British media and the decolonisation of Mozambique

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Introduction

Valentin Mudimbe examines in *The Invention of Africa* how navigators, traders, travelers, philosophers and anthropologists all played, at different times, an important role in shaping the modern meaning of Africa and of being African. More recently, scholars such as Askew have argued that, in the modern age, media is now doing the job formerly belonging to anthropologists; news is key to shaping people’s perceptions of the world. Although the impact of news on population is debated, it is accepted that news media does play a role in informing populations. This research will be concerned with the British media and how it portrayed the decolonisation of Mozambique, a Portuguese colony. The fact that Mozambique was the first state admitted to the British Commonwealth having never been part of the British Empire or under the control of any other member state indicates the connections that Britain has shared with Mozambique. Only one other state, Rwanda in 2009, has been afforded admittance. This research will highlight British interest in Mozambique and argue that this interest affected reporting in British newspapers concerning decolonisation in Mozambique.

Historiography

Africa has seen a strong academic focus on state formation, particularly on the development of political and cultural identity in the new states. Initial academic studies on Mozambique had a strong focus on the history and legacy of Portuguese colonialism, many noted the foremost role Mozambique played in mining across

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5 Ibid, [accessed on 15 June 2019].
southern Africa and providing labour to South Africa. The second main focus of studies has been on Mozambique’s civil war (1976–1992) and politics between the two opposing parties of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) and the Mozambican National Resistance (Renamo). Studies on contemporary Mozambique have tended to focus on the ‘development’ in Mozambique and the rising role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) into the country. This study is most concerned with the initial phase of historiography: the history and legacy of Portuguese colonialism.

The Portuguese decolonisation in Africa followed an exceptional path through the 1950s and 1960s. Portugal continued to reject decolonisation as other European powers’ colonies moved towards independence. Due to its unique position, the decolonisation had a large international dimension, attracting much attention from not only many nation states but also both the UN (United Nations) and NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). War broke out in Mozambique when the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), initiated a guerrilla campaign against Portuguese rule in September 1964. This was part of the larger Portuguese Colonial War, which had started in Angola in 1961. On the 25th of April 1974, Portuguese military officers of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) staged a bloodless military coup that toppled António de Oliveira Salazar’s successor Marcelo Caetano, and successfully overthrew the Estado Novo regime in what was to become called the Carnation Revolution. Mozambique gained independence the following year on the 25th of June 1975.

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Historians have explored many facets of Mozambique’s history. Studies have highlighted the inception of Portuguese control in Africa. MacQueen argued that although around the time of partition by the European powers “the concept of ‘Portuguese Africa’ was questionable in terms of both territory and population”, Portugal emerged from the ‘scramble’ with territory in Africa and turned to consolidating its power immediately.  

10 MacQueen added that between 1890 and 1910 the Portuguese “worked to transform the ‘imaginary’ empire of the 1870’s into a set of overseas possessions comparable in their administration and economic status with those of the other ‘new imperialists’.” 

11 Studies on the next period looked mainly at Portuguese administration of the territory. At this time, various concession companies, mainly in the cotton and sugar sector, administered Mozambique. As Robinson argued, it lead to a weakness of metropolitan control and foreign investments only saw limited economic benefits for Mozambique itself.  

12 Some studies detailed the effects of Portuguese rule on the peasant society of Mozambique such as Isaacman in his research focused on the cotton industry. However, these studies were in the minority, with most being concerned with the administration rather than life in the colony. Many studies were conducted on the war of liberation.  

14 Some studies have paid particular attention to Mondlane, the founding President of Frelimo.  

15 As in the earlier period, historical studies have often focused on the global facets of the liberation war. Roland and Atmore explored the Portuguese exception in retaining colonies after other Europeans had begun decolonisation. 

16 Moreover, in work like MacQueen’s, The decolonization of Portuguese Africa, the history of decolonisation in Mozambique was told alongside the history of other Portuguese territories. 

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11 Ibid., p. 5.
17 MacQueen, The decolonization of Portuguese Africa, Metropolitan Revolution and the Dissolution of Empire.
Duffy’s *Portuguese Africa*, the wider history of Mozambique has been given alongside the other Portuguese African territories.¹⁸ In terms of the sole history of Mozambique, Malyn Newitt stands out amongst historians. He has given the most complete history of the state ranging from the sixteenth century to the contemporary state.¹⁹

**Research question and relevance**

This thesis will discuss how Mozambique was represented in the British media during the decolonisation period. It will focus on two British newspapers, namely The Guardian and The Times. Its aim is to give an overall impression of the nature of media reporting on Mozambique in Britain. Specifically, it will answer the key research question of: *Why did the British media represent the decolonisation of Mozambique in terms of regional and global events as opposed to local events?* This research will explore what topics are reported to the British public and what frames are applied to the reports. This study therefore has relevance for two main reasons. Firstly, as noted, much academic work has been done on the events in Mozambique, however none have explored how these were reported across the world. Secondly, although much academic work has looked at how war is represented in the media, none has looked at how a decolonisation war was reported.

This study is fascinating because of Britain’s many interests in Mozambique during the period. Firstly, Britain had colonial connections to Mozambique. At the beginning of the period covered by this study, in 1961, Mozambique bordered three states that made up the Central African Federation (CAF). These states were the self-governing British colony of Southern Rhodesia and the British protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. With the countries being landlocked they greatly relied on Mozambique to provide access to the sea, giving Britain an interest in what happened in the state of Mozambique. After Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia gained independence as Malawi (6 July 1964) and Zambia (24 October 1964) they joined the British Commonwealth and thus their prosperity still concerned and was connected to Britain. However, it is the third state of the CAF, Southern Rhodesia, that most demonstrates British colonial connections to Mozambique. After the

¹⁸ J Duffy, *Portuguese Africa*.
dissolution of the CAF, Southern Rhodesia issued a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) in 1965. International sanctions were subsequently applied to Southern Rhodesia in hopes of forcing them to negotiate a controlled independence with Britain. After the sanctions were applied Mozambique helped Southern Rhodesia to evade them, thus, the independence of Mozambique became key to international sanctions being effectively applied to Southern Rhodesia. Mozambique’s independence has been described as having a ‘seismic impact’ on Southern Rhodesia.\(^2\) Upon independence Mozambique started to impose UN sanctions and closed its borders to Southern Rhodesian trade, therefore, 80% of trade had to be rerouted through South Africa at added time and expense.\(^3\) The policy of Mozambique towards Southern Rhodesia was greatly influential in British efforts to bring Southern Rhodesia back under control and therefore, Britain had a great interest in Mozambique in relation to her colonial responsibility. Secondly, Britain had economic connections to Mozambique through various companies that sourced raw products from the country, such as sugar for Tate & Lyle. Moreover, after Britain began to help with the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam, it had not only more economic interest in Mozambique but an interest in the safety of British citizens working in the territory. Finally, Britain was invested in decolonisation but also connected to Portugal through institutions like NATO, the UN and the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance from 1386. This meant that Britain had political interest in the situation in Mozambique. Britain needed to be seen by the international community, particularly members of the Commonwealth, as pushing Portugal to decolonise. However, Britain also relied on Portuguese support with global issues such as preventing the spread of communist influence. Britain also hoped to get Portuguese support with regional issues such as the UDI in Southern Rhodesia and applying sanctions. This meant they could not afford to lose Portugal as an ally. Overall, this thesis will explore how the British interests as outlined above affected British newspaper reporting on the decolonisation of Mozambique. It will be argued that due to British interests in Mozambique stemming from their regional and global commitments, the lack of media interest in the local dimension demonstrates that the


\(^3\) Ibid.
British newspapers were reporting only in line with British political and economic interests.

**Theoretical framework**

Many studies have been conducted on the media’s presentation of conflict, which is unsurprising considering its high level of involvement and influence in such cases. Many studies of the media centre around one of three concepts: agenda setting, framing and bias.22 The first two of these concepts are of most concern to this research. The first phenomenon to consider is agenda setting. In selecting information, the media is shaping what information is discussed in the public sphere. It is true that these selections have to be made but this has led to the media increasingly being seen as a gatekeeper. “Gatekeeping is the process of culling and crafting countless bits of information into the limited number of messages that reach people each day, and it is the center of the media’s role in modern public life.”23 It is argued that the “most important aspect of gatekeeping is that issues and events that are not covered are absent from the worldviews of most audience members. People cannot know about what the media fail to tell them, unless the people have personal experience of the event.”24 Therefore, identifying this first concept will be vital for this research. It is unlikely that British people will have first-hand experience of the decolonisation of Mozambique and so the information presented to them in the media will form at least the basis of most people’s knowledge. The topics that are reported on will be analysed alongside the British interests outlined above to show

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24 Ibid., p. 4.
that there is correlation. British newspapers in the period set the agenda of reporting in line with British interests.

The second important concept is that of framing. Gamson and Andre Modigliani, when explaining media frames claimed, “media discourse can be conceived of as a set of interpretive packages that give meaning to an issue”.\textsuperscript{25} Entman argued “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient by way of communication in order to promote a particular problem definition, a causal interpretation, a moral evaluation, and/or a treatment recommendation for the item described”.\textsuperscript{26} Accordingly, frames can be seen as the particular way that the news chooses to present the chosen information. Identifying and analysing the frames that were used in the British media surrounding decolonisation will further help to answer the question: \textit{Why did the British media represent the decolonisation of Mozambique in terms of regional and global events as opposed to local events?}

The final concept of bias is arguably the most difficult to identify in media reports and institutions. This is due to the fact bias is the “systematic” favouring of one representation.\textsuperscript{27} It is not having a slanted view in a certain news article or framing an article in a certain way. Bias is when a consistent view is presented throughout articles over time; this often contravenes standards of journalism as the facts become secondary to the view being promoted. It is difficult to identify bias for a number of reasons. Firstly, researchers have a personal bias that is difficult to account for when deciding if articles are displaying bias. Especially if the articles are regarding controversial topics, like war or decolonisation, the researcher will have their own personal feelings that may affect what they interpret as a fair representation of events or a biased representation of events. Also the point in which the framing or slant becomes ‘systematic’ must be determined, this is not simple Media can display different degrees of bias and what one may argue is a small degree of bias another may disagree arguing it is not bias at all. Overall, determining bias is a very subjective exercise. Determining a benchmark to compare media


coverage against when analysing bias is also very subjective. Therefore, although it is important to be aware of bias throughout this research it is not the aim of this research to prove bias was present in the British media coverage of Mozambique. This research is concerned with answering questions regarding the nature of coverage and why news about Mozambique is presented in terms of regional and global events not with proving bias.

**Primary sources and methodology**

As stated, this thesis will examine the British media and how it reported the decolonisation of Mozambique. The national newspaper industry in Britain is comprised of two categories. The “broadsheet” or “quality” newspapers focus more on reporting political, economic and overseas news whilst “tabloids” or “popular” newspapers report more regarding life in the UK, human interest and celebrities. Consequently, the primary sources will be from two of the “broadsheet” newspapers The Guardian and The Times. These two have been chosen over others as they enjoyed high readership in the period and offered a contrast in political spectrum therefore offering more balanced findings. The Guardian offered more of a liberal left wing view, and in terms of party politics they were aligned with the Labour party. The Times held a pro-Establishment and pro-empire view; in terms of party politics they were aligned with the Conservative party. Since both newspapers are influenced by their ideology, ownership and revenue to name a few, they will certainly present a crafted position. By using two newspapers of different political tendencies the individual position should be negated and instead an overall picture of British media reporting should be ascertainable. Articles from the Sunday counterparts of the two newspapers, The Sunday Times and The Observer will be included in this analysis. The Guardian and The Observer sources will come through the ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer database. Access to the newspaper archives of The Times and The Sunday Times will be through a personal subscription. This will offer a comprehensive set of sources to work with thus ensuring that the findings of the research are reliable. All types of newspaper articles will be included in this analysis. This will allow for a more in depth analysis. News reports, appearing mainly on the front page, will show basic facts being reported about Mozambique and will highlight what topics are reported on. Feature articles will offer more in depth opinions regarding the news and will give more of the
newspapers opinion. Any editorials or columns in which Mozambique appears will also be included as they provide a specific point of view, which dependent upon the author may prove interesting for the analysis. Published letters to the editor will not be included in the analysis as they will not give the view of the newspaper rather the view of the public. It is also difficult to ascertain if the individual members of the public who have letters published have any bias regarding Mozambique as there the personal details published with their letter, such as their name, are often not enough to accurately identify them.

This thesis will use both quantitative and qualitative content analysis. Quantitative analysis is useful as it offers a summary of many individual details, it allows questions concerning ‘how many’ to be answered. This method will be used to investigate how many times Mozambique is reported on for a given period as well as to discern how often Mozambique is only reported on in reference to another topic. Qualitative content analysis will then allow for a more in depth discursive analysis of the content. Qualitative content analysis through coding and subsequent categorisation will be conducted to find both agenda setting and framing in the news articles. This will allow for the extraction of patterns and differences in the data. This thesis will employ manifest analysis rather than latent analysis. It is arguable that because news articles are trying to inform people and the British media is a relatively free press, more can be known from looking at what they actually say in the text rather than looking for a hidden meaning using latent analysis.

**Overview of chapters**
This research will be comprised of four chapters. The first will look at coverage from the 1st of January 1961 to the 24th of September 1964. The second chapter will focus on the British newspaper coverage of Mozambique during the early stages of war from the 25th of September 1964 to the 31st of December 1968. The penultimate chapter will look at newspaper reports from the 1st of January 1969 until the day before ceasefire the 7th of September 1974. The final chapter will look at how the British newspapers reported on Mozambique from the 8th of September 1974, the

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date of ceasefire, to the 25th of June 1977, two years after the independence of Mozambique. Each chapter will focus on key events during the time period highlighting where British newspaper coverage frames in terms of regional, global and local events. Through this is will become clear that much more is framed through regional and global events as opposed to local. By introducing information regarding British colonial, political and economic interests in the region and their global interests relating to Mozambique it will be argued that these interests serve as the reasons why British media represents the decolonisation of Mozambique in terms of regional and global events as opposed to local events.
Chapter 1 – Reporting Before the Outbreak of War in Mozambique

This first chapter will focus on British newspaper reports of Mozambique before the outbreak of war, specifically from the 1st of January 1961 to the 24th of September 1964. This time frame begins with the outbreak of conflict in Angola, another of Portugal’s colonies, and ends when the conflict begins in Mozambique. Therefore, this will serve to establish what reporting was like before the outbreak of war in Mozambique and will provide not only a standalone analysis of reporting throughout the period but a baseline to judge how the subsequent reporting changed. By starting at the outbreak of war in Angola, the evolution of reports surrounding the liberation movements in Mozambique can be analysed as they start to appear around this time. This period encompasses a few notable events that will be central to British reporting. Firstly, as noted, it includes the beginning of the Independence Wars against Portugal which first broke out in Angola on 4 February 1961. It is also during this period on the 31st of December 1963 that the Central African Federation (CAF) ended. The CAF had consisted of three southern African territories, the self-governing British colony of Southern Rhodesia and the British protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (see map 1). The countries all bordered Mozambique, making them closely connected. One major connection was that the three CAF countries were landlocked and had relied on railway lines through Mozambique to Beira port for much of their trade. There was a strong road and railway link with Salisbury in particular (see map 2). This had profited Mozambique, which—unlike many other places in Africa—was not rich in natural resources and therefore needed the boost to their economy. This made not only their relations but also relations between Britain and Portugal key for the prosperity of all of the countries. Nyasaland gained independence under the new name Malawi on the 6th July 1964. Northern Rhodesia gained independence under the new name Zambia on the 24th October 1964 just after the end of the period with which this chapter is concerned. Southern Rhodesia, however, remained a British colony, resisting attempts to bring in majority rule. The final key event in the period was the Indian invasion of Goa in December 1961 after Portugal’s refusal to decolonise and allow its colonies to become part of India. This brought the Portuguese administration into
conflict with various international governments including the British. This chapter will argue that British reporting regarding Mozambique in this period had a clear agenda, reporting in line with British interest in southern Africa, British reporting does not focus on events in Mozambique on a local level and is only concerned with Mozambique when it impacts either regional or global British interests.

Map 1: Mozambique and neighbors in 1960

In terms of the number of articles between the 1st of Jan 1961 and the 25th of September 1964, The Times and The Guardian had a total of 165 and 242 articles respectively that contained the word Mozambique, making a total of 407 articles (see Table 1 for a full breakdown). As will be discussed in later chapters, this is relatively low coverage; some subsequent years will have more than 400 articles in one year alone. This simple quantitative analysis therefore gives our first conclusion; in this period before the outbreak of war, Mozambique received little coverage from the British newspapers. It is probable that a combination of these factors is the cause: events in Mozambique did not intersect with the regional and global interests of Britain; there was little perceived as newsworthy in Mozambique that would interest the British public; there was little perceived as newsworthy in Mozambique that interested the British elite who influenced what was published. Additionally, since the few British newspaper reporters in Africa were stationed mostly in Salisbury, Johannesburg or Cairo, Mozambique did not receive much attention. Of the 407 articles 52 will be eliminated from the subsequent qualitative analysis. These articles
provide little content for analysis, as they are concerned with such things as obituaries, adverts or book reviews. These 52 articles also contain the letters to the editors that reference Mozambique. The category of articles that referenced Mozambique but were focused on another topic totalled 208. These articles totalled 61.4% of The Guardian’s reports and 54.7% of The Times reports. Of The Times articles, only 67 were directly about Mozambique and of The Guardian articles, only 80 were directly about Mozambique. This shows that British reporting was heavily focused on Mozambique only when it intersected with other British interests, as it was mainly referenced in articles that were centred on another topic. These topics were British economic, diplomatic and colonial interests.

Table 1: A breakdown of articles containing the word Mozambique, 1st of January 1961 to the 24th of September 1964.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Articles focused on Mozambique</th>
<th>The Times and The Sunday Times</th>
<th>The Guardian and The Observer</th>
<th>Total number of articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Articles only referencing Mozambique</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles excluded from analysis</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of articles</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Reports surrounding the Indian annexation of Goa provide a good example of British newspaper reports featuring Mozambique when it aligned with British diplomatic relations. Portuguese India had been comprised of three districts: Goa, Daman and Diu. After the end of British rule in India in 1947, the Indian government

had been in conflict with Portugal regarding their colonies. India wanted Portugal to relinquish its colonies and for them to join India. Portugal had refused. This situation came to conflict in December 1961 when India invaded Portuguese Goa to liberate it from colonial rule and join it with India. The first reports around this conflict were regarding India’s earlier integration of the two Portuguese enclaves of Dadra and Nagar-Haveli. Reports highlighted a bill passed by the Lower House of the Indian Parliament that allowed for integration of the enclaves in the constitution.\(^{30}\) The article noted that Mr Nehru, Prime Minister of India, had commented during the bill’s debate that Portuguese rule in both Angola and Mozambique “was doomed”.\(^{31}\) After the Indian annexation of the former Portuguese territories, reports claimed that Salazar had ordered the internment of Indians in Mozambique in response to Portuguese being captured in the Portuguese Indian territories. *The Guardian* reported that the Indian government was now left with 4,000 Portuguese prisoners who Salazar had little interest in taking back, it argued that the prisoners had been held as “a bargaining chip” against the Indians who had been captured by the Portuguese, mainly in Mozambique.\(^{32}\) The report also called the legacy being left by the Portuguese “embarrassing”.\(^{33}\) An article in *The Times* put forward a particularly interesting take on events. The article explained more of the history of Goa, noting that Indians travelled and settled in Mozambique whilst India was part of the British Empire and thus, they entered Mozambique as British subjects, they did not become Indian subjects until independence in 1947 and these people had never lived under rule of India.\(^{34}\) This article highlighted that Britain had more of a connection and potential responsibility to the now Indian subjects in Mozambique. The article was not calling Britain to act but simply highlighting the connection. Thus, even when reporting was directly about events in Mozambique, British newspapers were making British connections prominent in their reports. The events in the local area were secondary to wider political and diplomatic considerations. The following exchange demonstrates the British diplomatic position on the conflict. The Secretary of State

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\(^{31}\) Ibid.


\(^{33}\) Ibid.

\(^{34}\) ‘3,000 still held in Goa’, *The Times*, Jan. 10, 1962, p. 8.
for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Duncan Sandys, said to the House of Commons on the 18th of December 1961:

We have long understood the natural desire of the Indian people to incorporate these territories in the Republic of India and their feelings of impatience that the Portuguese Government have not felt disposed to follow the example of Britain and France. Nevertheless, I must make it plain that Her Majesty's Government deeply deplore the decision of the Government of India to use military force to achieve its political objectives.35

The leader of the Labour Opposition, Mr. Gaitskell said:

while we on this side of the House regard the continued existence of a Portuguese colony on the mainland of India as an anachronism which should have been abandoned some time ago, in pursuit of the example set by Britain and France, nevertheless we cannot but profoundly regret that the Government of India should have found it necessary to solve this problem by force.36

Though Britain did not want to support Indian military action they were clearly against Portuguese colonialism. For Britain, the conflict between Portugal and India was of great diplomatic importance, they had to perform a balancing act to please, or not displease, either side too much. If they sided with Portugal then they would look bad on the international scene and would be subject to criticism from Afro-Asian states for supporting colonial aggression. On the other hand if they sided with India they would lose the support they needed from Portugal, particularly with overflying rights in southern Africa. Therefore, British newspaper coverage shows they are reporting on Mozambique not because of interest on the local scale but because Mozambique in this example was important to Britain on a global scale.

Reports surrounding British exports obviously had British economic interests at the centre of reporting. The reports like one regarding Swan Hunter & Wigham Richardson, a shipbuilding company that had secured a £5 million contract with Portugal, focused on the promptness of the British firm's delivery and the excellent build quality of the ships.37 The article noted that the company had supplied another

35 https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1961-12-18/debates/825bbbed5-1192-4f54-95dd-fc573ac5895a/GoaDiuAndDaman(EntryOfIndianForces), [accessed on 27/06/2019].
36 Ibid.
37 'Liner to be handed over ahead of schedule', The Guardian, May 17, 1961, p. 11.
ship to Portugal, named Mozambique, as the ships would be used to transport goods to Portuguese Africa.\textsuperscript{38} This example shows focus on reporting the British economy and the mention of Mozambique is simply secondary. Additionally, showing a focus on the British economy, was an article about The United Molasses Company. The article centred on the company’s trading, its profits and losses and the general meeting which would take place in London the following month it was however, mentioned that the company would be building a facility in Lourenço Marques (Maputo) for the shipment of molasses produced in both Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia.\textsuperscript{39} No further information was given. Articles also discussed a pipeline to carry oil to a new refinery to be built in Mozambique near the border with Rhodesia; the pipeline company was a subsidiary of a British company.\textsuperscript{40} These articles show the other main reason that British newspapers would report on the economy of Mozambique: when it would affect their regional colonial interests, such as in Southern Rhodesia. Articles also looked at the links between the economy of Mozambique and Portugal, these often pointed out that the economy of Mozambique and other African territories helped significantly to bolster the Portuguese economy, particularly weak amongst its stronger European neighbours.\textsuperscript{41} All this shows that the economy of Mozambique held little interest for Britain unless it would impact their own economy, that of their colonial interests or of Portugal.

British foreign policy interests, however, provided the most obvious affect on the British newspapers. As Scott argued:

Portuguese Africa did not figure prominently in British foreign policy priorities…compared, for example, to ensuring Western security in Europe, the Atlantic and Mediterranean … and overseeing the orderly transition to independence across the British Empire.\textsuperscript{42}

There is clear correlation between these identified British foreign policy concerns and one of the two topics with the greatest amount of articles written. Articles pertaining to the CAF, particularly Southern Rhodesia, made up the most numerous articles. Since in this period Britain was overseeing the transition of both Northern Rhodesia

\textsuperscript{38} ‘Liner to be handed over ahead of schedule’, \textit{The Guardian}, May 17, 1961, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{39} ‘The United Molasses Company Limited’, \textit{The Times}, May 19, 1964, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{40} ‘Work starts on £4m. pipeline’, \textit{The Times}, April 5, 1963, p. 12.
and Nyasaland to independence and holding talks with the government of Southern Rhodesia regarding an agreement for its independence, and this was a major foreign policy aim, it is clear why they received such prominent coverage in the British newspapers. 50 out of the 127 articles were primarily regarding the CAF or the individual countries. In framing the news to prioritise the countries making up the CAF, some distortions of the southern African economic ties are made. An article detailing proposed changes to laws surrounding migratory workers in Southern Rhodesia and how they should affect South Africans, mentioned that workers from Mozambique would also be affected.43 The article notes that the African Trade Union Congress (ATUC), which was a confederation of trade unions in Southern Rhodesia, was calling on the government to expel other African workers to allow the employment of Southern Rhodesian workers at a higher price.44 The article focuses on workers from South Africa, but they made up a very small amount of the migratory workers inside Southern Rhodesia. Workers from Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Mozambique were the largest migratory worker source for Southern Rhodesia.45 Southern Rhodesia employed about one-tenth of all its African emigrants from Mozambique.46 They were employed in the gold and chrome mines of the northern and eastern districts but most Mozambican migrant workers to Southern Rhodesia were employed in tobacco farms in the northeast.47 This article is misleading as it suggests that a large proportion of migrant workers were from South Africa, and therefore, this is a good example of British newspapers promoting the countries that are of most importance to them at the expense of other countries and of fully explaining events to the British public.

The intertwined economy of Southern Africa was also discernable in articles that discussed the independence of Nyasaland. Articles centred on the future economy of the independent state often referenced Mozambique as its main export railway ran through Mozambique.48 A supplement on Malawian independence that

44 Ibid.
46 Ibid., p. 29.
47 Ibid., p. 45.
noted the same economic connection appeared in *The Times*.49 Articles regarding Southern Rhodesia highlighted connections with the other white-led states in southern Africa. An article focusing on Ian Smith’s discussions for South African support raised the possibility of a ‘defense pact between Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Mozambique against hostile Black nationalism.’50 This type of union was feared in Britain as it was thought it would further Smith’s considerations towards making a unilateral declaration of independence for Southern Rhodesia.51 Although a complete union was not to come to fruition, increased cooperation and support, particularly economic, helped to sustain the white regime of Smith when he did declare UDI in 1965. *The Guardian* article highlighted the dangers of a union between the white regimes in South Africa, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia. This is another example of newspaper reporting promoting the view that best served British interests. Here it is the colonial and foreign policy interests of Britain that are being disseminated by the newspapers.

Similarly, it was British foreign and colonial policy that seemed to guide reports regarding the strategic importance of the railway line through Mozambique. These articles also served to highlight the interdependence of countries across Africa. An article entitled ‘Katanga's precarious prosperity’, focused on the economy of Katanga, it mentioned that their economy was heavily reliant on Rhodesia and Mozambique as the copper railway passed through (see map 3 for location).52 A further article discussed how pressure could be applied to the Katanga administration to reintegrate with the Congo through the halting of exports on the railway lines.53 Katanga had ceded from the Democratic Republic of Congo, (DRC) in revolt of the rule of Patrice Lumumba. There were also articles like ‘New Railway May Aid Central Mining’, which focused on the construction of a new railway in Swaziland that would link up the Mozambican railway to expand the coal mining in Swaziland.54 These articles not only established the Beira port as important but they explained to the British public the leverage that Mozambique and therefore Portugal had via the railways. Since they were used to move copper and other minerals they

51 Peter Scott, ‘Migrant Labor in Southern Rhodesia’, p. 185.
54 ‘New Railway May Aid Central Mining’, *The Times*, June 8, 1962, p. 19.
played a vital role in not only the economy of Mozambique but also in neighboring countries and the wider region. These articles again show that the British newspapers are interested in reporting on Mozambique when it will affect their regional colonial interests.

Map 3: The Congo, showing Katanga that was to proclaim independence 11th of July 1960

![Map 3: The Congo, showing Katanga that was to proclaim independence 11th of July 1960](image)


There was one way in which Portuguese Africa, particularly Angola, threatened Britain’s global strategic and political interests, unsurprisingly this gained coverage in the British newspapers. As Scott argued when referring to guerrilla war in Angola, “the crises of Portuguese Africa impinged directly on British strategic and political interests and threatened to undermine Anglo-American endeavours to counteract the Soviet Union's growing influence with the non-aligned states of Africa.
and Asia.” This is arguably why articles concerning Angola were the second most numerous. A number of the articles questioned whether the conflict would spread. An article in *The Observer*, ‘Mozambique haunted by the war in Angola’, posed the question “how long before Mozambique – across the continent from Angola – is also drawn into the maelstrom?” calling the signs it was to be soon ‘ominous’. This report made clear they thought it was a matter of when, not if, the war would spread to Mozambique. Another article showed the British attitude to the rise in nationalism in Mozambique. The article entitled, ‘Crippling cost of Angola operation’, detailed the Portuguese efforts to fight guerrilla war in Angola and the costs both monetary and in political relationships. The article noted that the UN had condemned Portugal for refusing to supply information about her overseas territories and that in Mozambique a ‘movement for self determination on a multi-racial basis has taken root’. Regarding the movement in Mozambique, a clear lack of support was present in the article. The article had detailed the support Angolan guerrillas had received from communist countries and was fearful that another conflict in Portuguese Africa may take on the same dimension. This matched British policy regarding Portugal, though Britain wanted Portugal to move her colonies towards independence, Britain wanted to avoid colonial wars of independence and instead championed controlled transition to independence. Not only did the possibility of war spreading to Mozambique counter British global interests regarding preventing the spread of communist influence, it threatened stability in the CAF as war in Mozambique would undoubtedly affect them. It is clear therefore that when reporting on Angola the British newspapers framed the news in a global manner.

Finally, only a small number of articles during these years were focused on Mozambique. These articles mainly examined the rise of nationalism in Mozambique. *The Times* reported that unless Salazar made changes then in Mozambique he would be faced with another Angola-type war. Other articles discussed the Mozambique Liberation Front and their plans for setting up a popular government and independence. As Frelimo grew in support, articles also discussed

56 ‘Mozambique haunted by the war in Angola’, *The Observer*, July 2, 1961, p. 4.
58 Ibid.
the training of the liberation army. Overall, these articles were very forgettable in contrast to the tide of articles more concerned with British interests. The articles also greatly downplayed the nuance of different nationalist movements. Although there were many small nationalist groups gaining support the British newspapers often just referred the them all as “nationalist groups”, they were not concerned with giving any more detail. A few articles pertained to Portuguese administration of Mozambique. Some were positive such as the article reporting that there was to be a citizenship status change to Mozambicans, which made them full citizens of Portugal. Most of the articles however, were focused on being critical of the Portuguese stating they were slow to deliver the reform promised by Salazar. Therefore, even in the small number of articles that were more concerned with Mozambique regional and global considerations were often still highlighted in the articles.

In conclusion, the British press had a clear focus when reporting in regards to Mozambique from 1961 until the outbreak of war in September 1964. They did not report much about Mozambique itself, most clearly shown by the fact that most articles only referenced Mozambique in relation to another topic. Mozambique received the most coverage when it intersected with British economic, political or colonial interests. Reports concerning Goa clearly intersected with British diplomatic relations. British economic interests were highlighted in articles concerning the economy of Mozambique. It is most salient however, in reports where Britain had clear colonial and political interests. Most articles containing the word Mozambique in this period were actually concerning developments in Rhodesia where Britain had clear colonial interests. Articles about the developing war in Angola where Britain had clear political interests also received substantial coverage. Finally, even when reports were about the rise in nationalism in Mozambique they often brought in critique of Portuguese policy therefore, commenting on British political interest. Overall, it is clear in this initial period that British newspaper reporting is more focused on Mozambique in terms of regional and global terms because that is where the majority of British interest in Mozambique laid. Particularly in this period the British interest in Rhodesia and therefore, how Mozambique affected British regional interests in southern Africa was prominent.

Chapter 2 – Reporting on the Early Stages of the Mozambican War

After sporadic fighting had broken out in Mozambique, Portuguese authorities declared a state of emergency. Newitt argued this provided the push for Frelimo to begin its campaign, preventing spontaneous insurrection as had happened in Angola. Frelimo launched their campaign on the 25th of September 1964, they moved across the Rovuma River, which provides the border between Tanganyika (modern Tanzania) and Mozambique's northern districts, attacking a Portuguese base at Chai in the Cabo Delgado district. This chapter will focus on the British newspaper coverage of Mozambique during the early stages of war from the 25th of September 1964 to the 31st of December 1968. After outlining the initial course of the war in Mozambique, this research will analyse the British newspaper coverage of the war itself. Articles most focused on Mozambique were mainly regarding economics and the progress of war. It will be argued that these articles, particularly the lack of them, show British newspapers were not interested in reporting the local dimension of Mozambique. Several topics were instead the focus of reports. During this period led by their Prime Minister, Ian Smith, the Rhodesian cabinet issued a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) on the 11th of November 1965. This was denounced by Britain, the UN, the US and many African countries. Subsequently, groundbreaking sanctions were applied to Rhodesia. Also, during this period Caetano became the Prime Minister of Portugal, taking over from Salazar due to Salazars’s ill health. These articles often detailed what Caetano’s policy to Portuguese Africa might be. Since the majority of articles concerning Mozambique were actually focused on sanctions, particularly around oil, against Rhodesia it will be argued that British newspapers still reported mainly on Mozambique when they directly related to British interests in the region of southern Africa despite the outbreak of war in Mozambique. Therefore, British newspaper reporting is still focused on the regional and global events in relation to Mozambique.

64 Henricksen, Revolution and Counterrevolution, p. 187.
65 Newitt, A history of Mozambique, p.523.
66 Ibid., p.523.
Map 4: Mozambique on the eve of the War of Independence.

The early stage of the war in Mozambique can be broken into two distinct phases. The first phase from the outbreak of war until the end of 1965 was dichotomous. After the Polícia de Intervenção do Estado (PIDE), the secret police of the state arrested around 1,500 activists in December 1964, Frelimo organisation in the south was destroyed. This put an end to the idea of a putsch in the capital. Additionally, the conflict fronts that had been announced in both the Zambezia and Tete districts were abandoned as Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, prevented Frelimo using supply lines through Malawi. In contrast to the poor progress Frelimo had made in the central and southern regions they fared much better in the northern regions. Moving into 1965, Frelimo stepped up action in the northern districts and by the end of 1965 much of the Makonde region was under Frelimo control. In Niassa Frelimo were conducting operations as far south as Nova Freixo which is located close to the border between Niassa and Mozambique district. Although Frelimo had more success in the northern districts:

Combat operations were restricted in Niassa to a swath of territory along the shore of Lake Nyasa and somewhat to the south extending approximately eighty to one-hundred miles inland and a swath of territory in the region of the Makonde plateau extending south to the Montepuez River in Cabo Delgado. Little or no fighting took place in the vast, relatively uninhabited north-central region between these combat zones.

Therefore, though more successful they were limited in scope. There are three main reasons for Frelimo being more successful in the northern regions. The first two reasons, namely that Frelimo enjoyed the element of surprise and that Portuguese troops were not equipped to fight a guerilla war, were also apparent in the southern regions. It was the third factor, the considerable support from the Nyanja and Makonde tribes who lived in the two northern districts, that really helped Frelimo to succeed in the north. As the groups lived across the borders with Malawi and

67 Newitt, A history of Mozambique, p.524.
68 Ibid.
70 Newitt, A history of Mozambique, p.524.
72 Ibid.
73 Ibid.
74 Newitt, A history of Mozambique, p.524.
Tanzania they helped transmit guerrillas and support material into Mozambique to Frelimo.

The second phase, beginning in 1966, was characterised by some further Frelimo success but much more effective retaliation from Portuguese forces. It was internal conflict within Frelimo at the beginning of the period that prevented them being more successful. Frelimo was split into two factions: the political leaders, civilians who were confined to the Tanzanian capital, and the rank and file of the army. The growing perception of the military was that the political leadership was not as committed to fighting Portugal. There was also tension regarding the ethnic composition of the military faction, with southerners in the political faction becoming uneasier about northerners gaining more influence. In October 1966 Frelimo military commander Filipe Magaia was murdered and replaced by Samora Machel. Under Machel, a close friend of Mondlane, Frelimo reformed to help gain control of the military faction. Moreover, with Frelimo forces now greater in number the coordination and command of these forces needed to be improved. The National Command Council (NCC) was established in 1966. As stated by Mondlane this considerably increased the efficiency of Frelimo fighting units as: it provided channels of command and control between higher and lower ranks; clearly defined areas of responsibility among units; encouraged the flow of regular communications from the field to higher authority and aided in the rapid flow of men and resources to the field. Frelimo experienced successful operations throughout 1967 and 1968 including an attack on the Muela airfield and attacks on heavily-fortified Portuguese positions at Quissanga, Rucia, Ohinheiro, Olumbi, and Marere in Cabo Delgado and at Cobue and Nova Coimbra in Niassa. However, even more than in the initial phase of conflict, Frelimo’s success was severely geographically limited (see map 5).

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76 Ibid.
77 Ibid., p. 49.
Map 5: The progress of war in 1967.

As noted, “In Cabo Delgado, fighting was concentrated on the Makonde plateau in the extreme northeast of the district with little or no fighting south of the Messalo River. In Niassa, fighting tended to be localised in a narrow strip of highlands inland from the shore of Lake Nyasa and running north to the Tanzanian border”.  

81 Finally, in early 1968, Frelimo reopened the Tete front of the conflict but it was not very successful. Although it aimed to impede construction of the Cabora Bassa dam (see map 6 below for location), “military activities in Tete were limited to mining roads and mounting ambushes in the basin of the Capoche River between Gago Coutinho and Cassacatiza near the border with Zambia and on the Angonia plateau near the border with Malawi.”  

82 Map 6: Location of Cabora Bassa dam, marked with modern day name Cahora Bassa


82 Ibid., p. 32.
Portugal was more successful from 1966 at limiting Frelimo’s operating area for a number of reasons. Firstly, they increased patrols on Lake Malawi, reducing Frelimo’s ability to infiltrate Niassa via the lake.83 Portugal were also successful in exploiting the ethnic tension that existed between the Makonde, who made up a large part of Frelimo’s soldiers and the Islamised ethnic groups of the Yao and Makua, this hampered actions south of the Messalo River in Cabo Delgado.84 Finally, in Cabo Delgado, Portugal embarked upon a counterinsurgency programme of resettlement of the population into aldeamentos (strategic hamlets).85 The number of people resettled rose from 386,606 in 1969 to 446,476 in 1970.86 The resettlement helped to limit the influence Frelimo had within the general population.

British newspaper coverage surrounding the war was sparse between 1964 and 1968. *The Guardian* first reported that Portuguese troops were in the process of “wiping out” terrorists that had infiltrated Mozambique on the 8th of October 1964.87 *The Times* reported “foreign guerrilla fighters” had entered Mozambique and had been captured four days later.88 Frelimo had started the attack on the 25th of September; the slow response from the British newspapers shows their lack of interest in the situation. This slow response could also indicate that the British newspapers were slow to receive information regarding the situation. The Portuguese government locally and in Lisbon, mostly with the help of PIDE, monitored closely the leaking of information. This control of information gave the Portuguese the opportunity to operate in Mozambique without international scrutiny. The control of information also provided a means to keeping law and order in the colony. Control of information helped with avoiding further enrolment by guerrillas; avoiding panic among the populations; and avoiding the white landowners taking up arms (as had happened in Angola). In reality probably a combination of little interest from the British newspapers and effective control on information leaving Mozambique culminated in the low coverage of the outbreak of war.

Initial reports made no mention of Frelimo but instead focused the report

83 Newitt, A History of Mozambique, p.525.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid
around the fact the fighters had come from Tanganyika, a member of the British Commonwealth (see map 1 for border). The *Times* reported Tanganyika had been labelled a “subversive hotbed” by a Portuguese news agency. 89 Both articles drew from Portuguese news sources for their information and clearly they forfeited reporting the truth in doing so. The British newspapers’ coverage had a distinct lack of information about the conflict in the following days. Instead refugees were the focus of reports. *The Guardian* reported refugees fleeing across the border created by the Ruvuma River into Tanganyika on “flimsy canoes and fishing boats…others are said to have swum the river, which is full of crocodiles”. 90 Two days later *The Guardian* reported refugee numbers had risen to around 5,000. 91 *The Times* provided only “military action” in the area as the reason for the refugees fleeing. 92 Therefore, even when covering refugees created by the conflict, British newspapers were no more forthcoming with actual details. Overall, British coverage on the outbreak of hostilities was lacking in both substance and accuracy.

As outlined, the first phase of the war saw Frelimo fail in the southern regions but make some gains in the northern regions. Though the British newspapers highlight that Frelimo made gains they do not report the disparity of fighting across Mozambique in a salient way. With few articles pertaining to the war it is therefore, difficult to follow the events and gain a comprehensive account. *The Guardian* reported on the 19th of October 1964 that Frelimo had “begun its offensive to free Mozambique from Portuguese rule”, the report quoted a leading official of Frelimo (unnamed) as saying they had “inflicted considerable damage” in their first attacks and killed 18 Portuguese soldiers. 93 This is the first report linking Frelimo and the conflict. The report also highlights that the aim of Frelimo was independence from Portugal. The article gives an accurate representation of the opening stage of war when Portugal was not very effective at repelling Frelimo. An article published in *The Times* said a Portuguese Defence Ministry spokesman “denied today that there was any state of emergency” but he had “admitted that several arrests of intellectuals had been made recently” the newspapers said, “Terrorist incidents have been reported

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from the north of the province”.94 This article provided accurate details in terms of intellectuals being arrested but it being information from a Portuguese Defense Ministry spokesman downplayed the success that Frelimo had seen. Additionally, though it mentioned that incidents had been reported in the north the article did not comment on how successful they were or how this activity compared to activity in the south. Thus, this article did not give a good representation to the fighting across Mozambique. Another brief article noted four incidents leading to seven deaths labeling the attacks, “harassing attacks against isolated outposts or individuals”.95 This did not comment on the success but did make the attacks by Frelimo seem minor. An article detailing arrests made by PIDE stated that on order from Salazar, PIDE had conducted the ‘biggest ever roundup of political opponents in the history of this African colony’, including arresting some notable figures such as, Mr João Reis, editor of "Tribuna", Mr. M N Valente, leading painter, Mr Luís Honwana political journalist, and Mr Raul Nogar leading poet, the article said that these people were “known for reformist views”.96 This article however, did not highlight the connection these people had to Frelimo or that this effectively ended the Frelimo campaign in the south. Finally, The Times published a very small article saying Frelimo had claimed control of the Cabo Delgado Province.97 This article failed to assess this claim and therefore implied that Frelimo had made it falsely. Though it was indeed untrue, as they did not control the Cabo Delgado Province, they did control a significant portion of it and the tone of the article made it seem like they were falsely claiming success in the province. Overall, British newspaper coverage of the beginning of the war was infrequent and at times gave an inaccurate picture.

As outlined, during the second phase of the war, beginning in 1966, Frelimo experienced further success but there was much more effective resistance from Portuguese forces. Whilst British newspaper coverage at the beginning of 1966 more accurately reflects this situation, Frelimo and its leader Mondlane went through somewhat of a transformation in this period, emerging as a formidable opponent to Portuguese rule. Frelimo appeared more successful than Portugal by the end of 1968 according to reports on the conflict, though Portugal had made significant

progress in pushing back initial Frelimo gains.

At the beginning of 1966, reports were made about the small successes of Frelimo but Frelimo itself was represented in a confusing way. Frelimo were labeled both “freedom fighters” and “rebels”, even within the same article, sending a confused message about who the group were and what their aims were. The world “rebels” does not spark connotations of a group wanting political change. Reports including phrases such as “rebels claim success”, provided an undertone that “claims” were false. This implication was not present when articles were reporting favourably on Portugal, these articles presented information given by Portugal as verified fact. The articles that favoured Portugal tended to give a more accurate account of the war, portraying Portugal pushing back Frelimo at various points. British newspapers were good in highlighting the cross-border nature of the conflict. An article from 1966 stated that guerrillas were operating across the border with Tanzania. The following year, Colin Legum explored in an article both Tanzanian and Zambian help to the armed liberation movements inside Mozambique. Though giving a particularly good account of the growing intensity of guerrilla activity Legum’s article failed to discuss the ever-growing geographical limitations of the Frelimo campaigns. A 1967 article by Legum would serve as the turning point in the newspaper coverage of Frelimo. The article: outlined the Frelimo leader, Eduardo Mondlane; noted where the conflict had spread to in Mozambique; credited Frelimo with building hospitals and schools; discussed defectors from the Portuguese army, highlighted that Frelimo did not harm any race of people unless they were soldiers or informers; discussed Portuguese propaganda against Frelimo and what was being done to show this was false; and finally distinguished that Frelimo relied on communist aid only because they were denied aid by the west who supported Portugal. The article was the first that gave a complete overview of Frelimo. Mondlane was quoted as saying it “is not simply to wage a revolutionary struggle, but to convert Frelimo into an institution which will progressively take over the government of the country as we liberate”, and the article’s description of Mondlane

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99 Ibid.
100 ‘Holding the guerrillas in Mozambique’, *The Times*, Nov. 21, 1966, p. 7.
and his aims gave the first real sense of what Frelimo hoped to achieve. After this, articles start to become more positive about Frelimo and refer to them as more of a formidable military force. Finally, an article in March 1968 concerning Mondlane, who it noted was in London, painted him as both an eloquent political leader and having concern and appreciation of the men fighting under him. This article clearly held Mondlane in high regard. Mondlane was in London to give a speech at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London. Therefore, though the fighting itself had not gained much coverage in the British newspapers the Frelimo leader had gained more and more throughout the years. This was probably greatly helped by his decision to travel to Britain thus capturing the attention of the British press.

A small number of articles were related to the economic situation in Mozambique. The Guardian in 1965 reported about an order for new irrigation equipment for Mozambique being placed with the British company Wright Rain. The Times reported the same year about equipment being supplied by British company Sena Sugar. The following year The Times reported on a cashew nut plant to be opened at Inhambane Mozambique, they emphasised that the equipment was made by London company Gill & Duffus. All these articles show the interest of the British newspapers in reporting the economic developments but it also serves to highlight that reporting on the Mozambican economy was most common when it also involved British companies. All the other articles that related to the economy of Mozambique were focused around the proposed creation of new dam at Cabora Bassa. It was reported that a new dam was to be created that would provide hydroelectric power across southern Africa. The dam project started to get more coverage as the tender process for it started, questions were being raised about supporting the Portuguese regime through building the dam. These economic articles are interesting as they show not only that news coverage was concerned

with British company interest but also that they started to link economic support with support of the Portuguese regime in Africa.

Overall, though there have been many issues with British reports highlighted, the overarching problem with British newspaper coverage was that it did not cover the war in Mozambique very accurately because it did not give it much attention. One article that referred to the war as the “bitter half-forgotten war”, even acknowledged the little coverage the war in Mozambique had gained.\(^ {112}\) In terms of the number of articles between the 26\(^ {th}\) of September 1964 and the 31\(^ {st}\) of December 1968, The newspapers had a total of 351 and 426 articles respectively that contained the word Mozambique, making a total of 777 articles (See table 2 below for full breakdown). 580 of the 777 articles were not focused on Mozambique at all, instead being about other topics and merely referencing Mozambique. This accounted for 70% of The Guardian’s reports and 79% of The Times reports.

Table 2: A breakdown of articles containing the word Mozambique, 25\(^ {th}\) of September 1964 to the 31\(^ {st}\) of December 1968.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The Times and The Sunday Times</th>
<th>The Guardian and The Observer</th>
<th>Total number of articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Articles focused on Mozambique</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles only referencing Mozambique</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles excluded from analysis</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of articles</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>777</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Instead British newspaper coverage was focused on where its majority interest was, Southern Rhodesia. Unlike Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, negotiations to transition Southern Rhodesia to independence had proven unsuccessful. The Rhodesian government was largely comprised of the white

\(^ {112}\) ‘Holding the guerrillas in Mozambique’, The Times, Nov. 21, 1966, p. 7.
minority who pursued independence under the 1961 constitution. The British government were aware that to give independence under this would sustain the status quo in Southern Rhodesia in which black Rhodesians had little political power. The retaliation Britain would receive in the international forum, particularly from the Commonwealth, was a principal consideration for the British Prime Minister Macmillan. He said, ‘we must avoid putting ourselves in a position in which we should be compelled, in effect, to choose between Southern Rhodesia and the rest of the Commonwealth’. The Rhodesian government were unhappy with an independence agreement that reduced the privileged position they enjoyed. After a Royal Commission’s terms were found to be unacceptable in Rhodesia a stalemate developed. Led by their Prime Minister, Ian Smith, the Rhodesian cabinet issued a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) on the 11th of November 1965. Rhodesia now regarded itself as an independent state. The international community including Britain, the UN, the US and many African countries were quick to declare the UDI illegal. Britain was now in the position it had desperately been trying to avoid with the Commonwealth. On one side, “there were fears that the government would concede sovereignty, notwithstanding the articulation in 1965 of the Five Principles”, thus meaning they would give independence even if the agreement did not comply with the fifth principle that agreement must be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. On the other side “there were demands on the government to use force, to suspend the constitution and to assume political control while arranging a new democratic settlement.” As McWilliam noted, Ghana and Tanzania, frustrated with British policy, cut diplomatic relations with Britain.

On the 16th of November 1965 the British government passed the Southern Rhodesia Act (1965) in response to UDI. This was the legal basis for economic sanctions, “Initial measures included an end of arms sales, removal from the Sterling Area, a bar on raising capital on the London market and a ban on tobacco and sugar

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115 Ibid.
116 Ibid.
imports, which constituted 71 per cent (by value) of Rhodesian exports to Britain.\textsuperscript{118} With many in the international community feeling that these economic sanctions missed the key leverage of oil, the United Nations Security Council voted for voluntary oil sanctions against the colony on 20 November 1965. A demand for Britain to impose stringent oil sanctions on Rhodesia within ten days swiftly followed. When this request proved unsuccessful, 13 African states terminated their diplomatic relations with Britain.\textsuperscript{119} In an attempt to dissipate international criticism, the British introduced a second round of measures against Rhodesia on 17 December 1965, which included a complete ban on petroleum imports. Entirely reliant on imported petroleum products, this theoretically made the rebel colony acutely vulnerable to an embargo.\textsuperscript{120} This is where Mozambique became very important. Britain’s oil embargo depended upon closing three principal routes, the road over Beit Bridge, the rail line through Mozambique originating either in South Africa or the port of Lourenço Marques, and the pipeline at Beira. Portugal controlled the latter two and so became as much the object of British attention as did South Africa.\textsuperscript{121} The major test of this period came in 1966 when the Greek registered oil tanker Joanna V approached Beira carrying 16,000 tonnes of crude oil.\textsuperscript{122}

Reports regarding the oil sanctions imposed on Rhodesia totalled a significant number of articles. British coverage focused mainly around the international dimension of the sanctions. Articles informed of Portugal’s announcement that it would not take part in the economic sanctions against Rhodesia called for by the UN, as it would cause too much disruption for other countries such as Zambia and Malawi.\textsuperscript{123} Articles then explained how, with help from the Portuguese, Smith could easily work around the sanctions.\textsuperscript{124} These articles explained the power that Portugal had in terms of the oil embargo well. It was clear from articles such as in 1965, focused on warnings given by Mr Stewart, British Foreign Secretary, to the Portuguese government about preparations in Beira that seem to be aimed at


\textsuperscript{119} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{122} Andrew Cohen, ‘Lonrho and Oil Sanctions against Rhodesia in the 1960s’, p. 720.


breaking oil embargo against Rhodesia, that Britain was not happy with Portuguese refusals to commit to an oil embargo of Rhodesia.\textsuperscript{125} It was clear from the tone of such articles that considerable strain was being placed on relations with Lisbon. Multiple articles focused on the Greek registered tanker Joanna V. These articles mainly detailed speculation of where her cargo was destined.\textsuperscript{126} The articles did not convey the international incident that was unfolding around the tanker. The British newspapers were much more concerned with reporting on the developments within the UN.\textsuperscript{127} These reports had the effect of implying that Britain was right about any patrolling it was doing at Beira as the UN has agreed with Britain in the UN on the issue. Overall, many of the international community were unhappy about the sanctions that were being placed upon Rhodesia. Feelings on sanctions ranged from they were not tough enough or they were wasting time and only military intervention would end the crisis. The British newspapers largely avoided reporting this criticism. When evaluations of the sanctions were reported it tended to simply highlight they were not having a “desired effect” rather than offer reasons.\textsuperscript{128} There was a small regional dimension that became noticeable in the British reporting. Articles highlighted that the oil sanction on Rhodesia also caused great problems for Zambia. Articles started to mention the possibility of an airlift to Zambia that would start after a ban from Portugal of goods being transported through Mozambique.\textsuperscript{129} These continued throughout 1966 with oil now being one of the goods that would be supplied.\textsuperscript{130} Finally, a lone article highlighted the local dimension of the oil embargo noting the effects on farmers in Rhodesia.\textsuperscript{131} Therefore, it is clear that it was the international aspect of the oil sanctions that most concerned British reporting. There were no reports that looked at how the sanctions affected Mozambique directly only how Mozambique would affect the oil sanctions.

Another notable group of articles, which only mentioned Mozambique, pertained to the political situation in Portugal. The main strands of these were the

\textsuperscript{125} ‘Warning to Portugal on oil’, The Times, March 3, 1966, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{128} John Worrall, ‘Rhodesia laughs at sanctions after 18 months’, The Guardian, June 2, 1967, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{130} ‘New Airlift from Beira planned’, The Times, Jan. 27, 1966, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{131} ‘Smith’s farmers sink defiantly into debt’, The Observer, Dec. 18, 1966, p. 2.
development of the Portuguese economy, the debate around Portugal granting independence to Portuguese Africa and the new Caetano regime. In terms of the economy, articles noted that Portugal was reforming its cotton industry. One report focused on the Portuguese investment in more modern machinery.\(^\text{132}\) Another looked at how Portugal was giving various incentives to investors.\(^\text{133}\) Mozambique was mentioned as it supplies Portugal with most of its raw cotton. Both articles also highlighted that the significant changes to the Portuguese cotton industry would be potentially damaging for the British cotton industry. These reports show not only the British interest in reporting European economic news but economic news that would certainly affect the British economy. Next, articles focused on Portugal’s policies regarding Portuguese Africa. One such article focused on British attempts of trying to persuade Portugal to accept self-determination as its policy in Africa.\(^\text{134}\) Another reported the President of Tanzania threatening that if the West did not persuade Portugal to grant self-government then they would look to the East and to a military solution.\(^\text{135}\) These reports promote the idea that Britain was encouraging Portugal to move its colonies towards independence, thus, making Britain look powerful and influential on the international stage. The growing Cold War dimension of the situation in southern Africa was also highlighted. The other reports concerned with developments in Portugal centred on articles looking at the establishment of the new Caetano regime after the incapacitation of Salazar. They were articles mainly speculating on what direction Caetano may now take Portugal. One notable article reported that Caetano declared the war in Africa would continue after much speculation that it would not.\(^\text{136}\) It was then further reported that more troops would be sent to Portuguese Africa.\(^\text{137}\) These articles were again focused more on developments in Europe than Portuguese Africa. Overall, the articles regarding Portuguese politics focused mainly on the global ramifications and Mozambique was only mentioned. This again shows the British newspapers focus is not on local events in Mozambique but how they affect British regional or global interests.


In conclusion it can be deduced from British newspapers’ coverage of Mozambique between the outbreak of war in Mozambique on the 25th of September 1964 and December 1968 that reporting on Mozambique was certainly not a priority. The British newspapers’ coverage of the war in Mozambique was both lacking in content and accuracy. Furthermore, the Mozambican economy was reported on only when it had a connection to the British economy. These two topics made up the majority of the paltry number of articles focused on Mozambique and they gave little insight into the local dimensions of events in Mozambique at all. Although Mozambique received more coverage in this period than the preceding period it is clear that Mozambique itself is not the focus, Rhodesia is the clear focus. British newspapers were still mainly concerned with Mozambique if it was to affect British regional or global interests. In this period with such a focus on Southern Rhodesia regional concerns were clearly the largest driving force behind British newspaper reporting. Mozambique was also mentioned in several articles about the political situation in Portugal, again this placed Mozambique as one piece of an unfolding global situation. Overall it is clear for this period that British newspaper reporting is framing Mozambique in terms of regional or global events because they have more interests regarding Mozambique’s impact on regional or global events that the war in Mozambique.
Chapter 3 – Reporting the Final Stages of War

This penultimate chapter will look at newspaper reports from the 1st of January 1969 until the ceasefire in Mozambique on the 8th of September 1974. During this time there are a few notable events that feature in British newspaper reporting concerning Mozambique. Firstly, the Frelimo leader Mondlane was assassinated on the 3rd of February 1969, this analysis will look at the direction Frelimo takes after Mondlane’s assassination and how continued war efforts in Mozambique are reported. The focus of reports on the Cabora Bassa dam (modern day Cahora) area will be explored. It will also be studied how reports on the Wiriyamu massacre by the Portuguese army, which first surfaced worldwide in Britain, changed the British newspapers’ reporting. Finally, after the Carnation Revolution on the 25th of April 1974 Portuguese Africa was granted independence. This chapter will explore how the relationship between these two events was conveyed to the British public. This chapter will argue that during this period there is a small shift in British newspaper coverage, newspapers start to focus more on events in Mozambique than in previous years. It will be argued that this is due to Britain having more interest in Mozambique itself, thus the motivating factor behind British reporting has not changed.

The total number of articles demonstrates the first indication that there is a change in British reporting during this period (See table 3 for full breakdown). In the previous chapter there were 777 articles whilst during the final years of war 1745 articles in the selected British newspapers included the word Mozambique. The second indication that the coverage has changed is the number of articles focused on Mozambique. In the previous chapter only 30% of The Guardian’s reports and 21% of The Times reports containing the word Mozambique had focused on Mozambique directly. From 1971 onwards articles relating directly to Mozambique made up between 40 and 50% of articles. Overall in the period 621 articles were focused on Mozambique as opposed to the 970 that referenced Mozambique when focusing on a different topic. This is a significantly higher percentage than in the previous chapter. Therefore, it is clear that British newspapers are featuring reports on Mozambique more frequently and are also giving more of a focus to Mozambique directly.
Table 3: A breakdown of articles containing the word Mozambique, 1st of January 1969 to the 7th of September 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Articles focused on Mozambique</th>
<th>The Times and The Sunday Times</th>
<th>The Guardian and The Observer</th>
<th>Total number of articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Articles only referencing Mozambique</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles excluded from analysis</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of articles</td>
<td>735</td>
<td>1010</td>
<td>1745</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It is first key to analyse reports regarding the changing leadership of Frelimo. As Simpson noted, “The assassination in 1969 of Frelimo’s president, Eduardo Mondlane, threw the organisation into yet another crisis. The following year the Central Committee signalled a major shift in the ideology of the movement, since in addition to the obvious enemy of colonialism was added the new enemy of capitalism, a force seen to have both internal as well as external agents.”

Following Mondale’s assassination in February Frelimo experienced tumultuous leadership. Uría Simango, who had been vice-president, initially took over the leadership. Shortly after in April the Frelimo Executive Committee established a triumvirate to share the presidency role. Simango along with Machel, who had been head of the army and Marcelino dos Santos, who had been secretary for external affairs, made up the triumvirate. This did not last, with Simango being expelled from the central committee of Frelimo in November 1969. Elections in 1970 saw Machel become president with Marcelino dos Santos as his deputy. Overall, the British newspapers did not cover these changes very cohesively. Initially reports of the


assassination were celebrating Mondlane’s achievements. The Times ran a news article that was positive not only about Mondlane’s character but also the achievements of Frelimo.140 This article exaggerated Frelimo’s penetration of Mozambique. The same day The Times ran an obituary that described him as an “intelligent and sophisticated” man, highlighting that he had been well educated in America.141 It is clear that being educated in America endeared him to the British press, as it was a focus of most reports surrounding his assassination. In terms of the consequent power struggle within Frelimo, it did not feature in the British press. This lack of coverage shows the British newspapers were still not reporting on Mozambique if it did not somehow directly affect Britain.

In terms of the war it was still very much constrained to the northern districts and the Tete district in the early 1970’s (see map 7). Brigadier-General Kaulza de Arriaga became commander of the Portuguese armed forces in Mozambique in 1970, his strategy was more offensive than the strategy of the previous years.142 Operation Gordian Knot was launched by the Portuguese in July 1970 lasting until January 1971, it had two main aims. The first aim was to seize Frelimo bases near Mueda and along the Rovuma River, thus bringing an end to the infiltration routes across the Rovuma River and from inside Tanzania.143 The second was to curtail Frelimo activity south of the Lugenda River.144 This campaign was arguably the most successful in the counterinsurgency against Frelimo, forces were able to capture many Frelimo bases. The campaign however was not a total success, Frelimo were able to circumvent Portuguese forces and they shifted the focus of their efforts to the Tete district. The Portuguese did launch a successful supplemental counter-offensive in Cabo Delgado, named Operation Frontier, which mainly sealed the border with Tanzania at the beginning of 1971.145

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143 Ibid.
144 Ibid.
145 Ibid.
Map 7: Mozambique in the early 1970’s

The focus of the conflict in the early 1970’s shifted to the Tete province. Frelimo’s main target was the Cabora Bassa dam, which was under construction (see map 6 for location). The dam would not only provide a great economic asset upon construction but it brought international attention to Mozambique. The dam was to be built by Portugal alone, but after Frelimo started to attack the workers and the supplies, it was decided to bring specialists and workers from Rhodesia, South Africa, England and the US. Thus, the international community now had a vested interest in the region as they had citizens there working on the dam. Publicly, this move was to increase the technical knowledge in the area and thus advance construction of the dam as quickly as possible. However, it also clearly served the purpose that with foreign citizens endangered by Frelimo efforts to stop construction of the dam Portugal were able to step up military action under the guise of protecting foreign citizens. It also afforded Portugal much support from the countries whose citizens were on the ground in Mozambique. With more attention on the dam from the international community it stands to reason that more international newspaper coverage would follow. Newitt argued that increasingly the propaganda battle at the time came to focus on the Cabora Bassa dam.\textsuperscript{146} This arguably caught the world’s imagination and consequently elevated the global profile of the war.\textsuperscript{147} Even though Frelimo managed to increase the level of fighting in Tete generally, the "Bust Cabora Bassa" campaign had little success, Frelimo forces had not been able to breach Portuguese defenses around the construction site and had “succeeded only in lobbing a few mortar rounds in to the general area, implanting mines in the road from the town of Tete to the site, and derailing an occasional train hauling construction material for the dam from Beira on the Caminho de Ferro da Trans-Zambezia.”\textsuperscript{148} Newitt noted that Frelimo launched successful attacks on the Beira-Tete railway line in 1972 and early 1974 a train was derailed on the Beira-Umtali line.\textsuperscript{149} Therefore, although there was significant focus on fighting around the dam there was actually little fighting at all. Overall, “At the time of the cease-fire in September 1974 Frelimo’s

\textsuperscript{146} Newitt, \textit{A history of Mozambique}, p. 258.
\textsuperscript{147} Henriksen, \textit{Revolution and counterrevolution}, pp. 34-6.
\textsuperscript{149} Newitt, \textit{A history of Mozambique}, p. 232.
military activities were still largely restricted … in the country’s main cities the
movement’s presence was negligible.” 150

The British newspapers’ coverage of the war was inaccurate and did follow
the identified trend of focusing on the Cabora Bassa dam. In 1970, Frelimo were
represented in the British newspapers as more of a substantial challenge to
Portugal. The reporting of Portuguese Operation Gordian Knot formalised the conflict
and suggested that Frelimo was a more substantial adversary than before.151 In
reality, Frelimo activity was small at the time and Portugal’s operation was aimed at
wiping Frelimo out. Some reports of progress in the war were contradictory. The
Times in 1970 accurately outlined the different places that Frelimo were fighting, and
said that Portugal were in a “stronger position than at any time” having captured
many Frelimo bases. 152 The same article also argued that the threat from Frelimo
was so significant that it was driving Portuguese reform in its relationship with
Africa.153 The article did not expand on what exactly this entailed. Opposing reports
like this in the British newspapers, even inside the same article, led to a confusing
representation of the war. When fighting moved to around the Cabora Bassa dam
the British newspapers reported this heavily, giving the impression that fighting was
more intense than it actually was. British newspapers also did not explain the fact
that fighting had largely shifted in location, it simply ceased to report on fighting in
the northern provinces with little explanation.

The coverage of the type of activities being carried out by Frelimo was largely
accurate. Articles highlighted that Frelimo were planting land mines around supply
routes to the dam.154 This coverage of the dam in particular was to spark
engagement in the war from the British public which can be seen in more
economically-focused reports. Protests started to feature in reports; increasingly
people in England were not happy with companies such as Barclays that were
involved with construction of the dam.155 Reports framed support for the dam as
directly supporting Portuguese colonialism. For Britain, supporting the dam brought
potential political problems. The Guardian published an article that said British

153 Ibid.
ministers worried that if British company won part of construction contract it would lead to “political strife”, they argued that the proposed power line from the dam was to go through Rhodesia, it was to supply power to South Africa and Portugal was to give irrigated land to white immigrants cheaply for farmland, being involved with any of these three things would surely bring much criticism. Reports told that Italians had withdrawn from the dam consortium and pressure was mounting for France and West Germany to do the same. The newspaper reporting shows that though individuals in England were becoming more concerned with supporting white regimes in southern Africa, companies would still do this if they stood to gain enough economic benefit. Overall, this coverage shows that though the amount of articles focused on Mozambique is changing this is only due to the fact Britain has more interests directly in Mozambique.

During the final course of the war, the most inaccurate portrayal by the British newspapers was created by their celebration of Frelimo activity. It showed Frelimo to be highly successful both militarily and regarding social reform. Articles reported on Frelimo setting up schools educating about African history, praising this focus and noting that the few Portuguese schools in Africa actually focused on the history of Portugal. They also highlighted that Machel, now leader of Frelimo, was to continue the policy of training nurses, teachers and administrators to lead the new state. Although the articles did the detail regarding Frelimo activity correct they failed to convey the scale of activity. The articles failed to highlight just how little area Frelimo actually controlled and therefore, made it seem that this was widespread across Mozambique when it was not. Another strand of reporting suggested that Frelimo activity across Tete region, particularly around the dam, was successful because it was expensive for Portugal. The article does not explain why the expense of war would make Frelimo successful. Portugal through rhetoric was showing no change in position regarding decolonisation and therefore, the price of war seemingly did not matter to them. Obviously the mounting cost of war was impacting Portugal but this was not explained in the article. Another article noting the

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successes stopping supplies to the dam said, “Frelimo has for long been recognised as the most successful of the various liberation movements in Africa”.\textsuperscript{161} The article gave little context as to why this might be the case. Overall, reports of this nature greatly overplayed the impact of Frelimo with little context or explanation.

Another element of the conflict in Mozambique that was absent from British reporting was the role of the Mozambican people. Opello, Jr stated:

In addition to strengthening the armed forces and developing a new military strategy, the Portuguese increased the manpower of the police in Mozambique. Both the Polícia Segurança Pública (PSP) and the Direcção Geral de Segurança (DGS) received increased budget allocations for use at Machava Prison, the industrial penitentiary in Lourenço Marques, and a prison camp in Gaza district… Both PSP and DGS increased their personnel and DGS was assigned the responsibility for “rehabilitating” guerrillas. Since 1967 they have operated a special re-education center.\textsuperscript{162}

The DGS was Caetano’s new version of PIDE that became PIDE-DGS. Newitt noted that by the end of 1973 when Arriaga left Mozambique, more than half of the security forces were locally-recruited black troops.\textsuperscript{163} None of this was reported in the British news; the agency of the Mozambican people was completely removed. This shows that the British newspapers were not concerned with reporting the local dimensions of the conflict.

The most widely reported aspect of war in this period were the allegations, which surfaced at the time, that Portuguese commandoes aided by the Portuguese security agency DGS committed atrocities against the people of Mozambique. The location of these atrocities were said to be in and around the village of Wiriyamu (see map 8 for location). The allegations were brought to the international community months after the events in mid-December 1972 when in July 1973 a former Catholic missionary in Africa, Adrian Hastings, told of events to The Times. Though born in Malaya, Hastings had been raised in England from infancy where he had attended school joining the White Fathers, a Roman Catholic missionary, upon graduation from Worcester College, Oxford. His report had been based on a confidential report

\textsuperscript{163} Newitt, A history of Mozambique, p. 232.
by two Spanish Catholic missioners, Fathers José Sangalo and Vicente Berenguer of São Pedro. Reis and Oliveira have summarised their reports as follows:

Mission claimed that on 16 December 1972 the village of Wiriyamu, some 25 km south of Tete, in the regulado (chiefdom) of Gandali, was targeted by Portuguese commandos, assisted by agents of Portuguese Intelligence, DGS. The airborne assault by the Commandos was preceded by a bombardment by two Portuguese jets.

The Portuguese troops are described as having acted swiftly, ruthlessly and often sadistically: looting and burning huts, raping women and even disembowelling a pregnant woman to ‘determine the sex of the unborn infant’. Some villagers were executed after being instructed to stand up and applaud; others died of suffocation inside their burning huts; still others were beaten to death. Some of these actions apparently were incited by an African agent of DGS, Chico Kachavi, who moved around giving orders and carrying out several executions himself.\footnote{164} The reports were published a week before Caetano, Prime Minister of Portugal, visited Britain. This was to significantly change the way Portugal’s counterinsurgency was portrayed in the British newspapers.

Map 8: Location of Wiriyamu village

\[\text{Image of Map 8: Location of Wiriyamu village}\]

Source: www.mozambiquehistory.net/massacres.php

Though British newspapers had already been turning away from Portugal, news of the massacres acted as an accelerant. It is also worth noting that it brought Mozambique into the first few pages of the newspaper, a position it had not enjoyed very much up until this point. Even when reporting that Caetano was to call an inquiry into the massacre of 400 *The Guardian* suggested this may be so Caetano would be in a “better position to reject a wider inquiry” which had much support at the time.\(^{165}\) The same report highlighted that the, “Ministry of Information in Lisbon has been rigidly rejecting an inquiry into the alleged massacre at Wiriyamu, in the Tete province of Mozambique, on the grounds that the village does not exist”, *The Guardian* suggested that this was not a good enough reason to reject mounting evidence.\(^{166}\) The benefit of the doubt had definitely tipped against Portugal. In the following months reports continued to focus on issues surrounding the atrocities, completely overshadowing coverage of the conflict itself. *The Guardian* noted that Caetano was facing greater protests surrounding his handling of the situation.\(^{167}\) On July 28 it was reported that the Commander in Chief of Portuguese army, General Kaulza de Arriaga, denied his troops had massacred 400 Africans but did concede “excesses” of the army.\(^{168}\) In the same report it was said that a line of defense given by General Kaulza de Arriaga was that he claimed civilians were always warned of military action so they could save themselves from it.\(^{169}\) The tone of this report particularly showed that the British press had lost trust in anything said by the Portuguese authorities on this matter.

By 1974 reports were most concerned with the movement of Mozambique towards independence and the role played by the Carnation Revolution. The Carnation Revolution on the 25\(^{th}\) of April began as a military coup in Lisbon aimed at overthrowing the Estado Novo regime. It was organised by the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), an organisation of lower-ranked left-leaning conscript officers. The coup gained much support from civilians. The revolution did lead to the fall of the Estado Novo. Though it had been widely speculated that the Carnation Revolution would signal a change in Portugal’s policy on Africa, reporting made clear


\(^{166}\) Ibid.


\(^{169}\) Ibid.
that Frelimo were not willing to give up their superior position without complete assurance of independence.\textsuperscript{170} This serves as another indication that reports were favourable to Frelimo as their actions were contained to a few provinces and therefore, their position was not so superior. It was reported that Spinola had, the day after he became president, “promised freedom for liberation movements to operate politically...[and] democratic decisions reached through local elections would be scrupulously respected”.\textsuperscript{171} Continued reports of this nature gave a clear indication that the new administration was moving in. Although most articles followed a narrative that political change in Lisbon was to signal a change in colonial policy some articles diverged. One article, ‘The freedom fighters who brought down a regime’, argued that the coup in Portugal stemmed from Frelimo success in Mozambique.\textsuperscript{172} Although Frelimo had applied financial pressure to Portugal and caused discord over continued fighting, it was inaccurate to portray the war in Mozambique as such a contributing factor. It was reported in August that a Mozambican coalition government was likely to emerge in the next few weeks, and that it would include Frelimo seats. Major Melo Antunes was mentioned as probable governor-general due to his engagement in negotiations.\textsuperscript{173} On the 7\textsuperscript{th} of September it was reported that an agreement was to be signed in Zambia, ironically the article title was ‘Lisbon to free colony’, Portugal had maintained for many years that it had no colonies, but provinces overseas.\textsuperscript{174} Clearly, this shows the position of the British press and what they thought of continued Portuguese control over Africa. The reports however did disseminate the tone that Frelimo was exerting pressure through conflict on Portugal to gain independence. The framing of the reporting again showed that the British focus was not on Mozambique. Only one article highlighted the effects of an expedited transition on Mozambique: that the economy was at “crisis point” due to lack of coalition being established under Major Melo Antunes despite long talks.\textsuperscript{175} Therefore, even the independence of Mozambique did not

\textsuperscript{170} David Martin, ‘Fight will go on, says Frelimo’, \textit{The Observer}, April 28, 1974, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{171} James MacManus And Antonio De Figueiredo, ‘Spinola gives pledge to the colonies’, \textit{The Guardian}, May 16, 1974, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{172} David Martin, ‘The freedom fighters who brought down a regime’, \textit{The Observer}, April 28, 1974, p. 11.

\textsuperscript{173} Antonio de Figueiredo, ‘Coalition seat ‘for Frelimo leader”’, \textit{The Guardian}, Aug. 8, 1974, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{174} ‘Lisbon to free colony’, \textit{The Guardian}, Sep 7, 1974, p. 1.

cause the British public to receive much coverage of local events, only how developments in Mozambique fitted into a more global picture of decolonisation.

In this period, coverage was still dominated by articles merely referencing Mozambique while focusing on Rhodesia, showing that British media continued to report in line with British interests. This reporting concerned Mozambique’s continued assistance to Rhodesia in breaking the sanctions applied by Britain and the international community. On the eve of the Rhodesia becoming a republic, *The Times*’ article mentioned that Mozambique was helping Rhodesia evade sanctions. The *Observer* also ran an article detailing how MI6 had stopped ships trying to beat the sanctions. The newspapers also kept track of developments in the UN committee, reporting their view that blame is with “certain countries” that fail to impose the embargo. The article outlined why these culpable countries were South Africa and Mozambique. Other articles highlighted Mozambique’s role in Rhodesia evading sanctions, explaining how Mozambique was re-exporting goods to and from Rhodesia under their name. Reports also touched on how events in Mozambique were affecting Rhodesia. One such report looked at mine attacks being on the rise in Rhodesia, stating that concern there was growing that this would become more regular as guerrillas in Rhodesia replicate violence in Mozambique. The agenda set by these reports is clearly in line with British interests. They discuss either how Mozambique is helping Smith evade sanctions and therefore sustain the Southern Rhodesian state or they discuss how violence from Mozambique is threatening to spread to Southern Rhodesia. Since there were British citizens in Southern Rhodesia, this greatly concerned the British government. As in previous chapters, that reporting on Mozambique was mainly regarding developments in Rhodesia shows that British newspapers were more interested in reporting the regional impact of Mozambique as Britain had such interest in Rhodesia.

In conclusion, reporting on Mozambique saw some limited change during this period. British newspaper coverage started to focus more on events in Mozambique than in previous years. Newspapers feature more reports concerning the war in

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179 Ibid.
Mozambique, Mondlane’s assassination and give the massacres committed by Portuguese forces an extensive amount of coverage. This is where the change ends. Reports regarding the course of the war in Mozambique are still patchy, not truly reflecting the situation on the ground to the British public. Reports surrounding Rhodesia are still the most prominent, and reports on political revolution in Portugal focus more on British political interests than they detail change in Mozambique. Reports also do a poor job of conveying the cause and consequence between the revolution in Portugal and events in Portuguese Africa. The increased coverage of Mozambique in the British press is not due to a change in the motivations behind British newspaper reporting. It is due to Britain having more interest in Mozambique itself. From reports surrounding Rhodesia it becomes clear that, like in previous periods, the British newspapers mostly report on Mozambique in terms of regional events because Southern Rhodesia remains top of British concern.
Chapter 4 – From Ceasefire to Mozambican Independence

This final chapter will look at how the British newspapers reported on Mozambique from the 8th of September 1974, the date of ceasefire, to the 25th of June 1977, two years after the independence of Mozambique. This chapter will look at the topics reported, such as violence after the ceasefire, the future of Mozambique, growing guerrilla activity in Rhodesia and growing Soviet influence in southern Africa. It will be argued that, though there is more focus than before on local events in Mozambique, on the whole it is still regional and global British interests that drove British newspaper reporting.

It is first notable that during this period lasting just shy of three years, 1828 articles across the newspapers contained the word Mozambique. This is more than the previous chapter, which spanned five years, showing that British newspaper coverage of Mozambique has increased over time. To demonstrate the extent to which coverage has changed over time, there were 117 articles across the newspapers in 1962, and in 1976 there were 809 (See table 4 for full breakdown). It has been argued in previous chapters that this is due to British interests relating to Mozambique on a regional and global level and this argument will continue throughout this chapter. Though articles directly focused on Mozambique increased in number, Mozambique was still mainly only mentioned by the British newspapers in relation to another topic.
Table 4: A breakdown of articles containing the word Mozambique, 8\textsuperscript{th} of September 1974 to the 25\textsuperscript{th} of June 1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The Times and The Sunday Times</th>
<th>The Guardian and The Observer</th>
<th>Total number of articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Articles focused on Mozambique</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles only referencing Mozambique</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>1412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles excluded from analysis</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of articles</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>1047</td>
<td>1828</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the days following the ceasefire, the ensuing violence in Mozambique was reported in both newspapers. Although at the time this violence was newsworthy it has not featured much in literature since with Newiitt only noting the following in the fifteen month interim before independence in 1965:

\[\text{there were a number of attempts to put together a viable opposition movement…the most determined efforts to organise opposition came from some settlers…[they] did not rally significant support from the white population…all such moves were firmly opposed by the Portuguese army}.\]

The newspaper reports do echo the general idea that it was mainly individuals or groups of citizens forming most of the resistance. A report in The Guardian noted that 60 had died when fighting had broken out in the capital.\cite{Newitt563} The Times reported in the wake of the violence that more than 1,200 had been arrested.\cite{Times28Oct1974} It mostly painted a picture of disorganised sporadic violence that was responded to promptly by the armed forces and police. An exception was the reporting regarding a movement in Lourenço Marques of white settlers having taken over a radio station.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{182} Małyn Newitt, A history of Mozambique, p. 563. \\
\textsuperscript{183} ‘Calm returns to capital after 60 die’, The Guardian, Sep. 13, 1974, p. 4. \\
\textsuperscript{184} ‘Mozambique swoop on agitators as Frelimo reassures population’, The Times, Oct. 28, 1974, p. 5.
\end{flushright}
This group was portrayed as being more organised, to the extent that *The Guardian* suggested they had the power to stop an agreement between Portugal and Frelimo.\(^{185}\) Though they gained significant newspaper coverage at the time of the event, they have not featured in notable academic literature. The group was given several names in the articles but always the acronym MFM.\(^{186}\) Although this reporting was relating to the direct local situation in Mozambique it was also in British regional interest. Reports on the front page of *The Guardian* noted that rebellious whites were setting up a provisional government in preparation for UDI, they had taken control of the radio station and Frelimo would be working with the Portuguese to stop the rebellion.\(^{187}\) This highlights the British regional interest: a UDI by whites in Mozambique would undoubtedly strengthen Southern Rhodesia who, as discussed, had issued their own UDI. It therefore seems that this particular effort to destabilise Mozambique gained more attention in the British newspapers than it deserved because of the fear that they may link with the white regime in South Rhodesia. From first being reported on the 7\(^{th}\) of September, seemingly as a large threat, by the 11\(^{th}\) it was being reported that the movement had collapsed.\(^{188}\)

Another article topic concerned the future of an independent Mozambique and what that would consist of. Here, articles sometimes did focus on the local aspect of the transition, and sometimes reflected on the wider impact of Mozambican independence as well as what transformation of its society meant for other African countries, namely Rhodesia. In part, this was still a reflection of British regional interest. Some articles actually focused on the local aspects of the transition to independence. One article looked at education of blacks in Mozambique and wider issues regarding integration. The article argued that Frelimo was making gains with the white population, evident by their willingness to help in the Frelimo literacy programmes for black Mozambicans.\(^{189}\) Other articles, however, placed Mozambican independence in the wider African decolonisation context. Martin wrote, “After 10 years of guerrilla war Frelimo is now launching a social and economic revolution in

\(^{185}\) ‘Frelimo keeps its powder dry’, *The Guardian*, Sep. 9, 1974, p. 11.

\(^{186}\) The most common names were Movement for Mozambique, Free Mozambique Movement and Movement for a Free Mozambique.


\(^{189}\) ‘Frelimo makes small gains among whites’, *The Guardian*, Jan. 10, 1975, p. 3.
Mozambique, which will not only profoundly affect Rhodesia and South Africa but other already prominent African countries.”

Clearly, while some reporting focused on local issues, other reports still focused on the larger regional and global issues.

The British interest in Rhodesia continued to drive reporting of Mozambique in this period. Firstly, articles debated whether an independent Mozambique would apply sanctions to Rhodesia. Given that Mozambique needed to build up its economy at independence, it was unclear whether they would apply sanctions given the trade they stood to lose. It was reported, however, that Frelimo would be tightening sanctions on Rhodesia. This was of great interest to Britain as Mozambique under Portugal had not been applying sanctions and thus had helped sustain the white regime in Southern Rhodesia. With Frelimo applying sanctions to Southern Rhodesia, the United Nations sanctions against them would surely become more effective. This increased the chance of the Smith government negotiating with Britain regarding an internationally-recognised independence. It was also reported in the British newspapers that the patrol of Beira would be lifted as Britain was confident the sanctions on Southern Rhodesia would be applied effectively by Mozambique’s new government. Growing numbers of incursions across the Mozambique/Rhodesia border were also reported in the British newspapers. Ascherson noted in his article that Mozambique was allowing more of the border to be used for incursions against the Smith regime. Again, this was of interest to Britain, since the intensifying guerrilla war against Smith made the chances of him negotiating with Britain more likely. Some articles tried to argue that the sanctions being applied by Mozambique did not have too much of an effect on the white Rhodesians, saying “the most serious consequence, it would seem, is that Rhodesians now take their holidays round Durban rather than Beira”. This was not convincing, however, as the same article noted that an effect on white Rhodesians was the expansion of military service to cope with increased guerrilla activity. Most articles argued that Mozambique applying sanctions was helping against the

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190 David Martin, ‘A first class trip to freedom’, *The Observer*, June 29, 1975, p. 7
Southern Rhodesian regime. Martin reported that, once Mozambique applied the sanctions to Southern Rhodesia, documentation from Mozambican ports showed as much as 60% of Southern Rhodesian foreign trade outside southern Africa having gone through Mozambican ports.\textsuperscript{195} Whether the reports concerned applying sanctions or guerrilla movements the framing of the British newspapers is clear. British newspapers were interested in reporting Mozambique when its actions would increase pressure on Smith’s government and thus make it more likely he would negotiate with Britain. British reporting again focused on how Mozambique factored into regional interests.

In 1966 and 1967, reports surrounding the growing conflict between Rhodesia and Mozambique were prevalent in reporting. Reports of this nature were often more critical of Rhodesian action in Mozambique whilst action in Rhodesia launched from Mozambique was not often highlighted. Firstly, articles highlighted Rhodesian attacks on several bases and killings of Black Nationalist troops.\textsuperscript{196} However, they soon came to focus on action by Rhodesia against a UN refugee camp. Articles that ran highlighted that a UN investigation had confirmed a raid by Rhodesia into Mozambique actually targeted a United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) refugee camp in Nyazonia, not a military base.\textsuperscript{197} The articles were denouncing the action of Rhodesian fighters. One article in \textit{The Times} states, ‘there is a grave prima facie case against a government which claims to be Christian and responsible, and constantly seeks world sympathy for the undiscriminating terrorism and criminality of its opponents.’\textsuperscript{198} Another article noted that Dr Owen, British Foreign Secretary, condemned the raids into Mozambique saying it could trigger serious military action and that it threatened the Anglo-American peace initiative.\textsuperscript{199} The Anglo-American peace initiative aimed to bring black rule to South Rhodesia in favour of the internal settlement favoured by Smith; it had support from the US, Britain and the UN.\textsuperscript{200} For the first time since the Rhodesian UDI in 1965 there was agreement between the US, Britain and the UN regarding the Rhodesian crisis and a settlement looked

\textsuperscript{195} David Martin, ‘Rhodesia loses more than half of its trade’, \textit{The Observer}, Mar 14, 1976, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{198} ‘Guerrillas or refugees?’, \textit{The Times}, Aug 23, 1976, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{199} ‘Dr Owen condemns Rhodesian raid inside Mozambique’, \textit{The Times}, June 1, 1977, p. 1.
promising. Therefore, reports concerning the increased violence along the Rhodesian Mozambican border clearly show that the British newspapers were reporting in line with British interests, that is, reporting regional and global considerations over local ones.

Finally, communist influence in southern Africa was a growing topic in these years as Mozambique became independent and guerrilla war against Rhodesia intensified. Reports surrounding Rhodesian guerrillas centred on the growing ties between the Soviets and the Rhodesian Patriotic Front. The Rhodesian Patriotic Front was a coalition of two African parties: the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), which were both working to fight white minority rule in Rhodesia.

Joshua Nkomo led the Soviet Union-backed ZAPU, and operated mainly from Zambia, whilst the Chinese-backed ZANU led by Robert Mugabe, operated mainly from Mozambique. The aid given to The Rhodesian Patriotic Front by communist states was the focus of many articles. One article noted that Joshua Nkomo, a leader of Rhodesian Patriotic Front, arrived in Moscow invited by the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, to discuss future moves in Africa. Though not yet recognised as the representative of the Rhodesia’s nationalist movement, the article said that aid to the guerrillas would likely be discussed. Other articles focused on the Soviet president’s trip to southern Africa. Nikolai Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, lead the delegation. It was argued in The Guardian that the Soviet president’s trip to southern Africa showed the interest and growing influence of the Soviets in the region. The article noted that it was expected the Soviets might offer more weapons to be used in the Mozambique/Rhodesia border areas. A further focus regarding communist interest in southern Africa directly related to Mozambique. Reports noted that although Mozambique was to build a socialist society, its attitude to the national economy may be more pragmatic and therefore, the West was hopeful that the party’s international orientation would not be strongly pro-Soviet. The attitude of Mozambique towards

204 ‘Mozambique’s rulers mix their Marxism with economic realism’, The Times, Feb. 9, 1977, p. 8
allowing some free enterprise and foreign capital is reported on positively by the British newspapers, showing that their interests in Mozambique were the ones with which the newspaper was most concerned. Overall, reporting concerning growing communist influence in southern Africa shows that the newspaper’s framing is driven by both British economic and global interest. The reports on Mozambique are framed favourably due to Mozambique looking like it would choose to not be closely tied to the Soviet regime. The reports regarding Rhodesia, on the other hand, are more wary as they concern growing Soviet influence in the region, something that Britain did not want. The fact that both these were reported on shows that the agenda setting of the newspapers is in line with British interests regarding the spread of communist influence globally.

In conclusion, British reporting in this period is the least focused on local events in Mozambique. Whilst there is more focus on local issues regarding the violence after the ceasefire, this still makes up a small section of the reports and is one of the few local topics covered. The fighting after the ceasefire had a large focus on the possible repercussions regarding Rhodesia and support for the white regime. Moreover, reports regarding the future of Mozambique still included the more global picture of decolonisation. The largest sign regarding the agenda of British reporting can, as always, be seen in reports surrounding Rhodesia. Rhodesia again made up the most significant number of reports that contained the word Mozambique. Reports not only focused on the sanctions, as they had in previous chapters, but they also now told of the growing conflict between guerrillas operating from Mozambique against the white regime. Finally, linked to the growing guerrilla activity against Smith’s Rhodesia, reports about the infiltration of communism in southern Rhodesia were significant in this period. The reports regarding Rhodesia and communism serve to prove that British newspapers mostly framed reporting of Mozambique in regional and global terms because this was still where Britain had the most interest and responsibility.
Conclusion

It would be understandable to presume that Mozambique’s admittance into the Commonwealth was due to it being somehow connected with Britain. This thesis has argued that Mozambique was strongly connected to Britain in the period from 1961 to 1977, but the connection was not a direct one. Indeed it was mainly due to Mozambique’s regional position and the influence that it had in southern Africa, in particular its ability to affect various situations in Southern Rhodesia. To a lesser extent, global events also made Mozambique of interest to Britain. That Mozambique and Britain were connected primarily through regional and global considerations as opposed to local ones is why the British media represented the decolonisation of Mozambique in terms of regional and global events as opposed to local events. It has been demonstrated that the British media employed both agenda setting and framing strategies during this period. Not only did British newspapers set the agenda of topics reported on in relation to Mozambique in such a way as to detract from the local and emphasise the regional and global, they also framed topics in that way. Reports mainly focused on another topic, thus setting the agenda away from Mozambique locally and towards regional and global stories. When focus was on Mozambique, reports were framed in a way to highlight Mozambique’s effect on regional or global British interests.

The first chapter of this thesis covered from the outbreak of war in Angola in 1961 until the outbreak of war in Mozambique in September 1964. During this period, Mozambique received little attention from British newspapers. What coverage it did receive almost exclusively referenced Mozambique in terms of wider events in southern Africa, particularly the CAF. British reporting of Mozambique in relation to Goa in this earlier period showed that global political considerations were secondary to regional considerations. The lack of newspaper coverage regarding local events in Mozambique was prominent from this first chapter. The highlighted British colonial policy in southern Africa and foreign policy in general revealed that British newspapers were reporting in line with these interests. This chapter introduced a pattern which applied throughout the time period: that British regional considerations mainly steered British newspaper reporting.
Between the outbreak of war in Mozambique on the 25th September 1964 and December 1968, reporting on Mozambique was still not a priority for the British newspapers. When compared to subsequent analysis of the course of the war the British newspapers' coverage of the war in Mozambique was both lacking in content and accuracy. Coverage focused not on the ongoing war, but on regional and global events merely affected by Mozambique. In this period, Rhodesia emerged as a dominant topic and continued its domination of coverage until the end of not only that chapter but also the whole period this research is concerned with until 1977. This chapter further confirmed that British media covered the regional and global significance of Mozambican decolonisation rather than local events because that is where British colonial, political and economic interest lay in relation to Mozambique.

The third chapter featured coverage from January 1968 until the ceasefire in Mozambique of September 1975, seeing an immense increase in British newspaper coverage of Mozambique. Again, most articles simply referred to Mozambique and were not directly about events there. During this period, although the continued war and Wiriyamu massacre attracted more articles on local events, they often reflected on the wider regional and global political situation affecting these events. Rhodesia still dominated most of the articles concerning Mozambique in this period. Again, this chapter demonstrated that British interest was the reason for the regional and global media focus.

Finally, analysis of British newspaper reports from the ceasefire until the second anniversary of Mozambican independence revealed the least focus on local events in Mozambique. The importance of the war’s outcome to Britain explained the attention Mozambique received during those two chapters, but upon independence the country held little British interest anymore. Many global issues like the spread of communism and the consequences of political revolution in Portugal pulled focus from reports about Mozambican independence. Regional issues once again dominated reports referring to Mozambique, particularly support for Rhodesian sanctions and the guerrilla war waged against the Smith regime. As such, this chapter demonstrated most strongly that British interests were the key reason British media reported on regional and global issues rather than local ones.

This study should be placed firmly in the realm of decolonisation conflicts as opposed to conflicts in general. Although Mozambique was not a British colony, this research has shown that Mozambique had the potential to affect places where
Britain did have colonial interests. As reporting was driven so strongly by these interests, it would not be appropriate to place this analysis with others regarding war in general. Analysis of media reporting on war has comprised only a small portion of this research and even that has focused on exposing the frames used due to the British colonial interests in the region around Mozambique. This research does share some broad similarities with media analysis of war in general; agenda setting and framing are often the focus here too. However, it does not solely focus on war representation as they would. As it concerns a decolonisation conflict, this study is compelled to explore relationships regionally and globally to show their impact on reporting.

This media analysis makes clear that regional and global links are key to coverage of decolonisation conflict. Though it had local dimensions, decolonisation was also a regional and global movement and this is highlighted through analysis of the media. British reporting on Mozambican decolonisation gives most consideration to Mozambique’s regional neighbours who are part of the British colonial sphere. It is influenced to a lesser extent by regional British political connections with its European neighbour, Portugal. Media reporting was also influenced by Britain’s own feelings of responsibility to decolonise, being a colonial power herself.

Since no study like this has been conducted before, this research focused on the overall agenda of the British newspapers and particular frames that were applied regarding regional and global events. Further research offering comparison with a later time period—after independence of Southern Rhodesia as Zimbabwe—may show a difference from the reporting in this period. It may also be of value to research more of the frames applied by the British when reporting on Mozambique in this time period, such as the agency given to Africans during the decolonisation of many southern African territories.
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