



**SOUTHERN AFRICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
24TH BIENNIAL CONFERENCE
27-29 JUNE 2013, GABORONE**

ALL FOR ONE ONE FOR ALL?

**LEVERAGING NATIONAL INTERESTS WITH
REGIONAL VISIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA**

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**Ideas of Southern Africanism:
Portugal and the Movements of Liberation (1961-1974)**

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*Presented at the 24th biennial conference of the Southern African Historical Society,
University of Botswana, Gaborone, 27-29 June 2013*

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I. introduction

There is a surprising dearth of historical research dealing with Southern Africa –the geographical region covered by current SADC members - as a whole (Lemon 2010). Some is courageous but disappointing (Farley, 2008), especially when it ventures into a general historical overview of a region with a complex entangled history (Engel, 2011), others are still exploratory but very promising (SAUNDERS, DZINESA and NAGAR, 2012; NDHLOVU, 2013) . This suggests a more substantive, primary-source based but focused thematic research approach is needed. Most historical and sociological research on the *national* Liberation Movements of Southern African countries has focused on its *national* aspects: some of them are purely patriotic or triumphalistic, most of them are nationalistic or have a national oriented agenda (Liberation Movements internal networks, inter-conflicts, fronts and dissensions) (MBAH 2010; SAUNDERS 2010; CHABAL 2008; RANGER 2004; VISSER 2004). Studies of the Southern African Liberation Movements network as a global transnational ‘movement of movements’ are rare (Sellstrom 2008 ; Eriksen 2000; Minter 2009; SAPIRE AND SAUNDRES, 2013) and based on secondary sources (GOOD 1987). Research on “one of the most crucial aspects of this movement, its construction of [regional and global] *transnational* networks and forms of action, is largely lacking” (THORN 2006, 2009). There are few studies on Southern African conceptualizations (ZELEZA 2003, 510), but it is necessary to understand how Southern Africa was “invented”. The absence of historical studies on the contribution of intellectuals and activists in Southern Africa to Pan-African thought between 1960-1990 is noticeable (ADONGAMBE 2008; COBLEY, 1999; HILL and PIRIO, 1987; MATEUS 2011; MATUMORA 2011).

Despite the almost historiographical indifference, including by the new generation of African contemporary histories [ELLIS 2002], there is a debate around the transnational regionalism in Southern Africa, leading to the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and its driving forces. Following the academic institutionalist-globalist rhetoric, the experience of the African integration is a process with a recent historical itinerary (since 1973) and exclusively Top-Down, looking to reverse the post-colonial effects of Africa’s balkanization (KOUASSI, 2007), and a “very wide economic and political heterogeneity” (Good 1987). SADC is seen as a gradual integration project, in which the expansive SA Front-Line States (1976) was seen as the driving force behind the creation of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC, 1980) and SADC, its direct successor, based

on the institutionalization of a multidimensional "politic-security regionalism" - which includes "issues of equity, justice, freedom and emancipation" (HWANG, 2005; LUKE, 1986) and more balanced economic integration (WHITE 1997, KOUASSI 2007) to avoid a post-colonial `new apartheid of a non-racial enclave society ' (SCHLEMMER 1997), and overcome the insurmountable limitations of the OAU/AU, which "cannot rely on the stock of commonly shared values and criteria to ensure, its sustainability "(BACH 2009b)", the decline of the Frontline (OMARI 1991), and the federalists resistance of national domestic elites (HENTZ 2005). This "*common region-building from above (the States) approach*" is indispensable, as recent works well illustrate (SAUNDERS, DZINESA and NAGAR, 2013) but insufficient.

For those of a more "evolutionist" approach, transnational regionalism in Southern Africa is also a social construction, a corollary of the historical regional evolution. We can identify at least six evolutionary «top-down» or «from below» arguments:

a) The presence of a «Bantu civilization» with a relatively stable configuration of African societies [JASPAN 1955], and the important «incidence of multiple-cross-border languages» despite the territorial fractures invented under the colonial rule (NDHLOVU)

b) That «Present-day southern African society has developed from the interaction of two broad cultural streams, namely the indigenous African peoples and immigrant white groups [UNESCO, 1980, 17]

c) The absence of significant geographical barriers and the constant movement of peoples across national borders (BONNER, 2007), for work, trade and conflict, which has built a "feeling of solidarity and common destiny among them" (MINTER 2009) that the struggle against colonialism and apartheid, the Manifesto on Southern Africa (1969) and further cooperation between the Liberation Movements and the Frontline States strengthened [SHAMYARIRA 1977; HANDMAKE 2007].

d) a region where, at least in some of its parts, since 1910, «has a long history of regional cooperation, though there have been many different ideas about what the region should comprise» and experienced, since 1910, the Union of South Africa and Southern African Customs Union (SAUNDERS, DZINESA, NAGAR, 2013, 4) and, since 1940s, was transformed into an organic integrated regional economy developed - built from old and new, horizontal and vertical regional networks and having the increasingly industrialized South Africa as central node - and of which the most visible expression was the emergence of SADCC [VIEIRA 1992];

e) Also a region defined and structured by a long "era of destabilization" (SAUNDERS, DZINESA, NAGAR, 2013, 5) and a history of conflict until 1990, "[..] war that paved the way for cooperation, [...] and the institutional process of regional integration" [OMAR 2001].

f) but SADCC was also "the result of a constructivist articulation, by Southern Africa States` experience of regional cooperation and by the West contribution. Therefore, the internal

and external factors involved in the creation of SADCC [should be] reconsidered under the concepts of continuity of the previous mechanisms of regional cooperation and adaptation of international models of regionalism» (MOMA, 2012).

What it was noted as a fact is that "In the early 1990s, relations between states in Southern Africa were more cordial than at any other time of the last century. Government officials, businessmen and academics met with increasing frequency in the regional capitals to discuss issues of regional concern and to seek institutional basis for joint action. For everybody, these developments were seen [...] as steps towards a broader policy coordination and regional economy [...] "[POKU 2001]. To HEINONEN (2006), SADC "begin the process [institutional] of political and economic regional integration among so-called Front Line States" thus fixing a genealogy that retroactively articulates the Community with the SADCC (1980) and the semi-informal Alliance of the Frontline States (1975), which, having emerged in the early 1970s, in close liaison with the Liberation Movements and in opposition to a "South African-led Pax Praetorian" (GWARADZIMBA 1993), is seen as another driving force of the SADCC [EVANS 1984; TELO 2008; SADC Today 11-2, 2008; SAUNDERS, DZINESA, NAGAR, 2013].

To contribute to this great question, our research focus¹ was oriented by the «from below» approach. The contribution of all the actors of the «era of destabilization» (1950s-1980s) - Liberation Movements, colonial and white rulers, other institutions/ organizations like churches, and individuals) for the historical experience of Southern Africa regionalism had been less studied than suggested. In fact the recent progress of historiography about Africa (COOPER 2001; ZELEZA 2009) is not sufficiently sensitive to the contributions of comparatism and transnationalism (ASIWAJU 2004). Furthermore, "until recently, little of the writing on liberation struggles in SA was scholarly, and much of it was highly polemical [...]", and one of the key reasons "why historians have not devoted more attention to liberation struggle in the region is the problem of the sources [existence and language access]" (SAUNDERS 2010).

In this paper we explore a crucial phase of the "Southern African Liberation" era, 1960-1974, as a driving force of the Southern African regional transnationalism. In this context, one particular dimension will be scrutinized: the evolution of ideas of Southern Africa, as a particular political «region», in Portuguese colonial thinking and in the Angola Liberation Movements. This will be explored through text analysis, on the one hand, of the Portuguese politico-military reports produced since 1950s, on the other hand, the MPLA documents preserved and edited by Lúcio Lara (1951-1968) (Lara, 2000, 2006, 2008) and "Radio Propaganda" promoted by the Angolan Movements of Liberation.

II. Ideas of Southern Africa /África Austral in 1960s/1970s

On the eve of the 1970s, the French political scientist François Constantin considered the contours of the notions of «regionalisme international» or «integration régionale» for the Black Africa somewhat vague, due to the diversity of forms of relationship between African political actors (Constantin, 1972, 1077-78). About Southern Africa, he noted: “L’Afrique Australe (Southern Africa) elle-même est abordée de différentes façons. Si pour Bowman elle recouvre l’Afrique «blanche» et les trois anciens territoires de la Haute Commission Britannique [*Bechuanaland /Botswana (1966), Basutoland/ Lesotho (1966) and Swaziland*], Leistner inclut dans cet espace la Zambie, alors qu’à inverse Marquard se limite à la République sud-africaine, au Lesotho, au Botswana et au Swaziland. Son choix est sans doute justifié compte tenu de la perspective qu’il donne à sa recherche»². At this time the *Journal of Southern African studies*, with the seal of Oxford University Press, was explicitly oriented for a region that «embraces the following countries: the Republic of South Africa, with de South west Africa (Namibia); Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland; Angola and Mozambique; Zambia, Malawi, Rhodesia; and, occasionally, Zaire, the Malagasy Republic and Mauritius»³

As with the history of term “Europe”, also a cultural *construction*, the concept of «Southern Africa» is not insurmountable. Maybe it is just a dynamic past (historical process), even with coeval competing visions and –building projects. Except for institutional approach (eg. SADC or SACU members) are not known, the criteria establishing the regional border. But for a historical conceptualization of “Southern Africa” as a region we need to identify the perspective of the social actors in context (time, space) and operate also with these visions. We can bring some light to this issue with a more detailed historical analysis, based on archival data, of the manner as over time the regional actors and transnational organizations used the term Southern Africa/Africa Austral. The following is an example of this approach, tracing the evolution of the Portuguese government’s perspective and the Angolan liberation movements

1. The Portuguese Politico-Military Government Approach

Until after 1980s, the term «Africa Austral» seems to be absent in Portuguese dictionaries and encyclopedias⁴. However, the term was occasionally used in geographical and ethnographic studies, and military reports⁵ since the second half of nineteenth century, including in the political vocabulary, where, in Portuguese Monarchic Parliament debate, it was introduced in 1880s and sporadically mobilized up to 1910, as a geographic marker, for locating or assessing different activities of exploration in the territories and sea coasts of southern Africa under Portuguese and British influence. The term seems to have been obliterated of Portuguese political rhetoric during the new liberal Republican Era (1910-1926) and not come back to that arena before end of 2WW, first, between 1952-1955, later, the 1963 onwards⁶

1.

At the beginning of the 1950s the use of the parliamentary term is still towards a geographic marker - examples of which are: “Angola, which covers all the territories currently assigned, situated in Southern Africa Western [África Austral Occidental]” and “Mozambique, which consists of all the Portuguese territories located in East Africa”; “certain regions of our Southern Africa [África Austral]” - although it is possible to identify more political tones [“the Zulu Empire of Southern Africa”] ⁷. But in political circles linked to the Defense and International Relations other perspectives were known.

During the 1950s, François Christiaan Erasmus, Defense Minister of Union of South Africa for more than a decade, visited Portugal three times (1950, 1955 and 1959). This diplomatic activity was connected with the project (1949) and institutionalization (1954 Dec.) of intergovernmental Committee for Technical Cooperation in Sub-Saharan Africa (CCTA: France, Portugal, Great Britain, Southern Rhodesia, and Union of South Africa), and with a big plan, that started with Nairobi African Defense Facilities Conference (August 1959) for a «White entente» regarding «African Defense» against the Communist threat (Russian and Chinese) which include, apart from countries mentioned above, the Belgium and Italy, this is «the African Powers»⁸

The second visit (1955, Nov.), for a meeting with the equivalent Portuguese (Colonel Santos Costa), was part of a tour that led him first to London (as member of CCTA) and Washington. The agenda carried two subjects: an eventual «second conference to serve as follow up of the Nairobi Conference», a matter with «urgency», in view of the «Communist influence and arms in the Middle East and especially Egypt, the gateway to» *Southern Africa (Africa Austral)*, in one draft version, or *South Africa*, in other draft version of Aide – Memoire, prepared by the Embassy of Union South Africa (USA) and later amended by the office of the Portuguese Minister of Defense. Beyond the general problems of the Defense of Africa, the «conference at S. Julião da Barra [...] dealt with another the urgent necessity of the defense and safety of the territory itself, particularly with regard to Air Defense» . The USA Minister carried the proposal of setting up «an efficient radar system» that «should embrace all Southern African territories by some means or other», or, in final version, «it would be convenient if the system included – by one or other of the available means – all the territories in South Africa» . The Minister of Defense of Portugal, Santos Costa, «agreed that he was fully conscious of the necessity for co-operation in Southern Africa and that there the friends must stand together», or, in final text version, «said that he was perfectly aware of the need of cooperation between the friendly countries in South Africa», term that, in the Portuguese version of document, is equivalent to «Africa Austral» [«o Ministro [...] manifestou a sua plena consciência da necessidade na África Austral de colaboração e união entre países amigos.»] .⁹

Dissonances are also clear in drafting the "joint statement" signed by the two statesmen. The USA first version referred «[...] to the possibility of defense co-operation in Southern

Africa, especially with relation to the establishment of an aerial defense network. These meetings were notable for the marked agreement between the views of the Governments concerned, and for the mutual desire for cooperation. The Portuguese Minister of Defense [...], expressed the interest of his Government in the proposal advanced, and offered to make available the services of his department for joint planning purposes in Southern Africa in this field». But the final version, ends referring “joint planning purposes concerning the territorial area of both countries» by Portuguese suggestion.¹⁰

However, there are more relevant aspects the substance in this South Africa-Portugal meeting. Given the secondary interest that the South African proposal seemed to be reaping among the remaining European African Powers – within which «the atmosphere for a close appreciation of the African political problems was not yet prepared», Santos Costa besides considering that a political solution was still missing [“Without a political basis it would, however, be difficult to progress in the military field»], noted the difficulty of operating with a permanent or temporary Joint Meeting of Staff Offices composed by South Africans, Portuguese, Belgians, English and French, some of them poorly motivated or mobilized, and proposed the adopted solution of the “establishment of South African – Portuguese discussions on a Bilateral basis, as a first effort and in order to prepare the field.»¹¹

In the “Memorandum”, that was sent, a few days later to Presidente do Conselho (Prime Minister, Dr. Salazar), the Minister of Defense was more explicit in perspective forwarded to South African counterpart: «I was inclined to think that European Countries, worrying over the great problems of their own continental “homes”, overburdened and crushed by extraordinary financial charges, found it difficult to throw themselves wholeheartedly into the search for the solution of a problem which did not appear yet imminent. This ought to be the fundamental reason for the lack of understanding which Mr. Erasmus has encountered in Europe and in U.S.A” (United States of America) . There was, in fact, no real lack of understanding but the impossibility of considering simultaneously the two problems: that of Europe, of an urgent nature, and that of Africa, of great importance but slightly more distant.” . Faced with this scenario the solution was not to remain inactive but to act in a practical way: «to find a solution for our own internal problems and, as far as possible, for those concerning Common Defense», establishing a middle-time «program of work with precision» .The short-time Portuguese focus was «the problem of the development of its Overseas Forces», had set objectives, but «concerning air defense [...] it had not so far been possible to do anything» because «only very recently had the baste of organization of the air Forces been established, and at the present moment all attention was focusing the Defense of the Portuguese European Continent and of the Azores Archipelago [...] the two most threatened regions of the National Territory» . All in all, consider the Minister that, in matter of defense cooperation in «South Africa, South of the Equator», given the other African Powers were “not yet prepared spiritually for the objective

study of the problem of African Defense», the wisest course for Portuguese and South Africans was «to try and study straightaway our common problems» through the establishment of «a small group of technicians from both countries» that «could meet to examine on the map the generals scheme. On [Portuguese] side two military experts on electronic defence, a Staff Officer from Angola, another from Mozambique, would seem the right choice». This was not only a «practical solution [but] the only one which under the present circumstances [sic] seemed to lead to results both useful and *effications* [sic]», and USA Defense Minister «declared he was going to study in his own country the way to follow up on conversations.» In all this Memorandum, with eleven typewritten pages, the term Africa Austral /Southern Africa is missing.¹²

The South African Minister formally declared himself satisfied with the “favourable reception» that had been «accorded to his proposals», SA Government accepted the military technical cooperation in the terms formulated by Portugal, and early 1956, were the first steps towards the “joint study of the problem of Air defense of African Territories, of interest to Portugal and South Africa Union»¹³

According to the international and South African press, the global project of a «pan-African defense organization»¹⁴ - the phrase was of R. Badenhorst Durrant, a South African Member of Parliament – failed, but a controversial point of view is that it was, later, adopted . G.R. BERRIDGE (1992) says the result of the visit to Portugal was friendly, “good understanding and harmony” of points of view.¹⁵ What is clear from this negotiation are, firstly, the existence or emergence of a bilateral cooperation between Portugal and South Africa focused on their interests in Southern Africa, which may have lasted at least until 1959¹⁶, and, on the other hand, a non-convergence between these two countries in the explicit recognition of a “Southern Africa” region joined by a common interest. From the perspective of USA there was a notorious interest in adding Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique to a concept of defense of Southern Africa; while from the Portuguese side it was clear the distance between South Africa and its appendices/ Southern Africa (that might be called *the Little Southern Africa*) - and Portuguese territories, despite the defense common interests (an alleged communist threat, which would be present especially on the east coast) that approached the regional white powers.

2.

Ten years later, in Portuguese National Assembly debates, the term *Africa Austral* continued to have different uses: as a general geographical marker (1966) (/ “the immensity of Southern Africa» (1966); a very large region, as «the south of the equator» or as *Little Southern Africa* (1966, 1968), when it has made reference to “the volume of breeding cattle acquired [by Angola] in the territories of Southern Africa, whose entry into the province is done by Pereira

de Eça» (1966), or the regional differences in “sufficiency in fuels” and the geological and mining borders in Angola, Southern Africa and Portuguese East Africa (1968).

But what will emerge and become dominant is its use as a political category that individualizes a part of Africa, composed by a set of countries recognized themselves linked together and where Portugal “remains standing on both sides, with [their] rights and without servility”; an *Africa Austral/Southern Africa* criticized and weakened in international forums by living conditions that provided to «south African Bantu people», but was presented itself as the “indispensable support this bewildered Europe” (1967) ; an *Africa Austral/Southern Africa* which countries were approached by «the common threat of subversive war [...], more than ever self-supportive in defense and self-aware of the advantages of an intense regional cooperation in economic and social matters.» (1967). This Southern Africa with its «multiracial or developing parallel societies», were different of other two parts of Africa: the “Arab Mediterranean rope”; and the Black Africa, the Africa of “black countries” (1972). However, was in sight that with this alleged «multiracial» Southern Africa inter-acted a special and neighboring part of the Black Africa : “Despite the serious disturbances that the anti-Portuguese terrorist movements have caused and cause in our neighboring countries that host, feed, train and help arm them, as has been the Republic of the Congo, Republic of Zaire, Zambia, Tanzania, Republic of Guinea and to a lesser extent in Senegal, the desire not to displease the OAU, which only truly keeps as unifying element the black racism and hatred Southern Africa Regimes, those countries continue to support these movements and support waivers, losses and charges [...]. It's almost incomprehensible that attitude against the territories of South Africa, as they disturb the black countries and these countries belonged the hole continent, when it are being placed several Arab nations and an Ethiopia, the most medieval of African states, that ridiculously intends prominent position in the OUA and support what they call "liberation movements". And for those countries that do not belong to Africa entirely Black, like us [Portugal], do not realize [...] the racist hatred of blacks! [...]» [1972]¹⁷

And this Southern Africa is also well recognized in the discourse of national opponents to authoritarian and colonial Portuguese political elite: “I am sure that the overwhelming majority of Portuguese currently sees with deep disgust that, worldwide, Portuguese rulers only have unconditionally and blatant support only from the racist scum that since 1890 came overlap the Pink Map´ megalomaniac dreams. And if one day, in accordance, moreover, with an international convention in force, the Ian Smith and Voerster, responsible for the physical and cultural genocide of Southern Africa, sit on the dock (...)”¹⁸

Among the political-military *milieux* of Portuguese Defence - as much as it is possible to know through the General Secretariat of National Defense archive - the term Southern Africa was not adopted explicitly as a political category (block) before the second half of the 1960s (1969?).

In Mozambican «periodic reports» of military information relative second half of October 1964, the «general situation» in the regional neighbors was analyzed in a fragmented way. What was highlighted was the «splendid environment that was created [for insurgents] by the Government of Zambia» newly independent; the «ambiguous attitude» of the Government of Malawi (also newly independent), and the «strange (collaborative) attitude» of government of Swaziland. On other hand, it was noted that «current Rhodesia», living «the worst period of its history [...], reveals only trust in Portugal and South Africa. Practically, yet with some reservations, Portugal also can count only on the support of Rhodesia and South Africa. And even the latter is to rely on Basutoland/Bechuanoland/Swaziland`stunt in the near future, absorbing as they are, communist and neo-communist-African ideas [...]».¹⁹

Around the same time, it was based on a valuation of this sort that, a statement given to a journalist (Jack Ratmond) NYT, expert in military affairs, General Deslandes, "said seemed to him logical that there were arrangements of military character between [Portugal], southern Rhodesia and South Africa to answer the threats that may develop against our Overseas (Ultramar) and these countries, given these threats encompass Rhodesia, South Africa and our country [...]”, military cooperation that, however, “not was advised by the implications of political order”.²⁰ Four years later, the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Franco Nogueira [LUCENA 2001], denied "categorically, the existence of a “board of three”, consisting of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa»²¹, on the eve of an official visit of Ian Smith to South Africa and at a time when Defense Minister Worster reaffirmed "unequivocally" the interest of Republic of South Africa in “defense of Rhodesia, as Angola and Mozambique»²²

From 1966 until 1969, the services of Mozambican Military Command came to prepare a yearly «Summary of Developments in neighboring countries, movements of Liberation (*partidos emancipalistas*) and the activities of the enemy». In this detailed annual reports was systematically given a significant attention to "external general situation" and in particular the situation of 'neighboring countries', namely Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Rhodesia, South Africa, Swaziland. Between those two dates conceptual and strategic changes in these reports were clear.

In 1966 report relative to neighboring countries of Mozambique, what deserved attention was the Tanzanian best definition and *sharing* support to FRELIMO; the Malawi collaboration with «the Portuguese in the repression of subversive elements» and hostility towards FRELIMO; the «very particular circumstances» of Zambia that even «lined with the current pan-Africanist movement» and being a member of the Liberation Committee of the OAU was «depending almost exclusively of Angola and Mozambique for their external trade», fact that not allow the country an «unconditional alignment to the African cause» and explain «the major restrictions imposed by the Prime Minister Kaunda on elements of Mozambican *partidos emancipalistas*

present in Zambian territory»; the proximity of the independence of Swaziland (1967/69) that «may encourage and increased FRELIMO and COREMO activities in Mozambique»; the good and fruitful understanding "of Mozambique with Rhodesia [...], and South Africa, " the only neighboring independent country with a White Government, which “not cause any concern» to Mozambique and Portugal.²³

The approach to the «external situation» in the addendum report for 1969 changed, completely. In overview, it was highlighted the rapprochement UN-OAU and the growing intrusiveness of the UN «in the terrorist fight against Southern Africa»; the international movement of «strong support» to subversion; the intensity of «communist propaganda widespread against the Southern Africa (Africa Austral) policy having as main themes the colonialism, the 'apartheid' and the racism». In the same direction were the analysis of each one of the «neighboring countries": the Tanzanian full commitment with the «partidos emancipalistas (Movements of Liberation) recognized by the OAU» and the same Zambian «position in relation to subversion directed against the Southern African», while in Malawi, "Dr. Banda's government narrowed the bonds that have linked him to Southern Africa, mainly to Republic of South Africa and Portugal, a «political alignment in favor of Southern Africa» that also Swaziland ensured since 1968. Furthermore, after emphasize the consolidation of 'Rhodesian independence', despite the hostility of foreign and international economic sanctions, it is stated that «the new constitution gave to Rhodesian government the feature of one more «apartheid regime in Southern Africa, way that the law of separation of land was the key point, leading the church itself to take a clear position of opposition to racial discrimination». It was also marked that Republic of South Africa, where «the subversion keep in a very incipient status» and supposedly also involved in «an projected South Atlantic Pact" (Brazil and Argentina), it was actually committed to further reinforcing the ties «with all the territories of the white government and also with the moderate African states, Malawi in particularly». In these connections it was detached the «natural narrowing» of relations with Portugal - «face the «hostility that is filed against Southern Africa by African countries and the communists» - emphasizing the economic cooperation (the submarine cable; the agreement for utilization of the Cunene River (Angola) and mining in Zambezi River (Mozambique), «where the two countries have already collaboration in Cahora Bassa hydroelectric project»).²⁴

The explicit recognition of belonging to another Africa, self-defined as “multiracial or developing parallel societies” and view by the OAU Africa as the White Africa [of white minority rule and apartheid] have occurred between 1967 and 1969 (see Fig.1). And it was with this sense of belonging to this «block», that occurred the negotiation of a “Cooperation Program between Portugal, Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia in Defense of Southern Africa” in middle of 1970, that, from the Portuguese perspective, has settled on several considerations:²⁵

a) «The geographical position of Portugal (Angola and Mozambique) and certain of its economic potential, in addition to guaranteeing our country a strategic position valuable in Southern Africa in general, allow to be seen common interests with South Africa and Rhodesia, particularly in the fields communications, access to the sea and energy sources”;

b) «Despite not match, and even sometimes diverge, certain guidelines for social and economic policy, there are structural similarities that make a reality that is that is necessary to attend» ;

c) «By taking particular account the national effort of counter-subversion concerning people and equipment, the possibility of increase in guerrilla activities, and its greater coordination through the OAU Liberation Committee, it is considered desirable to establish a more effective collaboration between Portugal and South Africa and Rhodesia, although duly and carefully safeguarded.»

d) «The level of cooperation between Portugal (Angola and Mozambique), South Africa and Rhodesia” would be conditioned by prevailing military situation «every moment».

This change in Portuguese positions occurs simultaneously with presumable new perspectives of United Nations (UN). Indeed, the military addendum report for 1969 also emphasized the increment of UN involvement «in favor of the 'nationalist movements» in Southern Africa, through the action of committees for colonialism and apartheid; the recommendation (UN General Assembly, 1969 Nov.) of the «Manifesto on Southern Africa” or «Lusaka Manifesto», a proclamation of the Fifth Summit Conference of East and Central African States (April 1969) endorsed by OAU (1969, Sept.); the decision to establish, with propaganda purposes against the policy of Southern Africa, an UN broadcaster in Africa; and the more closer contacts and actions in co-operation between UN and OAU.²⁶ However, if analyzed some series of historical documents of the UN such as the «Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly» between the 20th (1965) and 25th (1970) sessions, it can be seen that terms like «southern Africa» and/or «Southern Africa» were introduced only in 1968, with a variable content even if focused on countries and colonial contexts covering the territories that we identified above as the region of «White Africa» or Southern Africa like Lusaka Manifest express²⁷. In a way, the United Nations institutionalized the term in 1971, by starting the publication of the «United Nations and Southern Africa» bulletin (Nº 1, Sept. 1971), with which it aims a better dissemination of information relating to the work of Committees dealing with Southern Africa («África Meridional»), in particular the so-called liberation movements, the OAU and specialized agencies.²⁸

In all this visions (Portugal, ECAS, OAU, UN Bulletin), The Southern Africa is broader than the former *Little Southern Africa* and now includes Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, South West Africa (Namibia), and the Union of South Africa. A perspective apparently less extensive than that expressed the Deputy Director of CIA, Rufus Taylor, in the report «Liberation

Movements of Southern Africa» (1967, Nov.) where he wrote: «Despite the remarkable proliferation of independent black African states over the past decade, most of the Southern Africa still is ruled by white minority regimes. Angola and Mozambique, Overseas provinces of Portugal, are ruled directly from Lisbon in all important matters. Angola has a population of over five millions, with some 250.000 Europeans; Mozambique, over seven millions, with only 150.000 Europeans. Southern Rhodesia, a self-governing colony, which declared its independence of the UK in 1965, has a white community of 240.000 in a population of about 4, 5 million. Some 3, 5 million whites dominated affairs in the Republic of South Africa, though the population includes 13 million blacks and over 2 million Asian and racially mixed peoples. South-West Africa (SWA) ruled by South Africa since it was mandated by the League of Nations in 1920, contains less than 100.000 whites and more than 500, 000 blacks. In each of the white-controlled areas political activities by nonwhites is severely restricted», and predicts: “the Liberation movements which are attempting to depose the white regimes of Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, and South-West Africa (SWA) stand little chance of significant progress through 1970, and probably for some considerable time thereafter»²⁹

Finally, the “white idea” of Southern Africa as future would be understood by Portugal and South Africa as an area of cooperation always driven by national interest and not for a common destiny. The Portuguese working documents dedicated to the preparation of “Cooperation Program between Portugal, Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia in Defense of Southern Africa” (1970) explicitly refer the Portuguese disinterest of «internationalize our link», for example through a “combined General Staff», although it was considered «advantageous for Portugal to create the system of mutual collaboration with RAS and Rhodesia, because they may result appreciable facilities for conducting counter-revolution in Angola and Mozambique, either through information or logistical support that can be provided»³⁰, although some could imagine Angola as one of the country's overseas provinces of a fictional country, a “Esperançaândia” (Hope-land) and had audience in the cycle of Conferences *The Present of Angola: Strategic Overview and Problem of Defense Problem (1971-07-31)*³¹. A few months later, talking at a symposium at the University of Potchefstroom, South African Prime Minister Vorster rejected either the idea of an multiracial “umbrella [constitutional] body” inside South Africa, or the suggested idea of an «”umbrella body” [community] for Southern Africa” and expressly said: “I do not believe that our future is in removing borders. I believe it is in the preservation of identity».³²

2. The Angola Movements of Liberation approach

In May 1969, an military informant placed in northern Tanzania (Moshi) communicated in a brief message, the new strategic direction of the SA African National Congress: "L` ANC

se résout à coopérer avec les autres mouvements de libération africains. La conférence consultative du congrès national africain du sud qui s'est terminée la semaine dernière a demandé d'urgence au comité national exécutif une résolution tendant à élargir le champ d'activité de l'organisation et à former des alliances avec les autres mouvements pour accélérer la libération du sud d l'Afrique. Les mouvements avec lesquelles la coopération est souhaitée sont: FRELIMO, le MPLA, le SWAPO e le PAIGC. La tâche essentielle de la conférence était de rechercher les moyens effectives pour accélérer la libération des territoires qui sont encore sous domination blanche. 70 leaders africains assistaient à cette conférence.»³³

It was an incomplete information on one relevant ANC meeting that occurred in "Morogoro Training Camp" between 25 April - 1 May 1969, a Tanzanian guerrilla training camp, located 125 miles west of Dar-Es-Salam, connected to the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East Central and South Africa (PAFMECSA) and, in which, since 1962, was promoted guerrilla training ("school of sabotage") for hundreds of "young people of Southern Rhodesia, and other regions [like Mozambique (FRELIMO)]" (1962), including "people before prepared in Algeria" (1963). In 1966, became part of the Tanzanian government, and it was used by several regional liberation movements (including FRELIMO) as «school girls, with a nursing, teacher and Office Clerk programs in conjunction with the training in sabotage, guerrilla warfare, gymnastics, making of homemade bombs etc." . In 1968, it was «the main training center and administration center of SA.ANC in Tanzania, and is a center base center for ZAPU» and also a «training camp» for FRELIMO.³⁴

It was within this «freedom fighters»` pan-African experience that ANC First National Consultative Conference occurred. It adopted the «Freedom Chart revolutionary program», who proclaimed "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people.", with their civic and social consequences. And the «Report on the Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress» which formalized, beyond the internal guidelines, the external alliance: "Beyond our borders in Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia are our brothers and sisters who similarly are engaged in a fierce struggle against colonialist and racist regimes. We fight an Unholy Alliance of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa, with the latter as the main economic and military support. The historic ZAPU-ANC alliance is a unique form of cooperation between two liberation movements which unites the huge potential of the oppressed people in both South Africa and Zimbabwe. The extension of cooperation and coordination of all the people of southern Africa as led by FRELIMO, ZAPU, SWAPO, MPLA and the ANC is a vital part of our strategy".³⁵

Two years earlier, George Mauser published in *Africa Today*, an American bi-weekly founded by the American Committee on Africa, the theory of two informal transnational alliances, between Southern Africa Liberation Movements : *There tend to be informal alliances*

among liberation movements. By and large, they divide into two groupings. One grouping includes FRELIMO, MPLA; ANC, SWAPO, ZAPU and PAIGC from Portuguese Guinea. The other grouping includes PAC, COREMO, SWANU; GRAE and ZANU . It is interesting to speculate about the reasons for these informal working alliances. There seem to be no hard and fast lines for the particular alliances, but two explanations apply. One is that the second group of organizations have among them a number that have split off from the parent bodies. This would apply to ZANU in relation to ZAPU, for example; for the PAC in relation to ANC; to COREMO in relation to FRELIMO. It does not apply to the GRAE nor SWANU. The second explanation has to do with the source of at least some financial assistance. Many of the movements in the first grouping receive considerable assistance from the Soviet Union or Eastern European countries. By and large they do not receive significant support from the Chinese. The Second grouping tends to receive more support from the Chinese or at least is not receiving support from Eastern European countries» (Houser, 1967).

How the Liberation Movements directing the struggle in these countries that were dominated by Portugal saw this pan-Southern African trend? Centered in Angola, we look here only for two of the three organizations associated with the "revolutionary nationalism": the MPLA and GRAE. And leaving still aside, other types of documents such as guerrilla manuals and periodic publications, are explored only two documentary series: the first are 833 documents covering the period 1956-1964 and released under the title 'Itinerary MPLA through documents Lúcio Lara'; the second series is made up of MPLA and GRAE radio propaganda between 1964 and 1970, which was partially captured (radio-listening), transcribed and analyzed by the Portuguese military intelligence (See *Sources*).

MPLA Approach (1956-1964). The CONCP, PAFMECSA and discovering Southern Africa

Until late 1964, the term Africa Austral (Southern Africa) was not part of the political dictionary of the MPLA. In this early stage, it seemed appropriate to create or connect to *regional* organizations with 'transnational' ties to coordinate anti-colonialist struggle, and MPLA saw two major positions and connections for Angola: first, between the nationalist organizations of the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP, 1961), a kind of *lusophone* network; the other, the Afro-Central locus, who approached the PAFMECSA (1962). But the sense of Southern African belonging was born.

The Conference of the Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP), was a joint initiative projected by MPLA³⁶, with Goa League and African Party for Independence (PAI, "Portuguese-Guiné"), aiming all nationalist organizations of African and Asian Portuguese Colonies united in action and provided with common [?] means to coordinate "the struggle against Portuguese colonialism", through a permanent secretariat, without isolation of whole African or Afro-Asian groups. With the support of the newly constituted Pan-African "Group of Casablanca" (Jan. 1961), the CONCP was established in April 1961, under the presidency of Mario Pinto de Andrade, also President of MPLA (1960-62), and participated in its first conference (Casablanca, April 61) delegates from Angola (MPLA and UNTA), Goa (National Congress, Goan Liberation Council, Goa Peoples`Party, and Goa League), Mozambique (UDENAMO), S. Tomé and Príncipe (CLSTP), Guiné (PAIGC, MLGC, MLGC). The CONCP was provided of a regular (?) information tool, written in Portuguese, the "Boletim da CONCP" (*Bulletin of the CONCP*), and it was also imagined as the transnationalist platform of National(ist) fronts that the nationalist groups should be constructed on each of the colonies. The early years of this organization do not seem to have been very successful but this way was extended, directly to other transnationalist organizations like the Association or "Union of Students of the Portuguese Colonies in Africa in the United States" (1961, December), as a regional group of "the Council for Freedom in Portugal and Colonies", or indirectly, as the case of "Conselho para a Liberdade em Portugal e nas Colónias" (Council for Freedom in Portugal and Colonies, London, April, 1961). (LARA, 2006, 7, 38-9, 53, 63-68, 242, 245).

At the end of 1961, Mário Pinto de Andrade, in statement to the press on behalf of the CONCP, evoking similar previous proposals and stating its belief that "the solution for Angolan problem will be African, or not will exist», proposed "African governments to convene a conference of experts or of Foreign Ministers aiming to discuss the measures to be taken against the Portuguese Government in Central Africa and, more particularly, concerted action in Angola». Central Africa seems to be the second regional framework of Angola, in this case, within «Africanism» (LARA, 2006, 210 e 244). The "Immediate Action Program of MPLA»,

out of its First National Conference (1962 Dec), in which Agostinho Neto took over the presidency of the MPLA Steering Committee, it was also marked the Central African perspective : «it is very important developing in our people a sense of national unity and the development of ties with the people of the Republics of Congo» (LARA, 2006, 517).

It was probably with this sense of belonging Central Africa that Angolan delegations of MPLA, UPA e MNA (NGWIZAKO and MDIA were rejected) participated in 5th Pan African Freedom Movement for East, Central and South Africa Conference (PAFMECSA), at Leopoldville (1962/12/ 27-31). His predecessor organization was focused in East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) but had known months before (1962 Jan) an extension to governments of Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan as well as were also admitted the «partidos emancipalistas» (nationalist parties) of Republic of South Africa, South West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland ; the result was that the title of the organization became henceforth the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central, and South Africa (PAFMECSA)'. For Nelson Mandela, who represented the ANC at this conference, "The extension of the PAFMECA area to South Africa, the heart and core of imperialist reaction, should mark the beginning of a new phase in the drive for the total liberation of Africa", but while recognizing the importance of all the changes going on in Africa, the political actions and armed struggle preparing and ongoing in neighboring countries, and the importance of the external support and pression, the leader of ANC and Commander in Chief of recently created Umkhonto we Sizwe (1961) considered "it would be fatal to create the illusion that external pressures render it unnecessary for us to tackle the enemy from within. The centre and cornerstone of the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa lies inside South Africa itself."³⁷

The MPLA delegation was pleased with the PAFMECSA mechanism of help created for support the "movement for the Liberation of Angola" and deemed vibrant the lived moment alongside «names that have become famous in the dramatic story of Africa» and «other figures, younger but equally famous freedom fighters in Africa» (LARA, 2006, p. 541).

In 1967 PAFMECSA was organized in countries and movements organized by three regions, with Angola and the MPLA integrated in the "Central Region" (see Table. 1).

But the special position of the southern Africa as a whole had been before recognized by leaders of the MPLA. The perspective in report submitted by the Angolan Delegation (Lúcio Lara) to the 2nd **Afro-Asian Lawyers' Conference**. (Oct. 1962) was already that "The war undertaken in Angola, the intensification of actions nationalists in Rhodesia, the bloody repressions in Mozambique and in South Africa, show how imperialism clings to this part of Africa", the " ultra-colonial South Africa ", the white Africa of "Salazar, Verwoerd and Wellensky», which then is joined «one last partner, the most harmful, of this alliance [Moses] Tshombe (...)" (LARA, 2006, p.470)

A few months later, in the aftermath of PAFMECSA Conference, in interview published by *Revolution Africaine*³⁸ (1963-02-06) Agostinho Neto responded as follows to a question about Pan-Africanism and African unity:

«For countries of Africa to defend themselves, solidarity between the peoples of our continent is required. Our old affinities (culture, tradition) and the common history of our exploration already justify our solidarity. In our liberation struggle, victory depends on the collaboration of all African peoples. The people of Angola, Mozambique, South Africa and Rhodesia, can only effectively fight combining closely their forces.

That's why the National Conference of MPLA decided to look for appropriate means to implement this collaboration in South of Africa.

It is no coincidence that the Holy Alliance Salazar-Verwoerd-Willenski seeks to coordinate their offensives against the colonized peoples.

Beyond the political ties, our economies are complementary, the Rhodesians are not independent of Angola or Mozambique; products of Rhodesians have to cross the Angolan and Mozambican territories to reach the sea. In the future all the underdeveloped countries will have to coordinate their economic activities to complete each other. Only this economic collaboration may allow escape the domination of the great powers. So no African country can be considered truly free if they do not participate in the struggle for the liberation of the dominated countries» (LARA, 2008, 48-50).

Within the Angolan revolutionary nationalism seemed, at this stage, disseminated the idea that Angola was a frontier between two Africas, that is, that was indeed "a true hinge between a Free Africa and a Dependent Africa» Roberto Holden said at a seminar organized Leopoldville in April 1963 by the World Assembly of Youth and the Youth organizations of the UPA, PDA and MPLA, in which also participated Agostinho Neto.³⁹

This dual Africa was not the only African representation of today's African daily. In Second Conference of the All-African Trade Union Federation (Bamako, 10th-14th June, 1964), Africa is configured in three categorical countries: countries «still fighting for political independence and against racism»; countries «following the revolutionary Road»; countries «still under the domination of colonialism and reactionary»⁴⁰ or, in another metaphor, the «black sheep of the international Community». However in all these perspectives the specificity of Southern African was very explicit.

But the extent to which political rhetoric has translated into results, in experiences of "Southern-africanism", is difficult to determine at this stage of the investigation. Things not gone in the direction suggested by Agostinho Neto. In 1964, it have been established, in Dar-Es-Salam, the «Union of African States Non-Independent an association formed by the Liberation (‘Emancipalistas’) movements of Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa” that adopting «the principles of Pan-Africanism” and advocated «a close collaboration with the Committee of

African Liberation». ⁴¹ It was a “regional” response to the impasse that seemed installed in the liberation struggles. MPLA was left out of the establishment of this organization and following Lúcio Lara writing, it happened “due to missing information” although MPLA had been one of the idea`drivers: «We recall that in April 1960, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Kenya, Tanganyika and Angola representatives had decided just to meet in Leopoldville, during the Independence of Congo `celebrations, with the purpose to build an organization of not-independent countries. We know how the events of Leopoldville prevented this meeting to take place» (LARA, 2008, 547-8)

It was in this context that África Austral has become one important element in MPLA regional strategy. While having denounced in OUA an alleged plan of Pretoria to create common market «of nine countries in *Àfrica Austral*» (LARA, 2008, p. 674), in October 1964 MPLA had participated in the 2nd Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries (Cairo), where also attended a delegation from GRAE and other African and Caribbean liberation movements. About this meeting, the MPLA Delegation` report highlight three aspects. The first, that the Conference recognized «so undeniable, the dualism MPLA-GRAE, existing within the national liberation movement in Angola», freeing these organizations of the theory of inevitability of unity and domestic frontism, even that would be shortly afterwards negotiated on the initiative of the OAU (Committee of 9), and without success, the creation of a joint committee (MPLA / GRAE) «to direct the financial and military support» for an army “called Angola Freedom Force Unit which would be directed only by the aforementioned Committee»⁴². Secondly, in private meetings between the delegations of MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO, they converged on two essential points: they considered «unrealistic» the propositions of the Secretary General of the OAU, namely the intention of this African organization to establish direct control «on the national liberation movements by hosting militants in camps funded by the OAU” and wish to represent the liberation movements out of Africa; they have agreed «the need to reorganize the CONCP». In addition, the Angolan delegation met with representatives of the ANC on request of South African organization that suggested «the need for collaboration between all progressive movements in Southern Africa». The MPLA mission report concludes with a series of policy recommendations to be adopted by the Movement, including that "the MPLA «should become interested in structuring CONCP and lead this organization to defend its positions close to African countries and international public opinion» and should also “strengthen its collaboration with the progressive movements in Southern Africa” (Lara, 2008, pp. 683-686.) .

Probably have been outlined here two relevant guidelines of African transnational cooperation of MPLA in the following decades: the CONCP connection and the Southern African connection. As early as 1965, Liberation Movements leaders <held the first conference of CONCP in Dar es Salaam. They exchanged information about the struggle, and planned to

work together against the common enemy, Portugal, which was determined to maintain its colonies.» (EL-KHAWAS, 2003). Em 1967, the old Afro-Asian organization was Africanized and included FRELIMO, CLSTP (São Tomé and Príncipe), MPLA and PAIGC: top to bottom, the CONCP had a governing board (with the four movements), an executive board, and four Secretaries (Management, Information, Coordination and Foreign Affairs). The Secretariat of Foreign Affairs was unfolded into four sections: UN and USA, directed by Eduard Mondlane; OAU, directed by Agostinho Neto; Cuba, directed by Amílcar Cabral; and PCP (Portuguese Communist Party, Alger), directed by Marcelino dos Santos. The CONCP remained active until 1975, played an important role in the transition of the Portuguese colonies, particularly in Angola, and after a few failed attempts, it have been reborn in 1983-1984 and it may have been one driving force of the emergency of an Lusophone transnational community, that, since 1997, it was institutionalized as the Community of Portuguese Language Countries.⁴³

The Angolan Liberation Movements and The Southern Africa (1964-1970) : Radio and Propaganda.

It is also very important to know how was materialized the South Africanism revealed by Agostinho Neto in *Revolution Africaine* interview and the collaboration with the progressive movements in Southern Africa . The share of training camps, refugee camps and mixed camps, and common use of other infrastructure for organization and development of anti-colonial struggle are relevant indicators to examine the common experience of exile and struggle between Southern African Liberation Movements, agenda whose cognitive History exploitation is taking their first steps (SAPIRE and SAUNDERS, 2013, 12-14; WILLIAMS, 2011).

Aiming the “psycho” warfare, broadcasting early became an important instrument of the anti-colonial struggle in guerrilla infrastructure of *Portuguese Guinea*, Angola and Mozambique: guidance and information of cadres, partisans and refugee populations in neighboring; information and education of population of self-called liberated zones; information and mobilization of colonial native and resident populations; discouragement and intimidation of colonial army, special the Africanized sector; and counterbalance the colonial power` psychological or propaganda and social policy war, including the colonial broadcasting that also was mobilized or created as a tool “to assist colonialists in governing the country» as in other experiences (MOSHIRO, 1987); finally, and very important, forming an international opinion` About this issue the South Africa ANC had a crossed but somewhat different history both in regard to the establishment and development of an broadcasting infrastructure either in its use. (DAVIS, 2013).

MPLA and GRAE: building a Broadcasting program.

Settled in 1960, the MPLA aim of integrating the press and radio in the liberation struggle was designed very early. Although the topic was not contained in early 1961 “Draft MPLA Program of Political-Military Action” in February or March, with the war at the beginning, the reflections on MPLA «clandestine politico-military organization», carried out by the leaders in exile (Congo Léo) not only dealt with this topic like led to a guideline towards how it could be done: “the press and the radio would not give to be neglected. If you need to purchase machinery to facilitate quick work of dissemination of slogans and the issues that most concern the MPLA. If possible contact indirectly people of radio to inquire the possibility of transmission of programs and slogans (not only but also in Leo Brazza - Radio Congo). The hypothesis of a station transmitter in PN (Ponta Negra)” should be considered. The possibility of establish “if possible immediately», clandestine press in the “Congo” and solve the «problem of Radio Congo” it was analyzed in the following months in subsequent internal «workplans», and external (addressed the committees of solidarity) «memos». If, however, the press plane was progressed - as the newspaper “Unidade Angolana” (Angolan Unity, 1961 Dez.), edited in Léopoldville and published in four different languages (“two nationals, Kimbundo and Kikongo, and “and two foreign languages», Portuguese and French), and an Internal Bulletin «Vitória ou Morte» (Victory or Death, 1962 Jul), as «organ of political and ideological training of militants»; the role and organization of propaganda was after examined in some detail, including the military plan – the radio broadcasting plans seem to have been delayed (Lara, 2006, 23-26, 46, 50, 103, 319, 454-55, 532; 2008, 212, 217, 308, 316-347, 389).

Followed almost two *horrendum annis* for MPLA (1963-64): weakened by internal dissension and an triple factionalism; failed the strategy of Front (FDLA), which aimed to absorb or merger with other Angolan nationalist movements; occurred the recognition of UPA / FNLA-PDA Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE, led by Holden Roberto) first by the Republic of Congo, at the same day of its constitution (Léopoldville, 1963-06-29), followed by OAU (1963 July); the organization was quently forced *out* of Leopoldville, and it was completely transferred to Congo Brazza (1963, Oct-Dec); and it was forgotten by "Non-African Independent States Conference» (LARA 2008, 255-8, 343, 372, 547-8).⁴⁴

During 1964, installed in Congo Brazza, MPLA had started a substantial «reconversion»,) which culminated at the end of the year, with two key milestones: the OUA «Committee of the Three on Reconciliation between the MPLA and FNLA» recognized the MPLA as a movement «serious, active and able to conduct an effective struggle” because it was endowed with a «military, political and administrative organization ', with a strategy which was «proportional to means» and therefore " deserves to get of the Coordination Committee for the Liberation of Africa aid and assistance» plans technical and material plans. (Lara, 2008, 694, 699). At the

same time it was initiated (second half of 1964), from Brazzaville, the “Angola Combatente” broadcasting program, that was active until the end of the anti-colonial war (LARA, 2008, 371-393, 409-443., 695-99).

These MPLA broadcasts were made via Radio Congo-Brazzaville a new radio station, planed in 1959, during the power transition through a French-Congolese agreement. Thereafter Republic of Congo (Brazza) disposed of three radio stations: Rádio-Brazzaville, Radio-Inter and Radio Congo-Brazza. Although it was presumed that the three stations would be "under the direction of Local Government, " in 1961, Radio Brazza was 'an official radio station of the French State, which in the case of presents African Politics it is a supporter of the call "self-determination of African peoples», and three years later this status remained. Radio-inter and Radio Congo were merged in «Radio Nacional Congolaise» [«MPLA uses for their radio-propaganda Radio Congo Brazzaville broadcaster, which initially has caused confusion in the less enlightened *milieu* who admitted that RadioCongo-Brazzaville was the Radio Brazzaville, when in fact they are different stations»⁴⁵.

In this Portuguese Colonial Province it had a previous faithful Angolan mixed audience of the two Congo radio stations belonging to *Radio Diffusion-Television Française*: Radio Brazzaville and Radio Afrique Equatorial Française. Radio Brazzaville, created by Charles de Gaulle and American support in 1940 as French Resistance broadcasting in exile, until 1960 emitted programs exclusively in European languages (French, Portuguese, Spanish and English (for North America); *Radio Afrique Equatorial Française* (Radio AEF), an African version, broadcast to French and African listeners (French language and African native languages). Both broadcasted entertainment, educative (French lessons) and local and international news programs and both were under surveillance of Portuguese political police (PIDE)⁴⁶. In middle of 1959, the daily news of Radio Brazzaville, whose source of information on Africa was almost exclusively France Press and it was very attentive to Portuguese internal and colonial situations (eg Portuguese presidential elections and Humberto Delgado case; restriction of press freedom, and the Portuguese journalist Antonio Figueiredo campaign promoted by South African Journalist Association; racial tension in Luanda; imprisonment of nationalist activists; mailing with some nationalists; etc.) well as the present African (eg the Second Conference of Independent African States; the Congo Léo political tension), were listened not only by white people but also “by almost all African families in and outside Luanda”. (1959/08/03) In addition Radio Brazza recruited Angolans whites (José de Abreu, 1960), some of them in exile, as Manuel Farinha (1961) and Ernesto Lara Filho (1963) linked to Front Unit Angolan (FUA) an Euro-African nationalist movement.⁴⁷

The radio emissions of GRAE (FNLA), the other Angolan revolutionary Liberation Movement, was began in middle of 1963 (10 July) more than a year before the MPLA emissions. The GRAE broadcasting was also performed through a dedicated programming

(*Rádio Angola Livre* or *Voz de Angola Livre*⁴⁸) transmitted by Radio Léopolville [Republic of Congo–Léo just in transition to Republic Democratic of Congo], a broadcasting station resulting from the merger of Radio Belgian Congo (RCB 1940) and Belgian Congo to African Radio (1949), soon after independence.⁴⁹

Although colonial authorities have sought early jamming those «subversive emissions», using military and civilian resources, only in late 1967 Portugal was able to draw a plan of systematic interference in such emissions and, in particular, reply with counter-advertising radio.]. Early 1968, emissions of «Rádio Voz da Revolução Congoleza» (MPLA), «Rádio Voz de Angola Livre» (GRAE), Radio Ghana and Radio Moscow, had “good reception conditions» in Angola, the exception was «Rádio Voz da Liberdade» (Argel). *Following the study driving by the Portuguese Steering Committee for Counter-Propaganda radio*, «over these emissions are made by some of our military garrisons, purposeful interferences, [but] rarely the emissions interfered was imperceptibles.»⁵⁰

In September of 1964 «Portuguese emissions» of «Radio Leopoldville and Brazzaville were very popular at least in the Angolan capital. A police informant made this clear: «It is noted in the African milieu of Luanda, a great satisfaction for emissions produced by broadcasters of Leopoldville and Brazzaville, especially with 'Voz de Angola» and cites an example: «The nurse Oliveira Santos, a native of Catete, [...] overflowing with joy and satisfaction from every pore, he said, "have you enjoyed ours! ... Now we have two radio broadcasts, one of Brazzaville and another of Leopoldville. There we have our Dr. Agostinho Neto speaking well." There is no doubt that emissions of "Voice of Angola" [?] produced by Radio Brazzaville on Wednesdays and Sundays are heard almost, if not all Africans living in Luanda and especially in slums [*musseques*]. Luanda September 26, 1964.» This emissions were not autonomous programming of these Congo stations, they were prepared by MPLA and GRAE and listened in other parts of Angola, at least from the north-center to the plateau of Huambo. For instance in Malange: «Radio broadcasting of MPLA, through the National Radio of Congo, are being listened in excellent conditions, on Wednesdays and Sundays, by 19 hours»; the natives had a «high number of radios in its possession» and due to Radios Brazza and Léo good listening conditions, " in mixed and electrical goods shops are often seeing natives buying portable radios, some of which we are watching"; and amongst the masses native was spreading the idea "that everyone should have a guitar to touch and sing in chorus the "independence hymn" independence ' in its *sanzalas* (villages)" (1964-11-14).⁵¹

In Luanda these emissions soon crossed African and “White” audiences. In 1966, “In complete silence and isolation, gathered every imaginable precaution, the *middle class*, ie, *contínuos*, *serventes* and others in incredibly large number, listen Radio Brazzaville Sundays (Program of subversive emissions). These outweigh the *civilized* in prudence, so that it is extremely difficult to determine the exact number and names of those who listen. These

emissions give them encouragement and instill them ideas and compel them to thoughts, [and this is] no less dangerous than weapons of war.

Regards *the civilized*, are mentioned the names of those who willingly listen such emissions [the name of seven individuals]. This number is insignificant when compared to all those who listened and we do not hesitate to include **large numbers of white supporters**, that there are also numerous» (IANTT- PIDE/DGS:DAng: Dinf 1 P 1528A: Radio Brazzaville)

Two years later, the executive group of CORANGOLA (Provincial Committee of Counter-Radio Propaganda of Angola), noted: In general, the native population of Angola does not listen programs irradiated by official and private stations of the Province. Even in Cabinda, where the population massively was disconnected of terrorism, the radio-receptors are tuned, almost all day in the frequencies used by Brazzaville broadcasters. And this for one reason: the stations of neighboring countries spend their entire day radiating music of liking for African populations, while our broadcaster were limited almost exclusively to satisfy the taste of the European public of low social extraction, insisting on the metropolitan pseudo-folk music. For this reason one can say that the stations of neighboring countries conquered the African audience of Angola, using this as a vehicle for subversive propaganda».⁵²

Since 1963, the Radio Leo GRAE program (Voice of Free Angola) was transmitted **in Portuguese, French and Angolan dialects (Quimbundo, Quicongo and Quioco) all Tuesdays and Fridays, between 20.30 and 21.00 pm**, and they had also a “special emission” all Wednesday between 17:55 and 18:20 pm. With a similar format, the MPLA Program (Angola Combatant), was broadcasting by Radio Congo-Brazza all Wednesdays and Sundays Wednesdays and Sundays with emissions in “Portuguese and Angolan Dialects” at 19 pm; early 1965, the number of the number radio emissions became five. This alignment has changed over time.⁵³

Until late 1965, the emissions of radio «against the presence of Portugal» in Angola and Mozambique and aiming «de-nationalization of populations», extended to the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation Radio and Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD). The ZBC or Lusaka Radio was captured in the south-eastern Angola, and in September 1965 broadcast in trans-regional dialects (Luena and Luanda) five time every day «news and Anti-portuguese propaganda» and eventually a special program every Wednesday. The emissions may be were «organized and supervised by Zambian authorities, through informative services of the official radio station but with cooperation of MPLA members»⁵⁴. At least in September of 1971, *Angola Combatente* was listened almost daily in Mozambique via Lusaka Radio Lusaka such as Tanzania Radio and other outside Africa (Moscow, Pequin, Peace and Progress) .⁵⁵ From Zambia could still be heard in Angola subversive broadcasts transmitted by Radio Kiitwe. Beyond Mozambique Tanzania Radio, with emissions in Cuanhama, Mucuancala, English and Portuguese, was listened in other countries of Southern africa, including the South of Angola .⁵⁶

As Steve Davis has revealed Radio Tanzania hosted an oriented Southern African program, broadcast three times a week – The Voice of Freedom – with segments of time distributed by ANC, FRELIMO, SWAPO, MOLINACO (Comoro) and, MPLA since 1968 “for special FRELIMO deference”. DAVIS (2013, 126) ⁵⁷

With expansion of broadcasting external stations and programs the Angolan audience of «subversive emissions» also expanded : "almost all natives of the area of Gago Coutinho [south of Angola] that have radio receivers have been following with interest" (1965 Oct) Radio emissions from Lusaka; early 1966, listeners had been located in all South border, since the line Teixeira de Sousa (Luena)-Luso (Moxico). ⁵⁸ Early 1968 Portuguese Angolan Steering Committee for Counter-Propaganda radio, noted in that «There are no concrete data on audiences, but especially outside Luanda, due the poor conditions of reception of OAE (Angola Official Broadcaster, established in 1951-53, but only with full coverage from 1969 onwards), the regular programs of Brazzaville, Kinshasa and Tanzania Radios are very listened.» ⁵⁹

From 1968 onwards, in Angola the Portuguese capability of jamming those radio emissions and radio-propaganda (f.i. through the new Radio program «A Voz de Angola» in Portuguese and native languages) increased significantly. Furthermore Radio programs of GRAE and MPLA – UNITA, the other Angola Liberation Movement has not had this type of resources until 1974 - became subject of systematic listening, transcription and analysis by military intelligence (SSCIA). This “Special Reports of Information” included maps about the conditions of listening to radio emissions of these two movements. Following this maps for 1970, the MPLA propaganda via «Radio Voz da Revolução Conguesa» reached only three quarters of the Angolan territory, more and better in the coast (Luanda, Benguela, Moçâmedes) and highlands of Huambo and Bié, perceptible in the northeast, hardly perceptible in the extreme north, and completely absent in the south-central and southeast of the colony; in its turn, the GRAE program in Radio Kinshasa (*Voz de Angola Livre*) covering a perimeter similar to the MPLA Voice of the Revolution, it was much less effective than MPLA Voz da Revolução: rarely was "completely perceptible»; in the south coast, central, and northeast regions it was just «perceptible in loose phrases», and in the far north it was imperceptible (Map.2 a and b). Worse yet, in the course of the year, deepened the difficulties of receiving broadcasts and some reports did not carry "analysis of GRAE propaganda broadcasting, because sample was insufficient for lack of emissions of or poor the conditions of listening. ⁶⁰

MPLA and GRAE Broadcasting programs: Southern-Africanism and CONCPisme

Even fragmented, narrative of radios Liberation Movements of Angola shows that as an experience that if, nationally, they carried out separately (may not have been like in other cases) in the plane of the southern region, at least since 1968, some of the Liberation movements came

to share, for propaganda purposes, a regional network of radio stations that comprised at least the Brazza, Lusaka, Kitwe and Tanzania State Broadcastings.

The next and last step is to see if this regional cooperation was reflected also on radio programs aired, in particular which ideas of regional belonging or cooperation. To this end we will focus on the analysis of propaganda radio of MPLA and GRAE, in 1970. At that stage, the notion of being part of and/or sharing different commonalities within Southern Africa, even if it have a different geography, seemed rooted in the political rhetoric of both Liberation Movements as so-called "White Africa" . This shared notion was translated into practices or policies of cooperation on the one hand between the Liberation Movements, supported and even encouraged by the neighboring states of Black Africa, on the other hand in an extensive cooperation agreements between the old Little Southern Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies in the region (Afonso and Gomes, 2013). But, as we saw, within the MPLA was also inculcated another idea, the alliance within the CONCEP [Conference of the Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies], at a time it had been reduced to the Portuguese African colonies.

The analysis will focus on 'Special Reports of Information' generated by the military Services of Centralization and Coordination of Information of Angola (SCCIA) [that charged on propaganda radio of MPLA (Angola Combatant in Brazza Radio / Radio Voice of Revolution of Congo, PRC) and GRAE (Voice of Free Angola in Léo / Kinshasa National Radio)].⁶¹ These military reports had three levels of analysis: overview, quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis ("analysis of detail") aiming in «systematic way, [to sort] information concerning the general propaganda of IN (enemy)", with the " vocabulary used as true to the original». All the analysis is based on a grid according to which every broadcast examined by "themes", the "basic argument", "probable targets" and "comments".⁶²

Table 2 systematizes data of «quantitative analyses» drafted by the military in the period considered. Portuguese Military approach did not emphasize any special item on the regional and inter- Liberation relations. They opted for broad "themes" like «universal character of liberation struggle", where it was included matters like the **Conference in Rome of "Solidarity for the people of the Portuguese colonies"** meeting of Non-Aligned Movement, or references to non-governmental committees of solidarity in Europe.

A thinner reading shows, therefore, a difference between the propaganda of the two movements. The GRAE propaganda was focused in the polygon Angola, Congo Kinshasa (mutual solidarity towards the people and government), Portugal (the colonial enemy) and International Institutions, specially United Nation (the legal supporter). African Intergovernmental institutions, like OAU, the Southern region, connections with other local governments or liberation movements were invisible . The silence on OUA it is well

understood : in 1970, FNLA-GRAE lost the financial support of the Committee of Liberation (MBAH, 2010, 220); furthermore, Mobutu, the H. Roberto key regional ally, was accused of promoting «a policy of good neighborly relations with the Portuguese colonialists on the back of Angolans who are in Congo (Kinshasa)” (the question of repatriation of refugees).

This kind of «restricted» approach contrasted with MPLA guidance. The propaganda of the Movement of Liberation include regular references de solidarity of and with the people and government of recently designed *République Populaire du Congo*, but also paid tribute to «socialist countries» and “brothers and close neighbors countries for aid». Took advantage of the visit to Lisbon did by Vorster (1970 June) to expose the growing military and economic approach between Republic of South Africa and Portugal (Angola and Mozambique), an important link in the regional network that Angola Combatant, a year earlier, appointed as the "Pretoria Salisbury Lisbon Axis” .⁶³ «Africa Austral» was again highlighted in MPLA radio propaganda after the conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries (NAM, Lusaka, 8-10 Sept.), where Agostinho Neto addressed and in the final resolutions, one was about “Portuguese colonialist and Africa Austral», in which the countries of NAM addressed pledged to cut off diplomatic relations with Portugal and block goods and aircraft from or to Portugal and South Africa» . There were also references to Cahora Bassa (South African and West implication) and Tanzania, but the more continuous and intense presence was the axis Guinea (PAIGC), Angola (MPLA) and Mozambique (FRELIMO) .

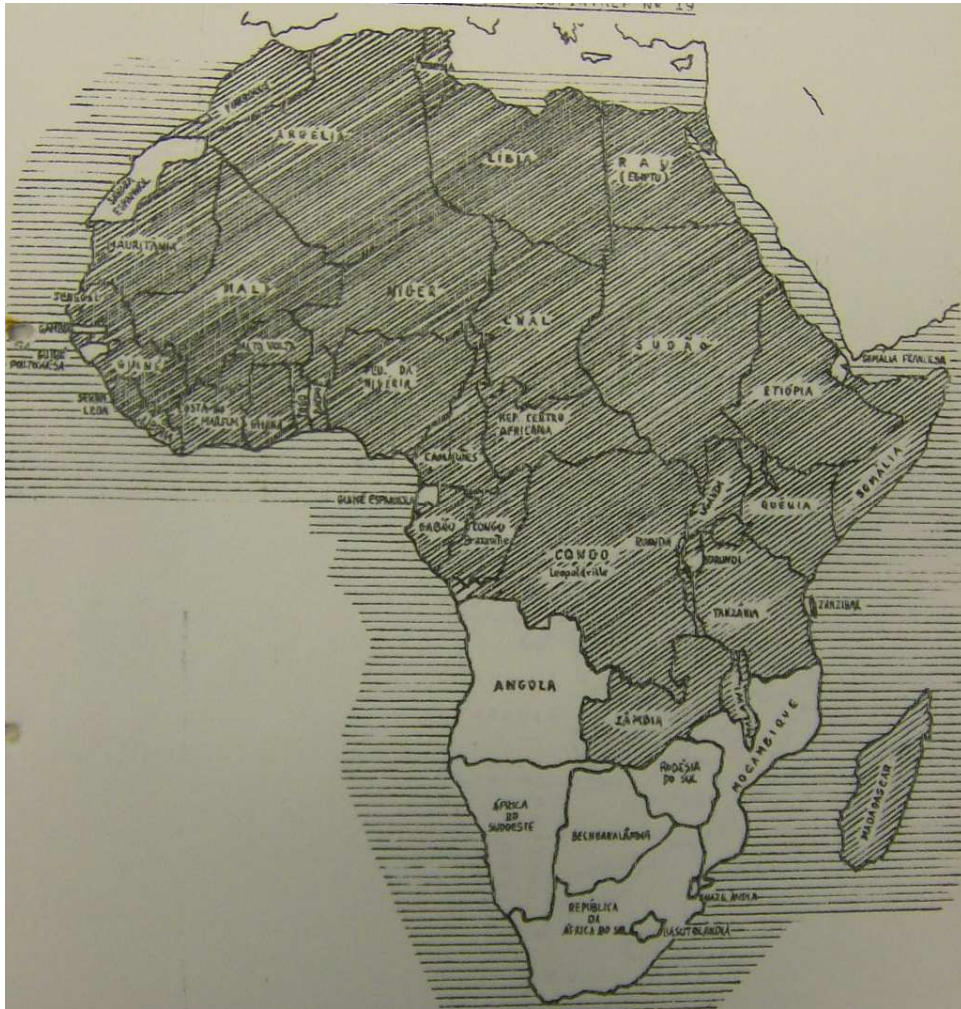
Indeed, more than *Southern-Africanist* MPLA propaganda suggest that in the phase MPLA was more *CONCPist*: the focus on “the liberation struggle on the Portuguese colonial space” (Guiné, Angola e Mozambique); the network of Solidarity intra-MPLA-PAIGC-FRELIMO; the three movements as a single object of sympathy from various "Support committees [...] all over the world”; and months of campaign (June-September) around the Italy`s solidarity, the success of Rome conference in solidarity with FRELIMO, MPLA, and PAIGC (1970 Jun) crowned by papal audience (1970 July) of the leaders of the three Movements.

CONCLUSIONS. Some remarks

- a) emphasize the dual heritage of Southern Africanism («WHITE» or Euro-African and African Southern Africanisms)
- b) with respect to African Southern Africanism, seems to have existed a clear contrast between MPLA and GRAE
- c) In the GRAE Narrative we did not find the «informal aliançe» PAC, COREMO, SWANU, GRAE and ZANU, but this cannot be taken as a known fact. The invisibility can only be the result of a bias induced by the sources

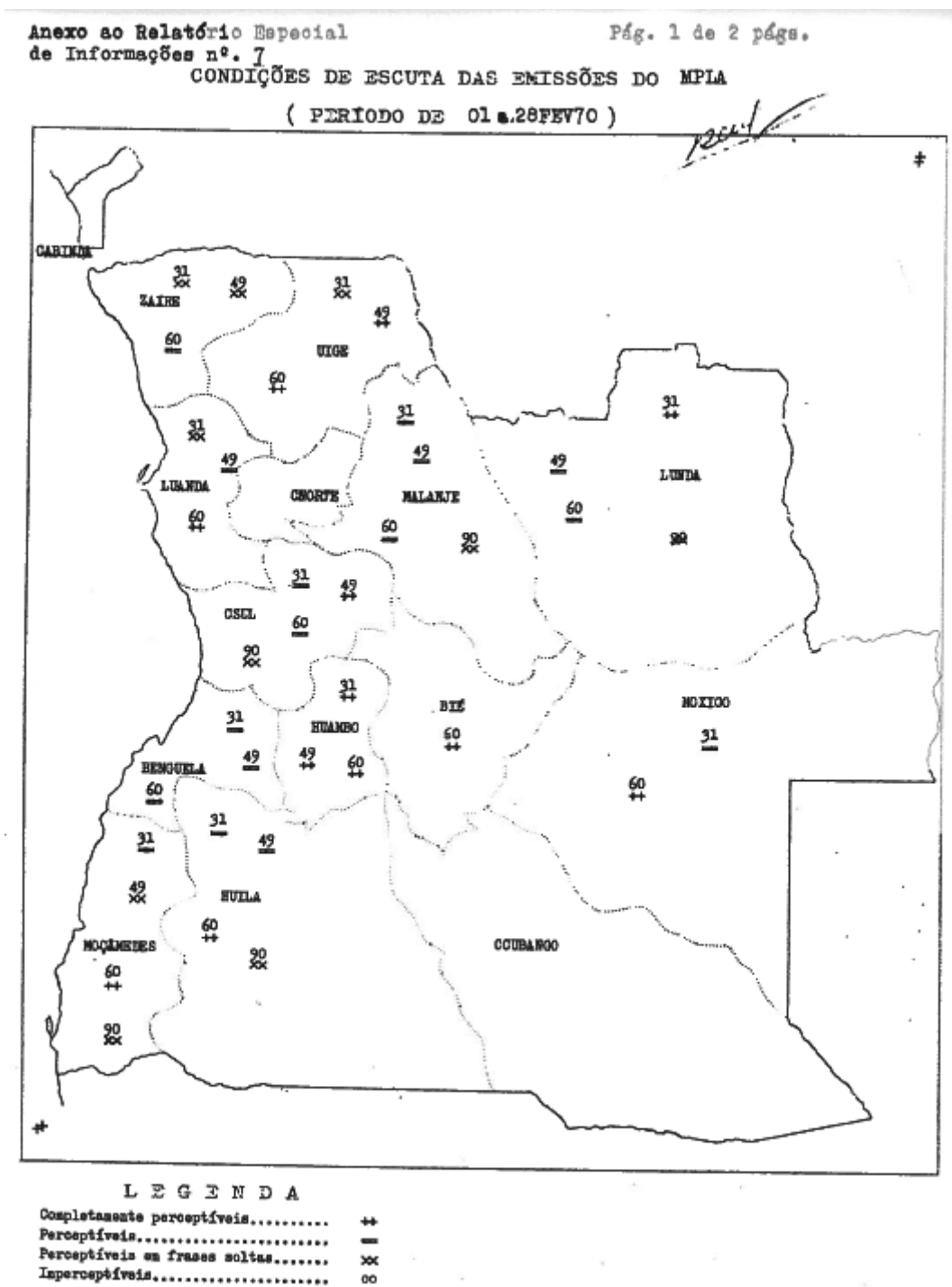
- d) The MPLA has developed not only an South-African idea of belonging but experienced shared activities within the alliance **FRELIMO, MPLA; ANC, SWAPO, ZAPU and, out of southern Region, the PAIGC, alliance that formally,** never seems to have replaced **the Pan African Freedom Movement for East, Central and South Africa (PAFMECSA)**
- e) In addition, early 1970, MPLA did not value Southern Africanism both as the institutionalized CONCP network . [Early 1970, SouthernAfricanism was not central for Angolan Movements of Liberations.? MPLA valued more the CONCP network .]
- f) Early 1970, the «White Africa» developed an cooperative idea of White SoutherAfricanism?

Fig.1 A África da OUA e a África «Branca» (1967)



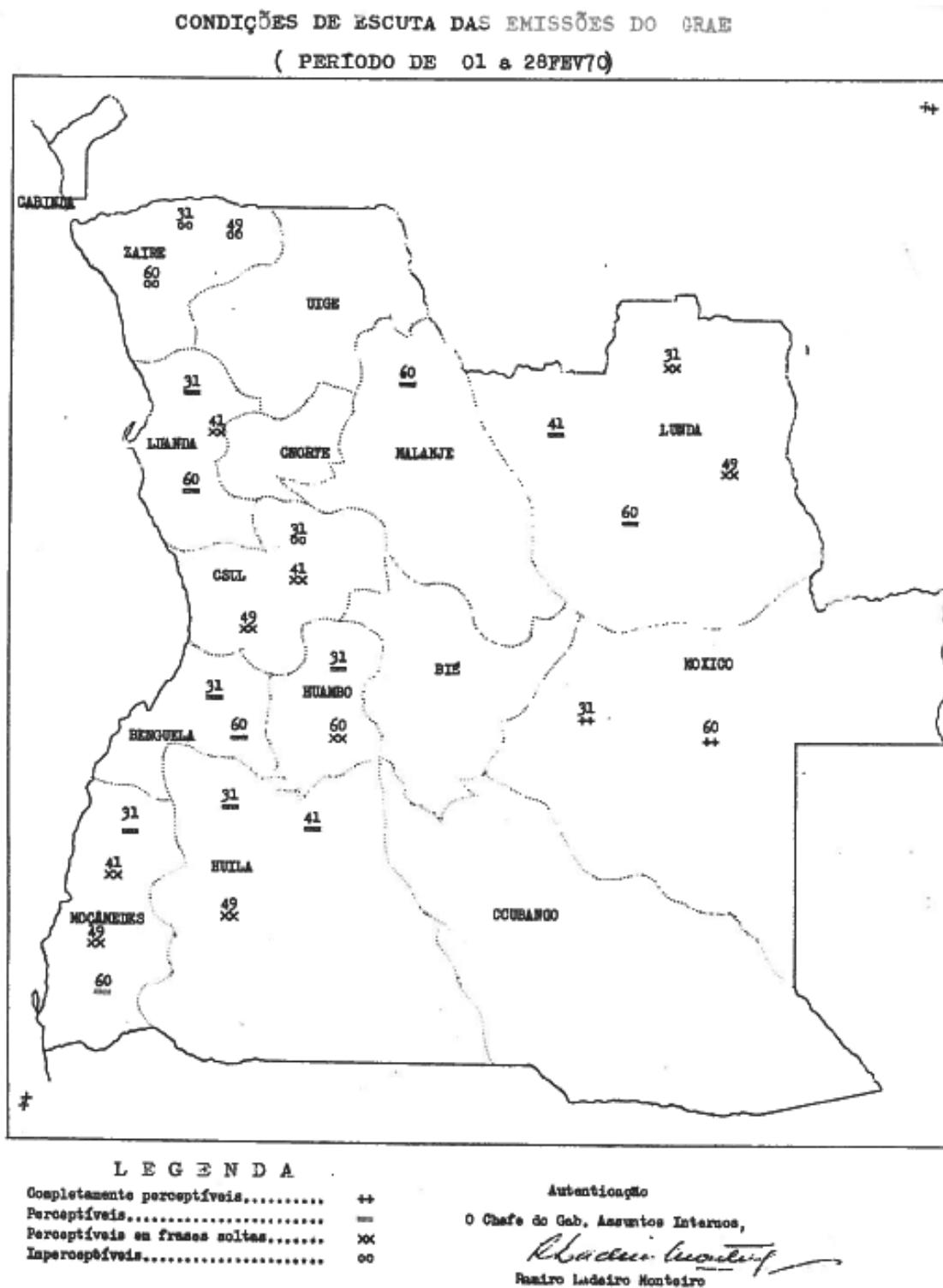
Source: ADN, CX 62, p.19: Anexo "F"(Países Membros da OUA) ao SUPINTREP nº 19, Lourenço Marques, Março de 1967

FIG 2 A: Listening conditions MPLA radio emissions (1-28/02/1970)



Sources : ADN: SGDN, CX 6953 Pasta 2: "Propaganda Radiofónica do MPLA (Rádio Voz da Revolução Conguesa) e do GRAE (Rádio Kinhasa) transmitida em Fevereiro de 1970. Relatório Especial de Informações nº 7, maio de 1970"

FIG 2 B: Listening conditions GRAE radio emissions (1-28/02/1970)



Sources: ADN: SGDN, CX 6953 Pasta 2: "Propaganda Radiofónica do MPLA (Rádio Voz da Revolução Conguesa) e do GRAE (Rádio Kinshasa) transmitida em Fevereiro de 1970. Relatório Especial de Informações nº 7, maio de 1970"

Table 1: PAFMECSA Composition of the Organization(1967)

Members	“Central Region”	“Oriental Region”	“Southern Region” (África Austral)
Goverments	Congo (Kinshasa), Zambia, Malawi	Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania	
Moviments of Liberation/ Independentist Parties	Angola (MPLA) Malawi (MCP) Rhodesia (ZAPU)	Mozambique (FRELIMO)	RAS (PAC) (SA ANC) South West Africa (SWANU) (SWAPO) Botswana (BPP) Leshoto (BAC)

Source: SGDN, Cx 4249. P5-Vol 3: «Aspectos políticos do Continente Africano e suas incidências nos territórios portugueses», Informação nº 755 SC/CI (2)

Table 2. MPLA AND GRAE RADIO PROPAGANDA (1970): military quantitative approach (SCCIA)

MPLA	1969	1970								Obs
	DEZ	JA	FEV	MAR	MAI	JUN	JUL	AGO	SET	
Total projected emissions (in units)		31	28	31		30	31	31	30	
Total emissions analyzed (in units)		30	28	26		28	30	30	27	(a)
	Data in percent									
Total emissions analyzed	93, 7	96, 7	100	83, 8	96, 7	93, 3	96, 7	96, 7	90	
Target was elements of the NF (<i>Our Army</i>): urging "desertion ', ' "passive resistance ', ' subversion ', ' with the remark that was directed almost entirely to military of Angolan origin" (JUN) or 'exclusively to military coming from metropolis, trying to lower them morals (JUL, AUG)	17, 2	23, 3	28, 5	42, 3	10	25	3, 3	26, 6	33, 3	
Aimed public opinion [in general]	65, 5	96, 6	89, 2	88, 4	66, 6	96, 4	83, 3	86, 6	77, 7	
Aimed populations of African origin in the Province: "looking subvert it, " and "mobilize it to fight for freedom»	96, 5	93, 3	100	76, 9	80	100	83, 3	90	66, 6	
Aimed those born in Province that have cooperated with "our authorities in the fight against subversion"					13, 3	17, 8		6, 6	7, 4	
Aimed strengthening [consolidation] the image of the Moviment / "to provide a picture of the movement that appear in position of strength '	51, 7	76, 6	57, 1	42, 3	46, 6	64, 2	70	76, 6	62, 9	
Aimed members of the movement, "seeking to encourage partisan zeal ', ' to mentalize for fulfilling their duties"	51, 7	63, 3	64, 2	50	66, 6	50	23, 3	46, 6	33, 3	

Inserted texts in dialects, "ignoring the content of the majority", or "whose content is unknown "	89, 6	56, 6		26, 9						
“Inserted a reaction to our propaganda”	55, 1	70, 0	32, 1	42, 3	33, 3	50	50	43, 3	37	
Inserted emissions in French		13, 1	28, 5	19, 2	16, 6	25	6, 6	10	3, 7	
Have had by theme "Portugal and Angola as two distinct nations»	17, 2	30	35, 7	34, 6	23, 3	35, 7	16, 6	36, 6	48, 1	
Have had by theme “control of NT (our territory) by MPLA”		10								
Have had by theme “universal character of liberation struggle”		--	17, 8		13, 3	32, 1	16, 6	10	7, 4	
Have had by theme “generalization of the struggle”		--	21, 4				3, 3	6, 6	29, 6	
Inserted attacks GRAE			-	26, 9						
Have had by theme “criminal activities of the Portuguese”					-	21, 4				
Have had by theme “isolation of Portugal in the international context”							36, 6		7, 4	

- (a) Emissions missing in March, "they were not made, according to the explanation given by the movement itself, because of the damage caused on the premises of the station during the fighting which opposed government forces to the rebel forces of Lieutenant Kikanga, which had been housed in the building» (no emissions from 24 to 27 and 30 March); on 21 and 22 June, 'no emission'; emission July 27, 'was only possible to capture small passages, ... no interest for the analysis, because bad propagation conditions "; 'no emission' on August 24; emissions of 21 to 23 September 'is unknown content»»

GRAE	1969	1970								Obs
	DEZ	JA	FEV	MAR	MAI (b)	JUN	JUL (c)	AGO (c)	SET (c)	
Total projected emissions (in units)		9	8	9		9				
Total emissions analyzed (in units)		9	6	7		8				(a)
	Data in percent									
Total emissions analyzed	66, 6	100	62, 5	66, 6		88, 8				
Target was elements of the NF (<i>Our Army</i>): urging "desertion "	-									
Aimed public opinion [in general]	100	100	100	66, 6		100				
Aimed populations of African origin in the Province: "looking subvert it"	-					100				
Aimed the Portuguese born in province 'looking attract them', 'subvert them', 'Attract them and mobilize them to fight for freedom"	100	100	100	100						
Aimed strengthening [consolidation] the image of the Moviment /	66, 6	55, 5	100	83, 2		87, 5				
Aimed members of the movement, "seeking to encourage partisan zeal "	-	22, 2				25				
Inserted texts in dialects, ignoring the content of most	100	33, 3								
"Inserted a reaction to our propaganda"	-	22, 2	40	33, 3		37, 5				
Have had by theme "Portugal and Angola as two distinct nations»	66, 6	44, 4	40	83, 2		37, 5				
Have had by theme "control of NT (our territory) by GRAE"										
Have had by theme "universal character of liberation struggle"	33, 3	44, 4	60							

- (a) In the report of 1970 February : on February 6, 'no emission; 23 and 27 Feb. "it ignores the content of emissions due to bad conditions to listen ' ; in March', 27 and 30, «no emission» ; June, 12, emission "was not captured by listening»
- (b) In the June report was written: 'Do not indicate the percentages referring to widespread propaganda in 1970 May, since it was not analyzed because of insufficient sampling'.
- (c) Reports for July, August and September 'is not in v analysis of propaganda broadcast by GRAE, because it is considered insufficient sampling."

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¹ This is the research project “Transnational Regionalism in Southern Africa: From Liberation Movements to the Southern African Development Community (c.1967-1994)”, that is in “early stage”, and involves Chris Saunders (UCP, SA), Ana Roque (IICT, PT), João TP Lima and the author (UÉ, PT)

² Some words about the three authors/works referenced by Constantin. Larry Bowman is an American Political Scientist, with «The Subordinate State System of Southern Africa» [*International Studies Quarterly*, 12, 3, 1968, p. 231-261.]. Gerhard Max Erich Lesitner (1926-...), born in South African, is an academic from University of Pretoria, with a background of Business Administration, author of divers titles about issues of economic integration in Southern Africa, including “Perspektiven der wirtschaftlichen und politischen Zusammenarbeit im Südlichen Afrika”, *Afrika Spektrum* 2, 1968, pp. 66-80 (also edited by Africa Institute of South Africa, Occasional Paper ; WP 15, 1968). Leo Marquard (1897-1974), also South African, specialized in Education, History and sociology, is considered a «pionner of South African Thought» [Edgar Brookes], and a «founder» [of «Institute of Race Relations» (1929) and Liberal Party (1953), etc], and author of *A Federation of Southern Africa* [London, Oxford University Press, 1971], a theme which at that time attracted some young political scientists like Klaas Woldring [The Desirability and Feasibility of Federalisation in Southern Africa, MD, University of Sydney, 1969] See also: Eric Rosenthal, *Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, Kaapstad en Johannesburg, Juta and Company Limited Publ., 1978.

³ “**Editorial Board**”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 1-1, 1974 . At this time, as an initiative of UNESCO, the *General History of Africa* (published later: 1981-1993,) was being written, *The General History of Africa: Studies and Documents Series* was published, including two specific books focused on the «*Historiography of southern [sic] Africa*» (1980) and «*The Decolonization of Africa: southern [sic] Africa and the Horn of Africa* (1981) . Seeking the "geographic" content of "Southern Africa", in the first of the two books, B.Nyeko, sharing the vision of D. Chanaiwa, wrote: «Conventionally, southern Africa is defined as comprising the present Republic of South Africa, Namibia (South-West Africa), Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique and Angola. For the sake of completeness in terms of both history and present-day reality, however, it is clearly necessary to add Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Malawi and Zambia.» (UNESCO, 1980, 57 and 24). In the other, after recalling that “Perhaps a universally acceptable definition of southern Africa is not possible», the definition established by the Organizing Committee of the International Conference on Southern African History (NU Lesotho, 1-8 August 1977) was followed the region “include South Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland, Namibia (South West Africa), Botswana, Angola, Zaire, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe» -, with the inclusion, E.K. Mashingaidze added, of the United Republic of Tanzania “justified by that country's key role in the current liberation efforts in the Area” (UNESCO, 1981, 24). And this last reference suggests the specific political criteria for inclusion: the South African area that experienced a white-immigrant- minority rule and particularly connected with the struggle against this racial sovereignty for regional liberation and national independences. However it is necessary to add that, in this phase, such analytical unity was completely absent from other narratives of History of Africa (FAGE, 1978)

⁴ See, f.e.: *Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa e Brasileira*. Lisboa, s.d. [1936-1960, and updates of 1981 and 1987]; Jaime de Séguier, *Dicionário Prático Ilustrado*, Porto, Lello eds, 1972;

⁵ See, f.e. GAMITO, António Cândido Pedroso, *O Muata Cazembe e os povos Maraves, Chevas, Muizas, Muembas, Lundas e outros da Africa Austral*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional 1854; RIBEIRO, Manuel Ferreira: *As Conferências e o itinerario do viajante Serpa Pinto atravez das terras da África Austral nos limites das provincias de Angola e Moçambique, Biè a Shoshong, Junho a Dezembro de 1878*, Lisboa : Typographia Nova Minerva, 1879; Manuel Ferreira Ribeiro: *Homenagem aos heroes que precederam Brito Capello e Roberto Ivens na exploração da Africa Austral 1484 a 1877 ou os territorios e limites das provincias de Angola e Moçambique*, Lisboa : Lallemand Frères, 1885; TOSCANO, Francisco: *Os grandes chefes da África Austral e alguns usos e costumes dos indígenas do Sul do Save*, Lourenço Marques, 1941

⁶ In the debates of Chamber of Deputies of the Portuguese Liberal Monarchy, the term Africa Austral was introduced in 1885 and used just eight times to 1910 (end of the regime) ; During the «First Republic» (1910-26) the term was not in political vocabulary of members the House of Representatives (Câmara dos Deputados and Senado). In parliamentary activity of Estado Novo (1934-74) the term back in 1952-1955 (3 times) and has a more frequent use after 1963 (22. times). During the first decade and half of 3th Republic Democratic Parliament the term has 84 records (1876-1989). Search in verbantin records in <http://debates.parlamento.pt/>].

[*Diário da Camara dos Senhores Deputados da Nação Portuguesa*, Lisboa, I.N., 1822-1910, see verbatim records of 1885-06-16, 1887-06-21, 1889-04-23, 1890-07-26, 1892-03-30, 1901-01-12, 1904-03-24, 1910-06-01). Electronic search in <http://debates.parlamento.pt/>].

⁷ Cf *Diário das Sessões da Assembleia Nacional*, Lisboa, IN, 1952 (p. 984), 1953 (p. 487), 1955, p. 538)

⁸ see. ADN: Cx. 235, P.3.: “Aide Memoire: Discussions between His Excellency the Southern African Minister of Defense and His Excellency the Portuguese Minister of Defense. 19th November, 1955” and “Snr. Erasmus dirige-se para os Estados Unidos para conferência sobre a Dedesa da África do Sul», Tradução de um recorte do *Jornal Pretoria News*”, 1955-11-15; BERRIDGE, 1992; ESTEVES, 2011).

⁹ The “Aide Memoire: Discussions between His Excellency the Southern African Minister of Defense and His Excellency the Portuguese Minister of Defense. 19th November, 1955”, had different draft version, including the draft version submitted by the USA Embassy and the emended version of the Portuguese Minister of Defense). See ADN: Cx. 235, P.3

¹⁰ ADN: Cx 235: p.3 : Joint Statement / Comunicado conjunto de 19 de Novembro, Lisboa [bilingual document, with changes in pencil.]

¹¹ ADN: Cx. 235, P.3 : “Aide Memoire: Discussions between His Excellency the Southern African Minister of Defense and His Excellency the Portuguese Minister of Defense. 19th November, 1955”

¹² ADN: Cx. 235, P.3 : “Memorandum. A conference at S. Julião da Barra with the Minister for Defence for South Africa, Lisbon, December 7th 1955”

¹³ ADN: Cx. 235, P. 3 : Informação nº 10, 1956-01-09

¹⁴ ADN: Cx 235, p.3 : Erasmus’s «White» Defence Plan as ridiculed abroad», *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 1955-11-29

¹⁵ ADN: Cx. 235. p.3 : Letter from the Director General of the Portuguese Foreign Office to to the Cabinet of the Minister of Defence, 1955-12-23.

¹⁶ Documents relating the visit of USA Minister of Defence (1959 Mars) are being object of more detailed search.

¹⁷ Cf. *Diário das Sessões da Assembleia Nacional*: 1966-08-03, fl.9; 1966-12-14, fl.879; 1967-11-07, f.501-03, 1672, 1968-02-22, p.2521; 1968-03-01, p. 2595; 1968-11-27, fl, 2730; 1969-01-31, fl. 3067; 1972-04-19, p. 3653 ; *Diário das Sessões da Câmara Corporativa.*, 1972-12-05, p.1738. *Expressões traduzidas*: «na imensidão da África Austral» (1966); «O volume de reprodutores adquiridos nos territórios da África Austral, cuja entrada na província se realiza por Pereira d’Eça” (1966); “[Portugal] permanece[mos] de pé, dos dois lados, com os nossos direitos e sem servilismo” (1966); “[uma África, para a qual,] nas assembleias internacionais olha-se, sob a mesma óptica, para a melhoria das condições do vida dos povos bantos sul-africanos, quando eles não a reclamam, e isto só para diminuir a força da África austral - apoio indispensável desta desnordeada Europa [bloco europeu, potencial candidato a «terceira força»], pois, segundo se diz, não negritando todo o Sul do continente negro perigará - a paz internacional» (1967) ; “A ameaça comum da guerra subversiva aproximou os países da África austral, mais que nunca solidários na defesa e cômicos das vantagens de uma cooperação regional intensa em matéria económica e social” (1968-03-01, p. 2595); “É corrente na Assembleia Geral das Nações Unidas falar-se em aliança secreta de Portugal com a União Sul-Africana e com a Rodésia. Escuso de dizer que não existe a ligar os três países qualquer aliança secreta ou ostensiva. Praticamos, aliás, políticas raciais distintas, e sabe-se quanto estamos empenhados em prosseguir e aperfeiçoar a nossa política de não discriminação e de franca convivência. Em muitos pontos, porém, coincidem os nossos interesses na África austral, a partir da convicção de que o progresso dessa zona do continente carece da presença estável do homem branco, que se radique, ambiente e afeição à terra africana e nela se associe ao nativo. Daí que, por exemplo, não possamos ser indiferentes à sorte da Rodésia, cuja principal saída para o mar está no nosso porto da Beira. No nosso interesse, no interesse da África meridional, no interesse da paz do Mundo, desejaríamos vivamente que a Rodésia e Grã-Bretanha encontrassem uma fórmula de honroso acordo, a fim de pôr termo à grave situação existente.” (1968-11-27, **Presidente do Conselho, p. 2730**) “A presença desses mesmos navios em Zanzibar e Dar-es-Salaam, descarregando material bélico destinado aos terroristas de toda a África austral, dá à subversão africana o seu perfeito cunho, emprestando-lhe a sua inegável origem! E contra o avanço comunista em África há apenas uma nação que se vem batendo, com todas as suas forças, para benefício das Africanos e protecção da civilização ocidental: Portugal! Vozes: - Muito bem! O Orador: - Portugal, só, sem a compreensão de outras nações ocidentais responsáveis, constitui um verdadeiro baluarte em África, contando apenas com o apoio moral de dois países vizinhos: a África do Sul e o Malawi (1969-01-31, **fl. 3067**) ; “Apesar das sérias

perturbações que os movimentos terroristas antiportugueses têm causado e causam em países nossos vizinhos que os acolhem, alimentam, treinam e ajudam a armar, como tem sucedido na República Popular do Congo, na República do Zaire, na Zâmbia, na Tanzânia, na República da Guiné e em menor medida no Senegal, o desejo de não desagradar à OUA, que só mantém como elemento verdadeiramente aglutinador o seu racismo negro e o ódio aos **regimes da África Austral**, aqueles países continuam a apoiar esses movimentos e a suportar abdições, prejuízos e encargos que bem necessário será evitar para o seu mais rápido desenvolvimento e consolidação dos suas independências. Chega a ser incompreensível esta atitude contra os territórios do Sul da África, como se eles perturbassem os países negros e a estes países pertencesse todo o continente, quando nele estão situadas várias nações árabes e uma Etiópia que, sendo o mais medieval dos Estados africanos, irrisoriamente pretende posição destacada na OUA e no apoio ao que chamam «movimentos de libertação». E para estes países, que não pertencem à África integralmente negra, tal como nós, não se percebe que se não volte o ódio racista dos negros! É um dos muitos paradoxos que e verificam no planeta em que temos de viver” [1972-04-19, fl 3653]; “Ainda mais flagrante é o problema na África, apesar das suas conhecidas discussões internas e da extensão e pobreza da maioria dos Estados. **Decerto nela existam, a norte e a sul dos países negros, a corda árabe do Mediterrâneo e as sociedades multirraciais ou em desenvolvimento paralelo da África Austral.** Porém, em quase todo o continente se sente, ao mesmo tempo, a força centrípeta de um pan-africanismo acentuadamente integracionista e a força centrífuga do micronacionalismo de base tribal [CÂMARA CORPORATIVA, 1972-12-05, fl. 1738 [Debate sobre Acordo de Comércio Livre Entre Portugal e a CEE]

¹⁸ «“Estou certo”, disse o democrata Óscar Lopes, comentando esta frase, “de que a imensa maioria dos portugueses vê actualmente com profunda repugnância o facto de, em todo o mundo, os seus governantes apenas encontrarem incondicional e descarado apoio só por parte da escumalha racista que desde 1890 veio sobrepor-se aos sonhos megalómanos do mapa cor-de-rosa. E, se um dia, de acordo, aliás, com uma convenção internacional vigente, os Ian Smith e os Voerster, responsáveis pelos genocídios físicos e culturais da África Austral, se sentarem no banco dos réus, como os chefes nazistas se sentaram em Nuremberga, que ninguém tenha dúvidas acerca do firme repúdio de qualquer cumplicidade com esses criminosos por parte dos milhares de democratas portugueses participantes em sessões que, como esta, só a muito custo e com muito sacrifício e riscos, conseguimos levar a cabo.” (No Diário de Lisboa, de 1 de Fevereiro corrente)» (Cf. Diário da Assembleia Nacional, 1974-02-07, p. 493]

¹⁹ ADN:SGDN: Cx 4249, P. 5, Vol 1

²⁰ ADN: SGDN, Cx 5567, P. 30

²¹ IANTT: PIDE-DGS, D.Inf, P.15 Pro. 28 A-1, Rádio Brazaville

²² IANTT: DGS, D.Inf, P.15 28 Pro A-1, Radio Brazzaville

²³ ADN: SGDN- 2ª Repartição: Cx 62.: Supintrep nº 21. Trata-se de um documento anual, dactilografado, cada um deles bastante extenso (70 a 100 fls) e detalhado e com vários anexos, que foi organizado como SUPINTREP nº 21: *Resumo da Evolução da situação dos países vizinhos, dos partidos emancipalistas e das actividades do inimigo até Dezembro de 1966*» com três aditamentos: Aditamento 1 (*evolução das actividades em 1967*) ao Supintrep nº 21; Aditamento 2 (*evolução das actividades em 1968 ao Supintrep nº 21*; Aditamento 3 (*evolução das actividades ao Supintrep nº 21*). Com este último “cessou a elaboração deste SUPINTREP, que assim é dado, neste momento, por concluído” e foi substituído por outro tipo de relatório.

O documento foi organizado sempre da mesma forma: 1. *Introdução*; 2. *Situação Geral (Externa – Países estrangeiros não limítrofes; países Limítrofes; organismos internacionais ; Interna: generalidades; síntese dos principais acontecimentos.* 3. *Situação dos Partidos emancipalistas (Considerações Gerais; no estrangeiro, na Província (por distritos e partidos).* 4. *Actividades do IN (áreas de influência dos partidos emancipalistas, apreciação geral da actividade.* 5. *outros elementos de informação (infiltrantes, armamento, material capturado, baixas causadas pelo inimigo e baixas do inimigo.*

²⁴ ADN: SGDN-ª Repartição Cx 62.:Supintrep nº 21. Supplement 3 (1969). About the South Africa policy of “dialogue with Black Africa “ see also: AND, SGDN, Cx. 1658. *Relatórios sobre África e os Movimentos de Libertação.*

²⁵ ADN: SGDM: Cx 4385 P-7 : “Dossier: Cooperation Program between Portugal, Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia in Defense of Southern Africa”

²⁶ ADN: SGDN-ª Repartição Cx 62.:Supintrep nº 21. Supplement 3 (1969)

²⁷ Cf. The Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its 20th (1965) to 25th session (1970) sessions [«The United Nation Documents: Research Guide <http://www.un.org/depts/dhl/resguide/gares1.htm>]. The text of Lusaka Manifest is published in : «Manifesto on Southern Africa: a prophetic appeal from free Africa, ed. ECSA - Episcopal Churchman for South Africa, NY, 1969

²⁸ ADN: SGDN: Cx 1658: *Relatórios sobre África e os Movimentos de Libertação*.

²⁹ CIA FOIA : Rufus TAYLOR, *The Liberation Movements of Southern Africa*, The National Intelligence Estimate, number 70-01-67, 24 November 1967, 24 p.

³⁰ ADN: SGDN: 4385-P7 (1970)

³¹ ADN: GCEMGFA- Cx 42 : *A subversão em Angola, Conferência feita pelo Director do SCCIA, no Ciclo de Conferências «A Actualidade de Angola. Panorâmica Estratégica e Problema de Defesa», 1971-07-31*

³² ADN: SGDN: Cx. 1658: GNPMU Resenha n° 46 de 10-11-1971. See also: HORREL, HORNER and KANE-BERMAN (1972)

³³ ADN: SGDN: Cx 4385, Pasta 2: Mission “T” bis, *Position de l’A-N.C. (African National Congress)*. Moshi. 1969-05-14

³⁴ IANTT: SCCIM, N° 1925: *Informações sobre bases de treinos de terroristas moçambicanos em países africanos* (1968)

³⁵ Cf. Online ANC Documents: Reports: *First National Consultative Conference and Report on the Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress and The Freedom Charter revolutionary programme of the ANC (1969-04-26)* [<http://www.anc.org.za>]

³⁶ The purpose of a «closer ties with the national movements in all countries under Portuguese colonial rule, particularly those in Africa, seeking possible cooperation and coordination of efforts” appeared in the *Projecto de Programa de Acção Político-Militar do MPLA* (Draft Programme of Political-Military Action of the MPLA), January 1961 (LARA, 2006, 23-26.

³⁷ Cf. “Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA”, *International Organization*, Vol. 16, No. 2, Africa and International Organization (Spring, 1962), pp. 446-448 ; Nelson Mandela: «Address at the Conference of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa» (1962 Jan) (http://www.sojust.net/speeches/mandela_anc.html); ADN: SGDN: Cx.62, P. 19: Supintrep n° 19 (1967) . See also: LARA, 2006, 539-541

³⁸ *Revolution Africaine, organe centrale du Front de Libération Nationale (Alger)*

³⁹ Holden Roberto, «O significado da Revolução», in W.A.Y. (ed.), *Para a Independência de Angola. Relatório de um Seminário organizado em Leopoldville em Abril de 1963, Bruxelas, World Assembly of Youth, 1964, p. 7-9* . *A intervenção de Agostinho neto foi sobre «O Desenvolvimento Histórico» ou seja, «a história da situação em Angola», pp. 9-16*

⁴⁰ ADN: GMDN, Cx 5567, p.15

⁴¹ ADN: SGDN: Cx. 4345: Perintrep 2/64; ADN: CX5567- pasta 25: Estudo de Informação, n° 314/18/ Planos de Acção do Pan-Africanismo contra Portugal, 27-fls

⁴² ADN: CX5567- pasta 25: Estudo de Informação, n° 314/18/ Planos de Acção do Pan-Africanismo contra Portugal, 27-fls

⁴³ ADN: SGDN, Cx 4249. P5-Vol 3: “Aspectos políticos do Continente Africano e suas incidências nos territórios portugueses» Informação n° 755 SC/CI (2); EL- KHAWAS, 2003

⁴⁴ About the 1963-64 Crisis of MPLA, see: WHITAKER (1970), MBAH, 2010

⁴⁵ AND:SGDN: Cx 4282. P.12, PIDE information of 1966-01-29]. Se also :ANTT: PIDE/DGS. Ang: Dinf 1 P. 15 28A.1-Rádio Brazzaville: see Letter of José Abreu, employee of Radio Brazzaville (1961-04-28) and, in response to a comment of a correspondent of Angola; and letter intra Luanda PIDE Staff, 1964-11-14

⁴⁶ Unlike Radio AEF, the Radio Brazzaville, broadcasted in French, Portuguese and English (for Northern America), and for some years remained French after the independence of the Republic of Congo (15-08-1960). Cf. ANTT: PIDE/DGS:Ang: Dinf1 P 15 28-A1: Radio Brazzaville.

⁴⁷ ANTT: PIDE/DGS:Ang:Dinf 1; P 15 28A.1.: Radio Brazzaville

⁴⁸ **Radio Free Angola or Voice of Free Angola**

⁴⁹ SGDN, Cx 4259, P. 14; ANTT: PIDE/DGS:DAng: Dinf 1; P 15 29 B.1.: Radio Kinshasa;

⁵⁰ . ADN: SIPFA, Cx 88, P.4

⁵¹ ANTT: PIDE/DGS:DAng:Dinf 1; P 15 28A.1.: Radio Brazzaville; ANTT: PIDE/DGS:DAng: Dinf 1; P 15 29 B.1: Radio Kinshasa.

⁵² ADN: SIPFA: Cx. 88. P.3

⁵³ ANTT: PIDE/DGS:DAng:Dinf 1; P 15 28A.1.: Radio Brazzaville; ANTT: PIDE/DGS: DAng: Dinf 1, P 15 29 B.1.: Radio Kinshasa

⁵⁴ “Existem naquele país (Zâmbia) numerosos angolanos pertencentes àquele agrupamento étnico, a maioria dos quais são membros do Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA] e alguns do grupo de Jonas Savimbi. Não temos conhecimento de muitos luenas adeptos da União dos Povos de Angola [UPA]. Além disso, no Noroeste da Zâmbia, existem numerosos núcleos de luenas, muitos dos quais são de origem angolana, mas estão ali instalados há muitos anos. Nas minas de cobre de «Cooperbelt» trabalham também bastantes operários daquela etnia.

Quanto aos programas em “Luenas” da Rádio Lusaka é de admitir a hipótese sejam organizados e fiscalizados pelas autoridades da Zâmbia, através dos serviços informativos da sua emissora oficial, mas com a colaboração de membros do MPLA. As últimas informações que possuímos referem a crescente influência daquele partido junto dos angolanos instalados na Zâmbia e pertencentes ao grupo étnico Luena

Quanto aos programas da «Rádio Leopoldville» em dialecto quioco (Techokwes) devem ser organizados e orientados pelo GRAE” (1965-12-31) [ADN: SGDB: Cx 4282, P.12

⁵⁵ ADN: SGDN: Cx 4282. P12; Cx 5567, Pasta avulsa; and Cx 1658: Relatório de Situação nº 18/71.

⁵⁶ ADN: SGDN: Cx 5567 - Pasta avulsa.

⁵⁷ On participation in the MLPA Voice of Freedom see: IANTT: PIDE/DGS: DAng; Dinf1 P.15-29 B_R Tanzania

⁵⁸ ADN: SGDN: Cx 4282. P12

⁵⁹ ADN: SIPFA, Cx 88, P.4

⁶⁰ ADN: SGDN: Cx 6953 . See n. 51

⁶¹ Cf. ADN, SGDN: *Propaganda Radiofónica do MPLA (Rádio A Voz da Revolução Conguesa) e do GRAE (Rádio Kinshasa) transmitida em Janeiro de 1970. Relatório Especial de Informações nº 6, Abril de 1970;* p. 2

⁶² Cf. ADN, SGDN: *Propaganda Radiofónica do MPLA (Rádio A Voz da Revolução Conguesa) e do GRAE (Rádio Kinshasa) transmitida em Janeiro de 1970. Relatório Especial de Informações nº 6, Abril de 1970;* p. 2

⁶³ IANTT: PIDE/DGS, DAng-Dinf, P 15-28 B1, Radio Brazzaville