## **Contents**

	Глејасе	XI
	List of Maps	xiv
	List of Abbreviations	XV
1.	Portuguese Africa, the 'New Imperialism' and the	
	Estado Novo	1
	Portugal and the 'Scramble'	1
	Consolidating the Empire	5
	Africa and the Estado Novo	9
	The African Perspective	11
2.	Nationalist Consolidation and the Wars of	
	Liberation	17
	The Emergence of Militant Nationalism in Portuguese	
	Africa	17
	The Wars Begin	22
	Metropolitan Politics and the Onset of the Wars	25
	The War in Angola	28
	The War in Guiné-Bissau	37
	The War in Mozambique	43
	The Economic Impact of the Wars	49
	Diplomacy and Solidarity: The International Dimensions	
	of the Wars	52
3.	Lisbon: The Decline and Fall of the Regime	64
	Marcello Caetano: The Politics of Indecision	64
	Spinola and Portugal and the Future	72
	The Armed Forces Movement and the Coup	75
	The Decline of Presidential Authority	80
	Early Negotiations: The Quest for Cease-Fires	84
	Constitutional Law 7/74 and the Commitment to	
	Decolonization	88

viii Contents

4.	Guiné-Bissau, Cabo Verde and São Tomé &	00
	Príncipe	98
	Guiné-Bissau on 25 April	98
	First Talks: London	101
	The Algiers Negotiations	103
	African Realities: Developments in Guiné	106
	The Settlement	108
	Cabo Verde	110
	São Tomé & Príncipe	115
5.	Mozambique	124
	Mozambique and 25 April	124
	'Self-Determination' and 'Consultation'	130
	The 'Third Force' Groupings	136
	The Negotiations and the Lusaka Accord	142
	White Resistance and the Transitional Government	147
6.	Angola	158
	The Impact of 25 April	158
	The Spinolist Endeavour in Angola	160
	The Sal Island Meeting	166
	The Road to Alvor	170
	The Alvor Agreement	175
	Civil War	177
	Lisbon's 'Hot Summer' and the Crisis of Control in	
	Angola	179
	Internationalization	185
	Independence	196
7.	Conclusions and Consequences	205
• •	The Dimensions of Collapse: The Caetano Regime	
	and the Pressure of Modernization	205
	Africa, Spínola and 25 April	208
	The Portuguese Military and the Decolonization Process	211
	The International Background	213
	The Aftermath: External and Internal Factors in	
	Post-Independence Politics	215
	Picking up the Threads: Portugal and Lusophone	***
	Africa since Independence	218
	Guiné-Bissau: Political and Economic Rapprochement	221
	Angola: From Alvor to Bicesse	223

Contents	ix
Mozambique: The Elusive Relationship	227
The Islands: The Diplomacy of Hyperdependency	231
Bibliography	240
Maps	253
Index	259