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The CONCP in Southern Africa and the OAU's Liberation Committee: Settling Internal Disputes for the Independence of Angola and Mozambique

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An important but surprisingly neglected player in the history of the struggle for independence in the African Portuguese colonies is the Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas (CONCP), an umbrella organisation uniting the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), for Guinea Bissau, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA), for Angola, the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo), for Mozambique and the Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe (MLSTP), for São Tomé e Príncipe. Founded in Casablanca in 1961, the CONCP was not a participant in military action, but it strengthened the movements' ideological cohesion and international diplomacy. Its most controversial goals were perhaps the settlement of internal divisions among the nationalists of Angola and Mozambique and the endorsement of the MPLA and Frelimo as the sole legitimate liberation movements in their countries. To this end, it also established a strategic relationship with specific nationalist movements in southern Africa opposing the white minority regimes and with the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Liberation Committee. After its second conference, held in Dar es Salaam in 1965, the CONCP intensified its pressures to secure the MPLA and Frelimo exclusive recognition and support by the OAU, but it was successful only in the second case.

Keywords: CONCP; Angola; Mozambique; liberation struggle; independence; southern Africa

Introduction

The Portuguese colonies in Africa obtained independence at the end of an armed struggle that shaped the conditions for the direct transfer of power to specific liberation movements without elections. As in the partially different case of the independence from white minority regimes in southern Africa, part of the literature has questioned whether and how these particular processes affected their troubled post-colonial events,[1] a question that has stimulated new studies on African nationalism and liberation struggles in those countries. Some scholarly works have revealed a more articulated picture of local actors than in the past, and probably the wealth of international relations they developed within the complex framework of continental decolonisation politics and of the 'global Cold War' has represented the most prolific field of new contributions.[2]

The role of the international partners of the liberation movements has been widely addressed, looking at single countries, transnational solidarity organisations and international institutions.[3] This article delves into an important but surprisingly little-considered player, the Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas (CONCP). In 2016, the Instituto Português de Relações Internacionais – Universidade Nova de Lisboa and Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal in Lisbon hosted a conference on the CONCP, but this did not result in a specific publication on the topic.[4] Mabeko-Tali examined some important stages in the evolution of

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1 See, for example, H. Melber, 'From Liberation Movements to Governments: On Political Culture in Southern Africa', *African Sociological Review*, 6, 1 (2002), pp. 161–72; R. Bereketeab (ed.), *National Liberation Movements as Government in Africa* (Abingdon and New York, Routledge, 2017).

2 The literature in this field is too large to be fully addressed here. For just a few examples, see E. Morier-Genoud (ed.), *Sure Road? Nationalisms in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique* (Leiden, Brill, 2012); H. Sapire and C. Saunders (eds), *Southern African Liberation Struggles: New Local, Regional and Global Perspectives* (Cape Town, University of Cape Town Press, 2012); J. das Neves Tembe (ed.), *História da Luta de Libertação Nacional* (Maputo, Ministério dos Combatentes, 2014); A.J. Temu and J. das Neves Tembe (eds), *Southern African Liberation Struggles: Contemporaneous Documents, 1960–1994* (Dar es Salaam, Mkuki na Nyota, 2014); J. Pearce, *Political Identity and Conflict in Central Angola, 1975–2002* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015); A. Guimarães, *The Origins of the Angolan Civil War: Foreign Intervention and Domestic Political Conflict, 1961–76* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); J. Alexander, J. McGregor and B-M. Tendi (eds), 'Southern Africa beyond the West: The Transnational Connections of Southern African Liberation Movements', *JSAS* conference special issue, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43, 1 (2017); J.A. Marcum, *Conceiving Mozambique* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); R. Lopes and V. Barros, 'Amílcar Cabral and the Liberation of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde: International, Transnational, and Global Dimensions', *International History Review*, 42, 6 (2020), pp. 1230–37; J.S. Sousa, 'Amílcar Cabral, the PAIGC and the Relations with China at the Time of the Sino-Soviet Split and of Anti-Colonialism: Discourses and Praxis', *International History Review*, 42, 6 (2020), pp. 1274–96; C. Sobers, 'Signal Cascades in Angola's Independence Struggle, 1955–1975', *African Studies Quarterly*, 20, 1 (2021), pp. 36–61.

3 Again, for a few examples of a growing literature: A. Almada e Santos, 'The Role of the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations Organization in the Struggle against Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: 1961–1974', *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 4, 10 (2012), pp. 248–60; A. Almada e Santos, B.C. André, C. Tornimbeni and I. Vasile (eds), 'International Solidarities and the Liberation of the Portuguese Colonies', *afriche e orienti*, 19, 3 (2017); D. Kaiser '"Makers of Bonds and Ties": Transnational Socialisation and National Liberation in Mozambique', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43, 1 (2017), pp. 29–48; N. Telepneva, 'Mediators of Liberation: Eastern-Bloc Officials, Mozambican Diplomacy and the Origins of Soviet Support for Frelimo, 1958–1965', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43, 1 (2017), pp. 67–81; J. Čavoški, '"Yugoslavia's Help Was Extraordinary": Political and Material Assistance from Belgrade to the MPLA in Its Rise to Power, 1961–1975', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 21, 1 (2019), pp. 125–50; L. Dallywater, C. Saunders and H.A. Fonseca (eds), *Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War 'East': Transnational Activism 1960–1990* (Oldenbourg, de Gruyter, 2019); C. Tornimbeni, 'International Solidarity with Frelimo in Mozambique during the Liberation Struggle', *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*, 2019, available via https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.422; I. Vasile, A. Almada e Santos and C. Tornimbeni (dir.), 'What Solidarity? Networks of Cooperation with the Liberation Movements from Portuguese Colonies', *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 118 (2019); V. Barros, 'The French Anticolonial Solidarity Movement and the Liberation of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde', *International History Review*, 42, 6 (2020), pp. 1297–1318. See also the volumes published by the Nordic Africa Institute project 'National Liberation in Southern Africa: The Role of the Nordic Countries', available via https://nai.uu.se/library/resources/liberation-africa/publications.html.

4 *A CONCP. A Internacionalização da Luta pela Independência das Colónias Portuguesas*, Instituto Português de Relações Internacionais–Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisboa, 15 June 2016.

the CONCP through the lens of the ideological formation of its leaders.[5] Moledo considered a few key steps in the establishment of the CONCP within her analysis of the 1960s 'liberation alliances' in southern Africa.[6] But a systematic analysis of the political role it played in the framework of the continental and international politics for the independence of the Portuguese colonies is still substantially lacking.

While not claiming to provide an exhaustive analysis of the CONCP, this article contributes to filling this gap by means of an extensive review of the literature and of the analysis of various archival sources. The archival sources on which this article is based express different ideological perspectives and purposes in the context of the Portuguese colonies' struggles for independence and of the Cold War. By considering them together, it is possible not only to highlight the position of the protagonists of those events but also to work out the most accurate reconstruction of the events themselves, and to interpret them. In this view, the documents of the CONCP, of its preceding organisations and of its liberation movements can be contrasted with the documents issued by the movements opposing them, on the one hand, and with the analysis made by the Portuguese secret services in their reports, on the other. The underground work shaping the evolution of the CONCP and its relationship with African and international politics can be grasped by the personal correspondence between the CONCP leaders and by the view of the international activists for the independence of the Portuguese colonies travelling in Africa and meeting CONCP leaders and the leaders of other nationalist movements, by the documents of international conferences, of OAU and its liberation committee (LC), and by a few documents of African governments in southern Africa. The common, and to some extent proper, view of the CONCP is that '[t]he organization was a loose one, and each movement operated independently'.[7] The argument developed in this article, however, is that the diplomacy of the CONCP as a political network contributed to establishing the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA), the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo), and the Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe (MLSTP) as the 'legitimate' or 'authentic' liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies; with the important exception of the MPLA, they were also regarded as the 'only' effective liberation movements, a key factor in the outcome of the independence process.

The aforementioned literature on lusophone and southern African liberation movements' international relations has acknowledged two elements: first, how international supporters contributed to the international diplomacy of the liberation movements and to the practical necessities of the independence struggles; second, how the African nationalists' personal backgrounds and transnational links developed across the Cold War divisions of the time, showing in some cases their effective pragmatic agency. Less research has been devoted to the building of political networks within Africa, including the more formal attempt at establishing institutional alliances. Beyond the history of the foundation and development of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU),[8] therefore, the trajectory of the CONCP offers an occasion to grasp the set of

5 J-M. Mabeko-Tali, 'Dreaming Together, Fighting for Freedom Together: African Progressive Nationalism and the Ideology of Unity in Portugal's African Colonies in the 1950s and 1960s', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 46, 5 (2020), pp. 829–44.

6 A. Moledo, '"A New Phase of Anti-Imperialist Cooperation": The Making of Liberation Alliances in 1960s (Unliberated) Southern Africa', *Comparativ*, 29, 4 (2019), pp. 13–29.

7 Sobers, 'Signal Cascades', p. 40.

8 E.J. Kisanga, 'The Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa', *Taamuli: A Political Science Forum*, 7, 2 (1977), pp. 32–49; K. van Walraven, *Dreams of Power: The Role of the Organization of African Unity in the Politics of Africa 1963–1993* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 1999); M. Grilli and F. Gerits (eds), *Visions of African Unity: New Perspectives on the History of Pan-Africanism and African Unification Projects* (Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

continental political relationships beyond their manifestation within such well-known channels of mobility as the African urban 'hubs of decolonisation'[9] and the world metropoles.

One contribution to this perspective comes from Moledo,[10] who maintains that the alliance between the 'authentic' liberation movements of southern Africa was equally shaped by the view of external supporters within the framework of the Cold War and by the strategic perspectives of the liberation struggles of the southern African leaders themselves. Furthermore, she argues that the CONCP movements' collaboration with those of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia occurred mostly towards the late 1960s. Here I scrutinise CONCP members' politics chiefly within the southern African context and in view of their primary objective of marginalising their opponents at home. In this regard, major emphasis is given first to the various diplomatic fields in which the CONCP and its movements were engaged in the period leading to the second CONCP conference in 1965. I show the extent to which the PAIGC, and above all the MPLA and Frelimo, had already begun investing in their relationship with other southern African liberation movements and how their connection within the CONCP helped. Secondly, the building of this alliance is examined through the CONCP movements' strategic synergy with the OAU LC in Tanzania[11] and through the years leading to the decisive conferences of Khartoum in 1969 and Rome in 1970.

Background and Origin of the Front

In January 1957, a 'consultative meeting' for the struggle against Portuguese colonialism was held in Paris, attended by activists and students from Africa's and Asia's Portuguese colonies. Some of them had fled Portugal, where they had begun to lay the foundations of common, radical anti-colonial thinking in the university circles of the Casa dos Estudantes do Império (CEI – Home of Students from the Empire) and Centro de Estudos Africanos (African Studies Centre), together with students from other parts of the world.[12] Building on the 'ideology of unity' which, according to Mabeko-Tali, matured along this path,[13] the Paris meeting formed a steering committee to 'integrate' all Africans originating in the Portuguese colonies and residing in Europe into a common political movement.[14] As a result, by initiative of the Guinean Partido Africano para a Independência (PAI, later Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, PAIGC) and the Angolan Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA), the Manifesto of the Movimento Anti-Colonialista (MAC) was drafted,[15] with the participation of a number of future

9 E. Burton, 'Hubs of Decolonization: African Liberation Movements and "Eastern" Connections in Cairo, Accra, and Dar es Salaam', in L. Dallywater, C. Saunders and H.A. Fonseca (eds), *Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War 'East': Transnational Activism 1960–1990* (Oldenbourg, de Gruyter, 2019), pp. 25–56.
10 Moledo, 'A New Phase of Anti-Imperialist Cooperation'.
11 It is hoped that this will also contribute to an understanding of LC history, which is beyond the scope of this article. On this, see the ongoing work by J. Brennan: 'Tanzania and the OAU's African Liberation Committee, 1963–1973', draft
12 D.C. Mateus, *A Luta pela Independência: A Formação das Elites Fundadoras da FRELIMO, MPLA e PAIGC* (Lisboa, Editorial Inquérito, 1999); C.R. Harper and W.J. Nottingham, *Escape from Portugal – the Church in Action: The Secret Flight of 60 African Students to France* (St Louis, Lucas Park Books, 2015); O. Monteiro, *De Todos se Faz um País* (Maputo, Associação dos Escritores Moçambicanos, 2012), pp. 62–3; H. Martins, *Casa dos Estudantes do Império: Subsídios para a História do Seu Periodo Mais Decisivo, 1953–1961* (Lisboa, Caminho, 2017); C. Castelo and M. Bandeira Jerónimo (eds), *Casa dos Estudantes do Império: Dinâmicas Coloniais, Conexões Transnacionais* (Lisboa, Edições 70, 2017); F. Ferretti, 'Geopolitics of Decolonisation: The Subaltern Diplomacies of Lusophone Africa (1961–1974)', *Political Geography*, 85, article 102326 (2021), available at https://reader.elsevier.com/reader/sd/pii/S0962629820303899?token=62FFF8D9312F61F9A4901CB1FA75A415970AF67F51B2F3A46175D402A6727AF71D0292D64C29857246A9078819DFEC0E&originRegion=eu-west-1&originCreation=20221006094547, retrieved 6 October 2022.
13 Mabeko-Tali, 'Dreaming Together'.
14 Fundação Mário Soares, 'CasaComum.org', Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade (hereafter CC–AMPA), 'Réunion consultative et d'étude pour le développement de la lutte contre le colonialisme portugais', Paris, Janeiro 1957, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04337.005.013.
15 CC–AMPA, 'Manifesto do Movimento Anti-colonialista (MAC)', n.d., available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04357.001.001 .

African nationalist leaders such as the Guinean Amílcar Cabral, the Angolans Mário Pinto de Andrade, Agostinho Neto, Lúcio Lara and Viriato da Cruz, and the Mozambicans Marcelino dos Santos and Joaquim Chissano. Holden Roberto, leader of the União das Populações de Angola (UPA), maintained dialogue, but only from outside the new umbrella movement.

MAC members immediately travelled to other countries to uphold their claims, above all within international gatherings of 'Afro-Asian solidarity'.[16] But the next step towards the creation of a real common front of anti-colonial movements took place within the pan-Africanist framework of continental politics at the dawn of African independence. The PAI and the MPLA once again took the initiative during the All-African People's Conference in Tunis from 25 to 30 January 1960,[17] and founded the Frente Revolucionária Africana para a Independência Nacional das Colónias Portuguesas (FRAIN), open to 'all mass organisations and all political parties in African countries under Portuguese rule'.[18] A major concern of the new organisation was the divisions among Angolan nationalist leaders:[19] despite a formal statement for joint action against Portuguese colonialism,[20] Holden Roberto actually distanced himself from FRAIN, which he considered 'communist'.[21] Full consensus was not reached even among the founding leaders of FRAIN, whose visions intertwined with the kaleidoscope of political relations that were being drawn up in those days in Africa, especially with respect to divisive themes such as armed struggle.[22]

After some of FRAIN's delegates had participated in the second conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) in Conakry in April 1960,[23] the MPLA and PAI opted to enlarge the formal alliance to Lisbon's Asian territories by convening a Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas (CONCP – Conference of the Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese colonies).[24] Significantly, the preparatory commission decided also to invite as observers the nationalist organisations fighting for the end of white minority regimes in southern Africa, as they were considered 'intimately and closely related to the independence of the Portuguese colonies'.[25]

The Foundation of the CONCP and Early International Diplomacy

Probably with some backing from the 'Casablanca group' of newly independent African states,[26] the conference that founded the CONCP was eventually held in Casablanca, Morocco, from 18 to 20 April 1961, under the chairmanship of Mário de Andrade. In addition to the MPLA, PAIGC and a few organisations from the Asian territory of Goa, anti-colonial activists from Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe were for the first time represented by specific political movements, the União

16 CC–AMPA, 'Ibn Majid (Mário Pinto de Andrade), "L' Esprit de Tachkent", «Voices Nouvelles»' (1959), available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04330.008.017#!.
17 CC–AMPA, 'Resolução da II Conferência dos Povos Africanos Sobre as colónias portuguesas', January 1960, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04337.004.008.
18 Fundação Mário Soares, 'CasaComum.org', Documentos Amílcar Cabral (hereafter CC–DAC), 'Carta da FRAIN, Tunis' 28 de Janeiro de 1960, p. 1, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07058.017.004.
19 CC–DAC, 'Apelo da FRAIN à criação de uma frente unida em Angola', Maio de 1960, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04605.044.030.
20 CC–DAC, 'Declaração de compromisso entre o MPLA, UPA, PAI e FRAIN', Túnis, 31 de Janeiro de 1960, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07058.017.015.
21 Mabeko-Tali, 'Dreaming Together', p. 839.
22 CC–DAC, 'Carta de Abel Djassi', 10 de Abril de 1960, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07196.154.007; CC–DAC, 'Carta da FRAIN'.
23 *Ibid*.
24 CC–DAC, 'Comunicado da FRAIN', 1960, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07059.025.012; CC–DAC, 'Comunicado da FRAIN sobre as bases propostas para a realização da CONCP', Agosto de 1960, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07196.154.041.
25 CC–DAC, 'Preparativos para a realização da CONCP', 1961, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04605.043.027.
26 Moledo, 'A New Phase of Anti-Imperialist Cooperation', p. 17.

Democrática Nacional de Moçambique (Udenamo), led by Adelino Gwambe and Marcelino dos Santos, and the Comité de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe (CLSTP).[27]

The CONCP then established its operational headquarters in Rabat, with Marcelino dos Santos heading the permanent secretariat, and Mario de Andrade as chairman of the advisory council.[28] Both had been among the early protagonists of the anti-colonial groups in Lisbon and Paris and, as Marxists, both looked to communist countries and organisations for both ideological reference and political support, but the political relationships that they had built in the early anti-colonial groups in Lisbon and Paris were not limited to this sphere. Indeed, together with other leaders, such as the Guinean Amílcar Cabral and the Goan Aquino de Bragança, they were also able to develop a diplomatic architecture in the western world that would prove to be a key asset for CONCP movements.

Together with the effort to isolate Salazar's Portugal in the international arena, the area for which the CONCP movements' international diplomacy is probably best known corresponds to the first of the measures 'for immediate execution' established by the general declaration of the Casablanca conference: 'obtaining funds from organisations sympathetic to the cause of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies'.[29] Just after the CONCP's foundation, dos Santos and de Andrade emphasised the fundamental role that the formation of national solidarity committees in Europe and around the world could play both for material aid and in political and diplomatic terms.[30] The MPLA and Udenamo jointly attended a non-aligned movement summit in Belgrade in September 1961[31] and a seminar on Portuguese colonies in New Delhi in October, showing a concerned Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (PIDE – International and State Defence Police) the support given to the two movements not only by the socialist world but also by the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) and part of the US and English Methodist Church.[32] In 1962, the CONCP established its information services in Algiers, given the activism of newly independent Algeria for the anti-colonial cause in the international arena,[33] and a CONCP delegation led by dos Santos presented a 'declaration of principles' to the UN Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration.[34]

The second measure of the general declaration referred to the 'mutual aid between the nationalist organisations of the Portuguese colonies';[35] notwithstanding eventual successes in terms of political and ideological alignment, military co-ordination was limited, given the geographical location of the Portuguese colonies. The thorniest issue, however, was the third measure: the 'consolidation of the unity of the nationalist organisations of each colony'.[36] The CONCP had to deal mainly with the division between the MPLA and the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola

27 CC–AMPA, 'Conférence dos organisations nationalistes des colonies portugaises', Casablanca, 18–20 Avril 1961, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04357.009.001; JSTOR Primary Sources Struggles for Freedom: Southern Africa (hereafter JPS), 'PIDE, Informação N° 1.467/61-Gu, Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas (CONCP)', 3 October 1961, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.pt-tt-pide-d-f1010iii.

28 CC–AMPA, 'Conferences das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colonias Portuguesas (C.O.N.C.P), Estatutos' (n.d.), available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04334.002.007.

29 CC–AMPA, 'Conférence dos organisations nationalistes des colonies portugaises', p. 64.

30 CC–DAC, 'Marcelino dos Santos, Rabat, a Mário de Andrade', Conakry, 14 de Junho de 1961, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04604.023.018.

31 CC–DAC, 'Carta de Marcelino dos Santos, Rabat, a Aristides Pereira', Conakry, *c.*Setembro de 1961, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04604.023.039.

32 JPS, 'PIDE, Informação N. 1.692/61-GU, Informação sobre o Seminário sobre as Colónias Portuguesas em Nova Delhi', 4 December 1961, pp. 8–9.

33 J.J. Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution: Algeria, Decolonization, and the Third World Order* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016).

34 M. dos Santos, 'Déclaration de Principe de la Conférence des Organisations Nationalistes des Colonies Portugaises (C.O.N.C.P.) Adressée au Comité Spécial de l'O.N.U. pour les Territoires Administrés par le Portugal', *Présence Africaine*, 42 (1962), pp. 214–17.

35 CC–AMPA, 'Conférence dos organisations nationalistes des colonies portugaises', p. 65.

36 *Ibid.*

(FNLA), which had evolved from Holden Roberto's UPA, and with the negotiations for the formation of a united front of Mozambican nationalists.[37]

The CONCP and the Early Disputes among Nationalists in Angola and Mozambique

At the CONCP's foundation, the UPA/FNLA had been invited to join the new front both by dos Santos as general secretary[38] and directly by the MPLA,[39] but Holden Roberto firmly refused and instead initiated a dialogue with other opponents of the CONCP movements:[40] indeed, it was clear that joining the CONCP could only mean, as dos Santos later made clear, accepting the leadership of the MPLA for Angolan nationalists.[41] The UPA/FNLA leader had already built up a certain continental and international legitimacy, and when, shortly after the founding of the CONCP, the MPLA was hosted by the Third All-African People's Conference in Cairo, Roberto's movement was welcomed by the Kasavubu regime in Leopoldville, Congo,[42] where, the following year, it formed the Governo da República de Angola no Exílio (GRAE). Despite the CONCP's attempts to discredit Roberto's move,[43] the GRAE was then recognised as the 'legitimate' liberation movement for Angola in 1963 by the newly formed OAU through an ad hoc committee and subsequent meetings of its organs.[44] This fact also fuelled the ongoing internal crisis of the MPLA: early leaders such as Viriato da Cruz and de Andrade broke from Agostinho Neto's new leadership.[45]

In Mozambique, the situation seemed to take a more unified direction with the founding of Frelimo on 25 June 1962 in Dar es Salaam under the auspices of Nyerere, but divisions among Mozambican nationalists were in fact equally deep. Immediately after the birth of the CONCP, Udenamo leader Gwambe was expelled from Dar es Salaam by the Tanganyikan authorities, who supported the rival Maconde (later Mozambique) African National Union (MANU).[46] Gwambe raised immediate support from the CONCP (of which Udenamo was still a member), whose leaders pressured Nyerere for clarifications.[47] But when Gwambe began to highlight his 'racial' nationalist

37 CC–DAC, 'Mario de Andrade, Convocatória para a II sessão do Conselho Consultivo da CONCP', Rabat, 15 de Maio de 1962, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04604.038.073.

38 CC–DAC, 'Marcelino dos Santos, Secretário Geral da CONCP, Rabat, ao Presidente do Comité Director da União das Populações de Angola (UPA)', Léopoldville, 10 de Junho de 1961, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04604.023.010.

39 CC–DAC, 'Carta de João Cabral, Londres, a Marcelino dos Santos', 17 de Agosto de 1961, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04604.023.034.

40 CC–DAC, 'Marcelino dos Santos, Secretário Geral da CONCP, Rabat, à Amílcar Cabral, Secretário Geral do PAIGC', 25 de Janeiro de 1962, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04604.038.022; CC–DAC, 'Marcelino dos Santos, Circular às Organizações Membros da CONCP apelando à união de todas as forças nacionalistas', Rabat 8 de Abril de 1962, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04604.038.061.

41 CC–DAC, 'Carta de Marcelino dos Santos, Rabat, a João Cabral', Londres, 13 de Agosto de 1961, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04604.023.029.

42 African Activist Archive (hereafter AAA), 'George Houser, Draft Report on the Third All African People's Conference Held in Cairo from March 25 to 30, 1961', confidential, not for publication, available at https://africanactivist.msu.edu/record/210-849-30626/.

43 CC–AMPA, 'Aquino de Bragança, Rabat, a Mário de Andrade', 11 de Abril de 1962, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04337.005.012, p. 1.

44 OAU, 'Resolutions and Recommendations of the Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers Held in Dakar, Senegal from 2 to 11 August 1963', available at https://au.int/sites/default/files/decisions/9565-council_en_2_11_august_1963_council_ministers_first_ordinary_session.pdf.

45 J. Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution II: Exile Politics and Guerilla Warfare (1962–1976)* (Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1978); J.M.A. Mbah, *As rivalidades políticas entre a Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA) e o Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA), 1961–1975* (Luanda, Mayamba Editora, 2010).

46 CC–DAC, Letter by Ministry of Home Affairs, Tanganyika to the Secretary General of PAIGC, 1 November 1961, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07197.161.049; JPS, 'João Hall Themide, Circular UL–60, Movimento de Emancipação de Moçambique/2. Elementos de referência', Lisboa, 3 de Setembro 1963, available at jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.pt-tt-pide-d-f1012mm.

47 CC–DAC, 'Carta de Adelino C. Gwambe ao Secretário Geral do PAIGC', 4 de Abril de 1961, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04608.052.059; CC–DAC, 'Carta de Marcelino dos Santos, Rabat, a João Cabral, Londres'; CC–DAC, 'Carta de João Cabral, Londres, a Marcelino dos Santos'; CC–DAC, 'Carta de Amílcar

conceptions of 'black radicalism' and his determination to take immediate armed action, the CONCP was quick to endorse his exclusion from the process, leading to the merger under the chairmanship of Eduardo Mondlane of Udenamo, MANU and a third movement (União Nacional Africana de Moçambique Independente, UNAMI) into Frelimo.[48] The new front then took the place of Udenamo as a member of the CONCP,[49] but, as we shall see, divisions among Mozambican nationalists would continue to preoccupy the CONCP for some years to come.

A first very important context where Frelimo, the MPLA and the PAIGC began to strengthen their union was in newly independent Algeria, where the CONCP had established its intelligence service and where its movements began to send groups of guerrillas for military training and diplomatic representation.[50] In Algiers, CONCP movements succeeded in marginalising Roberto's UPA/FNLA, while no Mozambican movement other than Frelimo made an appearance. But Algiers had a further significance for the future of these internal disputes: CONCP movements entered into collaboration with the nationalist organisations of southern Africa's white minority regimes hosted there (the African National Congress [ANC] for South Africa, the South West Africa People's Organisation [SWAPO] for Namibia and the Zimbabwe African People's Union [ZAPU] for Southern Rhodesia).[51] It would be precisely in southern Africa, in fact, that the axis of those disputes would shift in the following years.

The CONCP in Southern Africa, the OAU LC and the 'Congo Alliance'

A turning point of CONCP movements' continental politics was the establishment of the OAU's LC in Dar es Salaam under the aegis of Nyerere, which prevailed against other proposals including Nkrumah's suggestion of the Congo. The LC was set up to co-ordinate international diplomatic and material support for the liberation movements, and its stated aims were in all respects similar to those of CONCP. For each non-independent country, the OAU advocated unification of nationalist and anti-colonial activists within one movement in order to promote unity of purpose, and the LC explicitly worked for the thorny goal of resolving internal disputes, to recognise just one 'legitimate' movement fighting for independence, both for practical reasons and for the idea that one nation should be represented by one organisation.[52]

The principle of unity was also crucial in legitimating who was to represent those territories to international supporters and within international institutions, beginning with the Decolonisation Committee of the UN, which also supported the same unitarian idea. However, the various African and international supporters of liberation movements often pursued different agendas, sometimes deepening the differences among African nationalists rather than promoting their unification.[53]

Cabral, Secretário Geral do PAIGC ao Secretariado Geral da CONCP', 12 de Novembro de 1961, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04605.042.029.

48 JPS, 'Pide, Informação N. 822-SC/CI(2), Evolução histórica dos Partidos Emancipalistas de Moçambique', 18 August 1967, p. 10, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.pt-tt-pide-d-f1012p. For more details on the disputes over the founding of Frelimo, including the hypothesis of a previous founding process held in Accra under the aegis of Nkrumah, see G. Liesegang and J. das Neves Tembe, 'Subsídios para a Historia da UDENAMO e FRELIMO, Maputo', unpublished paper; das Neves Tembe, *História da Luta de Libertação Nacional*; C. Tornimbeni, 'Nationalism and Internationalism in the Liberation Struggle in Mozambique: The Role of the FRELIMO's Solidarity Network in Italy', *South African Historical Journal*, 70, 1 (2018), pp. 198–9.

49 JPS, 'Frelimo, 1st Congress, Dar Es Salaam, 23–28 September 1962 – Documents', available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.pwmoz000021.

50 JPS, 'PIDE, Informação N. 67-SC/CI(2), Actividades dos chamados Movimentos de Libertação de Moçambique', 16 January 1964, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.pt-tt-pide-d-f1010p.

51 Monteiro, *De todos se faz um País*, pp. 123–36.

52 M.A. El-Khawas, 'Southern Africa: A Challenge to the OAU', *Africa Today*, 24, 3 (1977), pp. 25–41; Van Walraven, *Dreams of Power*; M.O. Maundi, 'The Role of the Organization of African Unity in the Liberation Struggle of Southern Africa', in A.J. Temu and J. das Neves Têmbe (eds), *Southern African Liberation Struggles: Contemporaneous Documents, 1960–1994. Vol. 9* (Dar es Salaam, Mkuki na Nyota, 2014), pp. 383–430.

53 A.M. Dias, 'The Trajectory of Liberation: Insurgencies from Portuguese Colonialism and Their Contribution to Pan-Africanism and Solidarism within an Emerging African International Society', in M. Grilli and F. Gerits (eds), *Visions of African Unity: New Perspectives on the History of Pan-Africanism and African Unification Projects* (Cham, Palgrave

At the OAU founding conference in Addis Ababa (25 May 1963), the CONCP leaders had failed to promote a common platform with the other nationalist movements of the Portuguese colonies.[54] Beyond the formal recognition of GRAE, other movements, such as Gwambe's Frente Unida Anti-Imperialista Popular Africana de Moçambique (Funipamo), could present their claims.[55] But it was with the LC that CONCP movements managed to establish an exclusive and effective relationship.

The first half of the 1960s in fact saw the development of two distinct groups of nationalist movements in southern Africa: on one side, those who gathered in Dar es Salaam and carved out a privileged relationship with Nyerere and the LC; on the other, the 'dissidents' (as they were called by the first group) – a group of rival formations that gathered at some point in Léopoldville, supported by the Congolese regime. CONCP movements and those organisations with which they had already established a relationship in Algiers congregated in the first group. Their antagonists gradually rallied in the Léopoldville group around Roberto's GRAE, in an alliance briefly recognised as the 'Congo Alliance', which also included a reconstituted Udenamo, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of South Africa, the South West Africa National Union (SWANU) of Namibia and, initially, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) of Southern Rhodesia.[56] These latter movements found training camps for guerrillas organised by the local authorities near Léopoldville and occasionally enjoyed the support of some African leaders, such as Mobutu Sese Seko (Congo), Hastings Banda (Malawi), Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia), Milton Obote (Uganda) and Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana) after his 'defeat' on the issue of the LC seat. Internationally, they were supported for some years by China, in fierce competition at that time with the Soviet Union. which was already supporting several of the movements in Dar es Salaam, especially those of the CONCP.[57]

Finally, the two sides were also divided ideologically. The Congo Alliance group opposed the progressive, socialist tendencies of the movements united in the CONCP and around the LC, in particular the 'multiracial' connotation that the CONCP itself had set out in its declaration of principles already presented to the UN.[58] The Léopoldville movements, on the other hand, reaffirmed their cultural credentials of 'African authenticity', explicitly defining themselves as

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Macmillan, 2020), pp. 183–211. Divisions among independent African governments also affected the LC and its relationship with the institutions of the Tanzanian government; see Brennan, 'Tanzania and the OAU's African Liberation Committee'.

54 CC–DAC, 'Marcelino dos Santos, Secretário Geral da CONCP, à Amilcar Cabral, Rabat', 17 de Abril de 1963, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04613.069.081; CC–DAC, 'Eduardo Mondlane à Amílcar Lopes Cabral', Dar es Salaam, 3 de Abril de 1963, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04613.069.082.

55 CC–DAC, 'Déclaration de Marcelino dos Santos, Sécretaire Général de la Conférence des Organisations Nationalistes des Colonies Portugaises, Addis-Abeba', 23 May 1963, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04604.023.008. See also P. Labrentsev, 'The Roles of African States in Affecting Soviet and American Engagements with Mozambican National Liberation, 1961–1964' (PhD thesis, Brunel University, 2015), pp. 241–3.

56 AAA, 'John Marcum to the Executive Board of the American Committee on Africa, Developments in the Angolan Situation, Summer 1963' (n.d.), available at https://africanactivist.msu.edu/record/210-849-24742/; AAA, 'George M. Houser, Report on a Trip to Africa, May–June 1963' (n.d.), available at https://africanactivist.msu.edu/record/210-849-29556/; AAA, 'George Houser, A Report on a Trip to Africa, May 11 – June 10, 1967' (n.d.), available at https://africanactivist.msu.edu/record/210-849-29587/. See also L. Passemiers, 'The Pan Africanist Congress and the Congo Alliance, 1963–1964', *South African Historical Journal*, 70, 1 (2018), pp. 82–107.

57 D. Larkin, *China and Africa 1949–1970: The Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, University of California Press, 1971); S.F. Jackson, 'China's Third World Foreign Policy: The Case of Angola and Mozambique, 1961–93', *China Quarterly*, 142 (1995), pp. 388–422; I. Taylor, *China and Africa: Engagement and Compromise* (London and New York, Routledge, 2007); V. Shubin, *The Hot 'Cold War': The USSR in Southern Africa* (London, Pluto Press, 2008); Labrentsev, 'The Roles of African States in Affecting Soviet and American Engagements'.

58 Dos Santos, 'Déclaration de Principe'.

'uniracial'. This ideological connotation of the two groups, reported by observers of the time[59] and elevated to a kind of paradigm by John Marcum's historical work on Angola,[60] originated both in the cultural and political background of the protagonists and in their interaction with the continental and international political frameworks of the time.

In the 1950s and 1960s, African elites often profited from the chance to adapt their claims of self-determination and economic progress to one or another of the then prevailing forms of modernisation. Either through free market capitalism or through socialist theories, scientific development was conceived as a new social order that would overtake traditional modes of production and ancestral cultures. CONCP leaderships, who often had a similar background within the structure of the colonial state[61] and shared common experiences of leftist political radicalisation in Lisbon and Europe, as discussed above,[62] progressively aligned with the Marxist-Leninist interpretation, which had the further advantage of joining the internal priorities of independence, justice and modern nation-building beyond ethnic-based divisions to wider discourses on class struggle and anti-imperialism.[63] Drawing on cultural movements celebrating a distinct African identity and on a specific 'racial' interpretation of pan-Africanism,[64] the leaders of the Congo alliance, instead, were confident of building their political legitimacy by rooting their discourse on 'nativism' and 'Africa authenticity' against western ideologies and the reproduction of colonial exploitation. In so doing, Holden Roberto was joined by other leaders from southern Africa, whose leadership was also based on local identity-based formations[65] and whose experiences abroad were predominantly in the region or in the African continent. Even though the reality on the ground was more mixed, the elements on which this division was most evident and that generated the most heated conflicts were the 'racial' composition of the liberation movements themselves and the definition of the enemy of the anti-colonial struggle. The *mestiço* component was proportionately wider among the leadership of the CONCP movements, as in the case of Marcelino dos Santos and Mario de Andrade, who rejected any connotation of the struggle for independence as the liberation of black people from white domination.[66]

When, in November 1963, MPLA representatives were expelled from Léopoldville for refusing to join the GRAE,[67] it was clear that the gulf between Angola's two main nationalist formations had solidified in relation to these two regional alliances. The same could apparently be said for the Mozambicans, with Frelimo in Dar es Salaam and a group of its rivals, not recognised

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59 R.H. Chilcote, *Emerging Nationalism in Portuguese Africa: Documents* (Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1972); G.M. Houser, *No One Can Stop the Rain. Glimpses of Africa's Liberation Struggle* (New York, Pilgrim Press, 1989).
60 Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution, Volume II*. Furthermore, in the more recent book on Mozambique, Marcum describes the movements in Léopoldville as 'uniracial, vocally suspicious of multiracialism': Marcum, *Conceiving Mozambique*, p. 61.
61 Mateus, *A luta pela independência*; M. Cahen, 'Anticolonialism & Nationalism: Deconstructing Synonymy, Investigating Historical Processes. Notes on the Heterogeneity of the Former African Colonial Portuguese Areas', in Morier-Genoud (ed.), *Sure Road?*, pp. 1–28.
62 Mabeko-Tali, 'Dreaming Together'.
63 See, for example, G. Derluguian, 'The Social Origins of Good and Bad Governance: Re-Interpreting the 1968 Schism in Frelimo', in Morier-Genoud (ed.), *Sure Road?*, pp. 79–101; Dias, 'The Trajectory of Liberation'. A criticism of such adherence to modernist paradigms and Marxist ideologies is expressed in M. Cahen, 'Luta de emancipação anti-colonial ou movimento de libertação nacional? Processo histórico e discurso ideológico–o caso das colónias portuguesas e de Moçambique em particular', *Africana studia*, 8 (2005), pp. 39–67; Cahen, 'Anticolonialism & Nationalism'
64 A.M. Mazrui and W. Mutunga (eds), *Debating the African Condition: Ali Mazrui and His Critics. Race, Gender, and Culture Conflict* (Trenton and Asmara, Africa World Press, 2004); R. Rabaka (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Pan-Africanism* (Abingdon and New York, Routledge, 2020).
65 Cahen, 'Luta de emancipação anti-colonial'; Cahen, 'Anticolonialism & Nationalism'.
66 B. Gruffydd Jones, 'Anti-Racism and Emancipation in the Thought of Cabral, Neto, Mondlane and Machel', in R. Shilliam (ed.), *International Relations and Non-Western Thought: Imperialism, Colonialism and Investigations of Global Modernity* (London and New York, Routledge, 2011), pp. 47–63; Dias, 'The Trajectory of Liberation'.
67 CC–DAC, 'C.O.N.C.P., Circular às organizações membros', 30 de Novembro de 1963, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04604.023.054.

by the OAU, in Léopoldville. But the situation was in fact more fluid, since dialogue for the unity of the various Mozambican nationalist formations was still going on, both underground and in formal negotiations.

Indeed, shortly after the formation of Frelimo, the organisations that had in theory merged into it were partly 'resurrected' in some African capitals (such as Cairo, Kampala and Lusaka) by leaders such as Adelino Gwambe, who had been excluded or expelled from the governing bodies of the new front. Two new Udenamos and a new MANU were thus again formalised, and added themselves to a few other movements that were born from scratch.[68] Some of them professed the kind of 'African authenticity' vision that characterised the Léopoldville group, which, in fact, they soon joined thanks to the support guaranteed by the Congolese regime, with the ambition also to favour the constitution of an alliance of nationalist formations of the Portuguese colonies outside the CONCP framework.

However, while on the one hand the Gumane-led Udenamo attempted to reconcile with Frelimo with the mediation of the LC,[69] the other movements pursued the project of forming a new, alternative front. After the failure of the dialogue between Gumane and Mondlane, a new alliance was formed under the name Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique (Coremo – Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique), whose constitution was signed in Lusaka, Zambia, on 31 March 1965.[70]

Coremo immediately took over from the previous formations in the Congo Alliance[71] and for years constituted the main threat to Frelimo, submitting petitions and applications for membership to organisations such as AAPSO[72] and directly to the UN and OAU.[73] Frelimo remained, however, the only movement formally recognised by the OAU. According to PIDE's own observations, Nyerere's government in Tanganyika continued to hinder any competition from Frelimo's rivals,[74] and, when a Coremo delegation attempted to be received by the LC in Dar es Salaam, its members were arrested by the local authorities,[75] probably on the instructions of the Frelimo leadership itself. Moreover, just as Coremo was being set up, the CONCP was about to meet for its second conference in Dar es Salaam, with Frelimo as the main engine of the event.

The Second CONCP Conference

68 See, for example: JPS, 'Declaration of dissolution of Frelimo, Kampala', 21 and 23 May 1963, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.chilco272; University of Southern California Digital Library, 'Emerging Nationalism in Portuguese Africa, 1959–1965' (hereafter USCDL), CENPA-276, *MANU Newsletter*, Khartoum, August 1966, available at https://digitallibrary.usc.edu/asset-management/2A3BF1O3UYMQO?FR_=1&W=1280&H=609; JPS, 'PIDE, Informação N. 822-SC/CI(2), Evolução histórica'.

69 See, for example, JPS, 'PIDE, Relatório das discussões entre a Udenamo e a Frelimo', 20 January 1964, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.pt-tt-pide-d-f1010c.

70 JPS, 'Resolutions of the Mozambican Unity Conference Held in Lusaka, Zambia', 25 March 1965, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.chilco290. For more details on these negotiations, see C. Tornimbeni, 'Challenging Frelimo Nationalism and the 1963–1965 "Union Talks" for the Liberation Struggle in Mozambique', in F. Martins, M.A. Bernardo and P.E. Guimarães (coord.), *Entre África e Europa: Estudos Históricos em Homenagem ao Professor Helder Adegar Fonseca* (Lisboa, Edições Humus, 2022), pp. 87–115.

71 AAA, 'Houser, A Report on a Trip to Africa', 11 May–10 June 1967.

72 USCDL, CENPA-264~01, 'Documents relating to COREMO application for AAPSO membership', Council Meeting, Nicosia, Cyprus, 13 February 1967, COREMO External Bureau, Cairo, available at https://digitallibrary.usc.edu/asset-management/2A3BF1O3U3DLR.

73 Gramsci Foundation, Rome – Fondo Lucio Luzzaro (hereafter FLL), UA 96, 'Mr. Artur X.L. Vilankulu, Comité Revolucionario de Moçambique (COREMO), Question of territories under Portuguese Administration, Request for hearing to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee, UN', 25 September 1972, UN General Assembly, A/C. 4/747. 4 October 1972; USCDL, CENPA-221~01, 'COREMO, Memorandum Submitted to the 3rd Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity Accra/Ghana, 2l–27 October, 1965, Lusaka', available at https://digitallibrary.usc.edu/asset-management/2A3BF1O3UY2TI.

74 JPS, 'Pide, Informação N. 822-SC/CI(2), Evolução histórica'.

75 JPS, 'PIDE Moçambique, Comité Revolucionario de Moçambique – COREMO', 4 February 1966, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.pt-tt-pide-d-f1026z.

The LC had already been informed two years earlier by Mondlane in Dar es Salaam that the CONCP movements were planning their second conference, calling the LC itself to take steps to ensure that the divisions within the nationalists of each Portuguese colony were recomposed; that is, that the CONCP movements were preserved in their supremacy and unity,[76] as was also reiterated by Amilcar Cabral during his visit to the Frelimo headquarters in Tanganyika.[77] The second CONCP conference, initially scheduled for June 1963, was then suspended owing to the MPLA's internal crisis, the lack of organisational capabilities and some divergences between the movements. In the meantime, the venue for the next conference had to be chosen. The choice was between Brazzaville, which hosted the MPLA, and Dar es Salaam, which hosted Frelimo. As Cabral later made clear, Brazzaville ran the risk of fomenting discontent among other African leaders, given the significant recognition the FNLA then enjoyed at continental level through the GRAE, established in Léopoldville. The choice then fell on the Tanzanian capital, but the Angolan question remained at the heart of subsequent discussions:[78] the MPLA leadership counted on the LC's support not only against the official recognition granted by the OAU to the GRAE, but also against the sharp internal divisions that were debilitating the movement.[79]

At the first official meeting of the preparatory committee for the conference, 12–15 February 1965 in Rabat, the mandate was confirmed for the Frelimo leadership to agree the details of the conference with the Tanzanian and LC authorities. But, among the CONCP movements, there was a confrontation over the Angolan question: Cabral, for example, pointed out that the unity of purpose that had distinguished them at the time of the founding of Frelimo, with the marginalisation of Gwambe, was lacking, and that only their joint action within the framework of the CONCP could have had an impact in favour of the MPLA and against the recognition of GRAE at continental level. This could have been the role of the next conference.[80]

The following month, at the second meeting of the preparatory committee in Rabat, the political support of the OAU secretary general was confirmed and, above all, the financial support of the government of Tanzania, in practice covering the travel expenses for the delegates of CONCP movements, observers and guests. The date of the conference was set for 23–27 May 1965.[81] But it was further postponed: Cabral's PAIGC, in particular, feared the reaction of Holden Roberto and the GRAE's allied movements for not having been contacted for the conference and suspected that this might undermine the political and diplomatic effectiveness of the event at continental level.[82] The confrontation became particularly heated with the MPLA because of a statement picked up by the international press at the MPLA's headquarters in Brazzaville, which emphasised the non-participation of Roberto and the FNLA in the new conference.[83]

The conference was eventually held from 3 to 8 October 1965 in Dar es Salaam, under the chairmanship of Agostinho Neto. At the invitation of the preparatory committee, a large number of Afro-Asian solidarity committees and organisations, such as the AAPSO and the World Peace Council, as well as solidarity groups from European countries and the USA, such as the ACOA, participated as observers. Delegations from the OAU and independent African states were also present. Finally, a special place was occupied by the delegations of the nationalist movements of the

76 JPS, 'Eduardo Mondlane, Memorandum to the African Liberation Committee of the Heads of State Conference, OAU', Addis Ababa, May 1963, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.crlwal00048.
77 JPS, 'PIDE, Informação N. 67-SC/CI(2), Actividades'.
78 CC–DAC, 'Processo Verbal da Primeira Reunião do Comité Preparatório da II Conferência da CONCP', Rabat, 12–15 de Fevereiro de 1965, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07059.022.005.
79 Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution II*; Moledo, 'A New Phase of Anti-Imperialist Cooperation', p. 18.
80 *Ibid*
81 CC–DAC, 'Comunicado da II Reunião do Comité Preparatório da II Conferência da CONCP', Rabat, 5 de Abril de 1965, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07059.022.006.
82 CC–AMPA, 'Luís de Azevedo à Mário de Andrade, Alger 6 de Abril de 1965', available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04308.007.025.
83 CC–DAC, 'Secretariato Permanente da C.O.N.C.P., Carta-circular às Organizações-membros e aos membros do Comité Preparatório', 20 de Abril de 1965, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07059.022.008.

white minority regimes of Southern Africa, with whom the CONCP movements had already shared the training and diplomatic experience of Algiers.

After the end of Portuguese rule over the Asian possessions of Goa, Daman and Diu, the CONCP now reflected the definitive 'Africanisation' of the organisation, which was then dominated by the MPLA, Frelimo, the PAIGC and the CLSTP. The Dar es Salaam conference also made changes to its structures, assigning the executive functions to a new governing council, made up of the leaders of the member movements, who would chair it in rotation; the permanent secretariat remained the executive body.[84] Each of the leaders of the three main member movements was also appointed as representative for the whole CONCP to three high-profile international meetings that year: Eduardo Mondlane of Frelimo to the next UN session, Agostinho Neto of the MPLA to the third conference of OAU heads of state and government in Accra, and Amilcar Cabral of the PAIGC to the Afro-Asian conference in Algiers (this was eventually cancelled).[85] The appointment of these representatives was a step towards the uniformity in continental and international diplomacy that had been so desired in the preceding months and which, according to Fonseca, was then institutionalised in the composition of the sections of the international affairs secretariat of the CONCP.[86]

The workings of the conference were, as expected, dominated by the future prospects of the liberation struggles, but above all by the question of the CONCP movements' status as the sole representatives of their respective peoples in the struggle against colonialism. Apart from the discussion of some principles linked in some way to the political confrontation with the 'dissident movements', as in the case of the 'function of ethnic groups in the revolutionary struggle' in the face of the 'indivisibility of national unity',[87] the final resolutions focused in particular on the support that the GRAE still received at continental level. They demanded of the LC that 'material aid intended for Angola be granted exclusively to the MPLA' and that the OAU's heads of state 'courageously review […] the recognition "de jure" of the so-called "Revolutionary Government of Angola in exile"'. Frelimo's rivals, on the other hand, such as the new Coremo alliance, were not explicitly mentioned, probably because they had never received equal recognition in the OAU and because of the exclusive profile that Frelimo had secured with the LC in Dar es Salaam.
The resolutions, also drawing attention to the role played by the Léopoldville government in opposition to the CONCP movements, stated in conclusion that 'the CONCP, as a whole or through its members, is ready to consider with the nationalist and anti-imperialist organisations in Southern Africa ways to establish practically and rapidly a solid coordination of efforts in the common struggle for national liberation'.[88]

Unity Achieved? Angola and Mozambique Towards Independence

The CONCP did not manage to organise its third general conference, initially planned for 1967, but it continued to operate up to the eve of independence mainly through the meetings of the governing council and the summits of its movements, as envisaged by the restructuring set up by the second conference. Its main strategic aims followed what was outlined in Dar es Salaam too: to strengthen the international visibility of the CONCP movements as a united group and, in the light of the

84 CC–AMPA, 'Conferencia das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colonias Portuguesas (C.O.N.C.P.), Estatutos. Projecto. Doc. annexes – conjunto de documentação da CONCP', 1966, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04337.005.008.
85 FLL, '2ème Conference des organisations nationalistes des colonies portugaises (CONCP)', Dar es Salaam, 3–8 October 1965, Resolutions, Ua 373.
86 H.A. Fonseca, 'Ideas of Southern Africanism: Portugal and the Movements of Liberation (1961–1974)', paper presented at the 24th biennial conference of the Southern African Historical Society, University of Botswana, Gaborone, 27–29 June 2013, pp. 1339–40.
87 CC–AMPA, 'Bilhete manuscrito de Eduardo (Mondlane) para Mário Pinto de Andrade', Outubro de 1965, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04329.004.007.
88 CC–DAC, '2ème Conference das Organisations Nationalistes des Colonies Portugaises, Resolutions', Dar es Salaam, 10 October 1965, pp. 15–20, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04603.007.

various interests at stake, to present a united front with their allies in southern Africa in order to marginalise internal rivals from recognition by the OAU and the international community.[89] Synergy with the LC, in particular, may have been decisive in this regard.

The second regular meeting of the CONCP governing council, held in Brazzaville from 26 to 30 August that year, focused largely on the support that GRAE was still getting in the continent,[90] as was also shown by Roberto's presence at the LC meeting in Dar es Salaam in February to report on the situation of the liberation struggle in Angola, alongside Mondlane representing Mozambique.[91] Coremo, on the contrary, seemed to be on the way to losing support both within the region and from China, while its activities were restricted by internal divisions.[92]

Factionalism was a feature of Frelimo at the end of the 1960s too,[93] but the leadership that emerged from the internal conflicts confirmed Frelimo's capacity to present itself as the 'sole' effective liberation movement of Mozambique: by the end of that decade, according to the Portuguese secret services, there was no doubt that Frelimo was 'the only one that the OAU recognises as truly representing the interests and aspirations of the Mozambican people'.[94] In this respect, a turning point came during 1967, when a series of meetings of the conference of heads of state and government of the OAU, of the LC and of the UN decolonisation committee were organised in Kinshasa (formerly Léopoldville), once the headquarters of the Congo Alliance: not only was Frelimo invited to attend the meetings but the LC executive secretary's report portrayed it alone as representing the liberation struggle of the Mozambican people, while Coremo's claims were not taken into consideration.[95] The MPLA, conversely, could not profit from these occasions and even refrained from attending for fear of its members' own safety. The Congolese president and chairman in office of the OAU, Mobutu, aimed at the creation of a united Angolan front under Holden Roberto, but the latter immediately put himself in a position of conflict with the LC, accusing the committee in harsh words of having supported almost exclusively the MPLA despite the OAU's recognition of the GRAE.[96] It was at that point that the CONCP movements escalated their diplomacy to get Roberto's organisation stripped of its recognition by OAU, to isolate it internationally and to consolidate definitively the profile of the MPLA, Frelimo and the PAIGC, united in the CONCP, as the true representatives of the liberation struggles in the Portuguese colonies.

Siding with the CONCP, the LC at its 13th ordinary session, held in Algiers in July 1968, decided to ask the OAU general conference to withdraw its recognition of the GRAE and suspend

89 CC–AMPA, 'Mario de Andrade, La lutte de libération en Afrique australe. Éléments pour une stratégie', Alger, 25 June 1968, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04334.003.008.
90 CC–AMPA, '2ª. Reunião Ordinária do Conselho de Direcção da Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas – Brazzaville, 26–30 agosto 1966, Comunicado Final', available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04334.002.011.
91 Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (hereafter ANTT), 'PIDE/DGS, 2ª Divisão de Informação, CI (2) 640, pt. 2', 'Reunião do Comité de Libertação da O.U.A: pt. 2', 1966, available at https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4498326.
92 For example, JPS, 'PIDE delegação de Moçambique, Relatorio Secreto, Actividades do COREMO: ordem de batalha; personalidades', 20 November 1967, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.pt-tt-pide-d-f1026ccc; JPS, 'PIDE, Relatório sobre actividades do COREMO', 1966, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.pt-tt-pide-d-f1026aaaaa. For more details, see Marcum, *Conceiving Mozambique*, pp. 65–9, 163–8; Tornimbeni, 'Challenging Frelimo Nationalism'.
93 See, for example, W.C. Opello Jr, 'Pluralism and Elite Conflict in an Independence Movement: Frelimo in the 1960s', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2, 1 (1975), pp. 66–82.
94 JPS, 'Ministério dos Neg. Estrangeiros, Circular PAA-4, Estudo sobre a Frelimo, com destaque para a análise do seu II Congresso', Niassa, 6 February 1969, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.pt-tt-pide-d-f1016ll.
95 USCDL, CENPA-240, 'O combatente – Orgão oficial do COREMO', vol. 1, no. 3 (30 September 1967), available at https://doi.org/10.25549/chil-c60-8672.
96 ANTT, PIDE/DGS, '2ª Divisão de Informação, CI (2) 640, pt. 4', '10ª Reunião do Comité de Libertação da O.U.A: Pt. 4', available at https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4490757.

its aid to Roberto's movement.[97] The continental organisation was divided on the issue, but, at the end of the day, the international resonance provided by the CONCP movements' joint action with the nationalist movements of the white minority regimes in southern Africa, with whom they presented a statement to the 1968 fifth ordinary assembly of the OAU heads of state and government in Algiers,[98] would prove crucial in this regard.

A key event was undoubtedly the 'international conference in support of the peoples of Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa', organised by the AAPSO and the World Peace Council in Khartoum, Sudan, from 18 to 20 January 1969, from which the GRAE and its allied southern African movements based in Léopoldville were excluded.[99] Attended by 200 delegations from 54 countries, the conference asserted the status of the CONCP- and LC-backed movements as the only legitimate liberation movements in their countries.[100] The 'dissident movements' reacted with a joint declaration contesting the outcome of the conference and denouncing Soviet influence.[101]

A few months later, moreover, the famous 'Manifesto on Southern Africa' adopted at the '5th Summit Conference of East and Central African States' in Lusaka (14–16 April) stressed the principles that differentiated the movements of the Khartoum conference from the 'African authenticity' ideology of the former Congo alliance movements: '[o]ur stand towards Southern Africa thus involves a rejection of racialism, not a reversal of the existing racial domination'. A specific warning was then directed to the Portuguese colonies: 'we would urge the Liberation Movements to reiterate their statements that all those Portuguese people who have made their homes in Mozambique, Angola or Portuguese Guinea, and who are willing to give their future loyalty to those states, will be accepted as citizens'.[102]

As Daniel Chipenda of the MPLA said in an interview, the CONCP movements were now more determined than ever to launch a major international campaign to boost their profile to the detriment of their rivals, especially the GRAE.[103] Indeed, the Khartoum conference, recently taken into consideration as an apex moment in the building of the alliance of the 'authentic movements' of southern Africa,[104] also gave the CONCP movements the opportunity to begin promoting themselves in western Europe by organising a conference in Rome.[105] The event was eventually held in June 1970 and displayed to the world the image of the MPLA, Frelimo and the PAIGC as the sole and legitimate representatives of their peoples fighting against colonialism, as was noted by the OAU council of ministers in August.[106] The Khartoum and Rome conferences revitalised the attempts to wrest continental recognition away from Roberto's organisation.

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97 ANTT, PIDE/DGS, '2ª Divisão de Informação, CI (2) 640, pt.11', '13.ª Reunião do Comité de Libertação da O.U.A.', available at https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4498346.

98 Moledo, 'A New Phase of Anti-Imperialist Cooperation', pp. 23–4.

99 FLL, UA 276, International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Portuguese Colonies and Southern Africa, Khartoum, 18-20 January 1969.

100 J.R.T. Wood, *A Matter of Weeks Rather than Months: The Impasse between Harold Wilson and Ian Smith – Sanctions, Aborted Settlements and War 1965–1969* (Victoria, Trafford Publishing, 2012), p. 627.

101 Larkin, *China and Africa*, pp. 187–9.

102 JPS, 'World Council of Churches, 5th Summit Conference of East and Central African States', Lusaka, 14–16 April 1969, Manifesto on Southern Africa, pp. 2 and 3, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.ydlwcc0124

103 JPS, 'Don Barnett, Liberation support movement interview with Daniel Chipenda', Lusaka, 28 August 1969, pp. 20–21, available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.lsmp1b2005.

104 Moledo, 'A New Phase of Anti-Imperialist Cooperation'; Brennan, 'Tanzania and the OAU's African Liberation Committee, 1963–1973'.

105 Among other things, Italy was a strategic country as an ally of Portugal in NATO. For more details on this event, see Tornimbeni, 'Nationalism and Internationalism in the Liberation Struggle in Mozambique'.

106 'Resolutions and Declarations of the Fifteenth Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers Held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia from 24 to 31 August 1970', pp. 33–4, available at https://au.int/sites/default/files/decisions/9594-council_en_24_31_august_1970_council_ministers_fifteenth_ordinary_session.pdf.

Once again at the urging of the MPLA, Frelimo and the PAIGC,[107] the LC, after its Dakar summit in July 1969, submitted to the 13th ordinary session of the OAU council of ministers (Addis Ababa, 24 August–4 September 1969), a demand for the withdrawal of the recognition of the GRAE, the suspension of aid to Roberto's organisation and the exclusive recognition of the MPLA as the liberation movement of Angola. The council of ministers not only endorsed the request and forwarded it to the conference of heads of state and government but also suggested that the UN decolonisation committee should subsequently be urged to withdraw its recognition of movements not endorsed by the OAU.[108]

The initiative taken by the LC was welcomed by the CONCP governing council, which met in Dakar during the LC summit under the chairmanship of Cabral.[109] It was the first CONCP meeting since Mondlane's assassination in February 1969, perhaps the most sensational of the tragic events of Frelimo's internal crisis. But the new Frelimo leadership that emerged from that period was no less politically close to the other CONCP movements and was perhaps even closer to certain components of the MPLA from an ideological point of view.[110]

The LC's alignment with the CONCP position, however, was divisive within the continental community: in the following months, the hard line of those governments opposing the LC choices was passed and a new body, the 'committee of seven', was formed to reform the LC or even to replace it with a new kind of organisation.[111] Eventually, the plan to dismantle the LC and its political function clearly did not have sufficient support and was abandoned,[112] but what happened was visibly a symptom of divisions that would later be reflected in the decisions taken on Angola by the continental organisation.

After further opinions presented by the LC and the OAU council of ministers, the Eighth conference of heads of state and government decided on 21 June 1971 to withdraw its recognition of and support to the GRAE, but at the same time it left African states free to maintain or not their recognition of the individual liberation movements, including the FNLA.[113] In the eyes of the UN decolonisation committee, the contrast between FNLA and the other liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies, grouped within a single delegation of the CONCP,[114] was particularly evident, but, thanks to the decision taken by the OAU, the FNLA could keep its relationship with the continental organisation; it even attended the successive summits of the LC as well as receiving support from its partners in Africa.

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107 CC–AMPA, 'Déclaration Commune des Mouvements de Liberation des Colonies Portugaises, *c.*1969', available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04334.003.004.

108 CC–AMPA, 'Organisation de l'Unite Africaine – Conseil des Ministres, Treizième session ordinaire, Rapport du Comite de Coordination pour la Libération de l'Afrique, Addis-Abéba – 24 Août–4 Septembre 1969', pp. 3–4, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04323.003.001; ANTT, PIDE/DGS, '2ª Divisão de Informação, CI (2) 640, pt 16', '15.ª Reunião do Comité de Libertação da O.U.A: pt. 16', available at https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4490761.

109 CC–AMPA, '3ème session ordinaire du conseil de direction de la C.O.N.C.P., Communiqué final', Dakar, 21 Juillet 1969, p. 3, available at http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04330.008.025.

110 JPS, 'Don Barnett'; Gramsci Foundation Rome, Archive of the Italian Communist Party (hereafter APCI), MFA 0308, 'Luigi Pestalozza: relazione sul viaggio nei seguenti paesi: Sudan, Tanzania, Zambia, Congo Brazzaville, Algeria, Libia, e sui contatti con i dirigenti del Frelimo e del MPLA, alla Sezione Esteri del Partito', October 1969 (uff. di segreteria 28 October 1969).

111 ANTT, PIDE/DGS, '2ª Divisão de Informação, CI (2) 640, pt 22', '17.ª Reunião do Comité de Libertação da O.U.A.: pt. 22', available at https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4490762; ANTT, PIDE/DGS, '2ª Divisão de Informação, CI (2) 640, pt. 19', 'Reunião do "Grupo dos Sete" da O.U.A.: pt. 19', available at https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4498351.

112 ANTT, PIDE/DGS, '2ª Divisão de Informação, CI (2) 640, pt 29', '18.º Reunião do Comité de Libertação da O.U.A.: pt. 24', available at https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4490764. For details of this dispute and of the mediation reached by Nyerere to keep the LC in Dar es Salaam, see Brennan, 'Tanzania and the OAU's African Liberation Committee'.

113 ANTT, PIDE/DGS, '2ª Divisão de Informação, CI (2) 640, pt. 27', '8.ª Conferência dos Chefes de Estado e do Governo da O.U.A.: pt. 27', available at https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4498374.

114 Alamada e Santos, *The Role of the Decolonization Committee*, p. 10.

Since the beginning of the 1970s, the OAU had established a special fund for liberation movements, which, in the case of the Portuguese colonies, the LC had decided to allocate mainly to Frelimo, which was recognised as having the capacity to 'solve its own internal crises', and to the PAIGC. The Angolan movements received the smallest slice because of their divisions, and, in any case, the amount granted to the MPLA was three times that to the FNLA.[115]

In December 1972, a Conselho Supremo da Libertação de Angola (CSLA – Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola) was formed between the MPLA and the FNLA in response to OAU pressures and following an agreement between Congo-Brazzaville President Ngouabi, who supported the MPLA, and Congo-Kinshasa President Mobutu, for the FNLA. The CSLA excluded the more recently founded third Angolan movement, the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA), and was short-lived. The 21st LC summit in Accra in January 1973 was particularly ambiguous in allowing two years to implement the union before funding was withdrawn from 'dissident' movements,[116] but the FNLA would continue to occupy a prominent role in Angola and in African decolonisation politics more generally until independence. Indeed, the MPLA was in the midst of an internal crisis that was again weakening its profile on the continental level, leaving room for its historical rivals.[117]

When, in October 1973, the LC hailed the unilateral proclamation of the independence of Guinea Bissau by the PAIGC the previous month, no progress could be detected with respect to the process of unification of Angolan nationalists in the CSLA, while UNITA remained excluded from recognition by the LC.[118]

Independence in Angola and Mozambique came almost two years later, after a coup d'état had brought down the Salazarist regime in Lisbon on 25 April 1974. In both cases, a chaotic period of transition resulted in the handover of power to the liberation movements that had come together in the CONCP. In the case of the MPLA, this was in practice due to its military conquest of the capital, supported by Cuban troops, which allowed it to prevail over the other two movements recognised by OAU.[119] In the case of Frelimo, the only one recognised by OAU and at that point the only one militarily involved in the liberation struggle in Mozambique, the direct transfer of power took place also thanks to the firmness of its leadership in not giving space to the multitude of new formations that emerged at that time, including elements that came from the history of Coremo.[120]

Conclusions

The CONCP contributed little to the military struggle in the Portuguese colonies, but, with the rise to government power of its member movements, its main political objective had been reached and it practically ceased to exist.

Born out of the common experiences of some African nationalist leaders contesting the Portuguese colonial regime in Portugal, in Paris and then in some African capitals, the CONCP

115 ANTT, PIDE/DGS, '2ª Divisão de Informação, CI (2) 640, pt. 18', '16.ª Reunião do Comité de Libertação da O.U.A.: pt. 18', available at https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/DetailsForm.aspx?id=4498350; ANTT, PIDE/DGS, '2ª Divisão de Informação, CI (2) 640, pt. 29', '18.º Reunião do Comité de Libertação da O.U.A.: pt. 24', available at https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4490764; El-Khawas, *Southern Africa: A Challenge to the OAU*, pp. 30–32.
116 ANTT, PIDE/DGS, '2ª Divisão de Informação, CI (2) 640, pt 41', '21.ª Conferência do Comité de Libertação da QUA: pt. 35', available at https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4490766.
117 Wilson Center Digital Archive, Mike Malone to Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Pretoria, 'Angola: The Progress of the War', 27 November 1973, History and Public Policy Programme Digital Archive, Angola: Political Situation and Developments, 16, 1/22/1 OS, South African Department of Foreign Affairs Archives. Obtained by Jamie Miller, available at https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/134621. See Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution, II*.
118 ANTT, PIDE/DGS, '2ª Divisão de Informação, CI (2) 640, pt 45', '22.ª Reunião do Comité de Libertação da O.U.A., pt. 45', available at https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4490767.
119 During the transitional period, UNITA eventually obtained recognition by OAU too.
120 N. MacQueen, *The Decolonization of Portuguese Africa: Metropolitan Revolution and the Dissolution of Empire* (London and New York, Longman, 1997); A. Costa Pinto and S. Lloyd-Jones (eds), *The Last Empire: Thirty Years of Portuguese Decolonization* (Bristol and Portland, Intellect Books, 2003); A. Tomás, 'Introduction: Decolonising the "Undecolonisable"? Portugal and the Independence of Lusophone Africa', *Social Dynamics*, 42, 1 (2016), pp. 1–11.

represented a framework that strengthened the international diplomatic work and the ideological cohesion of the political movements that took part in it. After its foundation in Casablanca in 1961, it was in southern Africa that the CONCP faced its most decisive challenge, both for independence from the colonial regime and for the affirmation of its movements as the sole and legitimate representatives of their peoples in the anti-colonial struggle. The organisation in Dar es Salaam of the second (and last) CONCP conference in 1965, the close link with a specific group of nationalist movements of the white minority regimes in the region and the relationship established with the liberation committee of the OAU were decisive elements in the growing international support for CONCP movements, but it was not enough to solve all the internal divisions within the nationalists in Mozambique and, especially, in Angola: CONCP leaders devoted a major part of their work to the third point of the CONCP programme – the settlement of internal disputes – but its incomplete solution was to be a piece of the puzzle of the post-colonial conflict in Angola, and in part also in Mozambique. Nevertheless, CONCP diplomacy in the 1960s and early 1970s can be said to have left a legacy in the post-colonial context with the politics of the front-line states and the links then established between some state leaderships in the region.

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