

Within Angola's white community there were clear distinctions between whites born in Portugal and whites born in Angola. The *Estado Novo* classified whites born in Angola as *euro-africanos*. They were treated as second-class citizens, and there was official discrimination against them. For example, their identity cards (*bilhetes de identidade*) were not valid in Portugal, and they were not permitted to travel to Portugal freely.⁶⁴

Discrimination against the Portuguese who had been established longer in Angola resulted in their having looser ties with Portugal than those of the Portuguese settlers (*colonos*) of the later generation, particularly after the wave of immigration which hit Angola after 1945.⁶⁵ In the south of Angola, descendants of the first colonists from Madeira and Brazil had almost no ties with Portugal in any case. Their slight ties faded even more over time. As they became more Africanised, they developed into *africaníderes angolanos* (Angolan Afrikaners).⁶⁶

The fact that Angola's economic interests were subservient to those of Portugal (for example, maize and cotton were sold to Portugal at artificially low prices, and manufactured goods were exported to Angola at very high prices) certainly played a large part in a nascent white nationalism in Angola.⁶⁷ On various occasions there was talk of white separatist movements, and movements supporting autonomy in Angola.⁶⁸

There was a further geographic division in Angola because whites from the more isolated districts abhorred the central authorities in Luanda as much as they did Lisbon's authoritarian rule.⁶⁹