



The Lingering Legacy of Colonialism: The Case of Angola and its Post-Colonial Struggles

SURAJUDEEN OLU DOTUN OLADELE
Federal University of Agriculture, Abeokuta, Ogun State, Nigeria

Abstract. This article examines the impact of colonialism on Southern Africa, with a particular focus on Angola, a country once colonised by Portugal. The study traces the early amicable relationship between pre-colonial Angola and imperial Portugal, which later deteriorated into an exploitative and autocratic colonial regime. The article highlights the nature of the colonial conquest, the structure of Portuguese rule, the struggle for independence, and the resulting post-colonial dynamics. It argues that colonialism left a significant legacy, creating a power vacuum upon Portugal's abrupt departure and contributing to the ensuing civil war that devastated the country. The research further explores the destructive effects of colonial policies on Angola's social, political, and cultural fabric, and the asymmetrical nature of the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. Despite the end of formal colonial rule, the paper contends that Angola, and Africa as a whole, must now confront and dismantle the lingering colonial mindset. The study concludes with a call for African nations to focus on internal development by promoting good governance, reinforcing the rule of law, and fostering accountability to ensure lasting progress.

Keywords: Colonialism, Angola, Post-Colonial Struggles, Independence Movements, Colonial Legacy

1. Introduction

The European exploration of Africa marked the start of a significant chapter in the continent's history, eventually leading to the slave trade. This trade represented the first major interaction between Africa and the West (McKay, 1963). With the decline of the slave trade in the 19th century, there arose a demand for legitimate trade, culminating in the European

scramble and partition of Africa. This event signified another phase of colonialism, during which European powers occupied Africa to maintain a fragile peace in Europe (McKay, 1963).

Colonialism, as defined by Brett (1973), is a system of governance where one group imposes its authority on another, creating a dynamic of dominance and dependency. This system subordinated the governed population to an imported culture in social, economic, and political domains. Notably, European colonialists employed both diplomatic and violent methods, including acts of genocide, to establish their rule. For instance, Germany has acknowledged its use of genocide during its occupation of Namibia (Steinhauser, 2021).

However, some scholars caution against viewing colonialism solely as a European phenomenon tied to Africa's partition, as other actors also engaged in colonial endeavors. For example, Ethiopia under Menelik II participated in colonial practices (Heldring & Robinson, 2012). Nevertheless, this study focuses specifically on European colonialism. Justifications for the colonial enterprise in Africa included the discovery of the New World, industrialization, the pursuit of prestige, claims of "civilizing" the continent, and the desire to trade surplus goods (Davidson, 1992; Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012). The methods used to occupy and govern African nations encapsulate the essence of the colonial experience. As Boahen (1991, p.169) observed, "Of all the external traumas and influences that Africa has experienced—external invasions, the slave trade, Islam, and Christianity—none proved as superficially fleeting yet deeply transformative as European colonialism for Africa and Africans."

While scholars have extensively explored the impact of colonialism on regions such as Latin America (Tedesco & Barton, 2004), the study of southern Africa remains relatively underexplored. This region includes Angola, Botswana, Comoros, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Eswatini, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. This paper focuses on the effects of colonialism in Angola, aiming to contribute to the growing body of literature on southern Africa. Although not exhaustive, this work provides insights into this under-examined area. This is germane as it underscores the impact of colonialism not just on Angola but the wider and larger post-colonial State. The paper is organised into six sections: an introduction, literature review, theoretical framework, the impact of colonialism on Angola, an analysis of colonial and post-colonial governance in Angola, and a conclusion.

2. Colonialism and Post-colonialism: Literature Review

Inyang and Basse (2014) contended that treaties provided moral justification for the use of force, as the British made it standard practice to respond with military action to any violation of treaty terms. Furthermore, while some colonialists sought to subtly influence the cultural identities of their colonies, others outright imposed their own cultures. However, the process of treaty signing was not without resistance. Many African pre-colonial societies opposed early European overtures of friendship but were ultimately overpowered by superior European military forces, with Ethiopia standing as a notable exception (Boahen, 1991). Nevertheless, the European success in colonizing Africa had profound historical implications for the continent's future development and its subsequent relationship with the colonisers.

Rodney (1973) argued that Africa's pre-colonial era was marked by a vibrant and glorious past, which was disrupted by the arrival of Europeans. This encounter initiated a hostile period in Africa's history, contributing to the continent's underdevelopment. Similarly, Haq (1976) traced the roots of global inequality to historical events, particularly colonialism. He posited that colonialism deepened the divide between developed and developing nations by positioning wealthy Northern countries at the center of global economic activity and relegating poorer Southern countries to the periphery as raw material suppliers. According to Haq, these exploitative dynamics, manifested in economic dependence and intellectual subjugation, persist despite formal

decolonization. As Smith (2009) aptly observed that Britain's approach to spreading its culture was more pragmatic than its continental neighbors, as it preserved indigenous cultures and social structures when politically advantageous, while France and Portugal pursued assimilation, aiming to turn native peoples into Europeans, particularly through Western education, which influenced the development of areas where local elites aligned with European culture (2009, pp. 2-3).

Smith (2009) elaborated on the far-reaching effects of colonialism on both colonial and post-colonial states, highlighting its influence on areas such as national income levels, industrialization, economic integration, and human development, including education and health (2009, pp. 11–15). Supporting the argument about the developmental impact of colonialism on Africa, Ake (1996) emphasised that understanding Africa's current challenges requires a thorough examination of colonialism and its enduring political legacy. He argued that the stagnation or regression of African economies and enterprises stems from various interconnected factors. These include the colonial legacy, social pluralism and its divisive tendencies, corruption among leaders, poor labor discipline, insufficient entrepreneurial skills, ineffective planning and management, inappropriate policies, suppression of market mechanisms, low levels of technical assistance, and the limited flow of foreign capital (1996, p.1).

In addressing the impact of colonialism on the post-colonial state, Ake (1996) provided a clear and concise perspective on the enduring challenges it left behind:

Although political independence brought some change to the composition of the state managers, the character of the state remained much as it was in the colonial era. It continued to be totalistic in scope, constituting a statist economy. It presented itself as an apparatus of violence, had a narrow social base, and relied for compliance on coercion rather than authority

Nwaura (2005) argues that Africa's current underdevelopment is a consequence of slavery, colonialism, and neocolonialism. He identifies several barriers to development, including foreign investment, a lack of effective leadership, and insufficient capital. Similarly, Ocheni and Nwankwo (2012) highlight the visible impacts of colonialism on Africa, which include the underdevelopment of African territories, the disarticulation of African economies and markets, the premature integration of African markets into the global economy, urbanization patterns, and the emergence of class structures and struggles,

particularly among the petty bourgeoisie created by colonial powers.

A recurring theme in the literature is that while colonialism affected all aspects of African societies, its most profound and enduring consequences were economic, leaving a legacy of underdevelopment (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2018). Therefore, understanding the nature and effects of colonialism, particularly in the southern African sub-region, is crucial for comprehending its broader implications.

Machava and Pitcher (2017) identified armed struggles for independence, socialism, post-independence conflict, political instability, and authoritarianism as common features of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau since independence. In contrast, Botswana's colonial experience was minimal, as the British invested little in the region due to its perceived lack of profitability. Consequently, Botswana's post-colonial success has been attributed to light colonial rule, the harmonization of pre-colonial Tswana and modern institutions, and favorable post-independence policies (Beautlier, n.d.; Seidler, 2010).

For the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), colonialism under King Leopold II was marked by brutal exploitation disguised as international trade, leaving the nation with enduring poverty, identity crises, and conflicts (Mudane, 2017). Lesotho's colonial experience involved missionary-led "Christianity, Civilization, and Commerce" campaigns, followed by Dutch colonial policies akin to South Africa's apartheid system. This history fostered dependence on South Africa and violent indigenous resistance (Maliehe, 2014; Strom, 1986). Similarly, Madagascar's colonial legacy of French repression has influenced its political attitudes and behaviors (Garcia-Ponce & Wantchekon, 2018).

Malawi, formerly Nyasaland, saw British settlers promoting cash crops like cocoa and tobacco, leaving a legacy of economic dependency and civil conflict (McCracken, 2012; Pachai, 1974). In Mauritius, despite its high human development index, reliance on Britain and the West remains a significant post-colonial legacy, alongside a history of indentured slavery (Frankel, 2010; Allen, 1999). Namibia experienced German economic exploitation before falling under apartheid South African rule, which sparked violent resistance until independence in 1990 (Lechler & McNamee, 2018).

South Africa's colonialism was characterised by settler domination, systemic exploitation, and long-

lasting economic and social inequalities. The white-dominated economy contrasts sharply with marginalised black communities plagued by social issues, marking South Africa's colonialism as particularly distinctive (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). Zimbabwe faced similar British settler policies, including land acquisition and cheap black labor, sparking violent guerrilla resistance. Post-colonial challenges include corruption, ethnic intolerance, and authoritarianism (Mlambo, 2013). Zambia's colonial experience mirrored that of its southern neighbors, with exploitative rule and post-independence issues like corruption and autocracy under Kenneth Kaunda's leadership.

The South Africa Development Cooperation (SADC) is another legacy of colonialism, with its leadership often comprising elites shaped by colonial states. Vanheukelom and Bertelsmann-Scott (2016) revealed that approximately 79% of the SADC's budget comes from donor funding by foreign entities, including former colonial powers, thereby enabling neo-colonial influences to persist. According to Vanheukelom (2017), historical factors have profoundly shaped the institutional arrangements of SADC member states, with lingering ties to former colonial powers influencing the organization's development.

However, despite these insights, there is a noticeable gap in the literature regarding Angola's specific contributions and impact within the SADC, especially in contemporary times. While existing studies have explored the nature of colonialism across the region, there remains much to be uncovered about the nuanced impacts of both colonialism and post-colonialism in Angola. This suggests a need for further research to better understand Angola's role and the broader implications of colonial legacies in Southern Africa. In summary, colonialism's diverse manifestations across Southern Africa reveal common patterns of economic exploitation, cultural disruption, and violent resistance, with post-colonial legacies often marked by corruption, dependence, and socio-political challenges.

3. Theoretical Explanation

The paper adopts the Dependency Theory. Dependency theory emerged in the late 1950's in response to concerns of the gap between rich and poor countries (Agbebi & Virtanen, 2017) and that economic growth in the advanced industrialised countries did not lead to growth in the poorer countries (Ferraro 2008). However, it has been under debate since the 1960's. Based on these definitions,

“dependence” in the international system can be used as a measure for explaining global inequalities.

In order to adequately examine the usefulness of the concept of dependency theory for explaining global inequalities, this essay deals initially with some of the constraints of dependency theory and its problem of ethnocentrism and generalization (Farny, 2016). The main aim of the scholars has seemed to be to explain the cause and result of the dependent status of the global south in the international political and economic systems. In spite of its criticism on the basis of nomenclature, the relevance of dependency theory for understanding North-South and regional integration processes and their relation to global inequality becomes visible when examining the relationship between Angola and Portugal.

4. The Colonial Experiences of Angola

Angola's tropical climate supports diverse ecosystems, with oil palms and mangroves abundant along the coast as far south as Benguela. Archaeological evidence suggests that northern Angola was historically inhabited by hunter-gatherer groups. Today, the main ethnic groups include the Umbo, Kongo, Lunda-Chokwe, Mbundu, Mganguela, Nyaneka, Ovambo, and Ovimbundu, all of whom had well-organised societies before the onset of the transatlantic slave trade, which was heavily influenced by Portuguese involvement (Uwechue, 1991).

The Portuguese explorer Diogo Cão was the first European to encounter Angola's indigenous peoples during his late 15th-century quest for a route to India. Initial European-indigenous interactions escalated into conflict when the Portuguese sought to conquer Angola militarily, beginning in 1575 with the establishment of Luanda. By 1640, the Dutch briefly controlled parts of Angola, and by the Berlin Treaty of the 1880s, Portugal had solidified its control over most of the country.

The early 20th century witnessed fierce resistance from various ethnic groups. Significant uprisings included the Kongo revolt led by Alvaro Buta (1913–1915), the Mbundu's Dembos resistance, and the Ovimbundu's Bailundo revolt of 1902, one of the largest African revolts against colonial rule. Despite this resistance, the Portuguese colonial administration implemented forced labor and heavy taxation, offering minimal education and social benefits, apart from limited schooling by missionaries.

To stimulate its economy, Portugal expanded coffee and cotton cultivation for export and established

diamond mining operations. It also encouraged Portuguese migration to Angola. A decree in 1947 institutionalised a social hierarchy within the colonial state. Indigenous people aspiring to gain the status of *assimilado* (assimilated or "civilised" persons) were required to meet stringent criteria, including fluency in Portuguese, a clean police record, economic independence, and approval from the district governor. Those unable to meet these standards, termed *não assimilados* (unassimilated or "uncivilised" persons), were subject to forced or contract labor.

The colonial social structure was divided into three classes: natives, *assimilados*, and *mesticos* (people of mixed European and African heritage). This rigid hierarchy fostered systemic inequality, with lasting effects on Angola's social and economic landscape.

In 1951, Angola was officially declared an integral part of Portugal, and by 1952, the Portuguese government-initiated settlement projects known as *Colonato* programs (Uwechue, 1991). These policies, coupled with the socio-economic marginalization of the indigenous population, fueled the rise of nationalist struggles across Angola. Various social and political movements emerged to challenge the colonial administration and its discriminatory practices, including the Angolan Communist Party (PCA), Partido de Luta dos Africanos de Angola (PLAA), Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA), União das Populações do Norte de Angola (UNPA), and União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA).

Due to colonial restrictions on social movements, many of these groups operated from outside Angola. Beyond their shared goal of ending colonial rule, internal divisions eventually led to infighting among these groups. The colonial government exploited these rifts, strategically positioning UNITA—a group it saw as a potential puppet successor—over the more prominent MPLA. However, international support from African nations like Nigeria and Namibia, as well as socialist allies such as Cuba and the USSR, undermined these plans and bolstered the MPLA's resistance.

On April 25, 1974, Portugal's Armed Forces Movement (MFA), weakened by its inability to win the colonial wars in Africa, staged a coup that overthrew the Portuguese government. By July of the same year, the MFA promised independence to Portugal's African colonies, including Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. In January 1975, the MPLA, UNITA, FNLA, and the Portuguese government signed the Alvor Accords, which recognised the legitimacy of these parties and

scheduled elections for a national assembly in October 1975.

On November 11, 1975, Angola was granted independence. However, the transition was far from harmonious. The MPLA declared independence in Luanda, the FNLA celebrated in São Salvador (Mbanza Kongo), and UNITA in Huambo. This fractured independence, combined with Portugal's lack of preparation to effectively relinquish power, created centrifugal forces and an anarchical post-independence state.

The seeds of discord sown during colonial rule quickly escalated into a protracted civil war immediately after independence. This war, marked by external intervention and ideological divides, would define Angola's political and social trajectory for decades (Ackesson, 2016).

Peace finally returned to Angola, but the toll of decades-long civil war was devastating. By the end of the 1992 war, over 600,000 people had been internally displaced, and countless thousands had lost their lives after more than 25 years of conflict. The war was accompanied by widespread atrocities, including rape,

starvation, genocide, and other crimes against humanity (Enor, 1994; Rosie, 2020).

When the civil war officially ended in 2002, Angola was left in ruins. The prolonged conflict between the two sides had ravaged the country for 27 years, resulting in an estimated 1.5 million deaths. Additionally, over 4 million people were internally displaced, while another 500,000 fled the country as refugees (Hanson, 2008). This tragic legacy underscored the severe human and economic costs of the war and left Angola facing immense challenges in rebuilding its society and infrastructure.

4.1 Impact of Colonialism on Angola

The impact of colonialism on Angola is enormous. This can be seen in all spheres of lives ranging from economic, social to political. In Angola, the colonisers took the natural resources from Angola and sold their products there, thus destroying indigenous local economy and entrepreneurship in the country. The significance of this is that such attempt prevented the development economy, over-reliance on petro-dollar economy and over-reliance on Portugal and the European Union as a whole for survival.

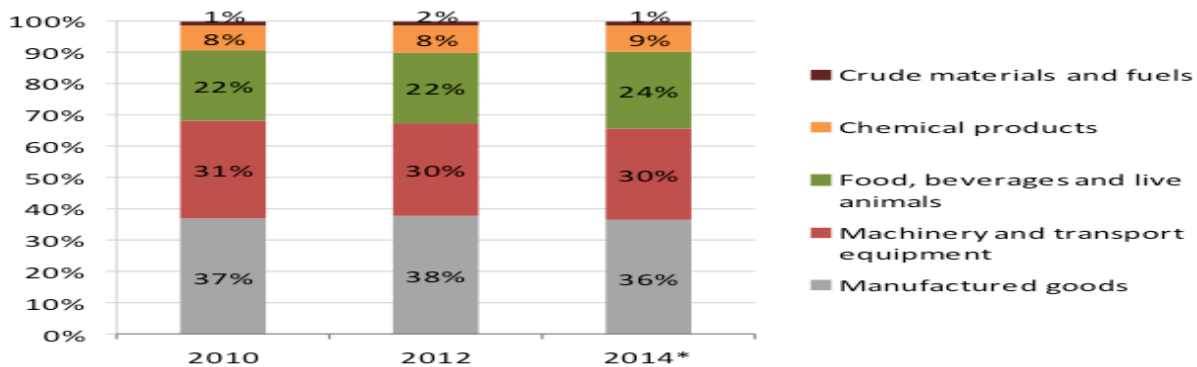
Table 1: Main Origin countries for Angolan Imports, 2010-2013

2010		2011		2012		2013	
Portugal	14%	Portugal	15%	Portugal	16%	Portugal	16%
Netherlands	10%	Netherland	13%	Singapore	11%	Singapore	13%
China	9%	Korea	11%	China	9%	China	10%
USA	7%	USA	8%	Netherland	8%	Korea	7%
Belgium	7%	China	8%	Belgium	7%	Belgium	5%

Source: National Bank of Angola in Fildago (2015)

Table 1 shows that Portugal was the consistent trading partner with Angola under the period of study. This volatility in the Angolan GDP growth reflects its extreme dependence on the oil sector. One of the main indicators of the influence of Portugal in Angola is the position of Portugal as the first origin country for Angolan imports. Portugal has ranked first since 2003 (the first year of the series from the National Bank of Angola), always with a significant lead over the other main origin countries.

Figure 1: Breakdown of Angola Imports from Portugal by Sector



Source: National Bank of Angola in Fildago (2015)

Portugal and the European Union (EU) are not only among Angola's primary trade partners but also some of its largest investors. This dynamic is rooted in the longstanding and close relationship Angola maintains with its former coloniser and the broader EU. This relationship has perpetuated a framework of economic dependency, often characterised as a master-servant dynamic.

On June 10, 2016, the EU signed an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) with the SADC EPA Group, which includes Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, and Eswatini (formerly Swaziland). While Angola has the option to join this agreement in the future, its current trade patterns align with the overarching framework of the EPA. This agreement facilitates the continued supply of primary products from Angola and other SADC countries to the EU, while finished goods flow back to the region from their former colonisers. As one report aptly describes it:

Other products from the region include agricultural products (beef from Botswana, fish from Namibia or sugar from Eswatini), oil from Angola or aluminum from Mozambique. South Africa's exports to the EU are much diversified and range from fruit to platinum and from manufactured goods to wine. The EU exports a wide range of goods to the Southern African Development Community EPA countries, including vehicles, machinery, electrical equipment, pharmaceuticals and processed food (European Commission, nd).

Despite efforts to reintegrate the sub-region and the broader African continent, the trade relationship between Angola and its sub-regional (Southern African Development Community, SADC) and regional (African Union, AU) bodies remains relatively insignificant compared to its relationship with its former coloniser, Portugal (Redvers, 2013). Additionally, although Angola is a member of the African Union, it only ratified the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) agreement in November 2020, highlighting a delayed commitment to regional economic integration. This delay reflects the complexities of Angola's economic and political alignment, especially in relation to its historical ties with Portugal.

Table 2: Number of Portuguese Companies Exporting to Angola

Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Portuguese Companies exporting to ANgola	7,874	7,497	7,893	8,821	9,401

Source: Fildago (2015)

This dependency has resulted in Angola relying heavily on foreign expertise to enhance its industrial

and technical capacities. While Portugal remains Angola's largest trading partner, the country, like many African nations, has also sought stronger ties with China. Angola now benefits from favorable loan schemes and a significant influx of Chinese experts, particularly to address its infrastructural deficits. However, this growing reliance on foreign powers carries potential risks, including increased vulnerability to external influence, economic dependency, and the possibility of exploitation, which could undermine Angola's long-term self-sufficiency and sovereignty. As a critic warns:

The government will need to focus more attention on planning and organization to ensure the sustainability and transfer of know-how—or risk relying on the Portuguese and others returning in the near future to rebuild what the Chinese have just completed (Hanson, 2008).

The growing interdependence between Portugal and Angola, particularly in economic and political spheres, is undeniable. This relationship has extended to cultural aspects, such as religion, language, and migration patterns. While migration from former colonies to their colonisers is a common trend in post-colonial literature, Angola's migration pattern has been reversed since the end of the civil war in 2002. Rather than fostering the importation of jobs, foreign direct investment, and technological knowledge, this migration has created tensions as returnees, or *retornados*, now compete with locals for limited resources, including employment opportunities (Akesson, 2016; Waldorf, 2017). The returnees have also developed a sense of superiority, leading to disparities in pay, welfare, and working conditions between the Portuguese and Angolans, despite the latter's greater experience. For example, Akesson (2016) in her ethnographic study of an Angolan view of the disparity between Angolans and Portuguese as seen below:

The salary difference is considerable. They [the Portuguese managers] don't disclose their salaries, but we know. It is a discomfort. A foreigner without experience receives more than an Angolan with a lot of experience. I have 11 years of work experience and I earn US\$ 2,300 a month. A Portuguese with two or three years of experience earns US\$ 5,000 (Quoted in Akesson, 2016)

On the contrary, the Portuguese denied the claims made by the Angolans. In a discussion of the current Portuguese role in Angola, a young, highly skilled Portuguese argued:

We contribute to positive changes. If they close the border the country would collapse. The big problem in

Angola is primary education. Good schools can change societies. We can pass on a lot, help them structuring their minds. This is not a question of intelligence. There are different ways. But they are bad at synthesising, they are not pragmatic, they are enslaved by bureaucracy, and don't think. There is a lack of intellectual independence and structured thought (Quoted in Akesson, 2016).

The implication is that the *retornados* who come to Angola are not solely focused on contributing to the development of the host nation. Instead, their primary objective seems to be making money in Angola with the intention of eventually returning to Portugal. This dynamic contributes to capital flight, as the wealth generated in Angola is often transferred back to Portugal, rather than being reinvested into the Angolan economy or used to foster long-term development in the country. As an interviewee stated:

I have never met a 25-, 35-year-old here that wants to be here. All want to go back. They cope badly with the garbage and the traffic. Then there are racial clashes. The only reason they cope is because of the job, the money, the experiences they are getting here and how it affects their CV [becoming more competitive for the EU market]. None of my sons' colleagues and friends want to come to Africa, but there is no work in Europe (Quoted in Waldorff, 2017).

Colonialism in Angola also led to the establishment of a bonapartist state, where political leaders, primarily driven by the desire to control state resources, sought to either maintain their hold on power or transfer it to their descendants or an authoritarian successor who would serve their interests. In this system, state resources were appropriated and distributed among allies and adversaries alike, often to ensure loyalty and suppress opposition. Due to the tight control over economic resources by the political elite associated with the MPLA regime, the vast economic growth in the country did not benefit the majority of Angolans (Birmingham, 2015). For instance, in 2013, Isabel dos Santos, the daughter of President José Eduardo dos Santos, was estimated by *Forbes* Magazine to be the richest woman in Africa, while the average Angolan lived on less than \$2 a day (Forbes, 2015, p.226). Her wealth accumulation over her father's long reign reflected the extent of corruption and cronyism, as she became Africa's richest woman. According to a report:

In January, the Luanda leaks investigation revealed numerous schemes apparently used by Dos Santos and her husband to obtain Angolan state funds during her father's presidency. The revelations were based on a leak of 715,000 files obtained from administrators of the Dos Santos empire (Garside, 2020)

The question arises regarding the sincerity of former colonisers when large sums of money were being laundered into their countries. It is clear that the repatriation and seizure of such funds only occurred at the request of a new government, and the Portuguese government had little choice but to cooperate in order to maintain the long-standing, albeit unequal, master-slave relationship. Colonialism also fostered a form of international political patrimony, where agreements were not negotiated among fellow African nations but rather in the capital of the former coloniser, Portugal. For instance, the MPLA and UNITA leaders were forced to the negotiating table due to lack of international support, culminating in the Bicesse Accords signed in May 1991 in Portugal. Both parties agreed to demobilise their forces and hold elections the following year, a deal that ideally should have taken place within Angola or within the territory of any of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) or Southern African Development Community (SADC) members.

Additionally, colonialism created an avenue for elites to transfer state resources to foreign safe havens, usually in the former coloniser's territory, where the looted wealth is often secured unless demanded by a new government. This practice of looting further perpetuates dependency on the former coloniser. The lack of development within ex-colonies also led to the elites seeking medical treatment, leisure, and property in the former colonial powers. For example, President Dos Santos was known for regularly traveling to Spain for treatment during his reign (VoA, 2017). During the COVID-19 pandemic, Angola, like many other former colonies, had to rely on foreign partners for vaccines rather than developing indigenous solutions. The country was one of the first in the Eastern and Southern African bloc to receive the controversial AstraZeneca-Oxford vaccine from the Serum Institute of India (WHO & UNICEF, 2021).

The deliberate underdevelopment of former colonies has made them increasingly dependent on the former colonisers for aid, thus reinforcing the political relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. In Angola's case, Portugal's increasing aid, given the country's structural challenges, was both understandable and strategic. The Indicative Cooperation Programmes (ICPs) saw Portuguese aid increase from EUR 13.262 million in 2001 to EUR 17.249 million in 2003. Portugal also implemented a multi-year framework for 2004–2006 with a total budget of EUR 42 million (Seabra & G o r j ã o, 2011), further cementing the ties between the two nations.

5. Colonial vs. Post-Colonial Angola: A Comparative Analysis of the Eras

This section seeks to address the crucial question: How did Angola fare during the colonial period compared to the post-colonial era? Did colonialism have a positive or negative impact on the country, especially in light of the foreign values introduced? As discussed earlier, colonialism in Angola brought about significant changes, but its long-term effects are more complex.

Heldring and Robinson (2013) argue that colonialism retarded development, especially in centralised pre-colonial states and those with white settlement. They emphasise that colonial rule often blocked political development in centralised pre-colonial states, and in places where indirect rule was implemented, local elites became less accountable to their people, adopting predatory behavior. In settler colonies, such as Angola, colonialism was highly extractive, leading to land grabs and exploitation.

Colonialism also altered the political landscape by creating a class of nationalist leaders who were often seen as pawns of colonial powers. For example, in Lusophone colonies, the elites were referred to as the “civilised,” and similar categories existed in other colonial contexts, such as the “évolués” in Belgian-controlled territories. These elites became entrenched in power, often repressive, dictatorial, and resistant to relinquishing authority, as seen in Angola, Zimbabwe, and Zambia, among others.

Additionally, the violent nature of colonial resistance had lasting impacts on inter-group relations, further exacerbated by the departure of colonial powers. In some Lusophone countries, the hasty departure left behind unprofessional military forces that failed to maintain stability, which was in contrast to what Huntington (1957) envisioned for post-colonial states. Angola, while not experiencing a wave of coups like other African nations, faced its own challenges with a corrupt military, involved in oil racketeering (Gavin, 2020). This contrasted sharply with the pre-colonial political systems, where leaders had more respect for traditional institutions.

Furthermore, colonialism shaped Angola's political economy to favor the needs of the colonisers, often at the expense of other vital sectors. The concentration of resources in a mono-economy, particularly in oil, led to the phenomenon known as the “Dutch disease.” This created an economic system heavily reliant on a single industry, and the political behavior that followed became more violent, with elites often justifying extreme measures to maintain control.

These patterns were learned from the colonial period, where power was centralised and the ends often justified the means.

In conclusion, colonialism left Angola with an entrenched elite, a distorted political economy, and a weakened state structure. While Angola has made progress since independence, the legacy of colonialism continues to shape the country's political, economic, and social dynamics.

6. Conclusion

This article explores the impact of colonialism on Southern Africa, with a particular focus on Angola, which was once a colony of Portugal. It delves into the nature of the conquest, the structure of colonial administration, the struggle for independence, and the ensuing post-colonial relationships. The study finds that the initial relationship between pre-colonial Angolan society and imperial Portugal was relatively amicable, but it eventually soured. The colonization, which involved force and exploitative policies, was autocratic, segregated, biased, and unequal. This provoked numerous anti-colonial movements, many of which resorted to violence. Under pressure, Portugal withdrew without transferring power to any of the political parties or nationalist groups.

The colonial legacy had a profound impact on the formation of the Angolan nation-state. It created a power vacuum that eventually led to civil war, resulting in loss of life, destruction of property, and the collapse of the few colonial infrastructure remnants. Additionally, the social, political, and cultural consequences of colonization deeply affected the relationship between the colonised and the coloniser, which was more asymmetrical than cooperative. Interestingly, this period also saw a reverse migration pattern, where the colonisers now migrated to the formerly colonised state, continuing the exploitation.

The paper suggests that while colonialism has ended, Africa—particularly Angola—must now look inward for solutions. It emphasises the need for African leaders to shed the colonial mindset and advocate for good governance, the rule of law, and accountability in order to assert the continent's independence and reinforce its development.

References

- Acemoglu, D. & Robinson, J.A. (2018) “The economic impact of colonialism” *The long economic and political shadow of history - Volume I. A global view*, pp. 81-87. At (<https://cpb-us->

- w2.wpmucdn.com/voices.uchicago.edu/dist/f/1135/files/2018/06/economics_of_colonialism_published-1xlqe05.pdf
- Agbebi M. & Virtanen, P (2017) Dependency theory – a conceptual lens to understand China’s presence in Africa? *Development Studies*. 44(3), 429-451. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08039410.2017.1281161>.
- Ake, C. (1996) *Democracy and Development in Africa*. Washington: The Brookings Institutions
- Åkesson L. (2016) Moving beyond the Colonial? New Portuguese Migrants in Angola” *Cahiers Du’etudies Africaines* 267-286. At <https://journals.openedition.org/etudesafraicaines/18981> (accessed 22 March 2021)
- Allen, R.B (1999) *Slaves, Freedmen and Indentured labourers in Colonial Mauritius*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Birmingham, D. (2015) *A Short History of Modern Angola*, London: Hurst & Company
- Brett, E. A. (1973). *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa: The Politics of Economic Change (1919-1939)*, New York: NOK Publishers Ltd
- Candeia, P., Malheiros, J. Marques, J.C. & Liberato, E. (2019) “Portuguese Emigration to Angola (2000–2015): Strengthening a Specific Postcolonial Relationship in a New Global Framework?” pp 209-235. In Pereira, C & Azevedo, J eds. *New and Old Routes of Portuguese Emigration: Uncertain Futures at the Periphery of Europe*. Switzerland; Springer
- Davidson, B. (1992) *The Black Man’s Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*. Ibadan: Spectrum
- Enor, B. (1994). “Conflict Resolution in the Post – Cold War Era: A Case Study of the Angolan Civil War” An Unpublished Thesis, University of Yaounde, Cameroon.
- European Commission (nd) “Southern African Development Community” <https://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/regions/sadc/> (accessed 24 March 2021)
- Farny, E. (2016). “Dependency Theory: A Useful Tool for Analyzing Global Inequalities Today?” *E-International Relations*. At <https://www.e-ir.info/2016/11/23/dependency-theory-a-useful-tool-for-analyzing-global-inequalities-today/>
- Ferraro, V. (2008), ‘Dependency Theory: An Introduction’, in Giorgio Secondi (ed), *The Development Economics Reader*, London: Routledge, pp. 58-64.
- Fildago, J. (2015, February 11) “The Impact of the Historical Influence of Portugal in Angola” *International Banker*. <https://internationalbanker.com/finance/impact-historical-influence-portugal-angola/> (accessed 23 March 2021)
- Frankel, Jeffrey A. (2010.) Mauritius: African Success Story.” HKS Faculty Research Working Paper Series RWP10-036, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. At https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/4450110/Frankel_MauritiusAfrican.pdf
- Garside, J. (2020), 11 February “Portugal freezes bank accounts of Isabel dos Santos after Angolan request” *The Guardian*. At <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/feb/11/portugal-freezes-bank-accounts-of-isabel-dos-santos-after-angolan-request>
- Gavin, M. (2020), January 30 “Learning what we always knew: Corruption in Angola” *CFR*.
- Hanson, S. (2008), July 31 “Angola’s Political and Economic Development” Council on Foreign Relations. At <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/angola-political-and-economic-development>. (Accessed 23 March 2021).
- Haq, Mahbul ul (1976). *The Poverty Curtain: Choices for the Third World*. New York: Columbia University Press
- Heldring, L & Robinson, J. (2013), 10 January “Colonialism and development tin Africa” *VOX CEPR*. At <https://voxeu.org/article/colonialism-and-development-africa>
- Heldring, L. & Robinson, J.A (2012) “Colonialism and Economic Development in Africa” *Working paper 18566* Cambridge MA, NBER.
- Inyang, A.A. & Basse M.E. (2014) “Imperial Treaties and the Origins of British Colonial Rule in Southern Nigeria, 1860-1890” *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences (MC SER)*, 5, 20: 1946-1953
- Lechler, M. & McNamee, L. (2018) “Indirect Colonial Rule Undermines Support for Democracy: Evidence from a Natural Experiment in Namibia” *Comparative Political Studies* 51,14: 1858– 1898
- Machava B., & Pitcher, A. (2013) “Comparative Politics of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau
- Mccracken, J. (2012) *A History of Malawi: 1859-1966*. Woodbridge: James Currey

- McKay, V. (1963). *Africa in World Politics*. New York and Evanston: harper & Row
- Mlambo, A.S. (2013). "Becoming Zimbabwe or becoming Zimbabwean: Identity, nationalism and State-building." *Africa Spectrum*, 48, 1: 49-70
- Nwaura, N. (2005) *KENYA TODAY: Breaking the Yoke of Colonialism in Africa*. New York: Algora Publishing
- Ocheni, S. & Nwankwo, B.C. (2012) "Analysis of Colonialism and Its Impact in Africa" *Cross-Cultural Communication*, 8, 3: 46-54.
- Oliver, E. & Oliver, W.H., (2017), 'The Colonisation of South Africa: A unique case', *HTS Teologiese Studies/ Theological Studies* 73, 3: 1-8.
- Pachai, B. (1974) "African Politics in the twentieth century Malawi" *Kleio*, 6, 2: 31-57
- Redvers, L. (2013) "Angola: The Reluctant SADC Trader" *ecdpm*. At <https://ecdpm.org/great-insights/political-economy-regional-integration/angola-reluctant-sadc-trader/>
- Rodney, W. (1973) *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Dar-ES-Salaam: Bogle-L'Overture Publications
- Rosie B. (2020) "The Angolan Civil War: Conflict Economics or the Divine Right of Kings?" *E-International Relations*. At <https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/88786> (accessed 23 March 2021)
- Seabra, P. & G o r j ã o, P. (2011). "Intertwined Paths: Portugal and Rising Angola" Occasional Paper No 89 South Africa: SAIIA.
- Steinhauser, G. 2021, May 28. "Germany Recognises Colonial Genocide in Namibia, to Pay \$1.3 Billion" *The Wall Street Journal*. At <https://www.wsj.com/articles/germany-recognises-colonial-genocide-in-namibia-to-pay-1-3-billion-11622208538>
- Tedesco, L., & Barton, J.R. (2014) *The State of Democracy in Latin America* New York: Routledge
- Uwechue R ed. 1991 *Africa Today*. London: African Books Ltd
- Vanheukelom, J. 2017 "Understanding the Southern African Development Community Living with a powerful neighbour" Working paper for the ECPDM. At <https://ecdpm.org/wp-content/uploads/SADC-Background-Paper-PEDRO-Political-Economy-Dynamics-Regional-Organisations-Africa-ECDPM-2017.pdf>
- Vanheukelom, J. & Bertelsmann-Scott, T. (2016) *The Political Economy Of Regional Integration In Africa: The Southern African Development Community (SADC)" SADC Report* <https://ecdpm.org/wp-content/uploads/ECDPM-2016-Political-Economy-Regional-Integration-Africa-SADC-Report.pdf>
- Voice of America* (VoA) 2017, July 4 "Angolan Leader Back in Spain a Month After Medical Trip" At <https://www.voanews.com/africa/angolan-leader-back-spain-month-after-medical-trip>
- Waldorff, Pétur (2017), "Renegotiated (Post)Colonial Relations within the New Portuguese Migration to Angola," *Africa Spectrum*, 52, 3: 55–80.
- WHO & UNICEF (2021) "Angola becomes the first country in Eastern and Southern Africa region to receive COVAX vaccines against COVID-19" At <https://reliefweb.int/report/angola/angola-becomes-first-country-eastern-and-southern-africa-region-receive-covax-vaccines> (accessed 24 March 2021).