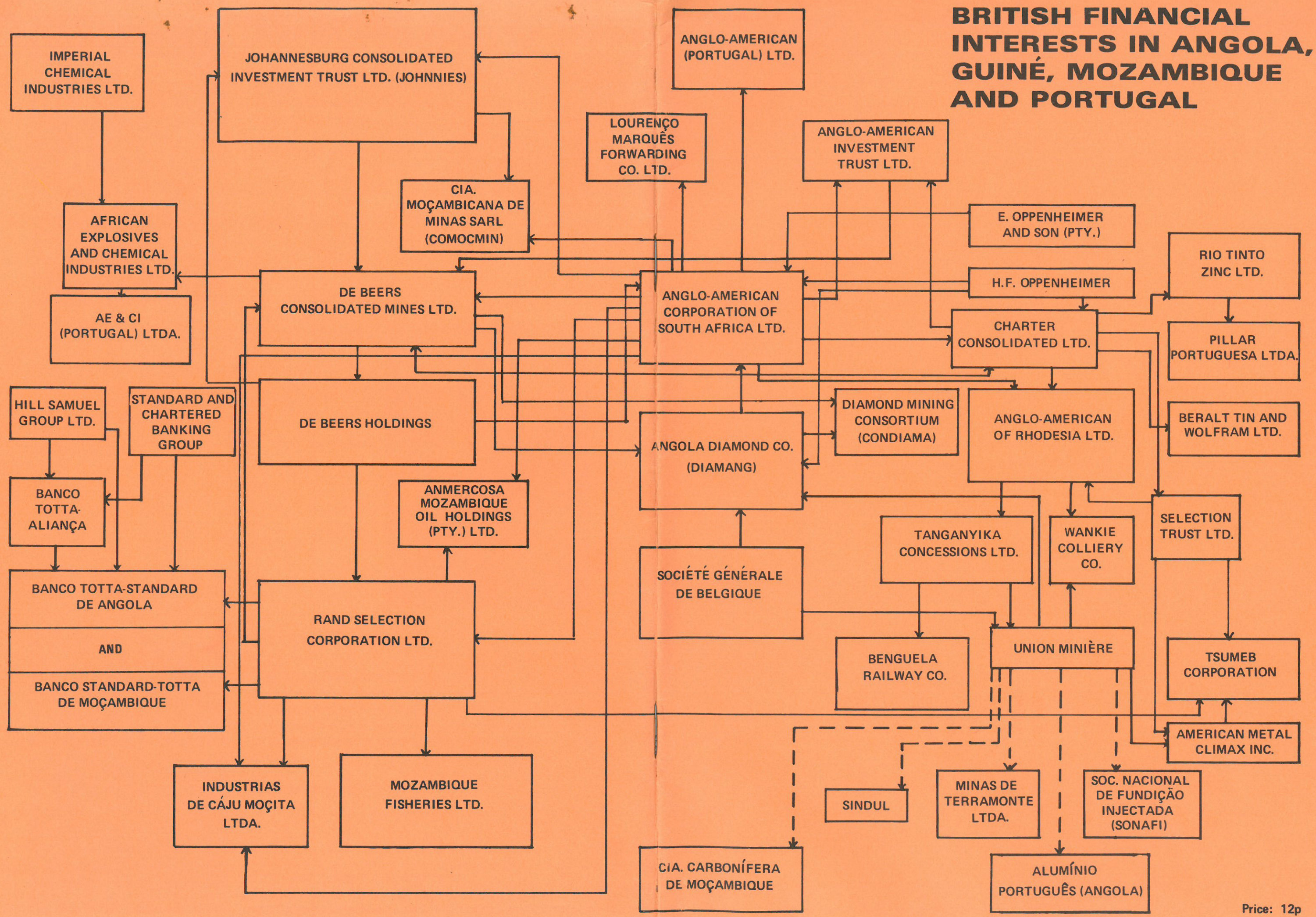


BRITISH FINANCIAL INTERESTS IN ANGOLA, GUINÉ, MOZAMBIQUE AND PORTUGAL



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BRITISH FINANCIAL INTERESTS IN ANGOLA, GUINÉ, MOZAMBIQUE AND PORTUGAL

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The celebrations this year of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance of 1373 are a clear expression of the success of British domination of Portugal. British economic superiority has forced Portugal into a classic state of underdevelopment, with direct implications for her African colonies.

This booklet aims to show the extent and nature of British economic interests in Portugal and her colonies. The introduction gives a brief summary of the events leading up to the present situation, and goes on to show the extensive network of controls in most sectors of the economy.

The substance of the findings is a detailed list of firms and interests which should be useful to activist

groups in Britain. Many of these firms are inter-related in a way typical of advanced capitalist states. Some of these relations appear on the cover graph, which shows the 'spider' dominance of the Anglo-South African mining finance houses in the Southern African economies. Because these houses are not registered as British companies, although they have British finance, they are not necessarily included in the list.

Guiné does not feature much in this publication due to the small scale of non-Portuguese investment there. It is of course clear that not only British interests are involved in Angola, Mozambique and Portugal; the US, West Germany, France and other imperialist nations are showing increasing interest in these countries.

1. How Britain underdeveloped Portugal

Britain's plunder of Portugal and the colonies did not begin yesterday. Portugal has been a satellite of Britain for at least three centuries. The Treaty of Methuen in 1703 between the rulers of Britain and Portugal confirmed this relationship when it established a monopoly for British manufactured goods in return for protectionist tariffs for Portuguese agricultural goods.(1) The net result of the Treaty was to guarantee stagnation to Portuguese industry, which was only just beginning, and to give impetus to the development of British manufacturing. While the British textile industry flourished and contributed to the accumulation of capital by British financiers, the Portuguese textile industry was particularly hard-hit as lower-price British cloth flooded into Portugal.(2) (It did not get going again until the 20th century, when the use of forced labour to grow cotton in Africa was decreed in Lisbon.) Portuguese capital was diverted into agriculture, underwriting Portugal's underdeveloped status and dependence on Britain. Each time that an attempt was made to develop and industrialise Portugal, British interests liaised with the Portuguese landed gentry (who profited from the specialisation in wine) to defeat this change. The Catholic Church too opposed the development of manufacturing, on the grounds that it 'would have employed heretic English artisans and could have been used by the Jews to regain power and influence'.(3)

British interests even managed to gain control over Portugal's most profitable agricultural export, port wine, and British investments in wine soon

reached the million pound mark. The trade was 'completely in the hands of the English merchants who ... did not hesitate to mercilessly sacrifice the Douro producers'.(3) These British firms still control wine production today.

As early as the 17th century Portugal was in the red with Britain, importing far more than she exported. The Portuguese government used Brazilian gold, mined by African slaves, to finance the trade deficit with Britain. 'The gold of Brazil merely passed through Portugal and cast anchor in England to pay for the flour and textiles with which England fed and clothed us', bemoaned one Portuguese historian. (4)

Portugal became a trading centre for the benefit of British interests; her ports served the British navy, and settlement occurred on a relatively large scale. 'Very soon the Englishman enjoyed privileges greater than those granted to Portugal's own subjects.'(3) Following the Napoleonic wars, when the Spanish troops had been driven out, the British troops remained in Portugal, and in 1818 the leader of an unsuccessful rebellion against British domination was hanged by General Carr Beresford. In the second half of the century, Britain was able to extend her investments in Portugal and gradually achieve control of large sections of basic industries such as transport and mining. Portugal fell into heavy debt with Britain as a result of the many enormous loans issued to her.

Even had they wanted to, Portuguese governments could have done little to remedy this dependence, since they desperately needed the support of the British - and in particular British naval power - to protect them against Spanish domination and to maintain their colonial possessions. These, however, played a curious role. 'Portugal, still mediaeval, maintained her empire less for economic and commercial reasons than for religious zeal and braggadocio' (3) Since there was no manufacturing sector, there was no middle-class who could exploit the wealth of the colonies which was instead used to buy foreign support for the ruling class, and to 'mitigate the frustration and poverty of the people and keep their illusions alive, even if such nominal ownership reinforced the country's dependence on Great Britain. It was a vicious circle from which it was difficult to escape' (3)

In the carve-up of Africa in the last decade of the 19th century, Portugal's 'oldest ally' showed her true colours and started plotting with other imperialist nations to annexe the Portuguese territories. Portugal had claimed the whole area between Angola and Mozambique but Britain was 'contemptuous of Portugal's aspiration ... confident that moribund Portugal had no energy for occupying her proper empire'.(5) Since Britain was able to back her ambitions with naval and financial power, Portugal was forced to give up her claims to the interior so that Rhodes' 'Cape to Cairo' ambitions could be realised. 'This humiliation provoked disarray amongst the Portuguese, the suicide of one of the best Portuguese poets, and later led to the Republican Revolution of 1891'(6)

Investment Stampede

British capital had all this time been gaining footholds in the Portuguese African territories,(7) particularly in Mozambique where Portugal 'ruled' by leasing off two-thirds of the country to foreign concessionary companies,* thus reaping benefits with a minimum of expenditure. British capital financed the Niassa, the Moçambique and the Zambezia Companies,(8) each of which had exclusive rights to mine, carry on commerce, transfer land, and collect taxes within the areas leased to them. The right to taxation meant that the companies had a labour force of men, women and children for whom they were in no way responsible. 'The capital of these companies ... was extremely small in relation to the areas allotted, an indication that exploitation rather than development was the intent and that any provisions for build-

*While it is fully acknowledged that Portuguese interests in Mozambique, Angola & Guiné are foreign, the term is used here to mean 'non-Portuguese foreign interests'.

ing schools and hospitals, or otherwise promoting the welfare of the population were not taken very seriously, if proposed at all'.(9) Despite these advantages, however, only the Zambezia Company, with no administrative rights, managed to make the profits that had been hoped for; the other two got bogged down in even the minimal duties that they took on.

Smaller companies moved in too. More than half of the railways in the Portuguese colonies were built with British capital (10): the Benguela Railway in Angola, the Beira Railway, the Beira Junction Railway and the Trans-Zambezia Railway in Mozambique. These helped British control in and trade with her landlocked colonies of the interior. 'At the beginning of the twentieth century, one quarter of the European population settled in (Mozambique's) territory were British subjects. British capital controlled the Delagoa Bay Development Corporation, which operated the water-works, telephone and tramway at Lourenço Marquês and which had a large interest in the electrical company and owned much land'. All in all, 'British capital ... carried on virtually all of the trading and development work in Moçambique. The situation was not very different in Angola ... British interests were powerful because of their important power and public utility concessions, and their control of the railroads'.(3)

The British government was reluctant to recognise the progressive Republican government in Portugal, under which labour was enabled to organise into unions. However, when the fascists took power by military coup in 1926, (backed by the banks, big landlords and industrial monopolies, who were threatened by the new power of the working class), Britain did not hesitate to recognise the Salazar government. All labour rights were revoked, and unions came under the direct control of the state. The safety of foreign investment was guaranteed - although under Salazar it did not significantly expand until the wars of repression in Africa forced the Portuguese ruling class to seek financial (and hence political) support from its allies in NATO. Britain then lost her position as exclusive coloniser of the Portuguese economy, but still ranks among the most dominant.

British interests still retain most of the traditional monopolies - for example the Lisbon Electric Tramways, the Benguela Railway, the Trans-Zambezia Railway in transport; purification and distribution of water in Portugal; and the Sena Sugar Estates in Mozambique. British imperialists have also won for themselves profitable positions in the recent rush to exploit the resources of Portugal and the colonies - in particular, labour and minerals.

2. Exploitation in practice

Wages

Britain - in common with other countries where large sections of organised labour have been able to win a living wage from their employers - has found in Portugal a chance to make easy profits. With wage levels at a minimum, and no right to strike, foreign capital gets a very high return on investment. The average rate of profit for 13 firms in Portugal with American capital was 16.5 per cent; one Dutch-owned biochemicals firm showed a 145 per cent return on capital in 1971.(6)

By the end of 1970, the average wage in Portugal was only £200 a year, nearly half the workers earning between £5.50 and £12.50 a week.* Wages are rising fast in some sectors, due to the acute shortage of labour in Portugal; but they are still meagre by West European standards. Prices are only slightly lower than in Britain, but subject to even more rapid inflation, particularly in tourist and industrial areas of the country. Prices in Portuguese shops rose by more than 10 per cent during 1971 and rents by an amazing 19 per cent.(6)

In the sectors of industry where a large proportion of workers are women (textiles and clothing, paper products, rubber and fish canning), wages are without exception among the lowest, at well under £1 a day. Despite a 15 per cent wage rise in 1971, woman workers in agriculture still only receive 70p a day, half that of the men.(26)

Although in the colonies the Portuguese have started paying slightly better wages since the armed struggle was launched in 1961, Africans are still scarcely able to make a living. A secret report on the situation in Angola by the Director of the Labour Institute there, stated that: 'A large difference exists between the wages of the African worker and of the worker of European origin. The average monthly wage of the rural worker and similar workers, always of African origin, is 600 escudos (less than £9) whereas the urban workers who are predominantly of European origin, get six times as much'.(12)

At any one time there are about 400,000 Mozambican men working in South Africa and Rhodesia, mostly in the mines and plantations - many of which operate with British capital (see cover chart).

* The conversion rate 69 escudos = £1 was used here, although the pound has sunk to 62 esc. since it was floated.

The white government in Mozambique can count on receiving at least 1 million escudos (£14,492) each year in return for the export of workers, under an agreement of 1908 between South Africa and Portugal.(9)

Thus it is clear that Portugal is maintaining a system of exploitation of the working class and peasantry as a whole, throughout her empire, which is operated largely for the benefit of international capital. Within that empire, the Portuguese ruling class and Western interests profit especially from black and female labour. This situation does not differ qualitatively from that in any of the advanced capitalist nations.

Formal Conditions of Investment

Although the Portuguese government has stipulated that foreign companies operating in Portugal must associate themselves with Portuguese capital, this requirement has often been waived in the colonies. In 1965 nearly all the restrictions on foreign investors were lifted, and foreign ownership of a firm in the colonies can now be 100 per cent (except in industries of strategic importance). Foreign capital still enjoys remarkably favourable conditions such as tax holidays and guaranteed repatriation of capital and profits - all of which contrasts strongly with the level of taxation on ordinary people, who bear a heavy tax burden relative to their incomes. Firms may, however, be required to pay defence tax in the colonies, and to make low-interest loans to the provincial governments, thus helping them out when the wars create financial difficulties. (See the information on Diamang below.)

Textiles

British capital is still involved in traditional textiles - Coats Patons, for example, has been established in Oporto since before the Second World War, and now employs 1600 workers in cotton textiles. Wages in 1969 were 77 pence per day.(11) ICI recently established an enormous factory for polyester fibre and claims to be supplying 60 per cent of all the synthetic fibre used in Portugal. At present, competition with Swiss, West German and French firms in this field is fierce; attempts have been made to gain a monopoly of polyester supply.

Assembly

One of the easiest ways in which foreign interests exploit Portuguese labour is by setting up assembly works. The goods are often re-exported wholesale, since the majority of the Portuguese are too

poor to make up a worthwhile 'market'. The electronics and auto industries are typical of this kind of operation: GEC-English Electric, for example, and British Leyland, whose BMC and AEC subsidiaries operate in Portugal, as well as Leyland itself at Setubal near Lisbon.

Tourism

Tourism is another area where quick profits are to be made, and British companies have been eager to invest in 'property development' on the Algarve. In practice this usually means dispossessing the peasants (whose condition is already desperate, even with their land) to build hotels, villas and accompanying amusements - golf clubs, swimming pools, cinemas and casinos. The Portuguese workers themselves participate in this jamboree only as low-paid domestic servants, bar-tenders etc. Britain provides the largest number of foreign tourists - over 450,000 in 1971, or 8 per cent of the total - while 85 per cent of the Portuguese population still has no holiday (6)

Mining

Britain has extensive interests in mining in Angola and Mozambique, through the participation of British capital in the operating companies, rather than by direct ownership of the companies. Some of the main interests are as follows.

In Angola:

British interests - as well as Belgian and American - are behind DIAMANG, the Angola Diamond Company, through De Beers Consolidated Mines and the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa. Tanganyika Concessions Ltd. is also said to be involved through its holding in the Belgian Union Minière.

Until 1971 DIAMANG's concession covered nearly the whole of the country; it was a 'small monopolistic empire' within Angola (13) employing over 200,000 men who were compelled by the government to work for the company. In 1960 wages averaged £2.50 a month, half of which was received in food produced by the workers themselves on DIAMANG's estates.

Although DIAMANG was exempt from most taxes and duties, it has nevertheless been one of the Angolan government's chief sources of revenue for 50 years: (see table opposite)

DIAMANG also spent 100 million escudos (£1.45 million) out of its own annual budget to train, house and equip a special para-military force of Katangese soldiers to guard the diamond fields. (15) However, these sums of money have not put DIAMANG

Period	Source of Revenue	Amount (£ million)
1961*- 1970	Contribution to defence under 1906 law requiring foreign mining companies to help maintain 'peace and order' and since 1961 'the defence of national property'	2.8
1920- 1969	Contribution to the government of Angola through its shares in the profits and dividends (over half of which were received since 1961)	70
1920- 1970	Foreign exchange given to the government to help with the balance of payments problem	96
1920- 1970	Loans to Angola government	7
	Loans written off	1.6
	TOTAL	177.4

*Beginning of war of national liberation in Angola (14)

in any financial difficulties: in 1969 alone their profits were £4.5 million and output doubled over 1968. (6)

When DIAMANG's concession came to an end in 1971, five new consortia were set up, one of which is known as CONDIAMA (Diamond Mining Consortium), and is jointly owned by DIAMANG and De Beers. The Angolan Government, which owns 10 per cent of the shares, can expect under its agreement with CONDIAMA as fruitful a relationship as it had with DIAMANG.

In Mozambique:

There are also a variety of British investments in mining in Mozambique. British capital has been, or is presently backing a range of exploratory and production operations in the mining of diamonds (through Anglo-American), copper, ilmenite and iron. In 1970 a new company COMOCMIN (Cia. Moçambicana de Minas SARL) was formed to prospect in the Tete district for all minerals except petroleum, natural gas, diamonds and iron ore. Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (a South African company which has some British capital) is said to hold 60 per cent of the initial shares and Anglo-American 40 per cent. Prospecting has already revealed the existence of substantial deposits of coal, iron ore, asbestos, graphite, copper, nickel, tin and chrome. Johannesburg

Consolidated Investments recently founded a new company in Angola.

Through its 17.64 per cent holding in Union Minière, Tanganyika Concessions Ltd, has an interest in the Wankie Colliery Company Ltd which is mining for bauxite in Mozambique. Anglo-American also has interests in the Wankie Colliery Company. Tanganyika Concessions' chief operation is the Benguela Railway, which links the international networks of Zambia and Zaire with the Atlantic at Lobito and Benguela. Through the notorious Belgian Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, Tanganyika Concessions also has an interest in the major coal mining concession in Mozambique near the town of Tete.

The Belgian Société de Recherches Minières du Sud-Katanga (SUDKAT), a subsidiary of Union Minière, owns, along with another Belgian company, the Cia. Carbonífera de Moçambique (Coal Company of Mozambique). In 1960 the average daily wage of the Coal Company's 897 unskilled miners was 14 escudos (about 20p) although this wage is likely to have risen slightly since then. The chief customers of the Cia. Carbonífera de Moçambique are the British-owned Trans-Zambezia Railway Company and Sena Sugar Estates, Union Minière and the Chemin de Fer du Bas-Congo and several shipping lines.(14)

In Portugal:

British interests are still important in Portuguese mining, although mineral wealth is minimal compared to that in the colonies. Beralit Tin and Wolfram, with Charter Consolidated, own tin, wolfram, copper and tungsten mines in Portugal; interests in uranium and marble;

and 4000 acres of freehold land, including a town with 5000 inhabitants. Through its holding in Union Minière, which is associated with the Cie. Royale Asturienne de Mines, Tanganyika Concessions has interests in the Minas de Terramonte, which mines lead, zinc and silver. American capital is also associated in this project. Through its association with the giant French trust, Péchiney, Union Minière has interests in the Portuguese Aluminium Company of Angola; and Union Minière has holdings in three more Portuguese companies. British and American capital is involved in 60 of the largest Portuguese uranium mines.

Profits from the Wars

There are also profits to be made directly from the wars. Thus in Angola and Mozambique, British capital is busy brewing beer for the troops (Whitbread); making cigarettes (British-American Tobacco); manufacturing and supplying modern radio equipment and the communications systems (Plessey, Racal); providing telecommunications between the colonies, Portugal, Britain and South Africa (Cable and Wireless); manufacturing electric cables (BICC); supplying and servicing vehicles and aircraft (Robert Hudson); manufacturing and supplying explosives and other chemical products. British Petroleum is known to be active on the chemical warfare front: a South African subsidiary of BP, Agricura Laboratoria (Pty.) manufactures the chemical 'Convolutox', a herbicide which has been used in raids by South African mercenary pilots against the liberated areas of Cabo Delgado, Mozambique.(16) The Zambezi Planning Office of the Mozambique government recently placed an order worth £140,384 with Agricura.(17)

3. Portugal as a dependent state

The effect of this free-for-all situation in Portugal and particularly in the colonies is certainly to increase the amount of foreign capital immediately available, which the Portuguese government so urgently needs to finance its wars. But the Portuguese ruling class also has a lot to lose from encroaching foreign capital. In the first place, little of the profits made from exploitation of local labour is ever seen again in Portugal or the colonies, since repatriation is not restricted. The Portuguese Secretary of State for Industry recently complained that foreign interests were only out for their own profit, grabbing all that they could from Portugal and giving nothing in return.

It is true that they play almost no part in helping to build up the economy of Portugal on a sound basis. Even if foreign interests were to plough back their profits (instead of expatriating them) this would only serve to expand their interests and to increase the dependence of Portugal on foreign capital.

More significantly, Portuguese capital cannot compete with the international corporations, and can be not only bought out but also undercut in any price war. Multi-national corporations have the advantage in terms of control of the sources of raw materials and also lower unit-costs of production. They are able to move factories from one country to another, wherever over-

all production costs are lower.

Even where Portuguese capital has a majority interest in a company, it is still completely dependent on the foreign participant. As Pierre Jalée notes, foreign capital is entirely happy to be the minority partner, for 'it knows that the enterprise is viable only on the basis of foreign patents, foreign materials and supplies, and foreign technical capital. Although in the majority, the indigenous capital is the prisoner of its foreign partner. Mixed investment is, perhaps, the worst form of neo-imperialist exploitation for it ties up the indigenous capital of the host country and denationalises it'.(18)

Extent of British Investment

200 firms in Portugal are associated with British capital, out of a total of 600 firms which operate with foreign capital, according to the Director of the Portuguese National Development Bank. Britain in this respect still has an advantage over the other imperialist nations. Total British investment is estimated to be approximately £300 million, if the colonies are included, although the US and West Germany have surpassed Britain in their level of investment. Similarly, Britain has been overtaken by West Germany as leading exporter to Portugal.

4. Trade

Britain is still by far the best customer of Portugal, buying more than do the colonies. Exports to Britain increased by more than 20 per cent in 1971. For example, Portugal was the third largest supplier to Britain of clothing and footwear (£16 million) and of electrical domestic appliances (£3.8 million); and the fourth main supplier of wines (£3.7 million).(6)

Portugal's Trade in 1971

Countries of origin of imports (£million)

West Germany	114
UK	99 (13%)
US	50
France	48
Italy	38
Spain	34
Remainder	248
All foreign countries	631 (87%)
Colonies	97 (13%)
TOTAL	728 (100%)

Countries of destination of exports (£million)

UK	95 (23%)
US	42
West Germany	27
Sweden	24
France	19
Holland	12
Remainder	113
All foreign countries	332 (78%)
Colonies	92 (22%)
TOTAL	424 (100%)

Total trade deficit £304 million (1970 deficit £251 million)

Trade deficit with UK £4 million (this is considerably less than that with Germany (£87 million) and France (£29 million) (6)

British firms have been scolded by Portuguese business for their lack of drive in terms of export of both goods and capital, allowing the Germans to get ahead. The Portuguese ruling class is obviously anxious to retain the support of its traditional protector, whom it has to thank for its regime of ruthless exploitation both in Africa and Portugal.

5. The European Economic Community

Portugal's economy is so closely linked to the 'enlarged Community' and in particular, to the UK, West Germany and France, that with EFTA no longer a viable market, Portugal had no alternative but to negotiate with the EEC (as in fact she had done each time Britain attempted to join). Partly thanks to Monday Club member Geoffrey Rippon's

staunch efforts on her behalf, the preferential trade agreement that came into force on January 1 1973 is very favourable to Portugal. It guarantees to certain important Portuguese industries (such as iron, steel and petroleum) protection until 1985 against cheaper imports from the EEC, but grants special concessions to Port-

uguese exports such as tinned fish and tomato concentrate.

However it was not just sardines that lay behind the agreement. The EEC has its origins in NATO:

'When NATO was established in 1949 it was never meant to be just a military alliance. Article 2 calls for economic collaboration ... and Article 4 for political consultation ... it was vital to be able to meet aggression on the economic and political level'. (Professor Walter Hallstein, former President of the EEC Commission)(19)

British Government negotiator Rippon bore this out:

'The enlargement of the Community will be very important in encouraging closer defence co-operation which is far more urgent and necessary a matter than most people realise'.(20)

British entry into the EEC is

'The only realistic road towards a solution of our present defence problems ... NATO is beginning to find that the Alliance can no longer regard its interests as confined to Europe and the Atlantic area'. (Sir Beddington Behrens, a founder of the European Movement and former President of the Atlantic Group)(19)

This is echoed by the Portuguese Foreign Minister's speech at the opening of the Brussels negotiations:

'From the beginning Portugal has taken an active part in the major undertakings of European co-operation both in the political and military

fields and in the economic and monetary sectors. It has been our opinion that such a policy of concerted effort was an instrument of prime importance in safeguarding Western values ... It is for this reason that, despite the limits of its resources, its contribution to the joint Western defence effort has been one of the highest made in relation to the national income level. For this reason too, when the OEEC was set up in implementation of the Marshall Plan for the economic recovery of Europe, Portugal became a founder member, as it did again when the OEEC became the OECD'.(21)

He went on to say that European unity was:

'the greatest, if not the sole, guarantee of Europe's survival ... We believe that we must not disregard the lesson of our historic past or our particularly important contribution to the construction and expansion of Western civilisation. We believe that our destiny is really bound up with yours, and that Europe herself will stand to benefit if we can find the stable base on which our future relations must rest'.(22)

Portugal would eventually like to gain full membership of the EEC: for the moment she is content to consolidate her relationship with the European NATO powers in an attempt to increase the support for her African wars. Thus her relationship with the EEC, far from being inconsistent with her presence in Africa, is aimed at reinforcing it.

6. Resistance

The connection between imperialism and the intensification of national oppression was described in 1912 by an Austrian writer as follows:

'In the newly opened up countries the capital imported into them intensifies antagonisms and excites against the intruders the constantly growing resistance of the peoples who are awakening to national consciousness; this resistance can easily develop into dangerous measures against foreign capital. The old social relations become completely revolutionised, the age-long agrarian isolation of 'nations without history' is destroyed and they are drawn into the capitalist whirlpool. Capitalism itself gradually provides the subjugated with the means and resources for their emancipation and they set out to

achieve the goal which once seemed highest to the European nations; the creation of a united national state as a means to economic and cultural freedom. This movement for national independence threatens European capital in its most valuable and most promising fields of exploitation, and European capital can maintain its domination only by continually increasing its military force'.(23)

Portugal as Policeman in the Colonies

The armed liberation struggles in Angola, Mozambique and Guiné create problems for foreign capital trying to operate in certain areas of those countries, such as Gulf and DIAMANG in Angola. Some companies even maintain private security forces to protect their property. About the

role of the Portuguese administration in the colonies Amilcar Cabral said

'The reason that Portugal is not decolonising now is because Portugal is not an imperialist country, and cannot neo-colonise. The economic infrastructure of Portugal is such that she cannot compete with other capitalist powers. During all these years of colonialism, Portugal has simply been the gendarme, the intermediary, in the exploitation of our people'.(24)

Struggles in Portugal

Within Portugal there has been a long history of industrial action and brave resistance to fascism amongst men and women workers. British-owned firms have had their fair share of strikes, and have not hesitated to call in the PIDE (or DGS as it is now called), to intimidate and beat up the strikers. This happened in the recent actions by Lisbon Electric Tramways workers. In April 1971, 21 labour unions demanded from the Lisbon government the right to strike; freedom of affiliation to national and international labour organisations; and the chance to elect their own representatives, to remain in office without suspension or arrest.

Intellectuals too are fighting the regime in the universities and in protests against the wars. Desertions continue to increase - even officers are affected.

Organisations of intellectuals and workers such as the Armed Revolutionary Action have successfully sabotaged targets of military significance, for example the new NATO Iberlant headquarters. In November 1971 14 army helicopters and three aircraft were blown up. In the previous July the Angoche munitions ship was found floating off Mozambique. Earlier in the year the troop ship Cunene was seriously damaged in Lisbon harbour. Since 1971 there have been a series of attacks against targets of military importance in Portugal.

Prime Minister Caetano blames a 'fifth column'. Addressing a meeting of his National Popular Action, the only legal political movement, he warned:

'In this war there is no front and no rearguard. It is everywhere where the adversary tries to implant his ideas of defeat, favouring the abandonment of the overseas territories, inciting the soldiers and young people to emigrate or desert from military service, undermining the morale of the youth'.(25)

As in the US, Portugal's wars in Africa create both internationally and within Portugal itself contradictions which cannot be solved under the present regime. Even the generous assistance of the sympathetic Western Alliance cannot rescue the Portuguese ruling class from its present predicament.

Footnotes

- (1) John Methuen came from a family of rich Bradford cloth merchants and knew the important producers and traders in Britain. The Secretary of State for Portugal with whom Methuen negotiated was a large wine producer, who presented Methuen with generous gifts from the Portuguese Treasury. (Sideri S, Trade and Power: Informal Colonialism in Anglo-Portuguese Relations, Rotterdam University Press, 1970.
- (2) 'In other words the Treaty caused the destruction of the only sector (textiles) which could have served as the leading sector of the industrialisation process, and whose very existence would probably have prevented the "technological gap" which still affects Portugal today' (Sideri, as above)
- (3) Sideri, as in (1) above
- (4) Martins, História de Portugal, 1908
- (5) Robinson and Gallagher, Africa and the Victorians, London, 1961
- (6) Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin, extracts from Portuguese and British press, essential information on economic and military situation. Available from 10 Fentiman Road, London SW8. Subscription £1 a year
- (7) Portugal had already lost the lucrative trade with Brazil to Britain, partly as Britain used Caribbean products to undercut Brazilian goods in Europe. Then by the end of the 19th century 'more than half of the capital invested in the Portuguese (African) territories was British and had been raised in London. Most of (this) capital went into the development of the plantations which characterise the economy of Mozambique'. Frankel Capital Investment in Africa, London 1938
- (8) British capital alone backed the Niassa Company; French, German and South African interests as well as British were behind the Zambézia and Mozambique Companies.

- (9) Mondlane E., The Struggle for Mozambique, Penguin Books, London,
- (10) Mozambique, and particularly Lourenço Marquês harbour, was crucial to Britain in the Boer War (1899-1902) and in the subsequent export of gold from the Transvaal.
- (11) Banco Espírito Santo e Comercial(sic) Report, 1970
- (12) Mendes Dr. Alfonso, The Reality in Angola, report presented to the International Labour Organisation by the Angola Comité, 88 Da Costastraat, Amsterdam
- (13) Duffy J., Portugal in Africa, Penguin Books, London
- (14) UN Documents, available from the UN Information Centre, Stratford Place, London W1. (See especially booklet Foreign Economic Interests and Decolonization - A Report, Office of Public Information, United Nations, 1969, \$0.30. Material drawn from a Report of the Special Committee, A/6868/Add.1)
- (15) Frankfurter Rundschau, West Germany 3.7.71
- (16) Convolvutox contains 2,4D which is poisonous to broad-leaved plants, and can inhibit fertilisation. Agricura Laboratoria (Pty) Ltd, Pretoria is one of several wholly-owned subsidiaries of Sentrachem Ltd. The latter was formed at the initiative of the South African government, by the amalgamation of several chemical companies, including BP Chemicals, which holds 20 per cent of the shares. Note that 48.4 per cent of BP's shares are held by the British Government. The raid was reported by the Sunday Times, 9.7.72
- (17) Diario de Noticias, 18.11.72, quoted in Facts and Reports, a press digest published by the Angola Comité (see (12) above)
- (18) Jalée, Pierre, The Pillage of the Third World, Monthly Review Press, 1968. Very useful analysis of the relationship between imperialist and 'underdeveloped' nations. See also Harry Magdoff, The Age of Imperialism, Monthly Review Press, 1969
- (19) Sterne, Harry, The Twin Pillars, Britain and the EEC: Political and Military Implications. Available from Peace News, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1. Price 5p
- (20) Daily Telegraph, 26.5.71
- (21) The Organisation for European Economic Co-operation was set up to dispense Marshall Aid to America's politically 'acceptable' war-time allies -plus West Germany. The subsequent entry of the US and Canada into the new Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development was a tactical move to bind the EEC and NATO closer together. 'The linking of NATO, OECD and the Common Market has become the main plan for strengthening the Western alliance on the military, political and economic fronts'. (Professor Walter Hallstein, quoted in The Twin Pillars, (19) above.)
- (22) 'Europe Documents', published in Brussels
- (23) Hilferding, quoted in Lenin V.I., Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism, International Publishers, 1917. Original Marxist analysis still essential for understanding of contemporary imperialism
- (24) Cabral Amilcar, Our People are Our Mountains. Speeches made in London during his visit in November 1971. Published by the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné, 531 Caledonian Road, London N7. Price 18p. See also Revolution in Guinea. Published by Stage 1, 45p
- (25) Financial Times, 5.4.71
- (26) OECD Report on Portugal 1972. Contains useful figures on the economy and table of comparisons with other countries. Available in commercial libraries, and from HMSO, 49 High Holborn, London WC 1

List of British Parent Companies with Subsidiary or Associate Companies in Mozambique, Angola, Guiné or Portugal

COMMERCIAL INFORMATION in the list which follows was obtained from the sources below. These can be found in libraries geared to businessmen, such as Holborn Library in Theobalds Road, London WC1 or the City Business Library, Basinghall Street, London EC2

For information on the EEC and Portugal, there is a European Communities Information Service in London which has a large library. Ask the librarian for the file on Portugal.

Who Owns Whom (UK Edition) for list of British parent companies and their subsidiaries in Portugal and its colonies. Cross-check with Who Owns Whom (Continental edition) giving Portuguese subsidiaries and their respective parents in Britain.

Stock Exchange Official Yearbook - mostly information on shares, but also gives directors, bankers and property of company.

Mining Who Owns Whom, Janes Book of Mining Companies, Mining Yearbook. Most industries issue similar, if less detailed reports on themselves

Company Reports The British labour movement has been trying unsuccessfully for years to get legislation enacted which would force companies to disclose more about their operations. At present, for

instance, they do not have to state what profits are made by each subsidiary company, or to give a breakdown of wage levels. Many annual reports are useless but sometimes companies see the need to brief shareholders and staff on their operations and issue a bumper edition.

Consult 'How to Read a Balance Sheet' by the Labour Research Department, 78 Blackfriars Rd., London SE 1

Many of the major banks issue reports on Portugal, Mozambique and Angola - Lloyds and BOLSA report is particularly generous with its bulletins and articles. Barclays and National Westminster also issue reports.

The British National Export Council before it was disbanded in 1971 sent representatives to Angola and Mozambique to see how British industry could 'help' - resulting reports still worth reading.

The Economist Intelligence Unit turns out quarterly bulletins on Mozambique, Angola and Portugal. They tend to be dry.

Moodies Card Index - information on a wide range of companies.

Yellow Pages International lists branches and sales offices that would not appear in Who Owns Whom

About this list

1. Where a company is owned by the parent through the parent's holding in a third company, the names are indented:

 Watney Mann Ltd,
 International Distillers
 and Vintners
 (1) Croft & Cia Ltda
 (2) Morgan Bros Ltda
 (3) Delaforce Sons & Cia
 Vinhos SARL

In this case International Distillers and Vintners, the original owner of the three Anglo-Portuguese wine companies, was taken over by the giant Watney Mann.

2. Most of the information in the list

below comes from Who Owns Whom. It is published on information supplied by the companies themselves who do not state whether their subsidiaries are wholly or partly-owned. For instance, while a subsidiary is meant to be 50%-owned by the parent company, (a company is classified as an associate ... where a company is classed by the parent company as an associate, irrespective of the size of the holding' (which could therefore be anything between 1 and 100 per cent.) Since we cannot tell how much control the parent has, we have not said whether the firms call themselves subsidiaries or associates.

3. Note that the country in which the subsidiary/associate is based often

bears little relation to its actual area of operation. Many companies operating in the colonies are based - i.e. registered - in Portugal. For example, the Sociedade Industrial do Ultramar (SIDUL), owned by Sena Sugar Estates Ltd, is registered in Portugal, and operates a refinery there. But the bulk of its operations are in Mozambique where it is responsible for two-thirds of the country's exports of sugar.

4. Many British companies that are involved in the Portuguese colonies also have subsidiaries in other parts of Southern Africa. While the actual number of subsidiaries

based in Southern Africa does not give a complete picture of the extent of a company's involvement there, it is sometimes a useful indicator of it. Where there is further involvement, this is indicated below the subsidiaries by the appropriate initial. Thus

The Wellcome Foundation Ltd SA6 R3
SWA1

indicates that the Foundation has (at least) six subsidiaries or associates in South Africa, three in Rhodesia and one in South West Africa. Complete lists of British financial interests in South Africa and Rhodesia are obtainable from the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W1.

Parent company Subsidiary company

Allied Breweries Ltd., London EC1 (1) John Harvey & Sons (Port Shippers) Ltd.
(2) John Harvey & Sons (Portugal) Ltd.
(3) Cockburn Smithes & Cia. Ltda.
(4) Soc. dos Vinhos Tuela Ltda.
(5) Rozes Ltda.
(6) Antonio Filipe (Vinhos) & Cia. Ltda.

SA1 R1

Associated Engineering Ltd., Leamington Spa, Warwicks Associated Engineering (SA) Ltd.
Associated Engineering Distributors Ltd.)
Moçambique Sobressalentes e Acessórios Ltda.

SA12

Avery's Ltd., Birmingham 40 Avery Portuguesa Ltda. SA1

Babcock & Wilcox Ltd., London NW1 Babcock & Wilcox Portuguesa SARL SA6
The Portuguese branch of Babcock & Wilcox has recently set up 2 new companies in Angola and Mozambique (Primeiro de Janeiro 5.4.70)

Ball & Collins Ltd.
A recently formed company which is to prospect for oil off the Portuguese coast (Diario de Lisboa 22.5.71)

Beecham Group Ltd., Brentford, Middx. Beecham Portuguesa, Produtos Farmacêuticos e Químicos Ltda.

Beira Town Sites Ltd.
At 30.6.70 Beira Town Sites owned 52 acres within the town-planned area of Beira and more than 100 acres outside that area. At 30.6.69 acreage worth £465,000 (Moodies)

Parent company Subsidiary company

* Beralt Tin & Wolfram Ltd., London EC2

(1) Empresa Mineira da Argimela Ltda.
(2) Empresa Técnica e Administrações Ltda. (ETAL)
(3) Empresa de Aproveitamento de Combustíveis Nacionais Ltda.
(4) Minas de Azeche Ltda.
(5) Minas de Ouro de Douro Ltda.
(6) Minas de Ouro de Orea Ltda.
(7) Beralt Tin & Wolfram (Sales) Ltd.

*See also Charter Consolidated
*Berger, Jensen & Nicholson Ltd., London W1

(1) Robbialac Portuguesa RL
(2) Revertex Portuguesa Ltda.

*controlled by Farbwerke Hoechst AG, Germany

Bestobell Ltd., Slough, Bucks.

Bell's & Cia. Ltda. SA6 R2

Blackwood Hodge Ltd.

(1) Blackwood Hodge (Angola) Ltda.
(2) Blackwood Hodge (Mozambique) Ltda.
(3) Blackwood Hodge (Portugal) Ltda.
SA1 R1

*KO Boardman International Ltd., Cheshire

Boardman-Intercorte Confecções Ltda.

*formerly Boardman Marden Ltd.

British American Tobacco SA22 R4

BAT has an associate company in Angola in tobacco and a license to manufacture perfumery and cosmetics in Portugal. It is also involved in tobacco, cosmetics, food and paper/printing and tobacco in Rhodesia (company leaflet)

Parent company	Subsidiary company	Parent company	Subsidiary company
The British & Commonwealth Shipping Co.Ltd., London EC3	(1)Expressa Africana de Cargas e Descargas Ltda.,Mozambique (2)Beira Boating Co.Ltd. (3)Delagoa Bay Agency Co. Ltd. (4)Manica Trading Co. (Lourenço Marquês) (5)Maniford Transport Ltd. (6)Cia. de Fumigações de Moçambique Ltda. (7)Manubito SARL (8)Hull Blyth & Co.Ltd. (9)Cia. São Vicente de Cabo Verde SARL (10)The Beira Boating Co. Ltd. (11)The Beira Engineering Co.Ltd. (12)Agencias de Engenharia (Mozambique)Ltda. (13)Empresa Portuguesa de Stivadores Ltda.	This is part of a system of cables linking Britain, Portugal, South Africa, Mozambique and Angola. 80 per cent of the cost of building the Lisbon-South Africa cable was financed by a loan from three British banks - Lloyds, Barclays and Midland. See also the General Post Office.	
	SA17 R6	Chambon Ltd., London W6 (A subsidiary of Machines Chambon, France)	Chambon Ltda.
British Insulated Callender's Cables Ltd., London WC1	(1)Fábrica de Condutores Eléctricos de Moçambique SARL (2)Fábrica de Condutores Eléctricos de Ultramar SARL (3)BIC Construção Portuguesa SARL (4)CEL-CAT Fábrica Nacional de Condutores Eléctricos SARL	Charter Consolidated Ltd., London EC1	(1)Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa (Portugal) SARL (2)Beralt Tin & Wolfram Ltd. (3)Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation Ltd. SA28 R2
	SA8 R3	Coats Patons Ltd. Glasgow C2	Cia. de Linha Coats & Clark Ltda. SA3
British Leyland Motor Corporation Ltd., London W1	Soc. Anglo-Portuguesa de Automóveis SA43 R5	Consolidated Tin Smelters Ltd., London EC2	British Metal Corporation Ltd. Sepulchre Ltda. SA1 R3 (controlled by the Patino Mining Corporation, Canada)
British Oxygen Co. Ltd., London W6	Anglo-African Oxygen, Angola SA4 R1	Richard Costain Ltd., London SE1	(1)Costain-Servicos Técnicos de Construções Ltda. (2)Empresa de Financiamentos Turísticos do Algarve (Costimar) Ltd. *(3)Empresa Turística Vale do Lobo do Algarve Ltda. (4)Hotel Delfim Dourada Ltda. *also a subsidiary of Trust Houses Forte International Ltd. R1
Anglo-African Oxygen has built an oxygen plant in Angola in co-operation with British Oxygen's South African subsidiary African Oxygen and a Portuguese company.			
The British Petroleum Co. Ltd., London EC2	Cia. Portuguesa dos Petróleos BP SA9 R2	Courtaulds Ltd., London W1	International Paints do Portugal SARL SA59 R2
British Steel Corporation, London SW1	Exploração e Desenvolvimento Mineiro do Moncorvo LJA SA6 R2	The Distillers Co. Ltd., Edinburgh 3	Fábrica Nacional de Margarina SARL SA4
Burns-Anderson Ltd., Manchester 20	Bemposta-Investimentos Turísticos do Algarve Ltda.	Drake & Cubitt Holdings Ltd., Bristol 3	*Holland, Hannen & Cubitts (Portugal)SIL SA8 R1 *subsidiary of Holland, Hannen & Cubitts (Investments) Ltd.
Cable and Wireless Ltd., London WC1	Cia. Portuguesa Rádio Marconi		
The Cia. Portuguesa Radio Marconi has a monopoly of radio and telephone communications between Portugal and the colonies.			

Parent company	Subsidiary company	Parent company	Subsidiary company
Dun & Bradstreet Ltd. Dun & Bradstreet publish a useful directory of British companies, available in most commercial libraries.	Dun & Bradstreet Lusitana Ltda.	Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd., London SW1	(1) Finicisa Fibras Sinetéticas SARM (2) ICI Portuguesa SARM (3) Soc. Fabril de Tintas de Construção (TINCO) (4) ICI (Angola) Ltda. *(5) Opti-lon, Fechos de Correr Ltda. **(6) African Explosives & Chemical Industries (Portugal) Ltda. Mozambique SA33 R2
Eucalyptus Pulp Mills Ltd., London WC2	(1) Caima Pulp Cia. Ltda. (2) Soc. Silvícola Caima Ltda.		
The Ever Ready Co. (Great Britain) Ltd. London N20	Berec Portuguesa Ltda. SA1		
The General Electric Co., London W.1	(1) Ventiladores Woods (Portugal) Ltda. (2) English Eléctrica de Portugal Ltda. SA32 R9	*Subsidiary of Imperial Metal Industries Ltd., an ICI subsidiary **An associate of African Explosives & Chemical Industries Ltd., based in South Africa. The latter is also an associate of ICI (South Africa) Ltd. AE & CI, which is 42.5 per cent owned by ICI and 42.5 per cent by De Beers, plans to build 'a multi-million rand explosives manufacturing plant in Angola. AE & CI are already building an explosives plant in Mozambique. The Angolan plant will produce a full range of commercial explosives. Emphasis has been placed on the fact that the plant will not produce war material of any type'. (Financial Gazette, South Africa, 5.11.71)	
The General Post Office invested £4.3 million in the submarine cable built by the Cia. Portuguesa Rádio Marconi, an associate of Cable and Wireless Ltd. The cable runs from the Lizard to Portugal, and now forms part of the telecommunications system between Portugal, South Africa and the colonies.			
Gestetner Ltd.	Gestetner (Africa) (Pty.) Ltda., Mozambique SA1 R1	International Synthetic Rubber Co. Ltd., Southampton	Soc. Portuguesa de Resina
Gill & Duffus Ltd., London EC3 See also Peirce Leslie & Co. and Steel Bros. Holdings	Spence & Peirce (Industrias de Cáju) SARM	Lamson Industries Ltd., London EC4	Paragon Portuguesa Ltda. SA6 R1
HM Government has interests in The British Steel Corporation British Petroleum Cable and Wireless		Laporte Industries (Holdings) Ltd.	Produtos Químicos e Farmacéuticos Quifabel SARM SA1
Hill Samuel Group Ltd., London EC2	Soc. Gestora de Títulos SARM (SOGESTIL) SA10 R5	Lep Group Ltd., London EC4	Lassen Transport Ltda. SA1
Hill Samuel is also involved in the financing of the Cunene River project in Angola; and is associated with the Banco Totta-Aliança, along with the Standard and Chartered Banking Group.		Lisbon Electric Tramways Ltd., London WC2	(1) Cia. Carris de Ferro de Lisboa (2) Iberian Peninsular Land Co. Ltd. (3) Lisbon Electric Tramways Holdings Ltd.
Robert Hudson Ltd.	Robert Hudson & Sons (Pty.) Ltd. Angola	London Press Exchange	operates in news and advertising in Portuguese. (Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin, April 1969)
Agents for Ford cars, lorries and tractors, Lister industrial engines, Cessna aircraft, Texaco oil, Royal Mail Line ships and a range of other names. Known as 'the farmer's (i.e. settler's) friend'.		Lonrho Ltd., London EC2	(1) Arangua Ltda. (2) Soial Ltda. SA15 R32
*Hunting Associated Industries Ltd. London W1	(1) Técnica Aérea e Fotogramétrica Ltda. (Tecafo) Portugal (2) Empresa Técnica de Levantamentos Aéreos Ltda. (ETLAL), Mozambique	Lonrho previously operated an oil pipeline between the port of Beira and Rhodesia. Since 1965 the oil has not been flowing due to sanctions.	
*A surveying firm which carries out aerial photography and mapping.		Marks & Spencer Ltd.	SA1 Marks & Spencer have opened a branch in Lisbon (Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin, December 1971)

Parent company Subsidiary company

Mason & Barry Ltd., in its death throes when the previous edition of this list appeared, has finally submerged. One of the oldest-established English firms in Portugal, it was also one of the largest, having at least 10 subsidiaries with interests in Portugal, mainly in tourism and construction. Many of the building projects were left half-finished.

Matthews Wrightson Holdings Ltd., London EC3 Matthews Wrightson & Cia. Ltda. SA22 R2

The Metal Box Co. Ltd., London W1 (1)Embalagens de Moçambique (Metal Box) SARL, Mozambique
(2)Ormis-Embalagens de Portugal SARL, Portugal SA3 R1

Mitchell Construction Holdings Ltd., Peterborough (1)Construções Mitchell SARL
(2)Urbilar SARL SA2

Mitchell Cotts Group Ltd., London EC3 Moçambique Stevedoring Co. (Pty) Ltd. South Africa SA33

Monchique Ltd., Southampton
Monchique is developing an 82-acre site on the Algarve (The Times, 28.2.70)

The Monotype Corporation Ltd. London EC4 Monotype Portuguesa Ltda. SA1

New General Rice Co. Ltd., London EC3 Cia. Arrozreira Mercantil

Norwest Holst Ltd., Liverpool Norwest Portugal

Palmer Parker (Overseas) Ltd.
Agents for two property developments on the Algarve (The Times, 28.2.70)

Peirce Leslie & Co.
Engaged in a joint venture with Gill & Duffus Ltd. dehusking cashew nuts in Mozambique

Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Co., London EC3 Ferrymasters Portugal SA2

The Plessey Co. Ltd., Ilford, Essex (1)Plessey Automática Eléctrica Portuguesa SARL
(2)Plessey Electrónica Portuguesa SARL SA17 R2

Parent company Subsidiary company

Portals Holdings Ltd., Basingstoke Hants. Zerolite Sociedade Portuguesa de Tratamento do Aguas Ltda. SA3

Powell Duffryn Ltd., London EC3 Cia. Geral de Combustíveis SARL SA4
(Subsidiary of Cory Bros. & Co. Ltd.)

Pritchard Cleaners (Holdings) Ltd. London WC2 Estrela-Climex Ltda. SA1
Pritchard employs slave labour all over the world. As one of the largest employers of women night office cleaners in Britain, Pritchard pays between £8 and £12 for a 40-hour week. At least half the women workers are black.

Racal Electronics Ltd., Bracknell, Berks. (1)Racal Electrónica (Angola) Ltda.
(2)Constructora Rádio Electrónica Ltda.
(3)Racal Electrónica (Mozambique) Ltda. SA2

Racal designs radio equipment specifically for military use. It recently made a \$7000 donation to the Portuguese troops 'for their unrelenting efforts to bring peace and prosperity in Mozambique and Southern Africa'. (Diário de Noticias, July 6 and 8 1971)

The Rank Organisation, London SW1 (1)Rank Filmes de Portugal
(2)Soc. Anglo-Portuguesa de Cínicas SARL
(3)Organizações Hotel-eiras Rank Ltda. SA4

Reckitt & Colman Ltd., Hull, Yorks (1)Empresa Química de Moçambique Ltda.
(2)Reckitt Portuguesa (Productos Domésticos) Ltda. Portugal
(3)Reckitt & Colman (Angola) Ltda. SA10 R1

Reuter, London EC4 Reuter Portuguesa Ltda.

Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation Ltd., London W1 *Pillar Portuguesa (Alumínio) Portalex Ltda. **SA 25

*A subsidiary of Pillar Europe Manufacturing NV, Holland, an RTZ subsidiary.
**Includes the Rossing Holding Co. Ltd. and Rossing Uranium Ltd., which operate illegally in Namibia.

Rootes-Chrysler Assembly plant in Portugal

Rubber Latex Ltd., Manchester Rubber Latex Portuguesa Ltda.

Parent company	Subsidiary company	Parent company	Subsidiary company
Geo. G. Sandeman Sons & Co. Ltd., Harlow, Essex	(1)Robertson Bros. & Co. Ltda. (2)Sandeman & Cia. Ltda. (3)Offley Forrester-Vinhos SARL (4)Soc. Agrícola e Vinícola a Produtora de Celeiros Ltda. (5)Soc. Vitivinícola de Riba Tua Ltda. (6)Soc. Vinícola Sandeman Ltda.	Terramonte (Portugal) - Cie. des Métaux d'Overpelt-Lommel (Luxembourg) associated with the Soc. Nacional de Fundição Injectada (SONAFI) (Portugal) - Génie Métallurgique et Chimique (Belgium) associated with SINDUL (Portugal) - Soc. de Recherches Minières de Sud-Katanga (Belgium) associated with the Cia. Carbonífera de Moçambique - Péchiney-Ugine-Khulmann (France) associated with Alumínio Português (Angola) Ltda.	
Sena Sugar Estates Ltd., London EC4 The irrigation system for Sena Sugar's estates in Mozambique was supplied by Wright Rain Ltd., a company owned by the British Birmid Qualcast. Sena Sugar owns a refinery in Portugal as well as its interests in Mozambique, where African workers have testified to forced labour practices. (Eduardo Mondlane, The Struggle for Mozambique)	Soc. Industrial do Ultramar SARL (SIDUL)	Tate & Lyle Ltd., London EC3	(1)TLE Agrícola Ltda., Portugal (2)Cia. Exportadora de Melacos Ltda., Mozambique (3)Açucar Embalagem e Exportação, Portugal SA11 R3
The Shell Transport & Trading Co. Ltd., London EC4	(1)Shell Portuguesa SARL (2)Shell Mozambique Ltd. (3)The Shell Co. of Portugal Ltd. (4) Shell Exploration Inc. (prospecting in Guiné) SA8 R2 SWA2	The Thompson Organisation Ltd., London WC1	Alugnetevox - Soc. Aluquer de Televisores SARL SA7 R4
Shell is also said to have links with the Portuguese companies SACOR and SONAREP. (UN Document 'Foreign Economic Interests in Decolonisation')		Trafalgar House Investments Ltd. London SW1	Cia. Portuguesa de Fundações e Sondagens Ltda. SA6 R1
Smith & Nephew Associated Co. Ltd., London WC2	Rolsol Confecções e Exportações Ltda. SA8	Trans-Zambezia Railway Co. Ltd. A British-owned railway operating in Mozambique	
Steel Brothers Holdings, London EC3 See also Gill & Duffus Ltd.	Spence & Peirce (Industrias de Cáju) SARL	Trust Houses Forte Ltd., London WC1	*(1)Airport Catering Portuguesa Fornecedor de Refeições Ltda. **(2)Empresa Turística Vale do Lobo de Algarve (3)Lusotel Indústria Hoteleira Ltda SA2
Strutt & Parker Ltd. Agents for property development on the Algarve		*Subsidiary of THE Airport Catering Services Ltd. ** Also a subsidiary of Richard Costain Ltd.	
J & W Stuart Ltd., Edinburgh 2	Cia. de Redes de Pesca Ltda.	Unilever Group (Unilever NV Rotterdam and Unilever Ltd., Cheshire)	*(1)Fábrica Impérial de Margarina (FIM) *(2)Industrias Lever Portuguesa Ltda. *(3)Industrias de Gelados Ltda. (IGLO) SA4 R1
TPT Ltd., Romiley, Cheshire	TPT Portuguesa Sociedade de Cone e Tubos Ltda. SA1	*Subsidiary of Dutch group only	
Tanganyika Concessions Ltd., London EC2	Cia. do Caminho do Ferro de Benguela, Angola SA2 R3	United Gas Industries Ltd., London WC2	Solasistem SARL
Through its association with the Belgian Union Minière de Haut-Katanga, Tanganyika Concessions has an interest in the following companies with investments in Portugal and the colonies: - Cie. Royale Asturienne des Mines (Belgium) associated with Minas de		Vickers Ltd.	SA5 Operates a malting plant in Portugal, through Vickers' subsidiary Malting Technology International Ltd. (Eire)

Parent Company	Subsidiary Company	Parent company	Subsidiary company
The Wellcome Foundation Ltd., London N1	*(1)Laboratorios Wellcome do Portugal Ltda. **(2)Cooper Ltda. SA6 R3 SWA1	Whitbread & Co. Ltd., London ECI	*EKA Empresa Angolana de Cervejas SA1
*Subsidiary of Burroughs Wellcome International Ltd.			In co-operation with the Belgian Soci�t� d'Assistance Industrielle et Commerciale
**Subsidiary of Cooper, McDougall & Robertson Ltd.			
Watney Mann Ltd. London SW1	International Distillers & Vintners Ltd. (1)Croft e Cia, Ltda. (2)Delaforce Sons & Cia, Vinhos SARL (3)Morgan Bros, Ltda. SA2 R2		
Western United Investment Co. Ltd.	Union International Co. Ltd. Soc. Continental de Alimenta�o Ltda. SA3 R1	G.D. Searle & Co, Chicago	Baird & Tatlock (London) Ltd. Baird & Tatlock (Mozambique) Ltda.
		United Fruit Co., Boston, Mass.	Lincoln Investments Ltd. Cunha Lisboa Ltda.

US COMPANIES WITH BRITISH SUBSIDIARIES THAT HAVE INTERESTS IN PORTUGAL AND THE COLONIES

It is generally thought that Britain, as well as South Africa, provides a common 'route' for US firms wishing to invest in Portugal and the colonies, so as to benefit from EFTA regulations. More research has to be done on these different investment 'routes', but two examples of US investment via Britain are as follows:

Appendix 1. Insurance Companies

African Life Assurance Society Ltd. - agency in Louren�o Marqu�s	Palatine Insurance & Co. Ltd., associated with Commercial Union - agency in Lisbon
Alliance Assurance Co. Ltd. (member of Sun Alliance & London Assurance Group) - agency in Louren�o Marqu�s and Luanda	Pearl Assurance Co. Ltd. - subsidiary in Lisbon, Cia de Seguros
British Oak Insurance - agencies in Lisbon	Phoenix Assurance Co. Ltd. - subsidiary, Phoenix-Londres Insurance Ltda., Lisbon
Caledonian Insurance Co. - agency in Lisbon	Prudential Assurance Co. - agents in Lisbon are Mussche Ltda.
Commercial Union Insurance - agencies in Lisbon, Luanda, Louren�o Marqu�s	Royal Exchange Assurance - agencies in Lisbon and Oporto
Eagle Star Insurance Co. Ltd. - agents in Lisbon are Mussche Ltda.	Royal Insurance Co. Ltd., Liverpool - associate, Agencias de Seguros Luso-Inglesa Ltda., Lisbon - subsidiary, Royal Insurance Cia. Ltda, Lisbon
Legal Insurance Co. - agents in Lisbon are Mussche Ltda.	The South British Insurance Co. Ltd. - agency in Louren�o Marqu�s
Liverpool & London Globe Insurance Co. Ltd. - agency in Lisbon	Sun Alliance & London Insurance Group - agency in Lisbon
London Guarantee & Accident Co. (allied with Phoenix Group) - agency in Lisbon	Union Assurance Society Ltd., allied to the Commercial Union - agency in Lisbon
Norwich Union Fire Insurance Society Ltd. - agents in Lisbon are James Rawes & Co. who are also agents for a number of other services	Western Assurance Co., member of the Royal Group - agents in Lisbon are Mussche Ltda.

2. Port Wine

The port wine trade is controlled by a group of Anglo-Portuguese family concerns, centred on Oporto. Many have been established since the 17th century, and form a substantial and reactionary influence in Portuguese political life.

In addition to Sandeman and Allied Breweries who now control a number of these family interests, the following British firms are involved:

Warre & Co., controlled by the Symington family
 Silva & Cosens Ltda. (Dow's Port)
 W.J. Graham & Co. (Graham's Port)

In 1970 Portugal exported £27 million worth of port wine, nearly 7 per cent of her total exports. Only three products were more valuable money-earners than wine - textiles, wood products and machinery/transport materials. There is a high level of foreign capital participation in these last two categories of production too. This means that a large part of the profits are expropriated by the foreign capitalists making the investments, while the Portuguese workers are used as a source of cheap labour. (Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin).

3. Banking

The Banco Totta-Aliança, of the Companhia União Fabril Group (1) is associated with the Standard Bank of South Africa (US, British and South African capital) (2) in Mozambique and Angola (3).

(1) The largest private-enterprise group in Portugal, with interests in shipping, banking, chemicals, air transport, insurance, food, tobacco and textiles. Now associated with foreign capital in Portugal.

(2) A member of the Standard & Chartered Banking Group Ltd.

(3) The Banco Totta-Standard de Angola and Banco Standard-Totta de Moçambique.

The Banco Totta-Aliança is also associated with Hill Samuel, a British financial trust. In April 1965 the Bank of England authorised two investment trusts to buy Totta-Aliança shares. These were:

New European & General Investment Trust Ltd.
 Trans-Europe Investments Ltd.

Barclays Bank DCO (now Barclays Bank International) announced that its facilities in Mozambique are to be taken over and integrated into the system that the Banco Comercial de Angola is to establish in Mozambique. Barclays is to receive a holding in the Banco Comercial de Angola - hence Barclays operations will now extend to Angola as well as Mozambique, entrenching the bank's interests in Southern Africa even further. (Notícias da Beira 6.3.71, quoted in Facts and Reports, No. 12)

Bank of London & South America (now part of the Lloyds & BOLSA Group) operates two Lisbon branches.

Anglo-Portuguese Bank, London EC2, finances international exchange and the development of business in Portugal and the colonies. The exact extent of British capital involved is not known. The Bank is officially a subsidiary of the National Overseas Bank of Portugal.

Loans

British banks have been very active in trying to shore up the crumbling foundations of the Portuguese fascist regime. Particularly since the wars of liberation were begun, they have been providing the Portuguese rulers with enormous loans, generally on extremely favourable terms. Recent examples of these are:

Date of loan		£ sterling (million)
June 1967	Lazard Brothers arrange a loan for the Portuguese steel industry and for the iron mines - both of which provide the weapons for the wars in Africa	51
June 1970	Export Credits Guarantee Department sign guarantee on loan for purchase of British industrial equipment	3.3
July 1970	Lazard Brothers sign contract with Portuguese 'Celulose do Norte' - a consortium of British banks to raise the funds	13.6
October 1970	Export Credit Guarantee Department arrange for loan to a Portuguese Government organisation to be	5

used to buy transport and telecommunications equipment to be used in the wars. N.M. Rothschild & Sons head the consortium of British bankers providing the loan. Barclays, Bank of Scotland, Glynn Mills, Lloyds, Midland, National & Westminster are also members of the consortium

Portugal is rapidly slithering down the same slope as most countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America whose rulers try to base economic growth on capital from the imperialist nations. In 1970 Portugal received £61.5 million in loans

and investments - but was forced to part with £52.6 million to repay former loans and investments, and was left with a balance of only £8.9 million. The gap between credit and debit is closing fast, and it is probable that there will soon be a net outflow from Portugal on the repayment of loans.

British capitalists provide 15 per cent of the direct foreign investments in Portugal. Profit rates are sometimes as high as 15 per cent a year. Although South Africa takes first place with 35 per cent of the total foreign investments in Portugal and the colonies, much of this amount is a reinvestment of British and other Western capital and hence of indirect benefit to British investors.

4. Cabora Bassa

The following British firms are involved in the Cabora Bassa dam project:

Barclays Bank was supplying funds through what its Chairman described as 'a long line of credit' to a customer and is still banker to the Anglo-American Corporation.

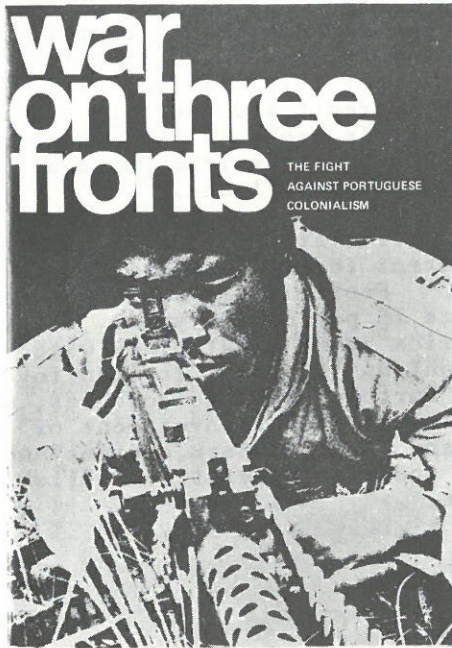
ICI is involved in the supply of explosives through its South African associate African Explosives & Chemical Industries Ltd., in which ICI has a 42.5 per cent holding.

Guest, Keen & Nettlefolds - according to a South Africa House press release, GKN has set up a manufacturing plant in

Mozambique which will supply engineering for the dam.

United Transport Ltd., which has been taken over by British Electric Traction, holds three of the major contracts for the transport of materials to the dam site through its subsidiary United Transport Overseas. (Note that British Electric Traction has a holding in Thames Television).

Preece, Cardew & Rider, a Brighton firm of consultant engineers, are being employed by the Portuguese to advise on the laying the transmission line from Cabora Bassa to Pretoria.



War on Three Fronts

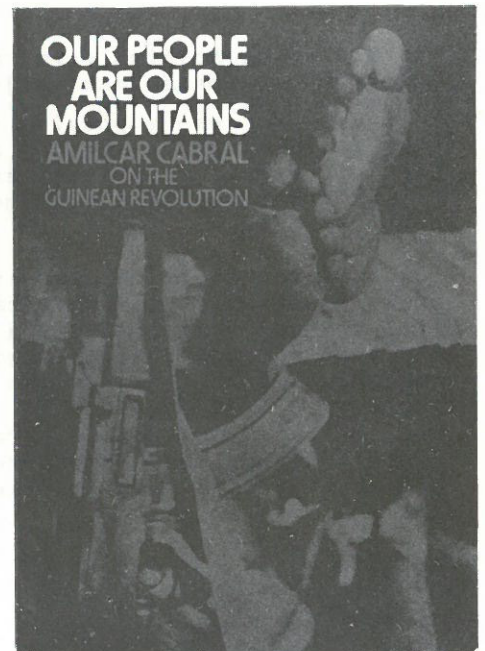
A general introduction to the liberation struggle in Angola, Guiné and Mozambique, covering both the history of colonialism and the development of the liberation movement.

Price: 18p plus postage

Our People are our Mountains

Amilcar Cabral, the late Secretary General of PAIGC visited Britain in October 1971. This pamphlet contains the speeches he made at two of the meetings, with a report on the situation in Guiné.

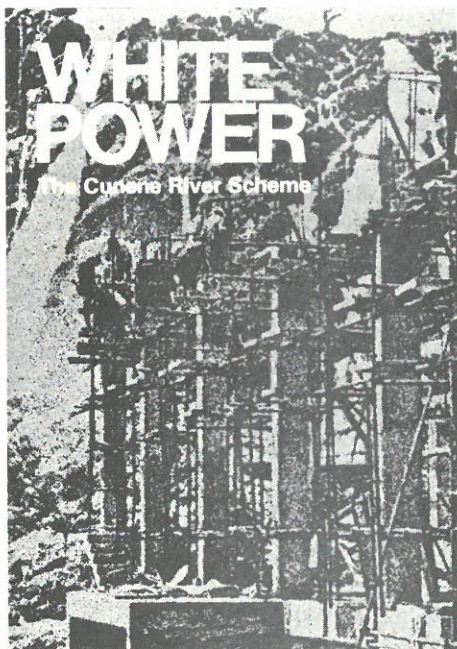
Price: 18p plus postage



White Power

The Cunene River Scheme is a massive hydro-electric project on the borders of Angola and Namibia. Like the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique its real significance is the role it is intended to play in the perpetuation of white minority rule in Southern Africa.

Price: 12p plus postage



All the above pamphlets are available from:

The Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola & Guiné

12/13 Little Newport Street, London WC2H 7JJ Telephone 01-734 9541

