International Conference
The End of the Portuguese Empire in a Comparative Perspective
Institute of Social Sciences – University of Lisbon, Lisbon, 20-21 June 2011
(www.ics.ul.pt)

FINAL PROGRAMME

Monday, 8.45 - 9.00
Welcome Address
Auditorium Sedas Nunes

The Convenors:
António Costa Pinto, ICS-UL, Portugal
Luís Nuno Rodrigues, ISCTE-IUL, Portugal
Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, ICS-UL, Portugal
Pedro Aires Oliveira, IHC-UNL, Portugal
Philip Murphy, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, UK

Monday, 9.00 - 10.45
Roundtable#1 The End of Empires: An Overview
Auditorium Sedas Nunes
Moderator: Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, ICS-UL, Portugal

António Costa Pinto, ICS-UL, Portugal
William Roger Louis, University of Texas (Austin), USA
Frederick Cooper, New York University, USA
Philip Murphy, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, UK
Crawford Young, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA
John Darwin, Oxford University, UK

Tuesday, 09.30 - 10.45
Keynote speech: Problems and Perspectives in the History and Theory of Decolonisation
Polivalente Room
Chairperson: António Costa Pinto, ICS-UL, Portugal

William Roger Louis, University of Texas (Austin), USA
John Darwin, Oxford University, UK

Tuesday, 17.30 - 19.00
Roundtable#2 The End of the Portuguese Empire in a Comparative Perspective
Polivalente Room
Moderator: Norrie MacQueen, University of Dundee, UK

Douglas Wheeler, University of New Hampshire, USA
Luís Nuno Rodrigues, ISCTE-IUL, Portugal
Martin Shipway, Birkbeck University of London, UK
Pedro Aires Oliveira, IHC-UNL, Portugal
Sarah Stockwell, King's College of London, UK
## PANEL I

**From Imperial to Post-Colonial Polities and Economies: Elites, Institutions and Political Regimes**

### Monday, 11.00 - 12.30

**Session#1 Elites and Collaborators in the Colonial Context**

**Auditorium Sedas Nunes**

Chairperson: Gerhard Seibert, CEA/ISCTE-IUL, Portugal

- The Political Socialization of Capeverdean Nationalists in Portuguese Universities
  - Ângela Coutinho, CESNOVA-UNL, Portugal

- From Enemies to Allies: Portuguese Policy towards Muslims in Mozambique During the Colonial War
  - Mário Artur Machaqueiro, CRIA-UNL, Portugal

  - Fernando Pimenta, CEIS20-Coimbra University, Portugal

- Indians in the Portuguese Colonies: How they felt the End of the Empire
  - Helena Sant'ana, ISCSP-UTL, Portugal

### Monday, 14.00 - 15.30

**Session#2 Portuguese Actors and Decolonization**

**Auditorium Sedas Nunes**

Chairperson: Tiago Moreira de Sá, UNL, Portugal

- Luso-tropicalism in Mass Culture: An Overview
  - Marcos Cardão, CEHC/ISCTE-IUL, Portugal

- The Failure of Spinola's Decolonization
  - Luís Nuno Rodrigues, CEHC/ISCTE-IUL, Portugal

- Mário Soares and the Beginning of the Process of Decolonization
  - David Castaño, ISCTE-IUL, Portugal

- Melo Antunes and the Portuguese Decolonization
  - Maria Inácia Rezola, IHC-UNL, Portugal

### Monday, 15.50 - 17.20

**Session#3 Modernising Empires? The Late Colonial State in a Comparative Perspective. Politics, Economy and Culture (1)**

**Auditorium Sedas Nunes**

Chairperson: António Costa Pinto, ICS-UL, Portugal

- Ending colonies, Reforming Empire: The Decolonization of French West Africa
  - Frederick Cooper, New York University, USA

- The End of the Dutch, Belgian and Portuguese Empires: Disorderly Disengagement
  - Crawford Young, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA

- "Décoloniser pour mieux rester". French Decolonisation Strategy in Senegal 1958-60
  - Tony Chafer, University of Portsmouth, UK

- Modernizing the Late Colonial State? Politics and Economy of Portuguese Colonies since 1945
  - Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, ICS-UL, Portugal

- António Costa Pinto, ICS-UL, Portugal
Monday, 17.30 – 19.00
Session#4 Modernising Empires? The Late Colonial State in a Comparative Perspective. Politics, Economy and Culture (2)
Auditorium Sedas Nunes
Chairperson: Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, ICS-UL, Portugal

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<th>Institution</th>
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<td>The Ambiguities of &quot;Assimilation&quot;- Understanding the Collaboration with African Elites in the Portuguese and French Late Colonial States</td>
<td>Alexander Keese, CEAUP-University of Oporto, Portugal</td>
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<td>No Zero Hour: Indian Development and Modernization Policies in the Context of decolonization</td>
<td>Corinna Unger, Jacobs University Bremen, Germany</td>
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<td>The American Aid to the Portuguese Colonies During the Post-Second World War Period</td>
<td>Fernanda Rollo, IHC-UNL, Portugal</td>
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<td>Scientific Research, Political Power and the Empire in the Decolonisation Era</td>
<td>Claudia Castelo, Tropical Scientific Research Institute, Portugal</td>
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<td>Medicine, a Double-edged Sword: The Health Services of the Companhia de Diamantes de Angola (Diamang) and the Politics of the Empire, 1950s-1975</td>
<td>Jorge Varanda Ferreira, CRIA-IUL &amp; IHMT, Portugal</td>
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PANEL II  Imperial and Anti-colonial Ideologies and Movements

Monday, 11.00 – 12.30
Session#5 Nationalism and Liberation Struggle
Room 2
Chairperson: Bruno Cardoso Reis, ICS-UL, Portugal

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<tr>
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<td>Che Guevara to Amilcar Cabral: From a Struggle to Another One</td>
<td>Amzat Boukari-Yabara, EHESS, France</td>
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<td>Liberation Struggle and Decolonization in Cape Verde and São Tomé e Príncipe. A Comparative Analysis</td>
<td>Gerhard Seibert, CEA/ISCTE-IUL, Portugal</td>
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<td>Pan-Africanism, the 1955 Bandung Conference and the Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas (CONCP)</td>
<td>Daniella N. Mak, ISCTE-IUL, Portugal</td>
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Monday, 14.00 – 15.30
Session#6 Nationalism and Liberation Movements: The Case of Angola
Room 2
Chairperson: (tbd)

50 years, the 4th January 1961 peasants rebellion
Aída Freudenthal, Centro de Estudos Africanos – IICT Lisbon, Portugal

João Lourenço, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain & Museu Nacional da Escravatura, Angola

Understanding ideology through literature: Mayombe and the liberation struggle under the double sign of Prometheus and Ogun
Alexandra Dias Santos, ICS-UL, Portugal
Monday, 15.50 – 17.20
Session#7 Violence and the Threat of Violence in the Decolonisation Process
Room 2
Chairperson: António Costa Pinto, ICS-UL, Portugal

Assessing the Mau Mau Threat: Intelligence Analysis and Military Strategy in the Kenya Emergency
Huw Bennett, King’s College of London, UK
Malayan Decolonisation: the Centrality of Terror and Counter-Terror
Karl Hack, Open University, UK
The Threat of Nationalist Violence in British Central Africa, 1953-1965
Philip Murphy, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, UK
Frantz Fanon and Revolutionary Violence in Algeria
Leo Leilig, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, UK

Monday, 17.30 – 19.00
Session#8 Colonial Legacies and Decolonisation
Room 2
Chairperson: Claudia Almeida, University Complutense of Madrid, Spain & ICS-UL, Portugal

Portuguese Colonial Wars: Between Memory and History
Yves Léonard, Centre d’Histoire de Sciences Po-Paris, France
Decolonization and (Dis) Possession in Lusophone Africa
Pamila Gupta, WISER, South Africa
The Impact of Colonial Legacy in Shaping the Post-independence in São Tomé and Príncipe
Augusto Nascimento, Tropical Research Institute, Portugal
"We know who fought and who stayed with the Portuguese". Remembering the Liberation Struggle in Northern Mozambique
Ana Margarida Sousa Santos, SOAS, UK
Methodological Reflections on a South-South History of Decolonisation: the Case of Tirailleurs Sénégalais in the Algerian War
Natalya Vince, University of Portsmouth, UK

PANEL III Colonial Wars/Counterinsurgency Campaigns: A Comparative Assessment

Monday, 11.00 – 12.30
Session#9 At the Margins of African Anticolonialism and Nationalism
Room 3
Chairperson: Frederick Cooper, New York University, USA

Nationalisms that Did Not Win
Michel Cahen, CNRS & CÉAN, Bordeaux, France
Christianity, Church and State in Late-Colonial Mozambique: A Study in Ambiguity
John Stuart, Kingston University, UK
The Catholic Paradox: Supporting Colonialism and Producing Anti-colonialists
Maria da Conceição Neto, University of Luanda, Angola
Traditional Authorities and Strategies of Resilience in Colonial Mozambique
Fernando Florêncio, University of Coimbra, Portugal
The Catholic Church, African Nationalism and Independence in Beira, Mozambique
Eric Morier-Genoud, Queen’s University Belfast, UK
### Monday, 15.50 – 17.20
**Session#10 Military and Counterinsurgency Campaigns**
**Room 3**
Chairperson: Luís Nuno Rodrigues, ISCTE-IUL, Portugal

- **War and the Portuguese Late Colonial State as Modernising State**  
  Bruno Reis, ICS-UL, Portugal
- **The Portuguese Strategic Thinking and the Strategies of Counter-Subversion: Júlio Botelho Moniz and Kaúlza de Arriaga in Comparison - Continuities and Discontinuities**  
  António Paulo Duarte, IHC-UNL & IDN, Portugal
- **Independences and Demobilization of African Combatants of the Portuguese Army**  
  Fátima Rodrigues, CES - University of Coimbra, Portugal
- **Policing Islam in Mozambique: knowledge, intelligence, data collection and governance during the liberation war**  
  Sandra Araújo, CRIA-IUL, IHC-UNL and NICPRI-EU, Portugal

### Tuesday, 11.00 – 12.30
**Session#11 The View From Angola, 1961-74: Ideologies and War**
**Room 3**
Chairperson: Douglas Wheeler, University of New Hampshire, USA

- **Aspects of the War in Angola and Portugal's Policies Regarding Counter-Insurgency**  
  Gerald J. Bender, University of Southern California, USA
- **The Strategic Defense of Angola**  
  John Cann, Institute for Defense Analyses, Alexandria, Virginia, USA
- **Portugal's Ideology of Empire in the mid-1960s in Angola, in Perspective**  
  Douglas Wheeler, University of New Hampshire, USA
- **DIAMANG and the War in Angola, 1961-74: 'State Within the State'**  
  Todd Cleveland, Augustana College, USA

### PANEL IV - Decolonisation and International Arena

### Monday, 11.00 – 12.30
**Session#12 The USA and Decolonization**
**Polivalente Room**
Chairperson: Luís Nuno Rodrigues, ISCTE-IUL, Portugal

- **The Eisenhower Administration, Africa and Portugal: Tolerance or Ambiguity**  
  Daniel Marcos, ISCTE-IUL, Portugal
- **Anglo-American Relations and the Congo Crisis 1960-1963**  
  John Kent, LSE, UK
- **Decolonization or Neocolonialism? The United States, the Philippines, and America's Emerging Defense Perimeter in Asia, 1945-1947**  
  Dean J. Kotlowski, Salisbury University, Maryland, USA
- **Kennedy's Colonial Conundrum of Advocating for Both Africans and Allies: The Case of Algeria and Portuguese Africa, 1961-1962**  
  Daniel Byrne, University of Evansville, USA
### Monday, 14.00 – 15.30
#### Session#13 United Nations and the Crisis of Decolonisation
*Polivalente Room*
Chairperson: (tbd)

- **The United Nations, the Cold War and the Portuguese Colonial Issue**
  - *Aurora Santos, UNL, Portugal*

- **Salazar's Portugal, the UN and Self-Determination (1941-1968)**
  - *Fernando Martins, CIDEHUS – University of Evora, Portugal*

- **The United Nations at the End of the French Empire in West Africa: Decolonisation, Violence, and Sovereignty**
  - *Bruno Charbonneau, Laurentian University, Canada*

- **Salazar's Support to Moisés Tshombé: Portugal's Involvement in the Issue of Katanga**
  - *Rui Velez, ISCTE-IUL, Portugal*

### Monday, 15.50 – 17.20
*Polivalente Room*
Chairperson: Pedro Aires Oliveira, IHC-UNL, Portugal

- **Portugal and South Africa in the 1950s**
  - *Luís Barroso, CEHC/ISCTE-IUL & CISDI-IESM, Portugal*

- **Muito Secreto: The Rise and Fall of Exercise ALCORÁ: The Secret Alliance of South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia 1970-74**
  - *Robert McNamara, University of Ulster, UK*

- **A View from the South: Decolonization, the Cold War, and White Redoubt**
  - *Ryan M. Irwin, Yale University, USA*

- **Portugal, the Congo and the Politics of War (1960-1965)**
  - *Bruno Fonseca, University of Minho, Portugal*

### Monday, 17.30 – 19.00
#### Session#15 Cold War and Colonial Wars
*Polivalente Room*
Chairperson: Luís Nuno Rodrigues, ISCTE-IUL, Portugal

- **Trapped Between the Cold War and the Colonial Wars: West German Approaches to the Portuguese Colonial Problem, 1968-1974**
  - *Rui Lopes, LSE, UK & IHC-UNL, Portugal*

- **Soviet Reactions to Portuguese Colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, 1961-1965**
  - *Natasha Telepneva, LSE, UK*

- **Portugal and its Colonial Partners in Asia during the Last years of the Estado da Índia (1954-1961)**
  - *Sandrine Bègue, CEHC/ISCTE-IUL, Portugal*

- **Finding a Niche in the Cold War: Portugal's Resistance to Decolonisation**
  - *Pedro Aires Oliveira, IHC-UNL, Portugal*
### Session#16 Cold War, Diplomacy and Decolonisation

**Room 2**  
**Chairperson:** (tbd)

  *Ana Mónica Fonseca, IPRI-UNL & CEHC/ISCTE-IUL, Portugal*

- **The Brazilian Foreign Policy and the Portuguese Decolonization: The Case of Angola**  
  *Thiago Carvalho, IPRI-UNL, Portugal*

- **The Bipolar Détente Crisis and the Angolan Crisis of 1975**  
  *Tiago Moreira de Sá, UNL, Portugal*

### Session#17 East Timor - Colonialism, Decolonization and Lusotopie: Framework and Steps to Decolonization (1)

**Room 2**  
**Chairperson:** Rui Graça Feijó, CEPESE, Portugal

- **East Timor in the Talks between the United Kingdom, USA and Australia in the 1960s**  
  *Moisés Fernandes, Instituto Confucio-UL, Portugal*

- **The Process of Decolonization in East-Timor in Indonesia’s Sources**  
  *Frédéric Durand, Université de Toulouse, France*

- **Nationalism and the Rhetoric of Violence in Timor Português: 1974-1975**  
  *David Hicks, Stony Brook University, USA*

### Session#18 East Timor - Colonialism, Decolonization and Lusotopie: Framework and Steps to Decolonization (2)

**Room 2**  
**Chairperson:** Ricardo Roque, ICS-UL, Portugal

- **Decolonization and Nationalism in East-Timor**  
  *Armando Marques Guedes, FD-UNL, Portugal*

- **The Portuguese Foreign Policy and the Decolonization of East-Timor**  
  *Nuno Canas Mendes, ISCSP-UTL, Portugal*

- **The Decolonization in East-Timor: The Elections of 1975**  
  *Manuel Luís Real, Arquivo Histórico do Porto, Portugal*
### PANEL V  
**History and Theory of Decolonisation: Problems, Perspectives, and Prospects**

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| **Monday, 11.00 – 12.30** | #19       | **Incredible India. Anthropological Approaches to Postcoloniality (1)** | Room 1  
Chairperson: Filipa Vicente, ICS-UL, Portugal |
|               |           | The Vanished Empire. Indian Nationalism and Decolonization Through Women Voice | Rosa Maria Perez, ISCTE-IUL, Portugal          |
|               |           | Diu Inhabitants’ Perspectives on the Last Days of Portuguese Rule | Rita Ávila Cachado, CIES-IUL, Portugal         |
|               |           | This Matter of the Subaltern: Portuguese Colonialism and the End of Empire | Jason Keith Fernandes, CRIA-IUL, Portugal      |
| **Monday, 14.00 – 15.30** | #20       | **Incredible India. Anthropological Approaches to Postcoloniality (2)** | Room 1  
Chairperson: Rita Ávila Cachado, CIES-IUL, Portugal |
|               |           | “We All Have to Have Our Land, Don’t We?”. Postcolonial Discourses on India and Portugal | Inês Lourenço, CRIA-IUL, Portugal              |
|               |           | Gaudde’s Heritage as the Invisible Resistance to Portuguese Colonialism | Claudia Pereira, CIES-IUL, Portugal           |
|               |           | Interpreting Language Use in Postcolonial Diu | Hugo Cardoso, University of Macau, Macau      |
| **Tuesday, 14.00 – 15.30** | #21      | **Decolonization Processes: A Comparative Perspective** | Polivalente Room  
Chairperson: Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, ICS-UL, Portugal |
|               |           | French Comparative Perspectives on the End of African Colonial Empire | Martin Shipway, Birkbeck University of London, UK |
|               |           | “Which Decolonization?” The Transmission of Power to African Elites in French West Africa | Nicolas Bancel, University of Lausanne, Switzerland |
|               |           | Changing States: The Export of Britishness and the Reconfiguration of British Institutions During Decolonisation | Sarah Stockwell, King’s College of London, UK |
|               |           | War and the Problem of State Formation in Post-Colonial Africa With Reference to the Lusophone States | Walter C. Opello, State University of New York, USA |
|               |           | Macau and the End of the Portuguese Empire: A Case of Retrocession Rather than Decolonization? | Carmen Amado Mendes, University of Coimbra, Portugal |
Tuesday, 19.00 – 19.30
Concluding Remarks
Polivalente Room

The Convenors:
António Costa Pinto, ICS-UL, Portugal
Luís Nuno Rodrigues, ISCTE-IUL, Portugal
Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, ICS-UL, Portugal
Pedro Aires Oliveira, IHC-UNL, Portugal
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This Conference is organized by:
Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa
Laboratório Associado

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Project “Portugal is not a small country”: The End of the Portuguese Empire in a Comparative Perspective [PTDC/HIS-HIS/108898/2008]