricultural colonies on the high tablelands where Europeans can live and work and raise crops of a type to which they are accustomed. But action was sporadic; the sites were often badly chosen, and the wrong type of man was sent out. The results were sometimes disastrous.

"Native Policy" is now regarded as a matter of supreme importance but, until recent years, it was not one with which the Portuguese greatly concerned themselves. Perhaps they did not need a native policy. Instead of a policy they had an attitude which, in itself, sufficed to prevent the formation and accumulation of the problems which have, in the long run, produced so much turmoil in other colonial territories, and so much heartburning in political circles. It is unquestionable that the state of psychological hostility between black and white which is so great a potential danger in other parts of Africa has never existed in the Portuguese territories.

The Portuguese have never considered the native races subject to them as intrinsically inferior to themselves. There was nothing horrifying to them in the idea of the formation of unions, whether in marriage or outside it, with native women, and such unions were not formed surreptitiously and shamefacedly. The children who were born of them took their place naturally, according to their capacity, in the Portuguese scheme of things, and many of them—without anyone regarding it as extraordinary—distinguished themselves in the service of the State. Brazil today affords an example of such fusion of races and of the stability which can result from it when it is not counteracted by other factors.

A Policy of Integration

In these latter days it seems to have become necessary for every colonizing people to proclaim a policy. That of the Portuguese can

be expressed simply. The various colonies—the Portuguese now prefer to call them provinces—are to be regarded as extensions of Portugal itself. In the present day, these provinces differ considerably in the state of development to which they have attained, and they cannot, therefore, be organised and administered on a completely uniform basis. Sooner or later, it is said, Angola, Moçambique and the rest, though their populations will be partly white and partly black, will be as obviously integral parts of a Greater Portugal as are the provinces of Minho and Algarve today. Consequently, the question of self-government does not arise. At present, strict control is exercised from Lisbon and this, in the circumstances, seems inevitable; but the degree of administrative autonomy will be enlarged when conditions allow.

The natives are regarded as Portuguese citizens *in statu pupillari* so to speak. So long as they remain purely "native" and prefer to retain the mode of life of their ancestors, they remain, theoretically, subject to their traditional laws and customs. The word "theoretically" must, unfortunately, be used because those laws and customs have never been adequately codified, in spite of provision to that end, and, in any case, the traditional tribal life is rapidly disintegrating. But it is open to any black man to attain full Portuguese citizenship on the same footing as his white neighbour, by fulfilling certain elementary and self-evident conditions. Whether he does so or not is largely a question of opportunity. It is doubtful whether adequate provision is yet made for the supplying of this opportunity or for the transition from one state to the other.

This raising of the native population to the level of the white, and the consequent disappearance of any cultural barrier, is the declared aim of Portuguese policy. It is assumed that both sections of the populations have common interests. But the process must inevitably take a long time, and time is one of the many elements in the situation which the Portuguese cannot always determine for themselves. There are other factors, too, which militate against progress in this direction. The shortage of labour in countries which are rapidly acquiring great economic importance, and the measures which have to be adopted to supply it, do not facilitate the raising of the cultural level of any population. Moreover, the Portuguese are not impressed by the results of high pressure attempts in other parts of Africa to achieve a similar end in the space of a single generation.

The problem of labour is particularly acute in Angola. The economic prosperity of the last ten years has made possible there the financing of many public and other works essential to the further progress of the territory, works which could not be carried out before for lack of money. But Angola, with an area not far short of half a million square miles, has only the meagre population of about four million people. It is desperately hard to persuade men to volunteer for untraditional work which will benefit future generations rather than themselves. It is necessary to recruit labour in regions remote from the centres where the work has to be done, and this is a process which, however unavoidable, is objectionable from many points of

view. It creates problems which are not peculiar to Angola, but which Angola is only now beginning to experience to a critical degree. Conditions regulating the employment and recruitment of labour are laid down in the Native Labour Code promulgated in 1928 and this, the situation having changed so considerably, is now under revision. The recently published (June 1953) Organic Law, however, lays down the principles on which the revision will doubtless be carried out. There do not appear to be any essential differences. Base lxxxvi of the Law says:

- I—When native labour is contracted for the service of the State, or of Administrative Bodies, it will be paid.
- II—Systems under which the State undertakes to supply native labour to private economic enterprises; and systems under which, no matter what the circumstances, natives living in any territorial circumscription are obliged to work for such enterprises, are forbidden.
- III—The State can only compel natives to labour in public works carried out in the interests of the community as a whole; in occupations the results of which will accrue to themselves; in carrying out judicial decisions of a penal character; or in fulfilment of fiscal obligations.
- IV—The system by which native labour is contracted is based on the freedom of the individual and his right to a just wage and assistance. The public authority only comes into the matter for purposes of control. The native is assured freedom to choose such work as he thinks fit, on his own account or for others; on his own lands or on those which may be appointed for this purpose. The State, however, may direct him to methods of labour on his own account which will improve his individual and social condition”.

Space will not allow us to pursue this subject further, but one aspect of it cannot be ignored. There have been times when the Portuguese have been accused of conniving at a disguised form of slave labour both in S. Tomé and Angola¹. That there have been abuses in the contracting of labour, is indisputable. Such abuses have been discovered, in similar conditions, in all colonies. But there is equally no doubt that the Portuguese Government, and the Governments of the provinces concerned, realise the undesirability and the danger of such abuses, and stamp them out so far as it is in their power to do so.

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

The administrative confusion and the economic instability of the Portuguese colonies were so great by the time that the New State came into existence that Dr. Salazar, with his unerring sense of the importance of order, decided that colonial problems must be given a priority of attention and himself took over the Ministry of the Colonies for a short spell. It was then that he drew up the Colonial

¹The so-called Ross Report to a committee of the League of Nations in 1925 was a remarkably disingenuous attempt to make out such a case. Its unreliability was apparent on its face.

Act which was "constitutionalized" when the Portuguese Constitution itself came into effect in 1933, but was not actually made a part of the Constitution.

For years there had been disconcerting alternations of policy. Sometimes there was a tendency towards complete centralization, sometimes towards the very opposite. The Colonial Act endeavoured to strike a balance. Four main principles emerged from it. It stressed the essential political unity of the colonies with the mother country and the economic solidarity which corresponded to it; it re-affirmed the purpose of securing the cultural development of the native populations while avoiding any precipitate interference with existing native institutions; and it recognised the need for a certain measure of administrative and financial autonomy.

In 1951, the Colonial Act, with certain modifications, was incorporated in the Portuguese Constitution. One of the modifications, and it is not without significance, was that the colonies ceased to be so called, and were designated "provinces". In 1953, the Organic Charter was superseded by the Organic Law of the Overseas Territories (*Lei Organica do Ultramar*). In the case of this law the usual process of legislation was followed. The Government presented the draft of a Bill to the National Assembly which, before discussing it, sent it to the Corporative Chamber for its opinion. The Corporative Chamber is a deliberative and consultative body made up of experts in the various branches of social, economic and political activity, and divided into specialized sections accordingly. The Bill was studied very carefully, and indeed to some extent "made over", by the Section of Colonial Policy and Economy, and then returned to the National Assembly for consideration. It was discussed together with the amendments proposed by the Corporative Chamber. Those amendments appear to have been generally accepted.

Contrast with British Centrifugal Tendency

In its general analysis of the Bill the Chamber pointed out that the rapid progress of the principal overseas territories had made it necessary "to give increased attention to local interests and opinion through their adequate representation in the organs of government in each territory". To this end, provision was made for the creation in each province of legislative councils consisting of elected members. The functions with which these councils are invested are deliberate, not executive. But, says the Opinion of the Corporative Chamber, "there need be no fear that in this way we are being launched upon the inclined plane which leads to colonial autonomy or self-government . . . or that we are bringing our overseas territories to join in the constitutional procession towards the goal of independence which the colonies of other countries, especially the British, are making". Then, contrasting the Portuguese system with that of other colonial Powers, the Opinion points out that "the (legislative) councils in question do not possess full legislative competence. Part of the legislation in force in the territory has its origin in legislative organs in the metropolis, and the legislative powers of the councils are exercised subject to supervision and control by the

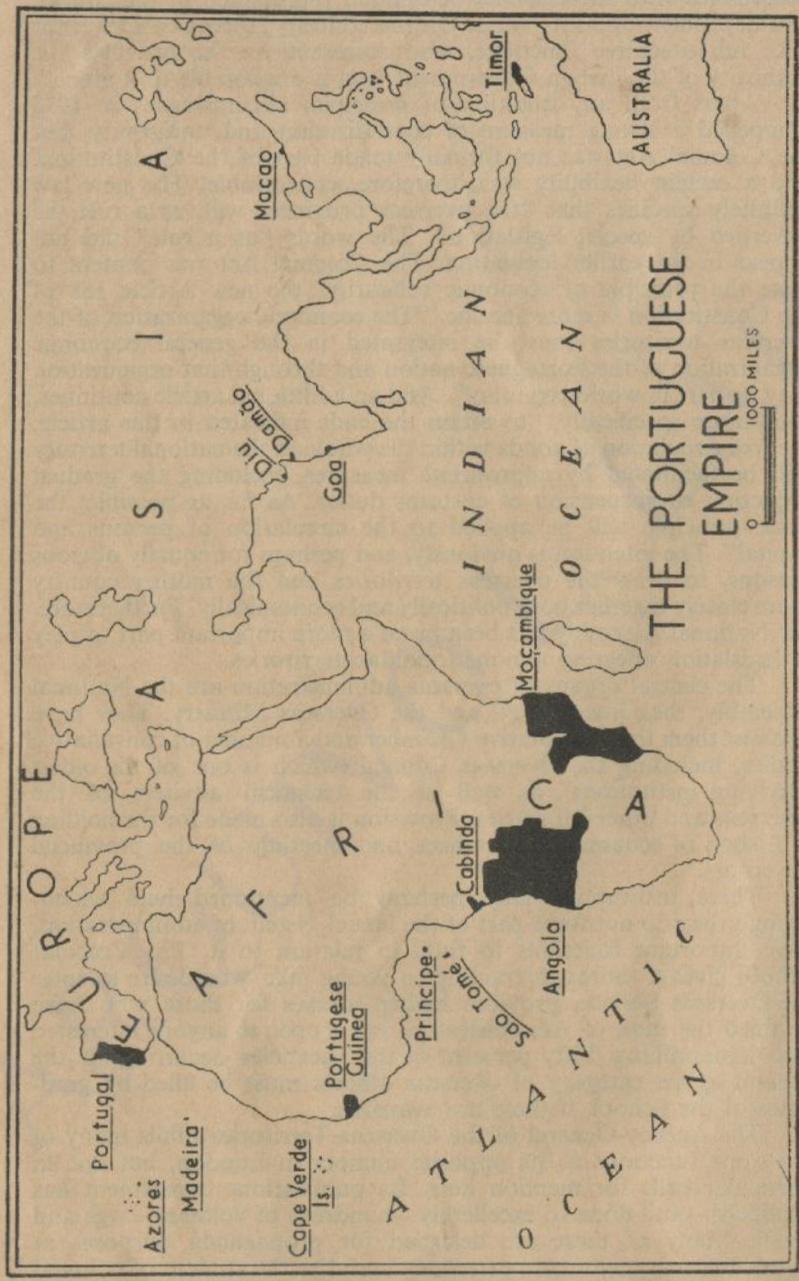
metropolis which, therefore, is in a position to act in their place. In the province there is not a college of government constituted in accordance with the currents of opinion represented in the council and dependent upon its votes. On the contrary, there is a Governor with full executive functions, who represents in the province the authority of the Lisbon Government, and is answerable to it alone".

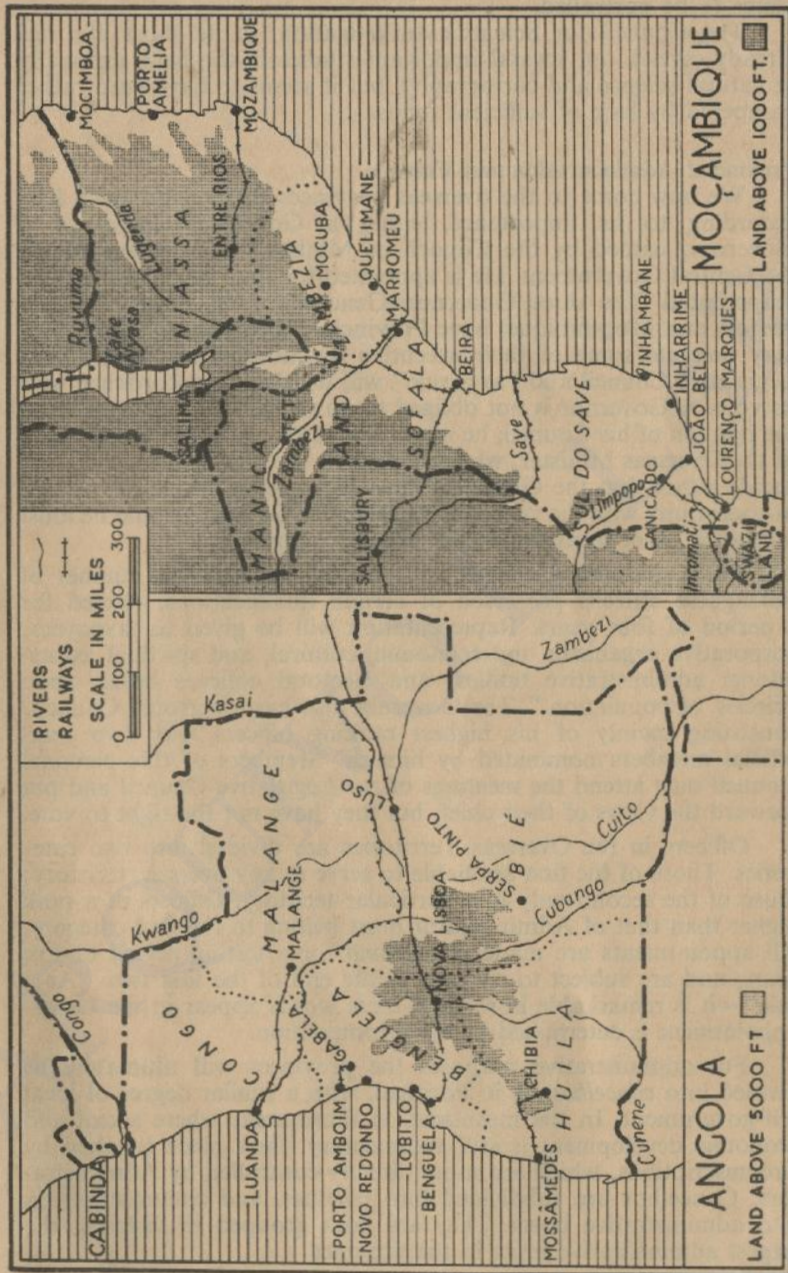
Apart from any question of principle, circumstances in 1933 compelled a strong measure of centralization and uniformity, but the Colonial Act was not formally made part of the Constitution, and a certain flexibility was, therefore, conceivable. The new law definitely specifies that "the overseas provinces will, as a rule, be governed by special legislation". The words "as a rule" did not appear in the earlier legislation. The Colonial Act was content to state the principle of economic solidarity: the new Article 158 of the Constitution is more specific. "The economic organization of the overseas territories must be integrated in the general economic organization of the Portuguese nation and through that organization play its part in world economy". And an additional article continues, even more specifically, "to attain the ends indicated in this article, the free circulation of goods within the whole of the national territory will be facilitated by appropriate measures, including the gradual reduction or suspension of customs duties. As far as possible, the same principle will be applied to the circulation of persons and capital". The intention is obviously, and perhaps for equally obvious reasons, to draw the overseas territories and the mother country more closely together both politically and economically. Furthermore, the National Assembly has been given a more important part to play in legislation affecting non-metropolitan territories.

The central organs of overseas administration are the National Assembly, the Government, and the Overseas Ministry. They have to assist them the Corporative Chamber and a number of consultative bodies, including the Overseas Council (which is one of the oldest surviving institutions), as well as the technical advisers of the Overseas and other Ministries. Provision is also made for the holding in Lisbon of economic conferences, and meetings of the provincial governors.

Three institutions may perhaps be mentioned here which, though they do not form part of the actual system of administration, have important functions to fulfil in relation to it. The Colonial School gives a thorough training to young men who desire to enter the Overseas Service, provides higher courses for those who have attained the rank of Administrator, and is open to anyone interested in colonial affairs. Fifty per cent of the vacancies occurring in the general service category of overseas officers must be filled by graduates of the School, if these are available.

The Agency-General of the Overseas Territories fulfils many of the same functions as its opposite number in London, but one in particular calls for mention here. Its publications department has produced—and done so excellently—hundreds of volumes, large and small. Many of these are designed for propaganda purposes at home, but many more are extremely useful to the student of colonial





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history. Of the latter, some are works which previously existed only in manuscript: others are the result of long and patient research in the Portuguese Colonial Archives. In this field the Agency-General seems to be unrivalled.

The Council for Scientific Investigation, in its short life, has already carried out several important studies in the field, especially in natural science and cartography, but it seems to have been rather hampered by lack of sufficient funds.

Provincial Administration and Finance

We now come to the overseas provinces themselves. Each has, according to its importance, either a Governor-General or a Governor, named by the Council of Ministers and responsible to the Central Government. He is appointed for four years and may be reappointed. The three Governors-General (of the State of India, Angola and Moçambique) have Provincial Secretaries to whom they may delegate some of their executive functions. They have also a Legislative Council and "as a rule" will legislate in accordance with its vote. A Governor is not obliged to do so, but if he dissents from the opinion of his Council, he must submit the matter to the decision of the Overseas Minister, who will consult the Overseas Council and decide either that the Governor must legislate, in whole or in part, in conformity with the vote of the Legislative Council, or that he must take such other measures as the Minister approves.

The Legislative Councils will usually consist of a number of Portuguese citizens possessed of certain qualifications, elected for a period of four years. Representation will be given to taxpayers; corporative organisms and economic, cultural, and spiritual associations; administrative bodies; and electoral colleges based upon "circles of population." The Governor also has a personal Council, consisting mainly of his highest ranking officers with two non-official members nominated by himself. Members of this personal Council may attend the meetings of the Legislative Council and put forward the views of their chief, but they have not the right to vote.

Officers in the Overseas Territories are divided into two categories. Those of the first are liable to serve in any overseas territory; those of the second only in a particular territory. Officers of a rank higher than that of Administrator must belong to the first category. All appointments are made provisional for a testing period of five years, and are subject to revision at the end of the first two. "As a rule"—it is remarkable how often these words appear in the Law—appointment is determined by open competition.

For administrative purposes the provinces will ultimately be divided into *concelhos*, as in Portugal, with a similar degree of local self-government. In the meantime, in those areas where social and economic development is still rudimentary, their place is taken by circumscriptions, which are more directly controlled by Administrators. *Concelhos* are subdivided into parishes, and circumscriptions into administrative posts. They are both grouped in districts, the largest administrative units in the province.

Each province normally enjoys financial autonomy, subject to the supervision and control of the Central Government at Lisbon, but in cases of emergency this autonomy may be withdrawn. The Budgets of all the provinces are drawn up on a uniform plan, and must always be balanced. If circumstances render this impossible, the metropolitan Government may grant financial assistance "subject to the necessary guarantees". The central Government receives from the overseas provinces only (a) a contribution towards national defence based on a proportion of the ordinary receipts; (b) revenues, or a share in them, accruing from enterprises which it has itself initiated and financed; and (c) interest, usually very modest, on loans which it has granted. Individual provinces may contract loans to obtain essential capital. The initiative in such cases rests with the Governor with the backing of his Legislative Council or of the Government. When special guarantees are required, the consent of the Overseas Minister must be previously secured and, in any case, no overseas province can contract loans with a foreign country. If foreign capital is required for development, the transaction is entirely one for the Central Government.

Education

The provisions concerning education are interesting. They deal with primary schools, higher schools, and what are called "centres of scientific research". Some are maintained by the State, others privately, and the latter include mission schools, both Catholic and non-Catholic. All private schools come under State inspection and control. Only in primary schools is the use of the vernacular permitted, and then simply "as an instrument for the teaching of the Portuguese language". The Portuguese language and the history of Portugal must be taught in all schools which are attended by Portuguese.

In those provinces where a distinction is officially recognised between "indigenas" (that is to say between natives who, by reason of their degree of cultural development, have still not attained Portuguese citizenship in the fullest sense), and "non-indigenas"—colour has nothing to do with the matter—the primary education of natives is, as far as possible, handed over entirely to the Catholic missions. This education will aim "at complete nationalization and the inculcation of morality, and the formation of habits of, and aptitudes for, work, with due regard to sex and the needs and conditions of the local economy". Nothing is said about the higher education of natives, presumably because it is assumed that, having passed to the status of "non-indigenas", they will make use of the educational facilities available to their fellow-citizens whether in Portugal or in the province itself, which are open to them on equal terms.

But in the last few years it has become increasingly obvious that there is, especially in those provinces where economic development has been phenomenal, an urgent need for cultural facilities on a fuller scale. Except for the historic medical school at Goa, there are in the Overseas Territories no educational institutions of university status. To meet the need in some respects the Central Govern-

ment in 1953 took three measures of importance. It was made possible for students to matriculate in Portuguese universities and other institutions of higher education, including the Colonial School, by taking the qualifying examination in the Province in which they live. Provision was also made for the awarding of scholarships in such institutions, and the granting to approved students of free passages between the Overseas Province and the Metropolis. A third measure was the exempting from import duty of educational material. At the same time, steps have been taken, by the creation of appropriate organizations, to intensify cultural and artistic life in the overseas territories, and to encourage the study of native life and conditions. What can be done in this last respect with very small resources has been abundantly shown by the work of the Study Centre set up a few years ago in Guinea by the present Minister of the Overseas Territories, Captain M. Sarmiento Rodrigues, when he was Governor of that Province.

Protection for Natives

The Organic Law deals only briefly with the position of "indigenas". This is not because of lack of appreciation of its importance but because the Law is concerned with Overseas Portugal as a whole, and the problems of the "indigene" are so varied that they were left for further legislation which is now being drafted. The Law, however, does guarantee the native protection against abuses, whether against his person or his property, and it says, "In the overseas territories, when it is necessary, and keeping in mind the degree of evolution attained by the people, special statutes will be drawn up under the influence of Portuguese public and private law, establishing juridical systems which will take into account their uses and customs, in so far as these are not incompatible with morality, the dictates of humanity, or the unhampered exercise of Portuguese sovereignty".

Special systems of land tenure are also provided for. Existing systems will be approved if they are satisfactory, or new ones created if they are necessary, based on the recognition of property rights in land "destined for cultivation and native settlement". Such lands can be alienated by the State only when they are needed for essential public purposes, and due compensation will always be paid. These rights must be respected whenever the Government grants concessions. Article 143 of the Constitution specifically provides that, "Their property and the possessions of their lands and cultivation are guaranteed to the natives, and the principle must be respected in all concessions made by the State."

The Organic Law ends by saying that "in accordance with the terms of the present law" four specific items of legislation will be issued by decree. These will concern (a) the organization of the Overseas Ministry; (b) the revision of the law known as the Reform of Overseas Administration; (c) the general statute of the civil service in the overseas territories; and (d) "the politico-administrative statute of each individual province, after hearing the Governor and the Council of Government in office according to the provisions of the existing law, and also the Overseas Council".

THE PROVINCE OF GOA: INDIAN CLAIMS ANSWERED

Following the attainment of independence by India, the New Delhi Government announced their desire to enter into negotiations with the Portuguese Government for the transfer to the Indian Union of the territories which constitute the Portuguese Province of Goa (Goa, Damão, and Diu). In support of their claim, the Government of the Union put forward arguments of a geographical, political, and economic nature: territorial contiguity; the wish of the local population to free itself from a purely colonial régime oppressing it; and, finally, the advantage to those territories of avoiding economic dependence on powerful neighbours and of enjoying a prosperity hitherto unknown to them.

The intentions of the Indian Government drew the liveliest protest from the Portuguese Government who forthwith announced not only that the ceding or transfer of a single portion of their territory was out of the question since this was expressly forbidden by the Constitution, but also that, in no circumstances, could they agree to a solution which represented the abandoning of peoples who have so often and in so many ways shown themselves conscious of their close and intimate ties with Portugal.

Furthermore, the reasons adduced by the Indian Government in support of their claim were energetically refuted by Portugal as being contrary to the facts. Thus, it was pointed out that, as an argument, geographical contiguity has not the substance which it is sought to attribute to it, as is demonstrated by the very existence of Pakistan and by the unity of the Portuguese territories spread throughout the world; it was also pointed out that there is no knowledge of any wish on the part of the local population to secede from Portugal and that, on the contrary, there is the clear and firm intention to preserve an individuality which has been enjoyed for centuries and which would be lost if the Province of Goa were to be included in an Indian Province. To consider that the Portuguese territories are Colonies requiring to be liberated from the yoke of oppression is to ignore the traditional rights enjoyed by the people, as the Portuguese citizens that they are; the entire policy which Portugal has followed in India since the beginning of the XVIth Century, and the legislation which has always provided for the absolute legal equality of all Indian-born Portuguese nationals with Portuguese nationals born in the Mother country. As early as 1612, this equality was proclaimed by a resolution of the then existing "Council of India", in the following terms:

"India and other lands overseas with the government of which this Council is concerned are not distinct or separate from this Kingdom, nor do they belong to it by union, but they are members of the same Kingdom as is that of Algarve or any of the Provinces of Alentejo and "Entre Douro e Minho", since they are governed by the same laws and enjoy the same privileges as those of the said Kingdom, so that he who is born and lives in Goa, in Brazil, or in Angola is as Portuguese as he who lives and is born in Lisbon".

It was also on this same basis that the Council for Overseas was created in 1642 and that all subsequent legislation, such as the

Order of 1761, was promulgated, up to and including the present Constitution. The latter simply confirms the traditional Portuguese course whereby the Overseas Provinces form an integral part of the Portuguese State.

Lastly, as to the economic argument, the relative prosperity of the Province of Goa was contrasted with the meagre attractions of the neighbouring regions of the Union—a fact which only recently was confirmed in a letter to *The Times* by Evelyn Waugh. The Province of Goa is benefitting from the current Development Plan just as are the rest of the Portuguese Overseas Provinces, as will be shown below, and, as a result, it is even expected that its agricultural output will be considerably increased (mainly through the irrigation works on the Candepar and Paroda canals), thereby doing away with the need for many of the imports now required. Were there no other reason to oppose the Indian ambitions, Portugal considers that it would suffice to point to the reality represented by the prosperity in the Province of Goa which visitors can see for themselves.

The Province of Goa does in fact possess a specific character which is distinct from that of the territories of the Union, its population constituting a separate and well-defined community whose feelings and way of life are more akin to those of any other Portuguese Province than of the adjacent Indian territories.

THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN

During the last twenty-five years the Portuguese overseas territories have been making steady progress. Indeed "steady" is hardly an adequate word, for, in some respects, the progress, especially in Angola and Moçambique (with which we shall be principally concerned here) has been sensational. The first steps were mainly concerned with underpinning a very shaky financial structure, while new foundations were being laid. This was a painful process which called for, and obtained—though not always without grumbling—considerable sacrifices. In 1937, when it had gone far enough, Development Funds were created in Angola and Moçambique.

The demand for colonial produce during and after the second world war gave rise to what can only be called an outburst of prosperity. The Portuguese Government was determined that this time the wealth which resulted from it should not be frittered away as it had been after boom periods in the past. In 1946, plans were made and immediately put into execution for the carrying out of important public works—improvements in port facilities, hydro-electric installations to provide greatly needed energy and for irrigation, the improvement and extension of roads and railways, and many other things which Angola and Moçambique needed.

In 1953, when further essential studies had been fully carried out, Portugal's strong financial position made it possible to launch a more elaborate and comprehensive scheme. Since, as we have seen, the tendency today is to stress the political and economic unity of the mother country and the overseas provinces, the Six Year Plan which the Government set before the National Assembly, followed

the same principle. It was conceived as a whole but provided separately for continental and overseas Portugal. We shall take into account only the overseas part of it, but it should be borne in mind that the Plan is being carried out as a whole by a specially created Economic Council of seven Ministers with Dr. Salazar himself as Chairman.

The activities proposed are not intended to supersede those in which a territory should be normally engaged, but to lay the foundations of future, long-scale development: they are activities which a province could not be expected to pay for out of its ordinary revenue, and which, if it attempted to do so, would certainly involve a cutting of expenditure on the social services.

The overseas section of the Plan is being carried out in stages, and the decree of the National Assembly which authorizes it provides that the first stage shall "consist only of undertakings the realization of which within the time estimated, is regarded as genuinely possible". It is for the Economic Council to decide what shall be undertaken in each stage, after consultation with the Government of the provinces concerned.

It has been customary for several years for the Budgets of the greater provinces to show a considerable surplus, and these accumulated surpluses will now be applied to the purposes of the scheme. But this money will not suffice, and help will be forthcoming from Portugal. In the beginning stages, at least, the operation of the Plan in Cape Verde, Guinea and Timor, will be financed entirely by the Portuguese Central Government. The total expenditure on the Development Plan, so far as the Central Government is concerned, is estimated at 9,000,000 contos of escudos¹ of which 1,500,000 will be devoted to overseas development, in addition to 160,000 which the Central Government is providing out of the 200,000 capital of the specially created Bank of Overseas Development which will play an important part in the financing of the Plan.

During the discussion of the Plan in the National Assembly Professor Mendes Correia made a rough comparison between the expenditures of Portugal, Great Britain, France, and Belgium on their current schemes for colonial development. The annual expenditure of Great Britain and Portugal is about equal at 1,000,000 contos; that of France and Belgium rather less than fifty per cent above this. But when the comparative resources of the countries concerned is taken into account, the extraordinary effort which Portugal is making, becomes apparent. In fact, of a total expenditure of 13,700,000 contos on the Plan, 6,940,000 will be devoted to the economic development of continental Portugal and (if we include the cost of a new ship for the African service) 6,560,000 to that of overseas Portugal.

The examination in greater detail of this proposed expenditure, according to the provinces, will afford us an opportunity to consider some of their particular problems.

¹A "conto" is 1,000 escudos, approximately £12 at the present rate of exchange.

Angola

Angola and Moçambique, the two great provinces on the continent of Africa, are the main objectives of the Overseas Development Plan. Angola alone accounts for 2,896,000 contos of the total estimated expenditure. Of this, 1,118,000 contos will be raised by loan. The money will be expended principally (a) on works of irrigation and hydro-electric installations in the valley of the River Cunene, where it is proposed to establish large numbers of settlers from Portugal, together with their families, upon the land; and (b) a practically equal amount on the improvement and extension of railways and port installations. It was originally intended to devote half of this latter sum on carrying the railway from Moçamedes—on the harbour of which 90,000 contos are to be expended—forward to Serpa Pinto, in a region so far practically undeveloped. This railway will serve the projected region of white settlement and, in a later stage, may be continued to the frontier with Northern Rhodesia, thus providing an outlet to the Atlantic Ocean for Rhodesian produce. But, to meet the needs of northern Angola which has, in the past, been poorly served as regards communications, it was decided to reduce the immediate programme for the Moçamedes railway and, instead, to extend the line which now runs from Luanda to Malange northwards in the direction of the Belgian Congo. This will facilitate transport in a region whose agricultural possibilities can rapidly be developed, and encourage the exploitation of mineral resources which have so far remained untapped largely because transport was so difficult and uncertain.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the Plan as it affects Angola—and to a slightly less extent, Moçambique—is the attention it devotes to white colonization. Portugal is a poor country in which industrialization is conceivable only on a limited scale. Its population is increasing at the rate of a million every ten years. To find employment for a part of this increasing population it is desirable to encourage emigration to the African provinces where it is so much needed¹. There has been much discussion about the type of colonization likely to prove most successful. Should "free" settlement be the rule, perhaps with assisted passages and some assistance for the settlers on arrival, or should the State undertake the whole business, selecting families apparently suitable, transporting them to Africa, providing them with land ready for occupation and cultivation, and with stock and agricultural implements? In years gone by a great deal of money was expended on colonization of the latter type, but it did not, for various reasons which might have been avoided, prove strikingly successful. Adequate arrangements were not made for the reception of the colonists, and sufficient care was not taken to select settlers of a suitable type. This is not likely to happen again. There is still plenty of opportunity for "free" settlement, but it does not seem probable that many "free" settlers will engage in agricultural pursuits. There are many—and there will be more—opportunities in

¹In proportion to its population, Portugal has already provided its territories in Africa with a greater number of white settlers than any other Power with colonies there.

Angola for skilled workers and technicians, if they can be spared from Portugal, and many opportunities for the type of man who used to emigrate to Brazil with a reasonable hope of gaining a better living than he could expect in Portugal. But, as the present Overseas Minister has pointed out, the great need of the African provinces is for white families, already experienced in agricultural work, to settle down as farmers on a small scale. Suitable land awaits them and there is plenty of it. Working side by side with native farmers they can exercise the kind of civilizing influence which is most required and most effective, slow, perhaps in its working, but fundamental.

Unfortunately, though it is clear that many struggling Portuguese families would be much better off in Angola or Moçambique, it is hard to find any who, so long as they have a scrap of ground of their own in the mother country, no matter how unpromising the future, are prepared to give up their old homes and start afresh in a strange environment. In any case, it is inconceivable that agricultural colonists of a suitable type could be established, with their families, in Angola or Moçambique, except under a directed and assisted system.

Moçambique

Moçambique's problems, like those of Angola, are mostly bound up in population and transport, though there is not the same acute shortage of labour. In some ways the problem of transport is more difficult than in Angola—a glance at the map will suffice to make this clear—for a more astonishing frontier than that of Moçambique with its neighbours can hardly ever have been drawn. Moçambique's transport difficulties at once become those of the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, and the Rand. If it is not possible, at certain seasons of the year, to journey from the extreme south of the country to the extreme north without passing through South Africa and Rhodesia, so it is not possible (at any season of the year) for north-eastern South Africa or Rhodesia to carry their produce to the sea without passing through Portuguese territory and making use of the Portuguese ports of Lourenço Marques or Beira. This economic difficulty is always liable to create political difficulties.

Considerable attention has been given in recent years to the improvement of this situation. Lourenço Marques and Beira are actually (and even more potentially) magnificent harbours, and much money was spent on their development even before the initiation of the Development Plan. The Plan itself provides for a total expenditure in Moçambique of 2,342,000 contos, and of this 1,066,000 will be devoted mainly to the construction of railways. More than half this amount—572,000 contos—will go to the construction of the Limpopo railway.

Works of one sort or another in the valley of the River Limpopo absorb more than half the total amount to be spent upon Moçambique. Apart from the railway, a great scheme has been undertaken for the irrigation of the valley and the preparation of large areas of potentially fertile land which has hitherto been useless for white colonization. This will cost 684,000 contos out of the 1,256,000

tioned to the development of natural resources, and settlement. Over 470,000 contos go to a hydro-electric scheme at Movene which will supply much needed water and power to Lourenço Marques, and also irrigate a considerable area on the banks of the river Incomati.

Cape Verde

The province of Cape Verde presents problems which might easily be regarded as insuperable. It consists of ten islands and five islets of volcanic origin and extremely mountainous. Weather conditions are so uncertain—prolonged droughts are the rule rather than the exception—that the population which, predominantly, is partly coloured, finds existence desperately hard.

In S. Vicente the archipelago has one of the great natural harbours of the world, strategically almost as important in relation to the South Atlantic as the Azores are to the North. It used to be a great coaling centre. But ships now burn oil, a fuel which makes it possible for them to omit the call at S. Vicente, and to re-fuel at ports like Dakar and Las Palmas which, though somewhat out of the way, can provide water and fresh fruit and other produce without difficulty. But the prosperity of Cape Verde must inevitably be bound up with the future of its harbours.

The Development Plan provides for the expenditure of 112,000 contos during the first stage. Of this sum, 40,000 are devoted to improvements in the port of S. Vicente, and 55,000 to agriculture. The question of great hydro-electric works like those in Angola and Moçambique, does not arise: the great thing is to make the most of the fresh water when there is any, constructing little dams to prevent the torrential rivulets which come into existence when there is a heavy downpour of rain, from emptying themselves immediately and uselessly into the sea. Captain Sarmiento Rodrigues, in an important address given in June 1953, thus summed up the situation: "The works of agricultural hydraulics, of tree planting, and of improvements in the raising of cattle, which are being carried out in the Cape Verde Islands, are in obedience to a programme which cannot be interrupted so long as there are resources in water supply and natural conditions of which advantage can still be taken. Plantations of trees, and little dams in the streams which now run wastefully to the sea can, not only help in irrigation, but also serve to avoid the calamitous torrents which, when the rains come, carry off with them the little that remains of the fertile soil of the small valleys, painfully held together in the melancholy years of drought and crisis".

Guinea

Guinea is a flourishing little province, surrounded almost entirely by French territory, except, of course, for its coast line. Because of its climate it has never been regarded as suitable for white colonization though a considerable number of Cape Verdeans go to live there. It subsists on native agriculture, and exports considerable quantities of oleaginous produce. One of its chief problems

is that of getting its produce to the sea. There are good natural harbours but, to reach them, traffic must come along a series of mainly insignificant waterways which present one set of difficulties in the rainy season, when fords are useless and ferries troublesome, and another in the dry. Of the 78,000 contos allotted to Guinea, 68,000 will be spent, directly or indirectly, on the improvement of communications and transport. This seems, and is, a comparatively small sum, but it should be remembered that the Development Plan is in its initial phase, and that careful surveys and studies will have to be made before any large scale work can safely be undertaken.

In the speech from which we have just quoted, the Minister points out that, now that the natives have come to believe in the good intentions of the Government, "there is little more to do than teach them how to improve certain of their crops, and give them the means which are indispensable in the work of recovering land from the sea so that rice can be grown on it. A work which technicians can only do at the cost of millions, is done at very small expense by the natives themselves when they feel that they are working for their own advantage, and have confidence in the Government".

S. Tomé and Príncipe

The little island of S. Tomé, situated almost precisely on the Equator, has had an interesting, indeed exciting, history. It is now labouring under a problem that has afflicted it for at least fifty years. It cannot provide sufficient labour for itself.

The island, which is completely mountainous, is mainly cut up into large cocoa plantations, or *roças*, of a type not without some resemblance to the cotton plantations in the southern United States of a century and more ago. These *roças*, on which the prosperity of the province depends, need 30,000 workers: the population of the island can, it is said, provide no more than 5,000. In the past the problem has been solved, partially and always temporarily, by importing natives from other African territories, notably Angola; but this was an unsatisfactory solution from many points of view, despite the fact that the working conditions of the imported labourers have been progressively improved until they have now reached a stage more advanced than that generally enjoyed by native workers of the same type elsewhere in Africa. But, in the past, the system of recruitment often left much to be desired: at the best, it meant the separation of men from their families and the environment to which they were attached. Because of shortages of shipping, and perhaps a certain reluctance on the part of employers to lose the labour which was so hard to come by, repatriation was delayed and slow. And now the greater African provinces of Angola and Moçambique have no labour to spare.

In the circumstances, it is natural that official eyes should turn to Cape Verde which has a population greater than it can comfortably carry, perfectly adapted to work in the tropics. The Plan apportions 200,000 contos to S. Tomé. 80,000 of this will be spent on the construction of village settlements in which, it is hoped,

immigrant workers can enjoy a family life of the type to which they are accustomed, and will be content to settle down for the rest of their lives. In course of time—though the Plan does not say so—this scheme, if it works, might be extended to the island of Príncipe where it might be possible to break up some of the large estates which have been less profitable there than in S. Tomé, and out of them form smaller holdings which could be worked co-operatively.

India, Macao, and Timor

With the remaining provinces we must deal more summarily. The State of India is allotted 180,000 contos, 50,000 of which—more than is being provided for any other province—will go to the improvement of urban conditions. 70,000 will be devoted to the development of transport and harbour installations, especially in the port of Mormugão. This is an urgent necessity in view of the fact that the production of iron and manganese has increased by leaps and bounds in the last few years, and existing port facilities are quite insufficient to handle the export of these metals. In agriculture, attention will be mainly devoted to irrigation with the aim of making the province more self-supporting by growing more rice.

Macao, with a large population crowded into the tiny space of 15 square kilometres, has been Portuguese territory for more than four hundred years. It is in such a flourishing position that it has been able to help its poorer relation Timor. The Development Plan provides for the expenditure of 120,000 contos on the improvement of the outer harbour, and on raising the standard of living conditions.

Timor, which was seriously disorganised during the Japanese occupation during the last war, will devote 60,000 contos out of the 72,000 for which provision is made, to restoring its towns and improving its agriculture. It will be granted an interest-free loan for this purpose.

In its explanation of the Plan for Moçambique, the Government forestalls a criticism which might be made by one who considered only the purposes to which it appears to have devoted all its attention. It says—and its remarks apply with equal force to the other provinces—“all the activities which together make up a life of progress do not find a place in this Plan. By means of sums provided by the Budgets, both ordinary and extraordinary, provision will be made for the construction of roads and bridges, housing . . . scientific research, buildings, hospitals, and sanitation as well as for transport and many diverse aspects of the life of the province”.

The Plan for Overseas Development, about which so much more might be said if space permitted, is bold and imaginative. The financing of it has been carefully worked out in accordance with Dr. Salazar's invariable principle that a country, like a careful housewife, must live within its means. It is to be hoped that the course of world events will not frustrate, even partially, what can truly be described as a very gallant effort.

F.C.E.

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