

# WHITE PAPER FOR WSU MOZAMBIQUE DOCUMENTARY PROJECT

## PORTUGUESE EXPLORATION OF AFRICA

BY

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Henry the Navigator also known as the Seafarer was the Duke of Viseu during the 14<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese Empire that played a pioneer role in European exploration of the world.

For centuries, the Barbary pirates have been a ruthless marine legion that controlled the entire North African coast from their base in Ceuta port, Northern Morocco. They mastered slave trade by hijacking European ships for captives and assaulting Mediterranean villages whose inhabitants were later enslaved.

Prince Henry persuaded his father King John I of Portugal, to conquer Ceuta in 1415 when he was just aged 21 with the aim of putting end to century's old domination of the Muslim Barbary pirates. Soon after his success in Ceuta, he learned stories of traders in the region who prospered through Gold brought from Timbuktu, West Africa. This is said to have inspired his idea of exploring the rest of the continent further south towards the sub Saharan Africa. Henry was also fascinated by the story of Prester John, who according to earlier European visitors was told to be a Christian King who ruled Ethiopia. Henry was determined to discover the Kingdom in order to establish an alliance in the Christian Crusade against Islam parallel to his wishes of exploring a profitable trade route between Europe and India by circumnavigating over the southern cape of the African continent. In 1419, his father officially appointed him governor of the southern Portuguese province called Algarve.

Portuguese historians' witness that in Algrave, Henry founded the strategic village called "Vila Do Infante" where he successfully presided exploration efforts by sponsoring various voyages. He also became the founder of the world's first navigation school. He received an exclusive right granted from his older brother to engage in any exploration beyond the famous Cape Bojadour (present day Mauritania) where the Portuguese first African slaves had been taken to Europe.

Henry's exploration was somehow successful despite various challenges. Portugal became the first European country whose expedition went beyond Cape Bojador in 1434, followed by Cape Branco in 1441 which is the second largest city of present day Mauritania. In 1443, the first Portuguese expedition sighted the Bay of Arguin, an Island close to Cape Branco where they built a strategic fort there around 1448. Between 1455 and 1456, the Portuguese had already discovered all the Cape Verde Islands. However, this great exploration did not progress beyond present day Sierra Leone, itself discovered around 1462.

Twenty eight years after the death of Prince Henry, explorer Bartolomeu Dias proved that a new trade route to India is possible via the southern cape of the African continent after becoming the first European to discover the Cape of Good Hope (present day South Africa) in 1488.

In July 1497, Vasco de Gama began his journey to India using the same route previously used by Bartolomeu Dias. After rounding the cape on December 16 1497, Gama arrived in Muslim controlled Island of East Africa for the first time. It is believed that trade between Africans and Arabs existed since early 10th century and Islam was a religion embraced by indigenous Africans.

Gama's presence however did not last long. Having not had enough commercial goods for trade and fearing anti-Christian sentiments, the Portuguese frustration apparently caused doubt among the Arabs who questioned the motive of their presence in the Island. Soon after, Gama and his crew were expelled both by the Arabs and the local population. Gama left en route to India by retaliating with canon fire from his ship inflicting serious damage on the Island.. After leaving Ilha de Mozambique, Vasco De Gama continued sailing towards the north east Africa. He arrived in Malindi through a short passage at Mombasa and continued sailing across the Indian Ocean sailing a distance of 15000 KM before reaching the coast of Malabar in India. This first successful passage initiated the idea where the Portuguese sought to seize the Indian Ocean trade route by sweeping Arab fleets to impose a lasting maritime dominance.

## **THE PORTUGUESE HEGEMONY**

Nine years later, other Portuguese occupied the Muslim settlement of Ilha De Mozambique (Island of Mocambique), initiating a colonial presence that would last over four hundred years. The territory was later called Mocambique derived from its Arab ruler Mussa Bin Biq.

Similarly, the Portuguese imposed control over East Africa with their military dominance in a beginning of the colonial era. Effective 1505, Muslim influence over the coast of East Africa was subdued by the powerful military of the Portuguese expedition of Fransisco Almeida. His operation begun at Sofala (present day Mozambique) where a short period agreement with the ruling Arab Sheikh benefited the Portuguese a good share of the Gold trade. This agreement lasted only few months before the Portuguese completely seized control over Sofala. Further north, Almeida managed to crush down the strongest Muslim base in Mombasa diverting his mission towards “Ilha De Mozambique” and permanently occupied the Island in 1507. The Island thus became the head quarter of the East African operation where the Portuguese managed to control the entire commercial flow out of every corner of the East African region. Realizing later the strategic importance of the Island (Ilha De Mozambique), the Portuguese decided to shift their trade base from Sofala. In 1552, they built the fortress of Sao Sebastiao with granite imported from Portugal and the construction greatly symbolized the permanent presence of the Portuguese.

Such imposed trade supremacy however was not quite to their advantage. Arabs negotiated with indigenous African chiefs for the supplies of valuables which are later traded by the Portuguese who channeled these goods towards profitable routes determined on their own. This policy assumed to benefit the Portuguese interest rather benefited the Arabs who easily managed to divert goods from established trade routes by offering better terms to the Africans. When the Portuguese found out, they retaliated against such acts by engaging several expeditions inland Sofala that resulted in barring all African chiefs from trading with Arabs or should they do so will be considered as enemies. Despite such developments, there was still a threat of competition from Arab traders that posed threat to Portuguese interests. This initiated a shift of approach where the Portuguese opted for to seize control of supply sources rather than receiving supplies from traders, a *move that required territorial control beyond the Island*.

The Portuguese expansion campaign began early 1531 when they were awarded concessions the fairs by the Munhumutapas (ruling African dynasty) at Sena and Tete up the Zambezi River, enjoying beyond the out of favor Arabs who preceded them and had a long record of trade with the Africans. Churches, commercial depots and stockades were built by the Portuguese and the settlement there grew eventually. A Christian missionary managed to baptize the Munhumutapa king Negemo whom Arab traders persuaded later that the priest was a spy seeking to find the secretly kept locations of gold mines. Convinced by the claim, Negemo retaliated by having Jesuit missionary Goncalo de Silveira murdered. The

Portuguese later used his death as a pretext to wage war against him in 1572 and took control of the gold mines in Mashonaland. Following the defeat of Negemo, an agreement got signed where the Munhumupatas conceded trade fairs supervision rights to the Portuguese as well rights in mining operations. The Portuguese also obtained rights for mining in Macinland where the Munhumupatas had no longer authority. In return, the Munhumupatas received military aid to crack down on rebellion mainly of the Tonga people and those of Manicaland, assisted by small unit of Portuguese army along side of their campaigns. Several other African chiefs became dependent on the military support of the Portuguese for their security and many conceded commercial interests in exchange for their protection.

Upon the death of Negemo in 1603, Gatsi Rusere succeeded the throne and signed a treaty with the Portuguese granting all minerals right to his realm in recognition to the Portuguese support for his claim to the role of Munhumupata. This decision was not favored by some members of the rival section of the ruling family. In 1623, Nyambo Kaparidze became the new Munhumupata and attempted to reverse the decision taken by his predecessor. But the Portuguese along with his Shona enemies defeated him and overthrew him from power in 1629 only to replace him by Mavura Mhande, a Portuguese backed candidate later declared as *vassal of the Portuguese crown*. At this stage, the Portuguese made a major step forward having been completely exempted from the Munhumupatas trading law at the fairs but where Portuguese captains also received authority to tax on African subjects. Portuguese settlers also began to receive estates granted by the throne of Portugal where land legally remained a property of the Portuguese throne but leased for a fixed period of time. This move encouraged further settlements and increased the number of lease holders known as the “Prazeros”.

As the settlements grew, Prazeros (lease holders) acquired lands of defeated chiefs by any means. Some became owners of rebellion Chief lands upon defeating them. Other lands were taken away from weak Chiefs through intimidation. But the economic outcome of the prazos (estates) was never up to the expectation of the Portuguese throne despite the prazeros being granted the right to use labor from inhabitants of lands they acquired including the exercise of judicial authority. Their production hardly resulted in surplus because most of the Prazeros produced enough for their own need. The benefit of the settlement mainly focused on the military advantage of the Prazeros army known as Chikunda to ensure protect Portugal’s interest in the interior and fulfill the Munhumupatas obligation in serving the throne.

However, the growing independence of the prazeros threatened the authority of Portuguese throne . They had not only full control over the Chikunda (slave army), the only credible military force in the region, but they also became extremely Africanized, deeply involved in the African politics, becoming direct competitors against the distinct economic interest of the Portuguese crown. Portugal found itself unable to influence the prazeros. Raiding for livestock and slaves became a frequent practice affecting for instance mining areas where the work force has been reduced as a result. In 1677, the Portuguese throne ordered the break up of large prazos and reduced the size of new leaseholds in order to limit the independence of the prazeros and introduced new regulations. Males married to African wives were excluded from prazos succession. Although the new edict was disregarded and the function of the new law was ineffective at large, the prazeros continued to be an essential African institution to the Portuguese throne.

On the other hand, In north East Africa, resentment grew among Arab controlled towns along the east coast of Africa over commercial monopoly long imposed by the Portuguese. In 1699, Portugal had no choice but to surrender the harbor fortress of Mombasa to the Omanis. In Europe, Portugal's dynasty union with Spain in 1580 made enemies among France, England and the Netherlands. As a result, the Dutch made an all round attack against the Portuguese destroying their naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean and elsewhere in East Africa and Brazil. The island of Mozambique was attacked and completely destroyed except the fortress of Sao Sebastiao. The Dutch deprived the Portuguese from its trade monopoly by destroying its trade network of the Indian Ocean and incurred irreparable damage to its shipping. Portugal lost the spice trade in India but despite the damage caused, the Dutch were unable to dislodge the Portuguese from Mozambique.

Attacks from within Africa also weakened the Portuguese hegemony and their economic interest. A battle against the Changamire people led by their king Dombo resulted in the expulsion of the Portuguese and their Munhumupata protectorates from the Zimbabwean plateau down to the Zambesi. The Changamire took over the control of all the trade fairs previously under the Portuguese and ensured that no mining activities are conducted in their territory by foreigners and the Munhumupatas kingdom was reduced to the lower Zambezi where they continued ruling over a small area of little significance under the Portuguese protection.

The Portuguese territorial occupation of Mozambique continued to expand upon a new Gold strike in the Maravi territory north of Zambezi. Small settlements followed and new trade fairs established. Resistance from African chiefs was met

with failure and attempts to attract more settlements from Portugal did not materialize because death tolls among new comers were high as a result of disease. Instead, settlers from Goa who arrived in Mozambique as soldiers exceeded those of Portuguese origin. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Portuguese penetration had reached as far as the Cahora Bassa, however still lacking effective control and administration of the entire colony. The prazeros enjoyed their autonomous right and continued to prosper by siphoning every resource at their grasp but mainly by aggressively engaging in the slave trade that had become a lucrative demand in Brazil. Between 1820 and 1830, Mozambique's annual export had reached 15,000 slaves representing 10 percent of the traffic over the Atlantic. In 1815, Portugal under pressure from Britain signed a treaty to abolish slave trade but its lack of effective authority over the prazeros as well as colonial authorities in Mozambique could not enforce the new embargo until later in 1844, an Anglo-Portuguese treaty was signed authorizing the Royal Navy to board and inspect ships suspected of carrying slaves. These measures helped reduce the traffic but illegal smuggling continued until total abolition of slave trade was agreed and a decree signed in 1878. Despite the progresses achieved, it took many more years to completely end the practice in Mozambique.

### **The downfall of the prazeros and a new colonial era**

Weakened by uprisings in the 1820's and 1830's and attacks by the Ngoni population in the south, close to eighty percent of the prazeros had been affected by severe damage where only few of the strongest prazeros survived and remained even more powerful than they used to be. These circumstances favored the great prazeros in taking over many abandoned estates of smaller prazeros. Their resilience towards the Portuguese became much more aggravated than ever to the extent their resistance against colonial rule threatened going as far as arm struggle. The Portuguese simply waited and capitalized on the rivalries among the prazeros themselves before colonial authorities intervened to defeat them and limit their power. In 1888, of the five great prazeros, only the great Gouveia survived in alliance with the Portuguese and continued to exercise his influence independently in Mozambique while the colonial authorities maintain their influence better than ever.

In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, new conflict rose over territorial influences between Britain and Portugal. The Royal navy who had been surveying the coastline of Portuguese East Africa since 1820 under pretext of monitoring the slave trade which it strongly opposed had entered in direct competition with the Portuguese doing its own trade agreement directly with African chiefs at Lourenco Marques

(present day Maputo). In 1843, the British annexed Natal and turned it into a colony, the Portuguese opposed its move claiming for right over Natal basis of explorations back in the sixteenth century. Britain defended its action citing the lack of effective Portuguese occupation as a strong evidence of claim and remained occupying Natal. Further territorial claims by the British in southern Mozambique ended when a French arbitration in 1875 gave an outright award to the Portuguese for the demarcation of its southern border with the Transvaal state. The new demarcation was approved following a construction of new railroad connecting Pretoria to Lourenco Marques (present day Maputo).

In 1880, the Portuguese presence in Mozambique was limited to the central coast, the lower Zambezi basin, Lourenco Marques and the Inhambane enclave in the South. The Northern part was claimed again based exploration although not occupied even after the chattered prazeros. At the time industrial powers of Europe (Britain, France, Germany and Belgium) scrambled for colonial territory seeking raw material resources, the colonial powers decided at the Berlin conference in 1885 to allot territories among themselves with exclusive rights for exploitation proclaiming “effective occupation” as precondition of title for colonial possession. Territorial claims among the colonial powers began soon after but in most cases to a great disadvantage of the Portuguese. The Portuguese sphere of influence that had been recognized by France and Germany on the basis of historical facts was completely rejected by Britain. In 1886, the Portuguese foreign ministry produced the so called “rose colored map” connecting the two coasts of the southern Atlantic and the Pacific to justify its territorial right in Africa. But attempts to persuade Britain was in vain as the claim was contested on the basis of lack of substantial evidence that demonstrates effective occupation.

For several years that followed, Britain and Portugal fought against each other in proxy wars each side trying to conclude treaties over another with local African chiefs until Britain ceased on its activities and issued an ultimatum to the Portuguese to resolve their differences peacefully. In January 1891, a treaty got signed between the two parties where the Portuguese conceded the BSAC’s (British South Africa company) position in Mashonaland (present day Zimbabwe) and agreed to the partition of Manicaland (also present day Zimbabwe) where the Portuguese previously had an exclusive right. Although the parliament in Lisbon rejected it, the treaty got ratified when the British began to infiltrate in Portuguese strongholds within the interior and began engaging in diplomatic activities with African chiefs that threatened possible uprisings against the Portuguese.

Between 1885 and 1902, Portugal engaged itself in decisive and successful military campaigns to ensure effective control of the interior which ended any

major threat of ethnic uprising against the colonial rule. Between 1899 and 1902, they occupied all area included in Cabo Delgado and Niassa province in the north. The final successful assault was made against the Yao ethnic known for their handling of slave trade over long distances. The Portuguese pushed the Yao further north in what was known as German East Africa (present day Tanzania). By 1912, they were able to make an effective occupation of Northern Mozambique. Having swept away the prazeros, the Portuguese followed in the example of the British, hiring chartered companies by granting concessionaries rights to develop land and resources, new towns, infrastructures such as roads, railroads and sea ports...Beginning 1892, three major companies operated in Mozambique under contract by the Portuguese government. These companies operated under worst labor policy that impacted damaging effects in Mozambique as a result of their unlimited need for dependable supply of forced labor for pay. The companies had exclusive right to exploit the labor within their territory and the policy restricted recruitment from one company to another. They ensured maximum control and applied heavy penalties on those who attempted to leave. Condition of labor varied from one company to another, simply ranging from bad to worst. Family break up due to forced labor supply from one territory to another was most evident as the number of female always exceeded that of men. Rape and murder became frequently common. The Africans had little resistance to such cruel treatments, many fled to Nyassaland (present day Malawi) when they could hence causing serious depopulation. Despite the abuses, these companies never brought substantial development capital into the country but the Portuguese were limited from any complain as they were heavily indebted to the British who controlled two of the major companies in Mozambique: The Mozambique company founded by British investment and the Nyassa company formerly owned by the Germans but confiscated in 1914 during the first world war in favor of the British.

On the other hand, when Portugal's participation in World War I along with the allied troops failed to attract African volunteers in military service, the Portuguese simply adopted conscription to fill the gap of the required number of troops. Such action combined with forced labor caused serious uprisings in the Zambezi region in 1917 when the Barue rebellion targeted African allies of the Portuguese. It took 20000 heavily armed troops to break up the resistance along with severe punishment of civilians suspected of siding with the rebels.

## **MOZAMBIQUE UNDER THE ESTADO NOVO OF ANTONIO SALAZAR**



After a military coup that deposed the ruling parliamentary regime in Portugal in 1926, a civilian economist Antonio de Oliveira Salazar got appointed as finance minister in 1928 under the provisional military government in a mandate to balance the national budget and reduce Portugal's external debt. He immediately published the new act of the Portuguese colonial imperialism which served as a guiding doctrine of the Portuguese colonial empire during the dictatorial regime.

He modified the colonial policy whereby all Portuguese colonies would become self sufficient by increasing production and improving the marketing tool of the products. The surpluses they would produce would be used to import goods that could not be produced in the colonial territories. It was estimated that such expectations would in turn alleviate the drain of Portugal's treasury for defense expenditures as well as maintenance. The new policy was a success because Portugal managed to achieve surpluses both in the foreign reserves and the national budget and maintained a favorable trade of balance.

In 1932, Salazar became prime minister of Portugal and introduced a civilian government marking an end of the transitional military rule. A new constitution was drafted in 1953 that created the *estado novo* (the new state), declaring that all overseas territories were "one and indivisible". The government greatly encouraged emigration towards Mozambique but all attempts failed in the beginning until the mid 1950's where Portuguese farmers settled in Southern Mozambique in cooperatives or in modest family holdings. The European population consisted of about 50000, most of whom is concentrated in the coastal areas and major towns around the Zambezi, engaged in various activities in the service sector, trade and business.

After World War II, Portugal economy was sufficiently good and all its colonies well secured. Road infrastructure and communication have been established to connect various remote areas in the country. Encouraged by the outcome and Mozambique's economic potential, the metropolitan government envisaged further development enclosed in a six years plan of national development program in 1953 that prioritized projects in line with economic development. Major sea ports, hydroelectricity and railroad were the principal projects included. Such initiatives contributed in the prosperity of white owned commercial enterprises, light duty industries and farms. The interior of Mozambique also became well connected with the coastal cities.

## **THE RISE OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM**

Although Mozambique flourished in a development that seemed going for a lasting period, Portugal's own interest was always first. Similarly, Europeans interests in Mozambique seemed all along promising while Mozambicans simply remained victims of irrational segregations. Africans were encouraged to accept Portugal as the motherland. However claims of equal rights were based on condition they abandon their African identity and become civilized by accepting Portuguese standards and values. These for instance will be identified under the code assimilados (assimilated). Those who did not meet these requirements were identified as indigenas (indigenous). Indigenas in particular were subject to harsh segregations orchestrated by curfews, conscripted job contracts, obligations to carry identification and most of all lived in designated places. This code branded a big majority of the African population in Mozambique by unlimited injustice where farmers for instance were not allowed to grow anything other than crops directed by officials.

Portugal's imperial rule during the 20<sup>th</sup> century was defined by harsh regulations of labor law, racial segregation and a tight control by special secret police of Salazar's regime that ensured surveillance over both whites and Africans. Political dissidents were being subjected to beatings, torture and jail terms. Labor strikes were dealt with fierce consequences where rioters were killed and protesters imprisoned. Such level of harshness in the colonial rule had caused irreconcilable discontent among Africans; a stiff rejection to Portugal's colonial imperialism became imminent when the struggle took a political turn. Greatly influenced by the success of nationalists in their host countries, leaders of social organizations, educated Mozambicans living abroad, and political refugees who fled the colonial regime all united under one belief that independence from Portugal was essential.

Of the various political groups formed throughout the neighboring countries, MANU (Mozambique African National Union) was the most popular movement founded by Mathew Mwole and Lawrence Milinga who have been residents in Tanzania and Kenya for a long period of time. UDENAMO (uniao democratica nacional de Mocambique) was founded by Adelino Gwembe and actively operated from Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) . In Nyassaland (Malawi), UNAMI (Uniao Nacional Africana de Mocambique Independente) was formed also in 1959 by Balatzar Changona.

In June 1962, in an official conference hosted by the leader of Tanganyika (Tanzania) Julius K. Nyerere, the founder of MANU, UDENAMO and UNAMI agreed to consolidate their party's movement under one organization with one elected leader. The success of the outcome led to the formation of FRELIMO

(Frente de Liberacao de Mocambique) with an elected leader Eduardo do Chivambu Mondlane (a southern Mozambican) as president of FRELIMO, Uria Simango vice president and Marcelino dos Santos a Marxist ideologue. The first party congress of FRELIMO was held in September 1962 and adopted a platform aimed at mobilizing forces to attain self governance and independence of Mozambique. However, the unified independence movement under FRELIMO was not a success as it was intended to be. Differences among political members were inevitable leading to the resurgence of the political movement of UDENAMO under a modified name, the National Democratic Union of the Munhumupatas. In 1965, the split persisted within FRELIMO leading once again to the formation of a new political front COREMO. COREMO (Comite Revolucionario de Mocambique) was formed after a coalition of five parties in Kampala, Uganda whose leaders, Paulo Jose and Illomulo Chitofu Gwanbe had been members of FRELIMO who opposed the appointment of Eduardo Chivambu Mondlane, criticizing his leadership for not being sufficiently active inside Mozambique. COREMO's activities were somehow limited in a three years guerilla action against the Portuguese forces between 1965 and 1968 in the region of Tete from its base in Zambia. Nevertheless, Mondlane's FRELIMO emerged the strongest of all the political movements for liberation when it managed to successfully convey a message among Mozambicans that only a greed for power has led to the creation of other fronts belittling their activities by describing them as "office organizations". By contrast, FRELIMO achieved a structural base with established bureaucratic structure, a tangible program of political action within Mozambique and a military wing. It also gained recognition as a legitimate representative of the Mozambican people by the OAU (The Organization of the African Union) and more importantly, the active support by the Tanzanian government.

## **THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE**

When the armed struggle under FRELIMO began in September 1964, the Portuguese underestimated its capacity as a major force that could bring serious hostilities to the colonial army. But FRELIMO's success during the first three years of the battle against the Portuguese proved it otherwise when for the first time in 1967 the Portuguese admitted limited casualties and some loss of territory to the rebels advantage.

The same year, The Portuguese army established a "no man's land" across the border of Tanzania abandoning remote places and thinly populated areas by concentrating its displaced inhabitants in what was called the "aldiamentos"

(fortified village complexes). While the purpose of this strategy was to prevent the African population from having contact with FRELIMO forces, it on the other hand offered protection aimed at winning support for the Portuguese cause. From a military point of view, the Portuguese cleverly planned this move because the FRELIMO's majority of soldiers belonged to the Maconde ethnic groups who have been historically enemies of the Macua-Lomue ethnic population where the "aldiamentos" have been established.

In 1968, a controversial decision saw Samora Moises Machel, a southerner like Mondlane named as commander of the army replacing his predecessor who was a Northerner. While FRELIMO sought to extend its military operation further south, it encountered problems of cooperation by its soldiers who resisted fighting away from their homeland. Internal problems soon resurfaced among FRELIMO's leadership both from ethnic and ideological point of view. Several assassinations took place by the rival factions among the leadership heightening tensions within the party. In 1969, one of a series of bombs delivered through mail killed Eduardo Chivambu Mondlane where international investigations failed to name his assassins despite accusations pointing at the Portuguese secret police to communist elements within FRELIMO. It was also said that Mondlane was condemned by attacks from the Soviet Union and China as he sought to limit the degree of communist involvement to obtain support of Western countries. Simango assumed the presidency temporarily until a central committee of FRELIMO decided on a three-man presidential council that consisted of himself, Samora Machel and dos Santos. However, six months later, Simango fell out with both Samora Machel and dos Santos, accusing them of citing ethnic rivalry and blaming them for all the assassinations that had taken place within the party. Simango was later expelled from his role within the FRELIMO along with other political figures despite a reconciliation effort brokered by President Julius Nyerere and the OAU (Organisation of the African Union). Samora Machel became the president of FRELIMO along with dos Santos his vice president. As the military operation increased, FRELIMO continued to receive non military aid from Western countries mainly the USA, and military trainings, scholarships for its officers, diplomatic support at the UN, funds and arms were provided by communist states in Europe and Asia. In Africa, Tanzania remained the most important support to FRELIMO; the Portuguese made a small scale attack across its border but withdrew from pursuing their plan to avoid further international criticism against their colonial policy.

The fighting continued to spread under the new leadership of Samora Machel focusing on a strategy that targeted development program of Mozambique's

economy under the colonial regime. Therefore, the constructions of the huge Cahora Bassa hydroelectric dam that was due to attracting foreign investments and encourage emigration of Europeans in Mozambique became a prime target. According to FRELIMO's point of view, the completion of the project would be a dream come true for Salazar's government which anticipated further settlement of about one million people, both whites and Africans to develop nearly 2 million hectares of farmland through irrigation using water from the man made lake. FRELIMO's international campaign opposing the construction of the dam succeeded and major bidders such the United States, Sweden, Italy and others withdrew from participation. But the project went on with the backing of South Africa and the involvement of private French and German involvement. However, as FRELIMO controlled areas surrounding the dam, it realized that inflicting material damage wasn't a wise idea but instead a great asset for an independent Mozambique. Therefore, they modified their strategy and decided to slow down the construction and raise its cost as much as possible.

As the final phase of the war approached, regime change took place in Portugal. Salazar was replaced by Marcello Caetano and became the new prime minister in 1968. Speaking of "evolution within continuity" as part of improvement on conditions in colonial territories, he worked to reduce racial discrimination. Of the reforms he adopted, the organic law of 1972 made Mozambique a constituent state instead of a simple province of "Greater Portugal" with a 50 member legislative assembly. Although the franchise was extended to all literate Mozambicans, only a few percentage of the population took part in elections.

In Portugal, Caetano faced immense opposition to the soft stance he had taken. When the army threatened a coup against his regime, he subsequently returned to usual hard line policies. Meanwhile, FRELIMO's guerillas continued to inflict serious damages on the Portuguese army. When they received Soviet rockets, they began to launch them over Portuguese military camps and towns. Despite continuous counter offensives, FRELIMO improved its military gain substantially during 1972 and 1973. When President Julius Nyerere persuaded the Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda to support FRELIMO, its forces made major progress in advancing into the western region of Tete. Malawi, a poor country long dependent of Portuguese Africa for its access to sea ports, had long been criticized for its policy that defended its own landlocked economy by closing its border to any of Mozambique's guerilla movements. But in 1973, it finally authorized FRELIMO to use its territory as transportation route and sanctuary which became strategically important for the guerillas orchestrated attacks against the Portuguese in Tete. Two nations however supported the Portuguese: South Africa whose interest was down

to economic cooperation with the Portuguese and its involvement in the Cahora Bassa hydroelectricity project. And Southern Rhodesia, whose support involved military aid that, fought nationalists alongside FRELIMO in the district of Tete against its own white minority rule.

By 1974, the Portuguese were put under pressure with the steady advance of the insurgents to the south, and FRELIMO forces were getting too close to Beira, directly affecting white settlements south of the Zambezi. As the situation became alarming, both Portuguese settlers and pro-Portuguese Africans pressured the government to take firm action against the growing insurgency but the outcome was in vain. The Portuguese overreacted when they began to destroy villages and forcibly removed Africans in similar tactics to prevent interaction with FRELIMO forces. These measures further aggravated the situation and increased Africans support to FRELIMO's movement.

### **The negotiations and the Lusaka accord**

By 1974, growing criticism spread in Portugal against its colonial policies. FRELIMO's military success had shaken off the confidence of the Portuguese military from maintaining the fight against guerillas. With 80 percent of Portugal's military spread against three liberation fronts along with Mozambique, conscripts to fill the gap in the army was required. Moreover, with the economic strains of the 1970's creating major dissatisfaction and the colonial wars (Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau) becoming indecisive, changes in Portugal were believed to necessary for improvement.

On April 25<sup>th</sup> 1974, the Caetano regime was overthrown in a bloodless coup and replaced with a provisional government headed by General Antonio de Spínola. The objective of his government was to end the war in Africa by granting self determination to its colonial territories through a confederation that would see its former colonies remaining in close tie with metropolitan Portugal. In order to put this into effect, Spínola set a ceasefire immediately and offered Mozambicans three choices:

- a total integration in a Greater Portuguese state
- self government within a Lusitanian (Portuguese speaking) confederation
- Or a complete independence.

FRELIMO rejected all above proposals insisting an immediate independence without referendum and the recognition of FRELIMO as the sole legitimate

representative of the people of Mozambique. Resumption of hostilities were immediately ordered when Spínola rejected FRELIMO's demand claiming there was no evidence that it represented a majority of the Mozambican people. Portuguese troops however, protested against the government's decision as they considered the whole situation as a lost cause. Strikes all over the cities erupted both by whites and the Africans who have been frustrated by the crippled economy. Back in Lisbon, Spínola realized that the situation would no longer be under control and began to approach FRELIMO to engage into discussion.

In June 1974, Samora Machel and Portuguese Prime Minister Mario Soares met for the first time in Zambia, Lusaka. As negotiations went on, tensions in Mozambique continued. Several strikes related to increase in wages erupted all over the cities as well as in Portuguese owned farms. Lootings and banditry in areas under minimum security became inevitable. Meanwhile, FRELIMO's adamant position during the negotiations in Lusaka weakened that of its belligerent. In July 1974, Spínola officially conceded its willingness to recognize the right of its colonies independence without referendum. On September 06<sup>th</sup>, Machel Soares announced the signed agreement that would grant Mozambique its total independence as of June 1975, the thirteenth anniversary of FRELIMO's foundation.