INTRODUCTION

a) The aim of this study

Since the early 1960s it has been quite common to refer to the bastions of white rule in Southern Africa as a united bloc. African nationalist leaders were not the only ones to propagate this view. Many others shared the same perception. Among these we find historians and journalists, as well as politicians.

The fact that throughout the 1960s and early 1970s Portugal and South Africa were repeatedly condemned at the United Nations and other international forums for enforcing repressive policies in Africa merely reinforced the above-mentioned view. From an African nationalist perspective it was clear that there was a common white front in Southern Africa whose aim was to prevent or delay the arrival of African rule in those parts of the African continent that were still controlled by Europeans or indigenous white groups.

In addition, the fact that Portugal and South Africa, as well as the former Rhodesia, reinforced links in the security sphere as external pressure increased also helped to foster the notion of the existence of a compact and united white bloc in Southern Africa. As a result, the Portuguese Revolution of 25 April 1974 was rightly seen as the start of the end of white rule in Southern Africa. Disgruntled military officers who wanted to put an end to Portugal’s colonial wars as well as grant independence to the Portuguese territories in the African continent were responsible for carrying out the revolution in Portugal. At the time, the BBC predicted that the military coup could well mark “the beginning of the end of white rule in Rhodesia and South Africa”.¹ The disappearance of two crucial strongholds in Southern Africa – Angola and Mozambique – was correctly interpreted as a major development that would bring down the whole edifice of
the so-called “white power” in the region. The ultimate goal was South Africa with its visible and discriminatory racial legislation.

In April 1974, the BBC also predicted that Rhodesia would lose access to Mozambique’s ports while Pretoria would lose the buffer zones of Angola and Mozambique, which protected South Africa from the more “militant Black states of the north”. In the same month, the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Sean MacBride, said that the probable independence of Angola and Mozambique signaled the end of South African rule in the then South West Africa. However, he miscalculated when he predicted that Namibia would become independent in the very near future. At the time, he could not have predicted that South Africa would fight to stay in Namibia for well over a decade. These were some of the most immediate interpretations of the long-term effect of Portugal’s withdrawal from Africa.

The more immediate impact of the Portuguese revolution on Southern Africa was the realization – amongst those who opposed apartheid and colonialism – that white control could be defeated and dismantled. The impact of the events in Portugal was felt immediately in South Africa in 1974. On 25 September 1974, the South African police had to disperse large crowds of people who met at the Curries Fountain Stadium in Durban to celebrate Mozambican independence. The crowds comprised of South Africans who opposed the apartheid system.

It is apparent that events in the Portuguese territories had a psychological impact on South Africa. The Soweto riots occurred two years after the Portuguese revolution in 1974. It can be said that the first real challenge to South Africa’s National Party rule was the Soweto riots in 1976. The riots affected over 100 urban areas in South Africa and the main targets were the government’s local Administration Boards, as well as the Urban Bantu Councils and the Homeland Governments.
In comparison to the amount of work done on the African nationalist movements and their struggle against colonial rule and apartheid, relatively little has been written on the interaction between the various white-controlled territories in Southern Africa after the Second World War. The main reason for this is that up to now most of the official documentation that refers to this period of history – especially the documentation referring to covert cooperation in the military and security spheres – has remained classified for security reasons and has not been made available to researchers.

Moreover, several writers have focused their attention on the visible strategies deployed by both the Estado Novo and apartheid South Africa in order to maintain authoritarian rule. As a result, it has been easy to ignore the contradictions that existed within Southern Africa’s so-called “white bloc”. This view fits nicely with the African nationalist perspective, which emphasizes the existence of a common white front whose sole aim was to prevent African majority rule in this part of the world.

Despite mutual aid and close cooperation in the military and security spheres there were a number of contradictions that seemed to affect the growing informal alliance of the 1960s and early 1970s. One question that this study raises is whether or not the relationship that developed between Portugal and South Africa after the Second World War as well as during the 1960s and early 1970s was the result of an awareness of racial solidarity – if it ever existed – or mere pragmatism within a specific historical context. Both regimes tried to convince friends and foes that their specific approach to race relations and the way they were dealing with African nationalism was the most appropriate.

It can be said that the Portuguese and white South Africans did not share common historical roots and a similar outlook on life. They also knew relatively little about one another. Moreover, it is important to note that the two sides followed seemingly opposing strategies in relation to the issue of race relations.
While South Africa’s National Party believed in separate development for different racial groups, the Portuguese authorities tried to promote the view that assimilation was the best policy to deal with race relations. Such strategies were part and parcel of the official ideologies of both regimes and the views that they tried to propagate to the outside world.

There are further important questions that can be asked when the relationship between Portugal and South African is examined. Was the “assumed” unity between the two countries merely a superficial and temporary alliance unable to move beyond the tactical level into a wider strategic alliance? Moreover, if the so-called alliance between the “white regimes” in the region was that strong why did it not last a longer period of time?

Although the focus of this thesis is political relations between the two countries, there will be quite a substantial amount of information about cooperation in the military and security spheres, which is quite pertinent to the issues that are mentioned. The fact is that political relations between the two countries were greatly influenced by the military situation on the ground, especially the security situation in Angola and Mozambique. It is certainly true that the Portuguese presence in Angola and Mozambique helped insulate white South Africans from the African nationalist wave that overwhelmed the African continent since the early 1960s. It is clear that the security situation in Angola and Mozambique during the 1960s and early 1970s caused considerable concern to the South African authorities.

This thesis will not focus on the economic relations between the two countries although some important economic aspects will be mentioned. In addition, it must also be pointed out that this thesis is not a comparative study of the official ideologies of the Estado Novo and the National Party’s apartheid policies. Moreover, since it deals with political relations between two states it focuses primarily on the perceptions, opinions and actions of government officials and
policymakers of both countries. This is not a study about the perceptions and opinions of the man in the street. It is also not a study about the real and perceived failures of the ideologies and the racial policies that were followed by both regimes.

This thesis does not examine Rhodesia’s role in the so-called “white bloc” in Southern Africa. I believe that in terms of importance the dominant powers in Southern Africa were South Africa – with its large white population and substantial economic resources – and Portugal with its links to NATO and other Western European powers. Rhodesia’s unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) in 1965 never received international recognition. In addition, prior to 1965 the Portuguese had always dealt with Rhodesia as a British colony while its relationship with South Africa was far more complex and multifaceted.

Furthermore, the perceived alliance between Portugal and South Africa in the international arena was much more visible than any covert links that might have existed with Rhodesia. Since the Rhodesian government was not recognized as a legitimate government by the international community its representatives were not allowed to participate in international forums such as the General Assembly of the United Nations where Portugal and South Africa often displayed a united front against the criticism directed at their policies.

In summary, the aim of this thesis is to analyze the convergence of ideas and joint activities carried out by Portugal and South Africa, as well as to point out the inconsistencies, divergences and contradictions that characterized political relations between the two countries from the end of the Second World War until 1974. Moreover, this thesis will examine how the issue of race relations affected the relationship between the two countries and how the secret relationship in the military and security spheres developed over time. It should be pointed out that most documentation in the Portuguese and South African archives does not contain extensive comments or detailed explanations of the perceptions of the
two sides towards each other. The difficult task in the writing of this thesis was to find the written material in the archival documentation that did provide a more meaningful understanding of such perceptions. The objective of this thesis is to present a more accurate picture of the events that shaped Portuguese-South African relations during an important period of the Cold War. Since there are no detailed accounts of Portuguese-South African relations during this period, this thesis will provide new insights into the intricacies of the complex relationship that developed between the two countries.
b) The structure of this thesis

Chapter one of this thesis briefly mentions Portuguese fears about the expansionist aims of other European colonial powers before the Second World War, as well as how Portugal and the Union of South Africa interacted in Southern Africa. This chapter emphasizes the importance of Angola and Mozambique in terms of guaranteeing South Africa’s security. In addition, it deals with how the Portuguese and white South Africans viewed race relations. It also mentions the impact of the anti-colonial feeling that began to develop after the end of the Second World. The 15 years that followed the end of the Second World War effectively marked the end of the influence of most European colonial powers in various parts of the world. This was also the period that marked the start of closer contact between Portugal and South Africa.

Chapter two covers the period from 1961 until 1965 and it describes the start of the anti-Portuguese insurgency campaign in Angola and how South African officials viewed the disturbances taking place in other parts of the African continent. It also deals with the emerging close interaction between Portuguese and South African officials as a result of the growing pressure of African nationalism. Such interaction manifested itself in the establishment of communication links in the military sphere and the exchange of intelligence as well as closer relations in the field of logistics. This chapter investigates the reasons for Portuguese suspicion of South African intentions and existing contradictions between the two countries in the political sphere.

Chapter three focuses on South Africa’s secret support for Portugal’s counter-insurgency effort in Africa from the mid-1960s until 1970. This chapter mentions South African views of the Portuguese military effort and PW Botha’s role in the granting of secret aid as well as the involvement of South African military personnel in Portugal’s counter-insurgency campaign in southeastern Angola. It also describes Portuguese views about South Africa’s secret loan to the
Portuguese military and Portuguese reaction to South African overt aid. The focus of this chapter is the strengthening of covert relations between the two countries in the military and security spheres.

Chapter four of this thesis covers the period from 1970 until 1974, which marked the end of Portugal’s presence on the African continent. These were the years when the Portuguese authorities came under increasing pressure in both mainland Portugal as well as two operational theatres in Africa, which were Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. In contrast, from a Portuguese perspective, the military situation in Angola had stabilized. Covert South African support for Portugal’s military efforts in Angola and Mozambique continued during this last phase of Portugal’s counter-insurgency campaigns. It was also during these years that the South African military became increasingly concerned about Soviet and Chinese expansionism in the African continent and the surrounding oceans. The secrecy that marked relations between the two countries – a situation that was paramount during the previous decade – continued to characterize this relationship during this period.

It must be pointed out that chapters two, three and four also provide a detailed account of Portugal’s military position on the African continent during the 1960s and early 1970s. Although the intention of this thesis is not to write a history of Portugal’s military campaigns in Africa it is nevertheless necessary to provide an accurate description of the successes and failures of such a military effort. The reason for this is that Portuguese-South African relations were profoundly influenced by military events in two operational theatres – Angola and Mozambique. This was a source of immense concern to South African military planners and policymakers.

The term ‘operational theatres’ will be used throughout this thesis to describe what in fact were three separate wars in three different African territories, two of which were vastly larger geographically than mainland Portugal. The term
‘operational theatres’ has a broader meaning than the term ‘operational area’, which indicates a localized sector where military operations are taking place. The Portuguese counter-insurgency campaigns were conducted on extremely vast areas of the African continent and not just on one specific area of a designated territory.

With the exception of a few large-scale projects such as the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique – which highlighted the close relationship between the two sides – political relations between Portugal and South Africa during the 1960s and early 1970s were basically marked by military and security concerns. South African policymakers were aware that the final outcome of Portugal’s colonial wars would have a profound impact on the African continent and South Africa’s future.
c) Historiography

Very little has been written about political relations between Portugal and South Africa after the Second World War. A number of authors have expressed different and sometimes even contradictory opinions about the nature and scope of the political relationship that developed between the two countries during the period covered in this thesis.\(^9\) It is important to point out, however, that these authors have only expressed their views in a summarized manner without providing intricate details or lengthy explanations about this matter. This indicates that such views are probably the result of existing perceptions at a specific point in time and not in-depth analyses.

It has often been easy to characterize the relationship between Portugal and South Africa after the Second World War as a race-based partnership. This is understandable since race and ethnicity have helped to shape and define power relations in Southern Africa. Moreover, in terms of perceptions it can be said that after the Second World War Portugal was generally seen as a conservative and outdated European colonial power that had overstayed its presence in Africa. In the meantime, South Africa was seen as a country where a sizeable conservative white minority wanted to hold on to power at any cost without relinquishing its dominant role.\(^10\)

Historians have pointed out that South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia were often perceived to be a united bloc that fought against African nationalism during the 1960s and 1970s. A number of authors who wrote about Southern Africa have reinforced this view. Some authors saw South Africa as the centre of power at the core of this united front. In the 1970s, Martin Loney\(^11\) placed South Africa “at the centre of an imperial white supremacy encompassing Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola, dominating the political life of Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Malawi, in triumphant occupation of Namibia, and extending a well-greased palm to any other African country prepared to take it”.\(^12\) This
statement implies that Rhodesia and the former Portuguese colonies played a secondary and subservient role while South Africa was the main gatekeeper of the white bloc in Southern Africa.

Basil Davidson is another author who says that the Portuguese were the “gendarmes” of Southern Africa during the 1960s and early 1970s. They served to protect South Africa’s interests in the region despite the fact that there was no formal alliance between the two countries. Davidson explained that “under conditions of mutual suspicion the two regimes have continued to act together, but separately”. In addition, “the Portuguese metropolitan position in Africa would be expendable in the long run, for South Africa as well as for Portugal’s other patrons, just as would the Rhodesian settler regime”. Portugal’s presence in Africa merely served to buy some time for South Africa so that when the time was right, Pretoria would be able to extend its control over Angola and Mozambique with the support of the local white population.

Fred Marte is another writer who sees the Portuguese territories in Africa as well as Rhodesia as a South African security buffer zone. The objective was to maintain white control in South Africa. In addition, Marte said that the West saw South Africa and Portugal as Western outposts in Africa and for that reason it was necessary to help ensure their dominance in Southern Africa as the Cold War intensified.

Other authors preferred to emphasize the close links between South Africa and Portugal. John Marcum mentions the existence of an alliance between South Africa and Portugal. He quotes a senior MPLA spokesman, Mário de Andrade, who in 1963 said in Algiers that an alliance between Portugal and South Africa would not be able to resist concerted African pressure. Marcum also mentioned that South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia cooperated in the defence sphere during the 1960s. Such cooperation included the exchange of intelligence and
South African surveillance operations along the common border that separated Angola from South West Africa.

In the meantime, Douglas Wheeler emphasized that the fear that united whites in Southern Africa was not new. According to Wheeler, before the partition of the African continent the two common enemies of the Afrikaners and the Portuguese were the British and the black Africans. Moreover, the early treaties signed between the Portuguese and the Afrikaners in the 19th century were merely a reflection of interests and hatreds that continued to exist in the 20th century. These comments indicate that Wheeler saw some historical continuity that united Portuguese and Afrikaner interests.

There were also other brief interpretations that attempted to explain the links between Portugal and South Africa. One of these interpretations was expressed by the Africa Research Group, which was established in 1968 to collect information about the United States’ role in the economic domination of the African continent. The Africa Research Group was an anti-war movement that opposed American military intervention in Southeast Asia. The Group stated that South Africa provided military assistance to Portugal to maintain colonialism in the Southern African region.

However, this Group also stated that South Africa and Portugal never really liked each other that much. White South Africans disliked Portuguese pretensions of having built a multiracial society in Africa. Moreover, the Afrikaners felt superior to the Portuguese. The Africa Research Group concluded the Afrikaners often spoke of Portuguese people as the “scum” of Europe and they treated “the Portuguese who emigrated to South Africa accordingly”. The two sides had merely come together to preserve the status of the whites in Southern Africa. Lawrence Henderson held a similar view. He mentioned that South Africa and Rhodesia feared a black takeover in Angola. However, both South Africa and Rhodesia “had no great respect for the Portuguese.”
James Barber and John Barratt indicated that the reason behind the close relationship between Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia was the threat posed by African nationalist guerrillas. It was this threat that led to the emergence of what they called a “white security group” in the region.

James Duffy had a different view of the relationship that developed between the Portuguese and other the white nations in Southern Africa. To him the Portuguese and the Afrikaner were the only whites in black Africa who did not consider the “possibility of some day yielding to the demands of the African population”. The Portuguese and the Afrikaner had the same goal in Africa, which he called self-preservation. However, both the Portuguese and the Afrikaners had decided to follow different paths in order to achieve this goal. In addition, Duffy pointed out that there were similarities between the “imperial mystique” developed by Portugal’s Estado Novo and the nationalism expressed by white South Africans. However, he believed that the bonds of friendship between the Portuguese and the other white-controlled nations in Southern Africa were based on economic necessity. Duffy also claimed that both South Africa and Rhodesia believed that Portuguese policy in Africa did not differ that much from their own policies.

Another author, Malyn Newitt, said Portugal felt uneasy about South Africa, as a result of South African interest in Mozambique. However, there was growing political co-operation between the two states. According to Newitt, Portugal and South Africa, as well as Spain, formed a small minority group at the United Nations during voting time. However, Portugal clearly dissociated itself from the apartheid policies of the Afrikaners.

It is apparent that there are a number of interpretations that sought to define the relationship that existed between Portugal South Africa after the Second World War. Some authors prefer to emphasize that this relationship was based on
immediate security needs while others see it as part of a broad racial alliance. Basil Davidson viewed Portugal’s role in Southern Africa as South Africa’s policeman. He also indicated that South Africa’s aim was to control Angola and Mozambique with the support of the local white population once Portugal abandoned its colonies.

The Africa Research Group implied that the “racial alliance” between the two countries was not really what it seemed to be since one group believed it was superior to the other. In contrast, Douglas Wheeler emphasizes the importance of the common enemies of the Portuguese and the Afrikaner in the past. He implied that the cooperation that existed in the 19th century between the two countries merely continued in the 20th century.

In the meantime, Malyn Newitt prefers to highlight the fact that although Portugal dissociated itself from apartheid it co-operated with South Africa in international forums such as the United Nations. Other authors prefer to emphasize economic factors or the fact that the West favoured the existence of white-controlled States in the Southern African region because they were perceived to be Western outposts in the region during the Cold War period.

All of the above-mentioned comments seek to explain the linkages that existed between Portugal and South Africa over a certain period of time. It must be pointed out, however, that although such statements might be true or partially true, they are nevertheless opinions based on the perceptions and the views of the above-mentioned authors. Such views have remained static during the past three decades and there has not been any significant attempt to provide additional interpretations about the relationship between the two countries after the Second World War until Portugal’s withdrawal from Africa.

It is also important to note that most historians who write about contemporary issues in Southern Africa have focused their attention on the African nationalist
movements and the struggle against colonial control, as well as the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Consequently, there is really no detailed and comprehensive historical account of the relationship between Portugal and South Africa after the Second World War. The majority of the above-mentioned authors only made a superficial analysis of the relationship that developed between the two countries after the Second World War. The intricacies and inner details of the relationship between the two countries have not attracted as much attention as the struggle against colonial rule and apartheid. In addition, although a few historians have mentioned some contradictions in the relationship between the two countries, there has not really been a detailed examination of these contradictions. It is hoped that this thesis will be a first step in that direction.
d) Sources used in this thesis.

The sources used in this thesis are mainly primary sources from the National Archives and Records Service of South Africa\textsuperscript{39} in Pretoria, as well as the Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático (Diplomatic Historical Archive)\textsuperscript{40} in Lisbon and the Arquivo da Defesa Nacional (National Defence Archive)\textsuperscript{41} in the São Julião da Barra Fort in Oeiras in the outskirts of the Portuguese capital. The documents from the National Archives and Records Service of South Africa were obtained without hindrance since they were older than 20 years. However, a number of documents from the Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático in Lisbon had to be declassified since they still had a security classification of confidential, secret or top-secret. All the documents from the Arquivo da Defesa Nacional in the São Julião da Barra Fort in Oeiras were classified and they had to be declassified before this thesis could be written. Special permission had to be sought from the Portuguese Ministry of Defence in Lisbon before secret and top-secret documents were consulted. The Portuguese Ministry of Defence granted such permission in May 2005.

The primary sources used in this thesis constitute a fundamental piece of evidence, especially if we want to understand as well as engage in the examination of the relationship that developed between the two countries after the Second World War. The letters and reports written by South African diplomats stationed in Luanda, Lourenço Marques and Lisbon give an accurate representation of the perceptions and opinions as well as the views of South Africa’s senior officialdom towards Portugal and its African territories. This includes South African views of Portuguese policy in Africa. Such letters and reports also offer a view of how South African officials believed the relationship between the two countries should be fostered and managed. These letters and reports were found in the National Archives and Records Service of South Africa.
and the Intermediate Custodial Registry at the South African Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria. The Intermediate Custodial Registry is the location where all the documents from the South African Department of Foreign Affairs are temporarily stored before being sent to the National Archives and Records Service of South Africa.

In a similar manner, a number of important reports and letters written by Portuguese diplomats in South Africa were found in the Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático in Lisbon. These documents provide a detailed account of Portuguese perceptions about South Africa’s internal politics and its leaders, as well as opinions about the relationship between the two countries. The Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático contains crucial documentation on political relations between Portugal and other countries, including South Africa.

The documentation found in the Arquivo da Defesa Nacional in the São Julião da Barra Fort provided a broad overview of the secret relationship between the two countries, especially during the 1960s and early 1970s. It should be pointed out that the documentation found in the Arquivo da Defesa Nacional is not really similar to the existing reports or letters from the Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático since it does not provide any views or detailed opinions about the relationship between the two countries. The primary sources obtained in the Arquivo da Defesa Nacional in the São Julião da Barra Fort comprises mostly straightforward documentation that describes secret meetings and the implementation of orders from the senior military hierarchy.

The documentation from the Arquivo da Defesa Nacional, however, provides an accurate description of how the military and security establishments of both countries interacted with one another, especially after the start of the insurgency wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. It is important to note that the documentation from the Arquivo da Defesa Nacional that was made available for this thesis was never disclosed to historians and researchers before. The
documentation was thus crucial to supplement incomplete information that existed in the description of cooperation between the two countries. Another aspect that became clearly visible in this documentation was the need for secrecy, which both sides maintained in terms of cooperation in the military and security spheres.

It must be pointed out that the author of this thesis did not use any documents from the South African military archives since a previous attempt to conduct research and obtain documentation referring to the formation of South Africa’s 32 battalion ended in failure a few years prior to the writing of this thesis.\textsuperscript{42} In a lengthy submission\textsuperscript{43} that was written to South Africa’s Minister of Defence on the 02 July 2000, the writer of this thesis requested the declassification of documentation referring to Portuguese-South African military cooperation during the 1960s and early 1970s.\textsuperscript{44} However, despite receiving a letter from South Africa’s Ministry of Defence\textsuperscript{45} acknowledging receipt of the above-mentioned submission, there was complete silence regarding the request. In addition, no final reply was ever given stating the reasons for refusing permission to declassify the requested documentation. Documentation from the South African military archives might have provided additional insights into Portuguese-South African cooperation in the defence and security spheres. A small amount of correspondence from South Africa’s military establishment was found in the Portuguese military archives, which to a certain extent helped to fill this void. In this regard, it is hoped that no bias will be conveyed in relation to military matters since only documents from the Portuguese military archives (Arquivo da Defesa Nacional) were consulted.

A wide range of newspapers and periodicals were also consulted during the writing of this thesis. The main South African newspapers and periodicals were the Cape Times, Rand Daily Mail, The Star, Financial Mail, Sunday Times, The Natal Mercury and The Argus. The main Portuguese newspapers were the Diário de Notícias, Diário de Lourenço Marques (Guardian), Jornal do Comércio, and
the Notícias da Tarde. A few articles from other newspapers such as The New York Times, The Windhoek Advertiser and The Rhodesia Herald were also used. South African newspapers such as the Cape Times and the Rand Daily Mail provide detailed reports about contacts between the two countries after the Second World War. Such reports include accounts of meetings between diplomats and senior delegations from both countries. Other South African newspapers such as The Star and The Natal Mercury provide a useful overview of the insurgency wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau during the 1960s and early 1970s. The Portuguese newspapers Diário de Notícias and the Diário de Lourenço Marques (Guardian) offer an insight into Portuguese perceptions of relations between Portugal and South Africa. The South African weekly Financial Mail also provides a number of useful reports on economic relations between the two countries.

In terms of secondary sources some authors are worth mentioning. In relation to Portugal’s insurgency wars in Africa the most relevant writers are José Freire Antunes, John Cann as well as Manuel Amaro Bernardo. In addition, there are the Diário de Notícias fascicules about Portugal’s insurgency wars in Africa whose writers were Aniceto Afonso as well as Carlos de Matos Gomes. The ‘Resenha Histórico-Militar das Campanhas de África (1961-1974)’ and the ‘Subsídios Para o Estudo da Doutrina Aplicada nas Campanhas de África (1961-1974)’ were also crucial in terms of understanding Portugal’s insurgency wars in Africa. The Commission for the Study of the African Campaigns from 1961 until 1974 of the General Chief of Staff of the Portuguese Army is responsible for writing these two books.

The personal memoirs of former Portuguese Prime Minister Franco Nogueira and the former Portuguese Minister of the Overseas Provinces Silva Cunha were also important sources of information. The memoirs of Franco Nogueira are extensive and cover several decades from 1928 until 1970. The focus of Silva Cunha’s memoirs is the 1960s and early 1970s. Other important sources of
information are the memoirs of the Portuguese High Commissioner in Angola during the 1920s, Norton de Matos,\textsuperscript{55} as well as the memoirs of the Portuguese High Commissioner in Mozambique during the same period, Dr Manuel de Brito Camacho.\textsuperscript{56}

Writers such as James Barber and John Barratt\textsuperscript{57} as well as Deon Geldenhuys\textsuperscript{58} provide a detailed and accurate assessment of South Africa’s foreign policy during the period covered by this thesis. Anette Seegers\textsuperscript{59} contributes to a meaningful understanding of South Africa’s security and military apparatus from 1910 until the early 1990s. Simon Katzenellenbogen\textsuperscript{60} offers and important view of South Africa’s influence in southern Mozambique while André du Pisani\textsuperscript{61} provides an accurate picture of South Africa’s policies in Namibia.

\textbf{Endnotes}

1 Rand Daily Mail, 26 April, 1974.

2 Ibid.

3 Rand Daily Mail, 29 April, 1974.

4 Ibid.


6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.


9 The different and sometimes contradictory opinions about the nature and scope of the political relationship between Portugal and South Africa is mentioned by the following authors: M.


12 Ibid, p.18.

13 B. Davidson, South Africa and Portugal. Unit on Apartheid, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs. This paper was published by the Unit on Apartheid at the request of the United Nations’ Special Committee on Apartheid, April 1974, pp.7-9.

14 Ibid, pp.7-8.


16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.


20 Ibid.


23 Ibid, p.266.


25 Ibid, p.244.
26 Ibid.


28 Ibid.


31 Ibid.


33 Ibid, p.139.


38 Ibid, p.198.

39 The National Archives and Records Service of South Africa (NARS) has a large amount of correspondence from South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs that highlights important aspects of Portuguese-South African relations. Most correspondence comprises letters and reports written by South African diplomatic personnel deployed in Lisbon, Luanda, Lourenço Marques and Salisbury. The relevant correspondence can be found in the following archival locations: (i) BTS (Buitelandse Sake) (ii) BLB (Ambassador Lisbon) (iii) BSB (Accredited Diplomatic Representative, Salisbury) (iv) BLM (Consul General Lourenço Marques).

40 The Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático (AHD) is part of Portugal’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and it contains correspondence from Portuguese diplomats working in foreign countries. It also contains records of meetings that took place between senior Portuguese and South African government officials as well as reports that provide an overview of Portuguese perceptions in the political arena. The diplomatic correspondence and reports, as well as the records of meetings between senior officials from the two countries can be found in the following archival locations: (i) PAA (Antiga ‘Repartição da África, Ásia e Oceânia’ pertencente à ‘Direcção Geral dos Negócios Polícos’) The translation in English is: ‘Office for Africa, Asia and Oceania’ that was part of the ‘General Directorate for Political Affairs’) (ii) POI (Antiga ‘Repartição dos Organismos Políticos Internacionais’ pertencente à Direcção Nacional dos Negócios Políticos’) The translation in English is: ‘Office for International Political Organisms’ that was part of the ‘General Directorate for Political Affairs’) (iii) GNP-MU / GNP-UM (‘Gabinete dos Negócios Políticos do ex-Ministério do Ultramar’) The translation in English is: ‘Office for Political Affairs of the former Overseas Ministry’).
The Arquivo da Defesa Nacional (ADN) in the São Julião da Barra Fort in Oeiras contains documentation referring to meetings between Portuguese, Rhodesian and South African military personnel as well as reports and letters from senior Portuguese military officers in the three operational theatres in Africa, namely Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. There are also a number of letters from Portugal’s Ministry of Defence. Please note that the documents in this archive are stored according to a file number. Some top-secret documents also have the designation SGDN (Secretariado Geral da Defesa Nacional or General Secretariat for National Defence) followed by the respective file number.

32 Battalion or the Buffalo Battalion was one of South Africa’s counter-insurgency units that operated in the former South West Africa from the mid-1970s onwards. This battalion – which was led by white South African officers – comprised mostly Portuguese-speaking black Angolans.

The title of the submission was ‘Declassification of documentation older than 20 years from the Military Archives (for Academic purposes)’. The submission was written on the 2 July 2000.

Although the submission referred mainly to the request to declassify documentation referring to 32 Battalion, it also encompassed documentation referring to general military cooperation and the exchange of intelligence between Portugal and South Africa during the 1960s and 1970s.

A letter from South Africa’s Ministry of Defence acknowledging receipt of the submission was written on the 23 August 2000. The Head of Ministerial Services, M Vena, signed the letter.


