Algeria's struggle for the liberation of the Portuguese colonies "Angola as a model"

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Abstract:

Algeria was able to achieve its independence from France in 1962, after a popular revolution that claimed the lives of 1.5 million martyrs and affected millions of people's lives, in addition to the ruin and destruction that made Algeria stand by the colonial peoples in Africa, especially those subject to Portuguese colonialism, which is the oldest colonizer in Africa. This latter's methods are no different from those applied to the Algerian people, and the belief of the Algerian state in the right of peoples to self-determination, and in the liquidation of colonialism, Algeria provided all material, political and moral assistance to the Angolan people in order to achieve their independence, which was actually done in 1975.

Keywords: Portuguese colonialism, Africa, Algerian diplomacy, The United Nations, Liberation. الملخص:

تمكنت الجزائر من تحقيق استقلالها عن فرنسا عام 1962، بعد ثورة شعبية ذهب ضحيتها 1.5 مليون شهيد، وملايين المتضررين، إضافة إلى الخراب والدمار، ما جعل جزائر الاستقلال تقف إلى جانب الشعوب المستعمرة في إفريقيا خصوصا تلك الخاضعة للاستعمار البرتغالي، الذي يعد أقدم وجودا في إفريقيا، ولا تختلف أساليبه عن تلك التي طبقت على الشعب الجزائري، وإيمانا من الدولة الجزائرية بحق الشعوب في تقرير المصير، وبتصفية الاستعمار، قدمت الجزائر كل المساعدات المادية والسياسية والمعنوية للشعب الأنغولي لينال استقلاله، وهو ما تم فعلا سنة 1975.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الاستعمار البرتغالي، افريقيا، الدبلوماسية الجزائرية، هيئة الأمم المتحدة، التحرر.

Introduction

After Algeria has gained its independence, it did not forget that there are other nations on the African continent that are still suffering from the European colonization and its repressive and tyrannical policy in various fields, besides that, they are in dire need of both material and diplomatic support in order to investigate and become as free and independent as like others, and based on the revolutionary and geographical dimensions of the Algerian state, it relied on itself and on its firm principles to support liberation movements and stand by the oppressed African people, especially those who are under the yoke of the Portuguese occupier.

Which leads us to the study's problematic: To what extent have the efforts of the newly independent Algerian state contributed to enabling the Angolan people to gain their independence? What are the aspects of support provided by Algeria in order to end the struggle of Angola?

The study aims to:

- - Confirm the stability of the position of the Algerian state on its revolutionary principles.
- - Supporting liberation movements in the world and standing by the oppressed peoples for the right of self-determination.
- - Opposing the authoritarian colonial regimes, fighting them, rejecting their policies, and exposing them in front of the international organizations.

1. Colonized Angola:

Angola is an African Republic, located on the southwestern coast of the continent of Africa. Its area is estimated at more than 1.2 million square kilometers, and with a population of more than 32 m.n., the capital is Luanda, it became independent from Portugal on November 11, 1975, it is bordered by Namibia to the south, and the Republic of the Congo Democracy to the north, Zambia to the east and the Atlantic Ocean to the west.¹

The country was under Portuguese occupation at the end of the 15th century AD (1482), and was forced to abandon Angola in favor of the Netherlands, but Portugal returned again to control it in 1848, and practiced the worst types of human and economic exploitation. This act has taken place immediately after announcing "Francisco de Sousa", as the general governor, this latter reduced the displacement of slaves and built the castle of Kakanda as an urban center for the Portoguese settlers settlement².

He encouraged domestic and foreign investment, and increased more interest in the colony (Angola), after Brazil's independence from Portugal, and thus increased European competition over african raging, exploitation of its wealth and resources, and competition with Portugal³.

ا- حسام حامد و آخرون: أطلس العالم الصحيح، دار الحياة للنشر و التوزيع، بيروت، 1985، ص154.

²⁻ زاهر رياض: استعمار القارة الافريقية واستقلالها، دار المعرفة للنشر و التوزيع، مصر، 1966، ص165

³ -Bernard Lugan et autres, Les guerres d'Afrique des origines à nos jours, edition Rocher, Paris, 2013, p195.

This led to the establishment of the Geographical Society of Lisbon, which included a group of Portuguese intellectuals.

The aim of this founding is to confront the African National Association, which was founded by the Belgian King Léopold II, and its aim was to spread Western civilization in Africa, but the issue is occupation and exploitation.

The Lisbon Association was able to collect funds and provide conditions for sending scouting trips, the most famous of which was the trip of military officer Alexandre Pinto in 1877, who set off from Luanda, the largest and most important Portuguese camp in Angola on the eastern coast of the Atlantic Ocean, through the routes that were used by African trade caravans in the past, until it reached the Indian Ocean, passing through the lands of Mozambique.

And he raised the Portuguese flag over these areas, and considered them Portuguese colonies; Still, the second Berlin Conference 1884/1885, approved for Portugal the possession of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea only, while the rest of the regions were shared by Britain, Belgium, and France ⁴.

In light of these competitive conditions and the exclusion that Portugal was subjected to, it focused on the exploitation of agricultural lands, mining resources, and timber available to Angola. It also increased the number of settlers and allowed international companies to freely exploit their capital in the country ⁵.

However, the political situation was unstable in Portugal, where the monarchy was ended and the republic was established, so the policy of benefiting from the bounties of Angola was not allowed to continue, even with the advent of republican rule from 1910-1926.

In the year 1926, a military coup took place that enabled General Olivera Salazar (1898-1974) to seize power in Portugal, and applied a strict dictatorial regime, which was known as the New Testament and was based on three elements (geography, trade, national nationalism), and changed the previous organizations in the administrative, political and economic fields⁶.

Salazar sums up the policy of the New Testament as follows: "...now, after more than four and a half centuries of our presence in Africa, we are more busy than ever in carrying out numerous and great projects—roads of communication, exploitation of virgin lands, construction of cities and Building schools...Leading the primitive African masses towards a better life and edifying their instincts and souls from paganism - governing them with justice and understanding... It is our historical work that we carried out nobly and voluntarily, that we are at the beginning of a new era from which everything was mocked for the sake of the common good and the upliftment of the motherland..."

However, the real reality of the colony revealed something other than what he said, as the indigenous people exploited the worst exploitation in the service of the land, extracting

⁴⁻ منصف بكاي: دور الجزائر في تحرير إفريقيا ومقومات دبلوماسيتها الإفريقية، دار الأمة للطباعة والنشر و التوزيع، الجزائر، 2017، ص55. M. Newitt: Portugal in Africa the last hundred years, C.Hurst and Co, Londres, 1981, p 113.

⁶⁻ جايمس دفي: الاستعمار البرتغالي في إفريقيا، ترجمة الدسوقي حسنين المراكبي، المكتبة الأنجلومصرية، القاهرة، 1963، ص 157.

^{َ-} نفسه: ص176.

mineral treasures, especially diamonds, as well as the wood and animal resources⁸; Therefore, poverty, famine, epidemics, ignorance, and abhorrent racism spread ethnically, and culturally.

Thus, the profits of foreign companies and Portuguese businessmen increased at the expense of the misery of the indigenous population⁹.

2- Resisting Angola:

Exploitation of Angola's land and people increased during the era of the dictator Salazar, an attempt by him to compensate for the effects of World War I on the one hand, and the results of the global economic crisis that was in the year 1929 on the other hand, the people faced this policy by claiming their rights through petitions and written protests, rejecting forced labor, forced and compulsory labor and displacement, not to mention the lack of social care, poor education and various social grievances.

However, the occupation authority faced this with extreme violence, as it imprisoned and arrested the elite without trial, but that did not discourage the people from continuing the protests, especially in 1953 when some parties emerged, including: the Angolan People's Union Party, and the Angolan Liberation Movement Party.

And in the year 1956, the Front for the Liberation of Angola "MPLA"¹⁰ emerged as the first independent liberation movement, led by Agostino Neto and Eduardo Mondlani¹¹)then the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, led by Jonas Savambi ten years later, in 1966, these organizations fought for liberation from the grip of the Portuguese occupation, which exploited everything in the country in favor of Salazar and those in his service, then the Portuguese settlers, whose number increased dramatically, especially after the end of World War II¹².

The Lisbon government rejected all the demands and used the media and propaganda that Portugal had succeeded in its historical civilizing mission, and had achieved major projects in social development and Portuguese African unity, And that the African would prefer to be Portuguese than to be free, and the Portuguese army will confront all actions that will harm the idea of Portuguese Africa, and it will confront that tide with all strength and decisiveness¹³.

However, the Angolan patriots, affected by the strong liberation struggle going on around them against the European occupation, decided not to be late for the liberation struggle taking place on the continent, and they turned from a peaceful struggle to a revolutionary one.

And the protests increased throughout the Angolan territory, and they were concentrated mainly in the capital, Luanda, as they affected government institutions, the headquarters of foreign companies, and the interests of the settlers. These protests became active, especially between the years 1959 and 1960.

11- ريتشارد جيبسون: حركات التحرر الافريقية النضال المعاصر ضد الأقلية البيضاء، تر صبري محمد حسن، المطابع الأميرية، القاهرة، 2002، ص199. 12- أحمد محمد الطوير: الحركات التحررية من الاستعمار في العالم خلال العصر الحديث في الوطن العربي و إفريقيا و آسيا و الأمريكيتين، دار تانيت للنشر و التوزيع، الرباط، 1998، ص198.

⁸⁻ Michel klen : Le Défait Sud-Africain, France Europe Edition, Nice, 2004, p 210.
9- محمد ظاهر جاسم، إفريقيا ما وراء الصحراء من الاستعمار إلى الاستقلال، المكتب المصري لتوزيع المطبوعات، القاهرة، 2003، ص 289.

¹⁰ - Bernard Lugan : op.cit, p197.

¹³⁻ جيمس الدفي: المرجع السابق، ص254.

Nevertheless, the Portuguese occupation authorities used a method of violence, terror, repression, imprisonment and torture, and allowed their forces to use excessive force, and the fighter Augustino Nino, leader of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, was arrested and imprisoned at the end of 1960¹⁴.

As a result of this clash, 7 policemen were killed in exchange for many angry attackers, and the confrontations were renewed the next day, where the Portuguese forces used excessive force that led to the killing of 24 Angolans and the injury of dozens, and in fact this is what helped in the explosion of the situation and It turned into a popular revolution that spread from Luanda to the rest of the regions.

All of these acts made the dictator Salazar give orders to his armed forces from the army and the police to use full force against the revolutionaries, together with the help of the settlers who hated the people.

The massacres were heavy, especially on the defenseless Angolans, and the outcome was very high, as the number of victims exceeded 10,000 dead within months¹⁵.

Salazar was still not satisfied, he appointed his representative to Angola, Dr. Catru Ver Nandez, who stated, "...we have been criticized because of our lack of skill in reconstruction, the slow pace of production in spreading education, and the low level of wages and medical protection... But the foreign intervention took advantage of the situation and heavily pushed the people ... Portugal is in Africa and will forever remain there..."¹⁶

Nevertheless, the Angolan people responded to these statements with massive and focused attacks on the interests of the enemy, whether inside or outside the country, and it also benefited from the African support provided to it from neighboring countries such as the Congo that has long borders with Angola after its independence in 1960; in addition to the fact that Augustino Neto was able to escape from prison and the reception of his movement, the Popular Front, a great African support as it has a wide popular representation in the country¹⁷.

3 -Independent Algeria and support for the Angolan struggle 1962-1975:

Algeria gained its independence after a bitter and costly struggle against one of the major colonial powers, in the month of July 1962, and in return there were many African peoples who were still struggling for liberation and independence, especially those that were subject to the Portuguese occupier, including the including Guinean, Mozambican and Angolan people, this is what made independent Algeria refuse to forget about them and pledge to stand by them.

The Algerian position is evident in the speech given by Algerian President Ahmed Ben Bella in New York on the occasion of Algeria's accession to this international organization on October 9, 1962, saying, "...for every concrete decision to liberate and resolve international conflicts, we are ready to play the role of a country Responsible for world peace and security."

15- هيلين دالنيدا توبور: إفريقيا في القرن العشرين، ترجمة صباح ممدوح كعبان، منشورات و مطبوعات الهيئة العامة السورية للكتاب، دمشق، 2013، ص387.

¹⁴- G.D.A Fage: History of Africa, Hutchinson and Co, London, 1978, p486.

^{16 -} جيمس دفي: المرجع السابق، ص256

¹⁷⁻ أحمد محمد الطوير: المرجع السابق، ص 199

Then he added, "Algeria will not forget its brothers in South Africa and Angola and will give them its unconditional support..." 18

This fact was confirmed by the representative of the President of the Republic of Angola, Mr. Luis Neto Ciambiata, during his participation in the international conference that Algeria hosted in the summer of 2006, saying, "... I am pleased to find myself again in this country that was the cradle of many freedom fighters, And the representatives of many oppressed peoples at the time... The Angolan people benefited during their struggle against the Portuguese occupation for independence from the necessary assistance coming from friendly countries, Among them were the people of Algeria, who were also striving to become free and sovereign... After Algeria's independence, friendship was strengthened even more... Many Angolan executives were formed here in Algeria, and they participated in the struggle for independence... I have to once again congratulate the Algerian people for the help they have given us..." 19

This frank and clear recognition by the representative of the President of the Angolan Republic shows the value of the efforts made by Algeria for the success of global liberation movements in general, and African ones in particular, and precisely, the Angolan liberation movement.

The support provided by the newly independent Algerian state, despite its dire need for all its capabilities, especially since it emerged from the occupation that destroyed the country and the people for decades, and with that, and aware of the value and importance of solidarity with the struggling peoples, it did not delay and did not hesitate to provide support which can be classified into:

3-1 Material and financial support: which can be summarized as follows:

- Algeria established centers and camps to train Angolan fighters, under the supervision of Algerian officers, and on top of them we mention Colonel "Mokhtar Karkab", whom many fighters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Angola know well, with the intention to train them in the use of weapons, ambush and gang warfare, explosives making, setting up trenches, hiding and infiltration, and various war plans²⁰. ()
- Independent Algeria sent many of its officers to the Congo, and from there to Angola, in order to train the fedayeen there, and also to deliver weapons and supplies to their colleagues on the battle fronts, this is what helped liberate the areas touching the border with the Congo²¹. ()
- Algeria transported a large shipment of weapons on board a ship, the latter departed from Algeria heading towards Brazzaville in the Congo in September of 1964, in addition to sendin an Algerian plane that unloaded its cargo of 3 large trucks of weapons west of Uganda

²¹ -Mohamed Gantari : Organization politico-administrative et militaire de la révolution algérienne 1954-1962, vol2 OPU, Alger, 2011, p879

¹⁸ - James Jeffrey Byrne : Mecca of Revolution, Algeria Decolonization and third world order, Oxford university, press. USA, 2016, p189.

¹º- لويس نيتو كيامبياتا: أعمال الملتقى الدولي حول الاستعمار بين الحقيقة التاريخية و الجدل السياسي، جويلية 2006، منشورات وزارة المجاهدين، الجزائر، 2007، ص222.

²⁰ -M. Cornevin: Histoire de l'Afrique Contemporaine, Payot, Paris, 1978, p275.

in mid-November of the same year (1964), the revolutionaries benefited greatly from these aids ²².

- The Algerian state used its various media outlets to expose the repressive methods used by the Portuguese occupier against the Angolan people on the one hand, and on the other hand to provide material and political support to the revolutionaries and encourage them to carry on with the struggle until they gain their independence.
- Algeria provided sums of money amounting to seventy thousand pounds sterling, despite its financial situation, in order to help the rebels in Angola so that they can obtain weapons and supplies²³.

These facts are confirmed by what was said by the late President Ahmed Ben Bella in his founding speech to the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 1963, which stated;" ... There are ten thousand volunteers in Algeria who are trained to fight, waiting to have the opportunity to fight for the liberation of Angola... Algeria is ready to contribute with its blood to the liberation of the rest of the African regions from European colonialism... It is also ready to contribute effectively to the project of the African Charter... which we believe will be worthless unless it helps the people of Angola, South Africa and Mozambique, and their full support, which is what it expects from us today in order to free it from the yoke of colonialism... Africa cannot allow ten million Portuguese to continue their unchecked humiliation of more than thirty million Africans..."²⁴

He added, in another intervention, saying, "... Africa is in dire need of a bank of blood, not a bank of francs, and I say frankly and publicly, at a time when the Angolans demand arms from us, they will reach them within 48 hours, and this is in order to achieve the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination." And so he responded to some African leaders who saw that financial aid was sufficient to achieve the principle of liberation²⁵.

3-2 The political and diplomatic field is as follows:

The official and public demand for direct support for liberation movements by the countries that have direct and neighboring borders, The Algerian state was very decisive in this demand, and we notice this through the clash that took place between the representative of Algeria and the Prime Minister of the Congo, Musa Tchoumi, Because of his carelessness and indifference in supporting the Angolan revolutionaries, Algeria was constantly calling for the need to unite the liberation movements in one front, so that their struggle would be effective and strong, and international support would be of great benefit²⁶. ()

The People's Democratic Republic of Algeria decided, immediately after its independence, to open offices for most of the African liberation movements, especially those fighting against the

²² -James Jeffrey Beyrne : op.cit, p254.

²³⁻ رابح لونيسي: رؤساء الجزائر في ميزان التاريخ، دار المعرفة للنشر و التوزيع، الجزائر، 2011، ص132. - محمد أمين مختار مكرم: أضواء حول إفريقيا، المكتبة الأنجلومصرية، القاهرة، د.ت، ص 195. 24

²⁵⁻ سعيد الصافى: بن بلة يتكلم، ط2، منشورات عروبيا للطباعة و التوزيع، تونس، 2012، ص 145.

²⁶ -James Jeffrey Beyrne: op.cit, p252.

Portuguese occupation, and the Mujahid Jaloul Malaika was a coordinator between them and the Algerian leadership, from which we mention:

- -Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).
- -FRELIMO Mozambique Liberation Front
- African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (BAIGC).
- The Liberation Movement of Sao Tome and Principe LMSTP, and Algeria considered all that work as one of the duties of the Algerian nation towards the African peoples that have not yet been liberated, the word duty definitively denotes Algeria's full conviction of the need to support the liberation struggle²⁷.

The presence of Algeria as an active member in the Committee for the Liberation of Africa of the Organization of African Unity, along with Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal, Ethiopia, and Guinea, Algeria won the position of rapporteur in it, through the diplomat "Ayashi Yaker", which made the committee provide great services to the process of liberation and hostility to the Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique, the French in Djibouti, the British in the Seychelles, and apartheid in South Africa²⁸.

- Algeria invited the African Liberation Committee to a meeting in 1963, in Dar es Salaam, the Tanzanian capital, in order to set the goal of joint action to end colonialism in Africa, also to support liberation movements effectively and without delay. The meeting eventually concluded:
- Establishing an executive secretarial committee.
- Formation of a special fund to finance national liberation movements, and a special budget for it to be renewed every half a year.

Distribution of various aids to national liberation movements.

- Expedite the implementation of the decisions issued by the Organization of African Unity in the fields of competence.
- Identifying the problems of each colonilization "Portuguese, French, English" and the use of effective policy by the organizing committee²⁹.

After the formation of the structures of the Organization of African Unity, Algeria obtained the position of Deputy Secretary-General of the Organization, in the year 1964-1973, which was represented in the person of the Algerian diplomat Mr. "Mohamed Sahnoun" from 1931-2018, in fact, he was its official spokesman, which enabled Algeria, through this position, to deliver the policy it desires and believes in, based on its revolutionary struggle that rejects colonialism, whatever its form or nationality, and supports with full force the right of people to self-determination³⁰.

• Algeria continued to support the Angolan liberation movement through the convening of the thirteenth session of the African Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity on July 15, 1968, And that was through the speech delivered by Algerian President Houari

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²⁷-Slimane Cheikh: La révolution Algérienne sur la scène internationale au naissance d'une diplomatie de combat, Revue d'Etudes Historiques, N° 9, université d'Alger, 1995, p35.

²⁸ - Nicole Grimaud : La politique éxtérieure de l'Algérie 1962-1978, edition Rahma, Alger, 1994, p271.

²⁹⁻ أبو الفتوح محمد الخياط: الوحدة الإفريقية، دار المعارف للنشر و التوزيع، مصر، 1965، ص71.

³⁰ -Nicole Grimaud: op.cit, p271.

Boumediene, where he focused on the need to continue the fight against the Portuguese colonizer, and also to resume African support for all liberation movements³¹.

*Based on the objectives of the Committee for the Liberation of Africa, Algeria severed its diplomatic relations with Portugal in June 1963, and was followed by:

The United Arab Republic, Cameroon, Ethiopia, and Algerian diplomacy continued its tireless political activity until it managed to expel Portugal from the Economic Commission for Africa.

• Recognition by the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria of the Angolan national government formed in exile and providing it with material and political support³².

Algeria moved its political and diplomatic weight from the continental space to the global one, specifically the United Nations in New York, America, headed by the Committee for Decolonization, its pressure had a positive resonance in favor of the African continent and its liberation issues, exactly the Angolan issue, therefore, the UN Security Council issued resolutions and regulations strongly condemning the Portuguese occupier in August 1963, A decision banning the export of arms to Portugal, as well as the support of NATO, and its issuance was despite the abstention of the United States of America, France and Britain from voting³³.

• Algeria continued its struggle in the corridors of the United Nations and the Security Council, where a list was issued bearing No. 312 and was issued on February 04, 1972 and included:

Article 1: The Security Council renews the right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau to self-determination and independence in accordance with Regulation No. 1514 of 1960, in addition to the fact that the Council recognizes the legitimacy of the liberation struggle of these people.

Article Two: The Security Council condemns the Portuguese government's refusal to implement UN regulations, especially Regulation No. 1514 issued by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council.

Article Three: The UN Security Council believes that the current situation in Angola and the rest of the colonies is caused by the colonial policy of Portugal, and this threatens security and stability in neighboring African countries³⁴. ()

Algeria has continued to implement its foreign policy in support of liberation movements against the Portuguese occupier, and the coup that took place in Portugal against the rule of dictator Salazar in 1974 played a positive role in favor of resolving the Angolan issue, which took place in November 1975 when Angola gained its independence.

Conclusion

In conclusion: Algeria became an independent state at the beginning of July 1962 after a liberation revolution against an abominable colonialism that lasted for many years in which it

³¹⁻ موسى ملايم: الرئيس هواري بومدين، دار الهدى للنشر و التوزيع، الجزائر، 2017، ص 92.

³²- زاهر رياض: المرجع السابق، ص162. ³³- جيمس دفي: المرجع السابق، ص9.

³⁴ - M.Newitt : op.cit, p97.

enslaved man and exploited the resources of the earth and tried hard to destroy the entity, and cost the Algerian people huge sacrifices.

Despite all that, Algeria did not forget the African peoples who were still not liberated after what made their struggle begin liberating and then continue liberating,; Therefore, Algeria turned with it into the "Kaaba of the revolutionaries" as the Guinean revolutionary fighter Amilear Cabral once,

- Algeria provided material support in all its forms to liberation movements, especially the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and apartheid in South Africa, despite its recent independence and endangering its interests, but its belief in its liberal principles made it not hesitate.
- The support provided by the Algerian Republic to the African liberation movements without discrimination and bias is what made it dubbed the Kaaba of the revolutionaries.
- Algeria used regional and international organizations, especially the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, as effective platforms to described it, therefore: make the voice of the freedom fighters heard, and its voice was as loud as it is today, achieving several political victories for those peoples and achieving their independence.