



COLONIAL AND
POST-COLONIAL
LANDSCAPES I

ARCHITECTURES,
CITIES,
INFRASTRUCTURES
IN AFRICA

COAST TO COAST RESEARCHERS' BOOK

**Colonial and Post-Colonial Landscapes I
Architecture, Cities, Infrastructures in Africa**

Coast to Coast Researchers' book

Coordination

Ana Vaz Milheiro

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Colonial and Post-Colonial Landscapes I

Architecture, Cities, Infrastructures in Africa

Coast to Coast researchers' book

This first volume of the book series *Colonial and Post-Colonial Landscapes* presents the work of a group of researchers who, since 2010, have organised themselves into teams, crossing different research projects funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), starting with *The Colonial Urbanisation Offices: Architectural Culture and Practice* (PTDC/AUR-AQI/104964/2008). The book brings together the main themes and arguments presented at the *I International Congress Colonial and Post-Colonial Landscapes: Architecture, Cities, Infrastructures*, as a result of the project 'Coast to Coast' – *Late Portuguese Infrastructural Development in Continental Africa (Angola and Mozambique): Critical and Historical Analysis and Postcolonial Assessment* (PTDC/ATP- AQI/0742/2014).

The congress was held in Lisbon, at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, from the 16th to 18th of January 2019, and was attended by 166 scholars. Its parallel programme included the exhibition *Colonizing Africa – Reports on Colonial Public Works in Angola and Mozambique (1875-1975)* at the Overseas Historical Archive [Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino], also in Lisbon. As a follow-up, a cycle of six seminars and a workshop for children were based on the exhibition theme and held at the Archive's facilities, until April 2019.

The *Coast to Coast* project aimed to survey, catalogue and contextualize the infrastructural process of the former Portuguese colonial territory in continental Africa (Angola and Mozambique) during the last century of Portuguese colonisation (1875-1975). The research questioned the influence of colonial strategies on current architectural and urban praxis in both these countries. It started from the analysis of the infrastructure process by mapping three specific typologies of colonial public works, approached from the perspective of archival and documental analysis, cartography, and historiographical description to the phase of identification and critical analysis of the state of these infrastructures (reuse, consolidation or abandonment) after Angolan and Mozambican independence in 1975.

The central argument was based on the hypothesis that colonial territorial infrastructure processes left resilient marks on the post-colonial landscape, whose impact should be analysed to support future actions. Three programmatic typologies were chosen which were decisive in the territorial occupation and are still visible today: (i) transport networks (roads, ports, railways, and airports); (ii) hydro-electric power production (dams and facilities); (iii) settlements associated with the exploitation of natural resources (mining and agriculture). The three programmes were interconnected, reproducing the centralising model of Portuguese colonial exploitation.

The team gathered Portuguese, Angolan and Mozambican researchers, architects, historians, and archivists. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Eduardo Mondlane University (Mozambique) and Universidade Técnica de Angola were partner institutions.

Ana Vaz Milheiro

Principal Investigator / Coast to Coast - Late Portuguese Infrastructural Development in Continental Africa (Angola and Mozambique): Critical and Historical Analysis and Postcolonial Assessment



SPATIAL CONTROL IN COLONIAL LUNDA — BETWEEN STATE POLICY AND A PRIVATE COMPANY'S PLANS

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[ABSTRACT]

In the late 1960s, António Soares Carneiro, the recently appointed Governor of Lunda, drew up an “expedite development plan” that reorganised what was previously small villages into larger ones. The plan, which covered both rural populations and urban centres, aimed at combating the increasing subversive activities that were threatening that area in north-eastern Angola, already considered to be a “victim” of its 1147 km-long border. In this regard, the construction of infrastructures, such as schools and communication networks, was deemed to be the appropriate way forward to making “security and development compatible”. Nevertheless, Carneiro’s plans came with “a thorn in their side”: the Diamond Company of Angola — Diamang, a private company based in Lunda since the early 20th century and said to be a “state within the state”. Indeed, the enterprise was a “dominant industrial hub” in the region and, therefore, a key player in the transformation of the territory. By this time, it had gathered extensive know-how on social engineering through spatial organisation. As far as population control was concerned, the company did not hesitate to accuse the colonial government of being behind the times. Given these circumstances, the purpose of this paper is twofold. Firstly, it seeks to explore the forms of countersubversive plans, both those promoted by the state apparatus and those developed by Diamang. Using urban planning as a key tool, several measures were implemented throughout Lunda to that effect, such as the creation of *enquadrantes* (former soldiers whose job was to “ensure the success of the new villages”), “propaganda villages” and an extensive network of social facilities (schools, health and care services, and recreational centres). Secondly, this paper also sets out to analyse the interplay between the various countersubversive plans referred to above, as Diamang’s economic perspective was not always in lockstep with the political aims. In this sense, the research seeks to assess the role of private companies in the development of colonial architectures of counterinsurgency.

KEYWORDS: architecture of counterinsurgency, urban planning as warfare, strategic settlement, late colonial development

A “THRIVING REGION” IN ANGOLA

In 1972 the magazine *Terra e Gentes de Angola* published an extensive article about the country’s north-eastern Lunda region. The region was presented as “one of the most thriving areas” of Angola and its capital, Henrique de Carvalho (the present-day Saurimo), was regarded as “the city that had developed the most in the entire country”.¹ António Soares Carneiro, who was appointed governor of the region earlier in 1968, had drawn up an extensive “development plan” that same year, which sought to bring more public investment to the region.² Several roads, schools and healthcare facilities were planned throughout the, until then, “deserted” territory.

What the article *did not* touch on, however, was one of the main reasons behind these socio-political changes: Portuguese colonial rule was being militarily challenged in Angola since 1961 and the subversive conflict had arrived in Lunda in 1967 (Cann, 1996; Pimenta, 2010; Rosas, 2015). Echoing the colonial authorities’ belief that “peace” could only be restored by “merging military action with social development”³, i.e. by considering “settlement and social promotion” as “essential weapons to counter subversion” (Oliveira, 1970; Rebello, 1996), Soares Carneiro’s “expedite” plans relied mainly on “transport and communication, advancement of the rural population and urban improvement”.⁴ The aim was to conquer “souls, hearts and minds” through “psychological, social and educational strategies”,⁵ respectively.

The plans designed for Lunda were part of a wider programme of “strategic resettlement” that was being applied in both Angola and Mozambique⁶ in order to tackle the African guerrilla groups that aimed to put an end to Portuguese colonial rule. Until then, architecture and urban planning throughout the Portuguese overseas territories had been mainly the responsibility of the architects who worked for the Colonial Planning Office (GUC), a centralised public office based in Lisbon, but soon military demands were to override the intentions of the architects (Milheiro, 2012; Milheiro, 2017). The interplay between “security” and “development” became a keystone of colonial rule (Jerónimo, 2017) and major public works were now to concern

1. ANTI, António Soares Carneiro, box16, no. 1, doc.19. PT/TT/ASC/D/0002. “Lunda”. *Terras e Gentes de Angola*, 7^o caderno / Rigoroso exclusivo N Notícia (1972).
2. Until then, only 1.9 % of the public colonial investment went to Lunda, which was the lowest income of all regions of Angola.
3. ANTI, António Soares Carneiro, box16, no. 2. PT/TT/ASC/D/0003. “Lunda”.
4. ANTI, António Soares Carneiro, box16, no. 4, doc. 1. PT/TT/ASC/D/0005. “Lunda — Elementos preparatórios para um esquema expedito de desenvolvimento”.
5. ANTI, António Soares Carneiro, box18, no. 1, doc.1. PT/TT/ASC/D/0001. “Lunda. Acção psicológica”.
6. On “strategic settlement” and “rural reorganisation” in Angola and Mozambique see Gerald Bender (1972). “The Limits of Counterinsurgency: An African Case”. *Comparative Politics*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 331-360; Brendan Jundanian (1974). “Resettlement Programmes: Counterinsurgency in Mozambique”. *Comparative Politics*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 519-540; João Borges Coelho (1993). *Protected Villages and Communal Villages in the Mozambican Province of Tete (1968-1982): A History of State Resettlement Policies, Development and War*. PhD thesis, Bradford University; Diogo Ramada Curto and Bernardo Pinto Cruz (2017). “The Good and the Bad Concentration: *Regedorias* in Angola”. *Portuguese Studies Review*, vol. 25, pp. 205-231; GEAE, Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos da Engenharia Militar (2014). *A Engenharia Militar na Guiné. O Batalhão de Engenharia*. Lisbon: Direção de Infra-Estruturas do Exército; Luís Nuno Rodrigues (2012), “For a Better Guinea! Winning Hearts and Minds in Portuguese Guinea” in Philip Muehlenbec (ed.). *Race, Ethnicity, and the Cold War. A Global Perspective* (pp. 118-141). Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press; Francesca Vita (2019). “Uma Guiné Melhor”: *the psychological action and the spatialisation of population control in rural areas. The strategic villages in Guinea-Bissau between 1968 and 1973*. Congresso Internacional Colonial and Postcolonial Landscapes. Lisboa, Portugal.

themselves with covering water supply, the electrification of villages, road paving and urban plans.

To justify the construction of these infrastructures, which were to support said socio-economic advancement, villages were required to have “the appropriate size”, of between 500 and 1500 people, a size that was not being met at the time due to the “demographic scattering” that the region seemed to suffer from.⁷ Indeed, earlier in 1965 the territory had already been divided into 48 *regedorias* [an territorial administration term], comprising 1720 villages.⁸ However, most of them were considered too small, without a proper *soba* [village chief] with whom colonial authorities could dialogue. Furthermore, Soares Carneiro reported that “unfortunately, the village regroupings repeatedly organised in Lunda were not provided with the necessary buildings and social facilities”; and it was “urgent to ensure development in this area”.⁹ Given these circumstances, a new “order” was necessary. Accordingly, 488 villages, each of them having around 600 people, were regrouped across the region in the early months of 1972. They were all placed near military barracks, administrative posts or commercial villages so that local communities would be “protected” and, in particular, “mentalised”¹⁰ (see Figure 1). The war would not be won by those with the best army, but those who would first “control the spirits and minds of the population” (Pereira, 1961).



Fig. 1. A regrouped village in Lunda. These villages were located near roads and had an orthogonal layout to enhance control. Source: ANTT, António Soares Carneiro, box 16, no. 4, doc. 12, PT/TT/ASC/D/0005

7. ANTT, António Soares Carneiro, box16, no. 1, doc.19. PT/TT/ASC/D/0003. “Lunda”.
8. ANTT, PT/TT/SCCIA/009/0004. “Regedorias e Autoridades Administrativas dos distritos de Lunda, Moxico e Cuando Cubango”. On *regedorias* see Diogo Ramada Curto and Bernardo Pinto Cruz (2017). “The Good and the Bad Concentration: *Regedorias* in Angola”. *Portuguese Studies Review*, vol. 25, pp. 205-231; Diogo Ramada Curto and Bernardo Pinto Cruz (2015). “Destribalização, regedorias e desenvolvimento comunitário: notas acerca do pensamento colonial português (1910-1965)”. *Práticas da História*, vol. 1, pp.113-172.
9. ANTT, António Soares Carneiro, box16, no. 4, doc.1. PT/TT/ASC/D/0003. “Lunda”.
10. DCV-UC, Diamang archives, box 205. “Defesa civil de Angola. Auto-defesa da Companhia. Grupo de Voluntários (1969-1971).

The 1972 Public Works report for Veríssimo Sarmento, one of the areas in the Lunda region, highlighted the priority given to schools, water deposits and electric power.¹¹ This threesome of social conveniences formed a kind of toolkit that was to be ensured for every village, as emphasised in the “first phase” of the Methods of Technical Assistance and Social Action programme carried out by the Rural Reorganisation Technical Committee the year before (Guerra et al., 1971). Local reorganisation committees were firstly to focus on “small improvements”, such as supplying potable water, providing education and health services, and guaranteeing the construction of paths and roads that reached the villages.

Once these basic infrastructures were completed, the “second phase” of the *villagisation* process would call for a “coordinated action” that involved interdisciplinary teams of social assistants, nurses, teachers, topographers and draughtsmen (Guerra et al, 1971). However, a lack of experts for such a venture — a *chronic* issue in the Portuguese colonial project — led the Special Countersubversion Council for the Northern Military Zone, which met in December of 1972, to agree on the “need to promote better cooperation between civil society and the -military”,¹² so that population regrouping could take place. If a “waste of human resources” was avoided, the “tiny amount of money” dedicated to rural Public Works could then be used to build two schools instead of only one.¹³ This was by no means a ground-breaking idea, as a “symbiosis between the population and the army” was long considered to be “the solution”¹⁴ for ensuring both the control and development of sparsely populated areas like Lunda.

Soares Carneiro had already presented some ideas for a “new settlement system” based on the *enquadrante* system. It placed former Portuguese army soldiers in the regrouped villages as “active agents of social promotion” amongst the local population.¹⁵ A few studies had been carried out, pointing in that direction, although without any knowledge that it was indeed to be rolled out (Marques, 1964; Bessa, 1972). However, Carneiro, who was an experienced member of the Portuguese Army, had enough influence to make it happen. Besides being responsible for organising groups of militia members (civil citizens, both Portuguese and African, who fought alongside the army), these men were asked to “fight another war”¹⁶: cleaning and ordering villages, building schools, latrines and furniture, organising recreational activities and fostering social ties. *Enquadrantes*, as these former soldiers were known, would be given weapons and barbed wire but also bricks, cement, basic farming tools and a piece of land so that they could show the African population

11. ANTT, António Soares Carneiro, box 70, no. 1. PT/TT/ASC/E/0011. “Álbum discriminativo das obras de promoção social das populações, referente ao ano de 1972, executadas na área do concelho de Veríssimo Sarmento, segundo programa estabelecido pelo Governo do Distrito da Lunda, e concluídas até Agosto de 1973”.
12. ANTT, António Soares Carneiro, box 70, no. 1, doc. 6. PT/TT/ASC/E/0008. “Informação sobre contra-subversão”.
13. ANTT, António Soares Carneiro, box 70, no. 1, doc. 6. PT/TT/ASC/E/0008.
14. ANTT, António Soares Carneiro, box 44, no. 6. PT/TT/ASC/D/0012. “Recortes de imprensa sobre a Lunda”. *Diário de Angola*, 16th September 1969.
15. ANTT, António Soares Carneiro, box 20, no.no. 2. PT/TT/ASC/004/0010. “A actualidade de Angola – Panorâmica estratégica e problemas de defesa”, 1971.
16. ANTT, António Soares Carneiro, box16, no. 1, doc.19. PT/TT/ASC/D/0002. “Lunda”. *Terras e Gentes de Angola*, 7^o caderno / Rigoroso exclusivo N Notícia (1972).

the “benefits” of keeping “their houses and rice fields in order”.¹⁷ They were, therefore, regarded as the “assurance” that the rural reorganisation would be successful and that the *Junta Provincial de Povoamento de Angola*¹⁸ (Angolan Provincial Settlement Council) could “actually implement” some of its settlement plans.¹⁹

Soares Carneiro’s ideas appeared to be taken from the study *Contribuição para uma política de reordenamento rural no Ultramar* (Contribution to a Rural Reorganisation Policy in the Overseas Provinces) by Rosa Serrão Navarra, published by the *Junta de Investigações do Ultramar* (Overseas Research Council) in 1970. The work highlighted the important role of “specialised monitors” in providing structure for African people in regrouped villages, an approach justified by the legal changes that placed rural resettlement in the “wider context of social promotion, development and settlement”, rather than just population settlement (Navarra, 1970).

A POWERFUL “ISLAND” IN A “REORGANISED” ARCHIPELAGO

In spite of the effort that went into the on-going regrouping process, the region was continuously described as a “group of islands that formed an archipelago only from a political perspective”,²⁰ but not in real terms. A “deep fracture line” was identified between the south and the north, where Diamang, the “dominant industrial hub”²¹ in the region, was carrying out its powerful mining operations that required a lot of the Lunda working population. Indeed, most of Lunda’s villages were close to mines, and also near Angola’s border area (see figure 2).

Diamang was a mining company set up in the Lunda region in 1917 that quickly became the most important financier of the Portuguese colonial project. Its extensive “infrastructural power” (Mann, 1984) led to the widely spread notion of it being a “state within a state” or the “ninth colony of the empire” (Clarence-Smith, 1983).²² Unsurprisingly, and despite the fact that it was a private enterprise, Diamang was considered a key player of in the rural reorganisation along with other public institutions such as the Armed Forces, Agricultural Services, *Junta Autónoma de Estradas de Angola* (JAEA) (Road Authority of Angola) and the Public Security Police (PSP).²³

17. ANTT, António Soares Carneiro, box 70, no. 1. PT/TT/ASC/1/0068. “Campanha: estratégia”.

18. *Juntas Provinciais de Povoamento* (JPP) were set up in Angola and Mozambique in 1961 and they were responsible for “any issue related to settlement” as well as “the coordination of every public or private activity carried out to that end”. *Diário do Governo* no. 207/1961, Decree no. 43895.

19. ANTT, António Soares Carneiro, box 16, no. 1, doc.19. PT/TT/ASC/D/0002. “Lunda”. *Rumo ao Leste*, 1971.

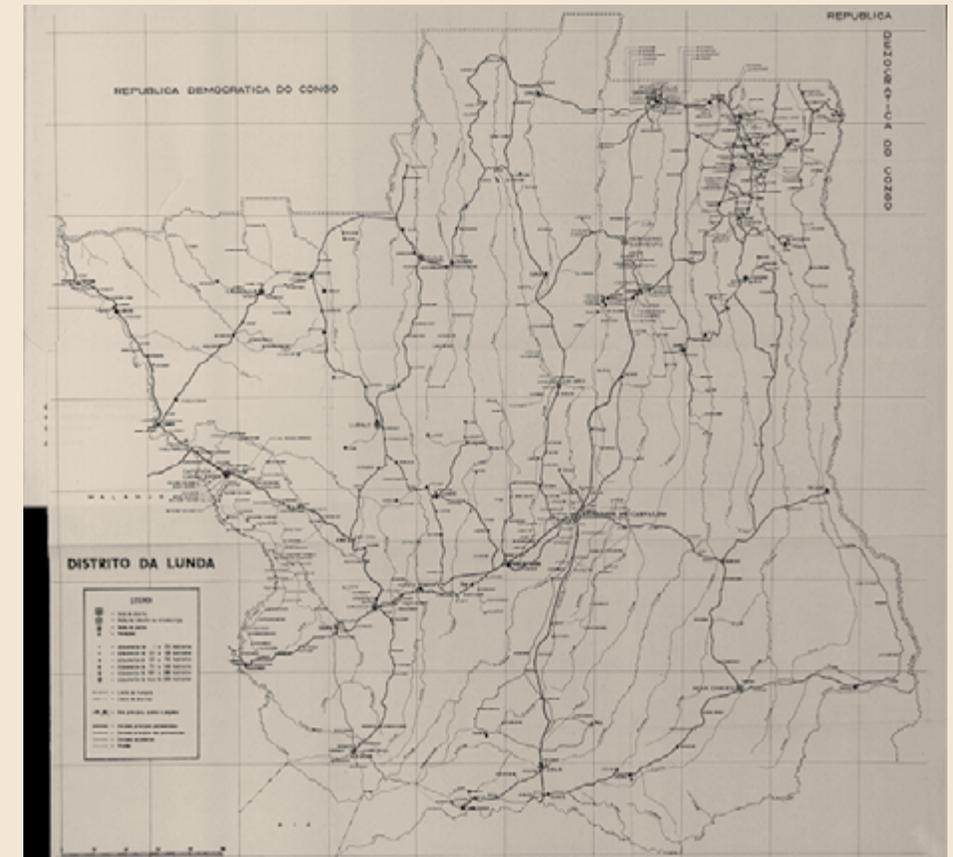
20. ANTT, António Soares Carneiro, box 15, no. 5. PT/TT/ASC/D/0021.

21. ANTT, António Soares Carneiro. PT/TT/ASC/D/0003.

22. On the multidimensional “microcosm” created by Diamang, see Mathias Alencastro (2004). “Diamond Politics in the Angolan Periphery: colonial and Postcolonial Lunda (1917-2012)”. Doctoral thesis: Oxford University; Jorge Varanda (2007), “A bem da nação: Medical Science in a Diamond Company in the 20th century in Angola”. Doctoral thesis: London, University College; Nuno Porto (2009), *Modos de objectificação da dominação colonial: o caso do Museu do Dundo, 1940-1970*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian; Todd Cleveland (2015), *Diamonds in the Rough: Corporate Paternalism and African Professionalism on the Mines of Colonial Angola, 1917-1975*. Athens: Ohio University Press; Jorge Varanda (2017). “Diamang: retrato visível e oculto da nona colónia”. *Jornal de Notícias História*, no. 8, June.

23. DCV-UC, Diamang archives, box 205. “Defesa civil de Angola. Auto-defesa da Companhia. Grupo de Voluntários (1969-1971)”.

Fig. 2. Lunda’s district after being regrouped, in 1971. Most villages are located in the north, near the Diamang mines, which left the south unprotected. Source: ANTT, António Soares Carneiro, box 16, no. 3, doc. 2, PT/TT/ASC/D/0004



In truth, Diamang *was* soon able to benefit from its own dominance, as it had what the other players were lacking — money, experts and workforce. The company received several requests to cover urban plans and also became responsible for funding most of the colonial state’s social engineering plans. For instance, in May of 1970, João Bexiga, who was in charge of the Diamang facilities in Lunda, sent a telegram to the company’s offices in Lisbon asking permission to help Soares Carneiro, who, “despite being committed to furthering settlement and countersubversion measures”, did not have money to do so.²⁴ Even when money was not a problem, the lack of both experts and expertise was a drawback for the Public Works department. Diamang was asked to provide building contractors, carpenters and bricklayers as well as electrical work plans and topographical maps. Construction materials, such as trucks, bricks and furniture, were also requested of the company.

Moreover, in order to amass people at that “edge of the empire”, like many other companies around colonial geographies, (Roberts, 2014), Diamang had been building extensive know-how on social engineering that was now proving to be extremely suitable for facing the threat of warfare. Despite the reported “busy” urban improvements that were emerging in Henrique de Carvalho (now Saurimo), the article in *Terras e Gentes de Angola* stated that “a lot was still missing and everyone expected Diamang to take care of it”²⁵.

24. DCV-UC, Diamang archives, box 205. “Defesa civil de Angola”.

25. ANTT, António Soares Carneiro, box 16, no. 1, doc.19. PT/TT/ASC/D/0002. “Lunda”. *Terras e Gentes de Angola*, 7º caderno / Rigoroso exclusivo N Notícia (1972).

Since its inception, Diamang had put a lot of effort into developing its social-spatial setting²⁶, so as to ensure the settlement of both European employees and African workers. The company's urban centres were considered faultless and its urban policies were regarded as a role model. Several social facilities were built by a private department of Urban Services. European workers had good housing and several leisure facilities at their disposal, such as recreational centres, swimming pools and gardens, that would make life in Africa more appealing to those who moved to the company's outlying areas (see figure 3).



Fig. 3. Diamang houses for European employees were deemed "unique". Source: DCV-UC/AD

Furthermore, Diamang had its own Indigenous Labour Propaganda and Assistance Service (SPAMOI), set up in 1937, the purposes of which were similar to those later given to Carneiro's *enquadrantes* system:

*"to engage volunteer workers in the conservation and enhancement of their villages and farming fields; to show them the benefits of long-term work and their remaining in the one and same place; [...] to encourage the natives to settle near the mining camps, to build their houses of adobe or wattle and daub, with large dimensions and to provide them with the necessary material".*²⁷

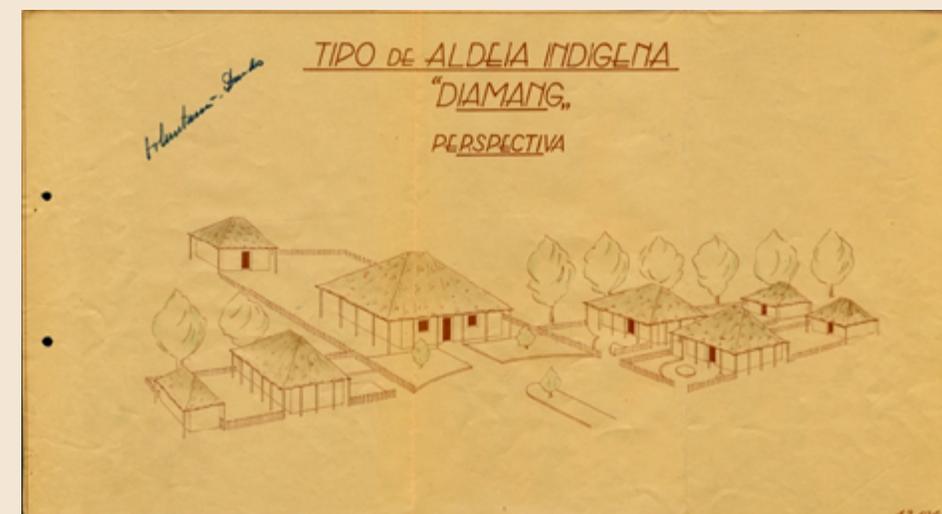
These efforts, which highlighted the important role of family, food, children, schools and professional education in the daily life and health of African workers, were part of a wider "stabilisation policy" that mining companies had developed not only to ensure an abundance of personnel

26. On account of their extensive territorial and technological dimensions, mining companies were considered "bastions of modernity" and therefore became central to the discussion on "welfare" in Africa during the 1950s. See Ferguson, 1999; Cooper, 2004; Makori, 2017.

27. DCV-UC, Diamang archives. SPAMOI annual report, 1937 [diamangdigital.net].

(Mottoule, 1946; Grévisse, 1951) but also to promote the inclusion of the local population in the new global urban society produced by the industrial environment (Ehsani, 2003). Since the 1940s, several so-called propaganda villages and indigenous markets had been built throughout the company's area of operation as one of the first measures resulting from the SPAMOI service. Also, near Dundo, where the company headquarters were, a "modern and hygienic model neighbourhood" was designed as "an example of the standard of living that indigenous people could achieve through education and work".²⁸ (see figure 4)

Fig. 4. Aspect of a "Standard Diamang Indigenous Village" (as a side note: the villages of *Voluntários* in Dundo were to be built according to this plan). Source: DCV-UC/AD



Indeed, Diamang's operation area was a perfect blend of the two "priority areas", where, according to colonial experts, "social promotion" was to be fostered: the borderland and the city.²⁹ In this regard, the company had always been very conscious of both its borderland and urban conditions and had learnt how to take advantage of these. As private companies in Portuguese colonial territories were required to protect their own staff and buildings, by the time the conflicts started, Dundo was the only village in the region with an active security plan. Due to its borderland position, a "defence plan of the Diamang territories and facilities"³⁰ was designed in 1950 and revealed how buildings were to be adapted to warfare scenarios, where women and children could take refuge during in conflict situations and what was to be told to African workers in case of an attack. This explained why even though the region's frontier condition made it a "victim" of a 1147 km-long border³¹ — as it was very vulnerable to guerrilla groups like the UPA and UNITA, which had military outposts just across the artificial border to the

28. Diamang (1936). *Súmula da origem, desenvolvimento, actividade e acção colonizadora da Companhia de Diamantes de Angola* – Homenagem e recordação da visita de Sua Ex. o Governador Geral de Angola, Coronel António Lopes Mateus. Dundo: Companhia de Diamantes de Angola. ANTI, António Oliveira Salazar. UL-8A, box 712, capilha 1. PT/TT/AOS/D-N/2/2/1.

29. "Acção social no trabalho em Angola", José Rodrigues Baião. Magazine "Reordenamento", published by Junta Provincial de Povoamento, no. 13, 1969.

30. DCV-UC, Diamang archives, box 205.

31. ANTI, António Soares Carneiro, box 16, no. 4, doc. 1. PT/TT/ASC/D/0005. "Lunda - Elementos preparatórios para um esquema expedito de desenvolvimento".

newly independent Democratic Republic of the Congo— serious insurgency problems ended up arriving from the underdeveloped and sparsely-populated south, where the MPLA was based³² (see figure 5).

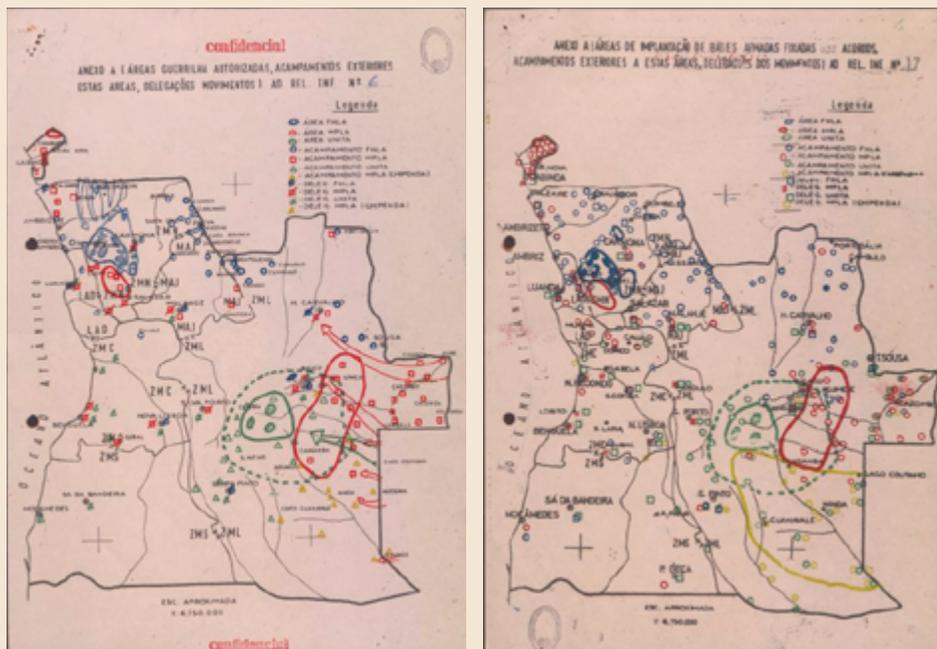


Fig. 5. Areas where FNLA, MPLA and UNITA were based in Angola, in early 1975, shortly before independence. Source: Arquivo Histórico Militar, Relatórios de Informação da 2ª Repartição do Quartel-General do Comando-Chefe das Forças Armadas de Angola, PT/AHM/FO/043/2/840/29.

ANOTHER WAR: FIGHTING THE STATE'S “PSYCHO-SOCIAL FURY”

With such a background, Diamang saw no need to change its socio-spatial policies to deal with insurgency issues as any modification was said to “destabilise the reliable system that was in place, resulting in harm to the Lunda population”.³³ However, beneath this “hard outer shell”, the company was in fact struggling with the changes brought about by the Rural Labour Code (CTR), enacted in 1962 after Ghana’s complaint against Portugal at the ILO (Monteiro, 2017). Suddenly, the company had another enemy to fight beside the insurgent groups: the Portuguese State’s “psycho-social fury”³⁴ regarding rural workers. To the Diamang board of directors, the new legal requirements, which were “solely imposed in order to align with the so-called recommendations of international organisations”, would result in too much “red-tape” for “those who had real experience on the ground”.³⁵

In order to deal with the new demands, Diamang had to effect a “profound and radical change” to the company policies, which had an impact

32. Angola’s War of Independence war was fought, on the liberation side, by three African liberation groups: UPA/FNLA (União das Populações Africanas), UNITA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola), and MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola), between 1961 and 1975. See Miguel Cardina and Bruno Sena Martins (coord.) (2018). *As voltas do passado. A Guerra Colonial e as Lutas de Libertação*.

33. ANTI, António Oliveira Salazar, UL-8A8, box 723, capilha 1.PT/TT/AOS/D-N/2/13/1. *Relatório da Companhia de Diamantes de Angola*, 1966.

34. ANTI, António Oliveira Salazar, PT/TT/AOS/D-N/2/13/1, Relatório, 1966.

35. ANTI, António Oliveira Salazar, PT/TT/AOS/D-N/2/13/1, Relatório, 1966. This idea emphasised the “subaltern agency” of the Portuguese authorities regarding international circuits (Curto and Cruz, 2017).

on its urban set-up.³⁶ In 1966 “Domestic Training Centres” and “Recreational Centres”, both of which addressed the need for the “advancement of the local population”, were organised. SPAMOI recruited “monitors” to help teach women how to “manage the household”.³⁷ “Traditional houses” were replaced by “definitive houses”, which were made of brick and zinc, and by the time ILO agents visited Diamang villages in 1971, almost 90% of housing was “definitive”, in comparison to the 18% in 1961.³⁸ Even though Diamang had earlier come out against the compound system used in South African mines, as it was a source of riots, poor living conditions and did not promote the commended “family life”, the need to deliver such “expedite” housing led to the company starting to build “collective housing”, known as *camaratas*, where both unmarried men and married couples could live (see Figure 6). Also, in order to guarantee that workers had housing from the beginning of the mining activities, as requested by the CTR, and as a means of dealing with the “temporary nature” of some mining sites that led to “huge expenses in terms of covering definitive housing”, the company came up with demountable houses that would meet both “their social and our economic needs”.³⁹

Diamang was proving that it rapidly understood how to address legal obligations and, at the same time, incorporate some of the State’s official discourse while ensuring its own needs⁴⁰. At heart, it was a matter of “prestige”: Diamang was keen on being an “example in the housing of workers in Angola” and the possibility of an “inversion of positions” was not welcome.⁴¹ To Ernesto de Vilhena, the company director, it was even a “shame to have such a good board full of specialists and engineers and have to search outside the company for an ideal house; indeed, the company should design its own Diamang house type”.⁴² However, regardless of the company’s efforts to remain a role model for spatial practices, it did have an economic agenda that left not much room for such imposed welfare. When the local administrator of Cafunfo lodged a complaint that workers in that area were living in villages with “appalling conditions”, the company quickly made it clear that the men in question were “non-permanent workers”, therefore not covered by legal requirements.⁴³ The situation was “simply a problem of rural reorganisation, which should be addressed by the competent authorities”; and while “the company was willing to assist in this task, it did not want to take any responsibility for such a fluctuating population group”.⁴⁴ Everyone appeared to be carefully picking and choosing their own battles.

36. DCV-UC, Diamang archives, “Mão de obra indígena não especializada – Recrutamento, Salários, Alojamento. 1967-1971” 6º vol.

37. DCV-UC, Diamang archives. SPAMOI annual report, 1968.

38. Indeed, several workers were interviewed by ILO’s agents and all of them stated to be living on houses provided by the Company. ILO Report (1971). Oficina Internacional del Trabajo. *Informe de Pierre Juvigny, representante del Director General de la Oficina Internacional del Trabajo, acerca de los contactos directos con el Gobierno de Portugal respecto de la aplicación del Convenio sobre la abolición del trabajo forzoso*. Genève.

39. DCV-UC, Diamang archives, “Mão de obra indígena não especializada 1967-1971”.

40. On the relationship between Diamang and the Portuguese State authorities see Mathias Alencastro (2018). “Política dos diamantes em Angola durante a primeira era colonial: as relações entre o Estado e a Diamang”.

41. Vilhena’s letter to Diamang managers in Lunda, 16th June 1964. DCV-UC, Diamang archives, “Mão de obra nativa – Habitação” (pasta 16).

42. Vilhena’s letter. DCV-UC, Diamang archives, “Mão de obra nativa – Habitação” (pasta 16).

43. DCV-UC, Diamang archives, “Mão de obra indígena não especializada – Recrutamento, Salários, Alojamento. 1967-1971” 6º vol.

44. DCV-UC, Diamang archives, “Mão de obra indígena não especializada 1967-1971”.



Fig. 6. Diamang camaratas, built in the late 1960 to house workers. Source: DCV-UC/AD

“DISORDERED” LEGACIES

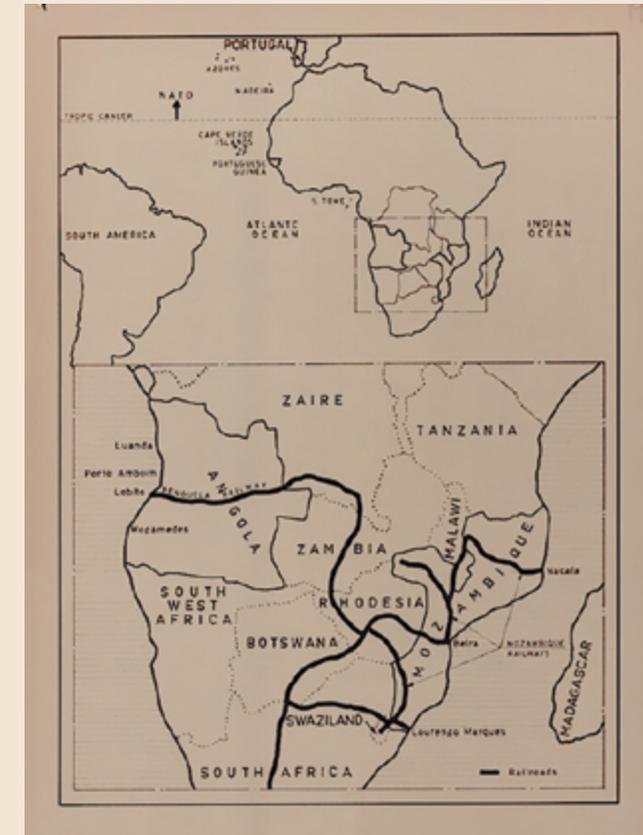
Even though independence wars were an extremely destructive force, both in terms of the territory and the population, they paved the way for an unprecedented late “developmental” momentum in Africa (Castelo, 2014), as shown by Soares Carneiro’s plans for the Lunda region. Indeed, confidential information sent to the Governor General of Angola in earlier 1961 deemed that the “crisis” that was then beginning should be seen as an “opportunity” to improve living conditions in the Northern regions.⁴⁵ Defence requests explained why, for example, small cities like Henrique de Carvalho received major infrastructures like airports (Fonte, 2013). Likewise, due to warfare mobility demands, as “revolts started where roads ended”, Angola was given a well-developed road system that was, by the time of the country’s independence, unique in Africa (Bender, 1978). Moreover, the war gave the colonial authorities the scope to deploy “developmentalism” as an essential tool, not only to keep the colonial order within the borders but also to justify the maintenance of the Portuguese Empire in the face of international criticism (see figure 7).

In this regard, the active role of African people must also not be dismissed. Villagisation, whilst being an extremely dramatic measure, made it possible for the rural population to step up and play a role in the modernisation of the country (Feichtinger, 2017). Both state authorities and Diamang were of the fact aware that, despite all the “socio-spatial strategies” implemented, the African workforce that came to work on mining sites was “extremely fluctuating and uncontrollable”.⁴⁶ By way of example, when these families became aware that the company had a legal obligation to house its workers, a lot of the local population moved close to the mines so that they

45. ANTI, António Soares Carneiro, box 20, no. 2. PT/II/ASC/004/0010. “Angola: Contra-Subversão – Informação Confidencial no. 22/61”.

46. DCV-UC, Diamang archives, box 205. “Defesa civil de Angola. Auto-defesa da Companhia. Grupo de Voluntários (1969-1971).

Fig. 7. The former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique were presented as being “paramount to the defence of the Western World”, as their railway lines and ports served mining activities in Central Africa. In “La politique africaine du Portugal et la défense de l’Occident”, Alexandre Ribeiro Cunha, 1971. Source: ANTT, António Soares Carneiro archives, box 16, no. 3, doc 80. PT/TT/ASC/D/0003.



would get a house. In this regard, the requirements of the Rural Labour Code benefited the company, which suddenly got more workers, but also disturbed the planned rural reorganisation. This became such a problem that, in 1969 the Governor of Lunda had to create a system of “residence” certificates to control the population and to prevent people from abandoning the already sparsely populated southern part of the region.⁴⁷

In this context, the danger of maintaining the Lunda economy’s dependency on the Diamang operations had already been acknowledged and the rural reorganisation was also expected to deal with this issue.⁴⁸ Regrouping the population was thus also perceived as a way of countering the company’s hegemony. However, that goal was never achieved. When Angola became independent in 1975, mining activities continued in the Lunda region. Today the district remains heavily reliant on companies that continue as substitutes for the State apparatus, particularly with regard to urban planning and spatial practices (Rodrigues, 2017; Pearce, 2004). Also, while (post-)colonial cities have been deemed “global pivots of change” (King, 1985), the expectations of local populations regarding a future based on “urban modernity” remain a “myth” (Ferguson, 1999).

47. DCV-UC, Diamang archives, “Mão de obra indígena não especializada – Recrutamento, Salários, Alojamento. 1967-1971” 6º vol.

48. Photographs which illustrated the article on Lunda in the magazine “Terra e Gentes de Angola” featured a caption recalling that “perhaps the suave and lovely Dundo urban scenery [was] dangerously overly reliant on the stability of the diamond industry. Diversification [was] a necessity”. ANTI, António Soares Carneiro, box 16, no. 1, doc.19. PT/II/ASC/D/0002.

LAST REMARKS

In exploring both Soares Carneiro's and the Diamang policies and achievements in terms of population settlement and control, which entailed major changes in the urban environment in Lunda, a few other considerations must be raised. Firstly, it remains crucial to highlight the importance of assessing the role of colonial players other than the State on spatial planning (Roberts, 2014). As mentioned above, the main goal of late colonial countersubversive measures, "winning over the population, was similar, at the roots, to the "stabilisation policies" implemented years earlier by private companies in order to guarantee workforce supply (Coghe, 2017). It even appeared that the colonial authorities learnt some strategies from them. For instance, one of the Soares Carneiro's measures to ensure that the Lunda population would conform to his plans was to promote "best village" competitions in the region, just like Diamang had been doing since 1946.⁴⁹ In order to understand all of the tie-ins and implications, a comprehensive study of the different late colonial settlement policies implemented in the former Portuguese colonies would be needed (and has yet to be carried out).⁵⁰

Secondly, it would appear that the above-illustrated process of rural reorganisation cannot be reduced to military and security *rationales* (Feichtinger, 2017; Jerónimo e Pinto, 2015). Even though the villagisation programmes were implemented mainly in rural areas, the effects thereof extended beyond the rural *milieu*, as the programmes were part of the wider discussion on urban-rural dynamics that paradoxically affected and were affected by "developmental processes"⁵¹. On the one hand, promoting rural populations was regarded as much more than a way to improve rural areas; it was also "the solution to protecting cities" from "less evolved" people (Bessa, 1972), and, therefore, reinforced racial and social discrimination. Moreover, the "power of attraction" of urban centres was perceived as a "danger" that led to "detrribalisation" (Baião, 1969; Curto e Cruz, 2015). On the other hand, the "settlement policy" published in 1971 argued that reorganising rural villages was an essential tool for attracting new European settlers to sparsely populated regions.⁵² It was, as James Scott has argued, a kind of "social gardening devised to make the countryside, its products, and its inhabitants more readily identifiable and accessible to the centre" (Scott, 1998). In both cases, wider layers of purpose were embedded into "strategic resettlement", which figured as a way to "save the whole empire".⁵³ In effect,

49. SPAMOI organised the "Best Village Contest" [Festa da Melhor Aldeia] contest in order to encourage the native workforce to modify their villages. Reports on the competition say it resulted in a change in the natives urban imaginary as they started to "recognise the benefits of having a clean and neat village, whitewashed houses, vegetation and fruit trees". ANTI, António Oliveira Salazar, UL-8AS, box 720, pt. 1. PT/TT/AOS/D-N/2/10/1. *Relatório dos Administradores por parte do Governo na Companhia de Diamantes de Angola*, 1950.

50. Complicated settlement issues were deemed a "national problem" and colonial experts knew that Angola was a deeply heterogeneous territory and, therefore, solutions had to take into account each region's specificities. See Gomes Bessa, "Angola, a luta contra a subversão e a colaboração civil militar".

51. Soares Carneiro gathered a lot of material on the growing "dual society". Tradition and modernity began to face off as opponents and a "clash of generations" was expected. This "phenomenon" was foreseen not as a local problem, but as a global one. ANTI, António Soares Carneiro, box 16, no. 1. PT/TT/ASC/D/0002.

52. "Política de povoamento, 1971". ANTI, António Soares Carneiro, box 16, no. 2. PT/TT/ASC/D/0003. "Lunda"

53. *Congresso de Povoamento e Promoção Social* (Congress on Settlement and Social Promotion), 4th-9th October 1970, Luanda. "Fixação de soldados desmobilizados", Araújo Rodrigues. ANTI, António Soares Carneiro, box 16, no.no. 1. PT/TT/ASC/D/0002.

practices of social engineering through spatial planning did not address one problem only, but many at once.

Lastly, strategic resettlement was not exclusive to the Portuguese colonies, but "a large-scale instrument of systematic population control in colonial warfare" since the beginning of the 20th century (Scheipers, 2015; Smith and Stucki, 2011). In this regard, the Portuguese case needs to be both synchronically and diachronically framed in terms of the international genealogies of social engineering through spatial planning (Feichtinger, 2017), which include not only the "guerre moderne" of the Algerian *centres de regroupment* (Henni, 2016), the British "New Villages" in Malaya (Scheipers, 2015) or the camps in Kenya (Castro, 1994), but also "older dreams" of ordering colonial territories (Coghe, 2017). In this context, it is also important to acknowledge that the end of the Portuguese empire puts it right in the middle of the Cold War dynamics⁵⁴ that brought other players to newly independent African territories (Stanek, 2012), whose role in urban planning is still under-researched. Indeed, when designing the *enquadrantes* system, Soares Carneiro imagined the reorganised villages to be somewhat like the Israelian *kibbutz*, a type of socio-spatial organisation that was receiving a lot of attention at the time (Navarra, 1970) and that still seems to govern some of the planning principles employed today in Angola. While colonial rule has come to an end, its impact on the space is still felt.

54. The "village" was a "category of development knowledge used by policymakers and experts to remake the 'Third World' during the Cold War". See Nicole Sackley (2011). "The village as Cold War site: experts, development, and the history of rural reconstruction". *Journal of Global History*, vol. 6, University of Richmond: History Faculty Publications, pp. 481-504.

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ARCHIVAL RESOURCES

ANIT — Torre do Tombo National Archives: António Oliveira Salazar archives (PT/IT/AOS) and António Soares Carneiro archives (PT/IT/ASC).

AHU — Overseas Historical Archives.

DCV-UC — Science Museum of the University of Coimbra. Diamang archives.

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José Luís Possolo de Saldanha holds a degree in architecture from the Lisbon University Faculty of Architecture and a PhD from the University of Seville, for which purpose a scholarship was granted him by Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian. He has lectured in architecture since 1996, and presently is an associate professor at ISCTE – Lisbon University Institute, where he was the President of the Pedagogic Council in 2013 and 2014, and head of the Department of Architecture and Urbanism between 2016 and 2019. An integrated researcher at Dinâmias' CET-IUL and author of scientific texts, he also maintains a regular practice as an architect.

FILIPA FIÚZA**Researcher in session**

SESSION: *Projecting Power in Colonial and Post-Colonial Angola and Mozambique: Architecture, Urban Design, Public Art and Monuments*
CHAIRS: Jeremy Ball and Gerbert Verheij

M. Arch., 2010, ISCTE-IUL. PhD candidate on Cultural Heritage of Portuguese Influence at the University of Coimbra. Researcher at DINÂMIA'CET-IUL, since 2012. Co-IR of the project "Dominance and mass-violence through Housing and Architecture during colonial wars. The Portuguese case (Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique) ...", financed by the FCT. Participant in the Cost Action CA18137 "European Middle-Class Mass Housing". Researcher in several projects funded by the FCT related to middle-class housing, architecture, and urbanism in the former Portuguese colonial African countries. She was a visiting researcher at the Faculty of Engineering and Architecture - Ghent University. Since 2011, she has participated in national and international conferences. She has published articles in books, magazines, and conference proceedings, and has co-organized several conferences and exhibitions.

BEATRIZ SERRAZINA**Researcher in session**

SESSION: *The spatialization of population control in late colonialism: contexts, modalities, dynamics*
CHAIR: Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo

Postdoctoral Researcher at Dinâmias' CET-Iscte. She holds a PhD. in Architecture and Urbanism from the University of Coimbra (2024). She is currently involved in the project "ArchLabour". Former researcher in the projects "ArchWar" and "WomArchStruggle". Her research interests span the history of colonial architecture, imperial companies, transnational connections, circulation of knowledge, and (post) colonial heritage. Her main contributions include the co-organization of the exhibition *Colonizing Africa*

in Lisbon, in 2019, the participation in national and international meetings, and research publications on the interplay between private companies, the production of space, and population control during late Portuguese colonialism.

ANA SILVA FERNANDES**Researcher in session**

SESSION: *The spatialization of population control in late colonialism: contexts, modalities, dynamics*
CHAIR: Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo

Architect and researcher, with postgraduate studies on architectural heritage, and a PhD on policies for improvement of self-produced areas, focusing on African territories. She has been undertaking applied research on urban policies, spatial justice, informality, self-produced settlements, participation and heritage. She is nowadays a postdoctoral researcher on the socio-spatial impacts of the infrastructural network in Mozambique, and on participatory policies for overcoming social asymmetries in its access, in a research hosted by ISCTE-IUL (Lisbon, PT) and FAPP-UEM (Maputo, MZ). She is also an Invited Lecturer at FAUP (Porto, PT), having multiple publications, supervisions and conference participations.

ANTÓNIO DEUS**Researcher in session**

PANEL 6: *Peripheral Infrastructures in Late Colonial Cities*
MODERADOR: Tiago Castela

PhD student at CES-UC in the doctoral programme at «Heritages of Portuguese Influence». The research project focuses on the design of the urban network in Angola, in the main cities founded in the Highlands, along the railway lines, in a key period of its definition, and of its relationship with other centralities, such as the Catholic Missions. Research fellow (2017-2019) in the project "Coast to Coast - Late Infrastructure Development in Ancient Portuguese Africa" (ISCTE-IUL), coordinated by Ana Vaz Milheiro.

Title: Colonial and Post-Colonial Landscapes I – Architectures, Cities, Infrastructures in Africa. Coast to Coast Researchers' book

Coordination: Ana Vaz Milheiro

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