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## REPORTS

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### BRAZIL AND PORTUGUESE AFRICA IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE:

University of California Colloquium

(January–March 1968)

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THERE HAVE BEEN FEW SCHOLARLY COMPARISONS OF LATIN AMERICA WITH other areas of the Third World. As a contribution to such comparative study, the University of California Colloquium attempted to examine links between Brazil and Portugal's African territories of Angola, Guinea and the Cape Verdes, and Mozambique.\* The objectives were to overlap the traditional area boundaries that separate specialists of Latin America and Africa, to focus on common themes from the perspective of varying social science disciplines, and to reassess and evaluate, first, a series of historical cases of crisis, protest, and resistance and, second, nationalist trends and events in relation to patterns of change and development.<sup>1</sup> The specialized essays were to be analytical and exploratory, raising questions for possible future research.

The colloquium was jointly sponsored by the African Studies Center and Latin American Center of the Los Angeles campus, and the Latin American Research Program of the Riverside campus of the University of California and was supported by research funds available to the three sponsors as well as the UCLA Chancellor's Committee on International and Comparative Studies. Over an eight-week period during January to March 1968, 24 contributors presented papers to seminars of faculty and graduate students at Los Angeles and Riverside.† Since papers were written, mimeographed, and distributed

\* Professor Chilcote, who organized and coordinated the colloquium, is editing for publication the book of essays that will ensue.

† A list of the papers by authors in alphabetical order appears at the end of this report.

before hand to seminar participants, contributors focused at each campus on different aspects of their papers. The intent was to include at least one African and one Brazilian paper at each session and to provoke dialogue, debate, and discussion among Africanists and Latin Americanists alike.

Of the 24 contributors, ten were from the United States, seven from Brazil, three from Portugal, two from Mozambique, and one each from England and France. They represented the following disciplines: political science (6 contributors), history (6), sociology (5), anthropology (4), anthropology-psychiatry (1), history-geography (1), and education (1). Ten contributors were Brazilianists, nine were Africanists, and five had undertaken research and study in both areas.

The first part of the colloquium focused on crisis, protest, and resistance. Contributors developed case studies drawn from the historical experience of Brazil or Africa. Each contributor was to identify the principal issues or problems as related to his case study and to consider such questions as: Why had there been a crisis situation or popular resistance? Was this related to societal conditions? What were the political, social, economic, and cultural-psychological manifestations? Were natural barriers such as climate, terrain, and resources of significance? A second task was to examine theoretical aspects of crisis and resistance in less developed areas of the world and to relate these to the particular case. Third, contributors evaluated the impact of the crisis or resistance situation upon the society under study and, where possible, commented on the relationship of conflict, tension, and alienation to issues and problem-solving; the impact on recruitment, mobilization, and participation; the affect upon prevailing authority patterns and traditional and newly emerging leadership; the developmental perceptions of both elites and masses; and the restructuring of society at local, regional, and national levels.

Ronald H. Chilcote introduced the Brazilian essays on crisis, protest, and resistance with a typology of historical cases. A theoretical introduction drew some general propositions from the literature on social movements, and the typology evolved through interpretative synthesis, example, and reference to relevant bibliographic sources. The typology for Brazil, briefly outlined, follows:<sup>2</sup>

I. Primitive Movements: Race Wars, Archaic forms of Messianism and Resistance

- A. Indian
- B. Negro

II. Rural Upheaval: Sebastianism, Rudimentary Forms of Messianism and Incipient Social Protest

- A. Sebastianism
- B. Millenarium Ideologies

- C. Catholic Resistance
  - D. Social Banditry
  - E. Prestes Column
  - F. Peasant Associations
- III. Urban Discontent and Popular Rebellion
- A. Oligarchical
  - B. Nationalistic-oriented Local Rebellions
  - C. Military Corps
  - D. Communist Revolts
  - E. Labor Disorders

There were six case studies of Brazilian social movements, all located in the Northeast. Manuel Correia de Andrade focused on the Cabanos wars, a popular armed movement of the early nineteenth century (I-B and III-B in our typology).<sup>3</sup> His study analyzed the structure and class stratification of Northeastern society and tensions between ruling local oligarchies and Portuguese monarchists. The Cabanos war, according to Andrade, represented "an explosion of popular sentiment in a moment of crisis and great difficulty for the ruling class." Once challenged, the oligarchy united, organized, and employed anti-guerrilla tactics and defeated their enemy, thus preserving their socio-economic interests.

Amaury de Souza presented a historical synthesis and a typology of social banditry (II-D). Although it appropriated the means of violence from the local chieftain and the patriarchal social and political order, this banditry represented a realignment of the patterns of power and a system itself distinct from the patriarchal order. Souza related patterns of violence to means of social mobilization on a local and national level. Viewed as a pre-political challenge to traditional order, social banditry failed to develop a truly revolutionary political consciousness in its membership, although it did move society toward political and social modernization.

Ralph della Cava contributed the third of the Brazilian case studies (II-C), analyzing the impact of Padre Cícero Romão Batista on the local politics of Crato and Joazeiro in the Cariri Valley of southern Ceará. Suspended by the Church from the orders, Cícero turned politician, appointed himself mayor, and eventually gained control of state politics, successfully defeating federal troops in 1914. Besides looking at power structure, violence, and the decadence of Brazilian backland society, della Cava explained the significance to local politics of international markets and economics through his analysis of the role of expatriate French noblemen, Paris concessionaires, international mining cartels, and the like.

The fourth study, by René Ribeiro, concerned a contemporary messianic movement and its prophet, Cícero José de Farias (II-B). Basing his discussion

on field research and interviews, Ribeiro described the experiences and philosophy of this movement whose millenarian beliefs become mixed with science fiction and interplanetary communication, on the one hand, and with the miracles and mysticism of Padre Cícero of Joazeiro, on the other. His conclusions revolved around the frustrations and failures of the movement in the face of modernizing society.

Robert Levine's detailed study of the revolutionary revolts of November 1935 (in Natal, Recife, and Rio de Janeiro) dealt with the role of the anti-fascist popular front, the Aliança Nacional de Libertação (ANL) and the Partido Comunista de Brasil (PCB) in an insurrectionary adventure in which disgruntled soldiers, not armed peasants and workers, formed the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard (III-D).<sup>5</sup> Levine analyzed not only the reactions of right and left political forces to urban revolt, but attempted to explain the causes of public apathy, the impact of COMINTERN policy upon Brazilian events, and the decimation of the left opposition, especially the PCB.

Shepard Forman concentrated on mass political participation and the discovery "of a set of circumstances which will direct previously restricted peasant rebellions against local grievances into a mass movement capable of expressing realistic demands through articulate outside leadership . . ." (II-F). Hypothesizing that urbanization, industrialization, and subsequent commercialization in agriculture lead to a breakdown in traditional behavior and to widespread discontent, Forman suggested that the "accoutrements of a rationalized internal marketing system—vastly improved transportation and communications facilities—make mass recruitment of peasants, and thus mass movements possible . . . suggesting that economic rationalization leads to political radicalization."

As to African indigenous movements and resistance in the Portuguese territories, Ronald Chilcote provided an introductory synthesis emphasizing periods of political and economic crisis caused by the impact of imposed colonial institutions, economic exploitation, and alien political rule. The tribal-based nationalist rebellions in the present decade manifested patterns similar to the early resistance movements identified in the Congo monarchy (Mpanzu a Nzinga in the sixteenth century and the revolt of Alvaro Tulante Buta in 1913–1914), in the Angola kingdoms (the Dembos rebellion in 1872–1919, for example), and in the African kingdom of the Ovimbundu in the Benguela Highlands (the wars of Bailundo and Bié during 1886–1903)—all in Angola; in Guinea where sporadic outbreaks by African chiefs were common, especially in the late nineteenth century until 1936; and in Mozambique (including the resistance of Gungunhana and his renowned military leader, Maguigana, as well as later popular revolts and workers' strikes).<sup>6</sup>

The six contributions on African movements and resistance all focused

on Angola. David Birmingham attempted to reassess the relationships of Africans and Europeans in the trade and commerce that shaped response and resistance during the seventeenth century.<sup>7</sup> He suggested, for example, that in some regions during certain periods that it was the intense African demand for foreign consumer goods which was the dominant economic force in the slave trade, and he portrayed several African peoples adapting themselves and their institutions to the shifting pattern of overseas trade. The Portuguese failure to achieve economic gains by cultural colonization led to military domination but this in turn was stalemated by the military systems of the African kingdoms. The African trader sought new outlets and new trade partners which allowed them to gain the greatest profit. Castro Soromenho's essay complemented Birmingham's interest by focusing on patterns of resistance in the Lunda kingdom. By the end of the seventeenth century Lunda had become a major supplier of slaves and controlled a large area of central Africa. From its interior position Lunda was able to maintain a degree of autonomy and contribute to Portuguese commercial difficulties in the eighteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Michael Samuels described a case of early twentieth century protest in Angola led by António Joaquim de Miranda, who attempted but failed to bring about educational reforms for Africans. Miranda, an educated African of anti-monarchical and anti-elitist sentiments, called for local autonomy from Portugal and greater educational opportunities. His failure was attributed to a hardening of Portuguese attitudes under the Republic, and to a policy of sharply distinguishing the white Portuguese as superior to the black African—a pattern that prevailed well into the present decade.

Three varying perspectives on a common topic were presented by Gladwyn Childs, Alfredo Margarido, and A. da Silva Rêgo. Childs reviewed religious influences, especially Protestant, among the Ovimbundu of southwestern Angola; two successful separatist movements had some influence among the Ovimbundu: that of Simão Gonclaves Tóco and an offshoot from Tóco's church which joined the Jehovah's Witnesses. Silva Rêgo also was concerned with Tóco whom he linked to a series of messianic movements which emerged in the Belgian, French, and Portuguese Congos as a response to the arbitrary divisions of the Congo by the European powers at the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885. These movements were led by Bakongo prophets: Simão Kibangu or Kimbangu (1889–1951); Simon Peter Mpadi or M'Padi; Simon Lassy; and Andrew Grenard Matswa. All attempted to build a black African church and all were oriented toward reestablishing the "national" borders of the old Congo kingdom. Silva Rêgo assessed the strength of Tocoism and examined its religious bases and organization. Alfredo Margarido noted the ambiguous nature of Tocoism as a black African religion portraying the white colonialists as evil, yet preaching a doctrine of passivity and submission to white authority while

remaining apolitical. This socio-religious movement preaches puritanical values (hard work, obedience to authority, anti-polygamy) while creating a literate African leadership that may someday "abandon its passivity and join in open protest."

Concluding the first part of the colloquium, Roger Bastide compared not only the phenomena of crisis and resistance in Brazil and Africa but analyzed the ties of crisis and resistance with nationalism and development, thus establishing a relationship between the two principal themes of the colloquium. While emphasizing basic differences between Brazil and Portugal, he challenged Gilberto Freyre's thesis of Lusotropical civilization as "a compromise among three heterogeneous cultural traits" (adaptability to tropical climate, high value placed on the woman of color, and the more social than mystical religious element). Bastide concerned himself with religion and identified dichotomies: the savage and pacified Indian; the pure blooded pagan and the baptized creole Negro; the Negro and the Mulatto; the plantation and the household Negro; the tribal native and the black citizen; and the Christianized Indian or Negro and the Pagan. His analysis, supported with examples from Brazil and Portuguese Africa, assessed the importance of resistance and protest for messianic and folk-Catholic movements in rural areas and the syncretic sects (Xangô, Macumba, etc.) which combine African and white cultural traits in industrialized urban areas. He linked resistance movements to development or the lack of it and to emerging nationalism which occurs outside any religious context and in opposition to colonialism.

Ronald Chilcote introduced the second part of the colloquium with an essay on nationalism and development which attempted to clarify confusion pervading the literature on nationalism and to suggest the concept's relevance to processes of change and development as well as to evaluate its usefulness for comparative study. A definition and a typology were offered, then related to developmental activities and nationalistic manifestations emanating from the areas of concern.<sup>9</sup> Nationalism, valued among people who not only recognize symbols of nationality but accept the nation as the supreme arbiter of human activities,<sup>10</sup> was classified into nine types: indigenous, traditional, integral and totalitarian, humanitarian, liberal, bourgeois, religious or symbolic, technological, and Jacobin or radical. Recognizing overlap among these types, a loose formulation of nationalisms and developmental activities (political, economic, social, cultural-psychological) was attempted. Additionally, there was a tentative assessment of development as well as obstacles to development in Brazil and Africa.

Three tendencies dominated the essays on nationalism and development: first, an attempt to discover nationalist origins; second, the description and

analysis of the evolution of particular movements; and third, an examination of nationalism and development in theory and practice.

Douglas Wheeler's essay on the origins of Angolan nationalism represented the first tendency. His study of *assimilado* protest writings centered on an initial phase of Angolan nationalism, from 1860 to 1930. He identified four examples of protest over two generations: the journalism of José de Fontes Pereira (1823–1891); a book, *Voz d'Angola clamando no deserto*, published in Lisbon in 1901; the protest volumes of António de Assis Júnior, 1917–1918; and articles from the colonial and national press in the 1920's. Wheeler concluded that many of the fundamental assumptions of Angolan nationalism were Portuguese, not African, in character, and that loyalty to Portugal was an aspect of Angolan self-assertion and nationalism. This tradition of protest was carried on by a rebellious, post-1948 elite which absorbed outside ideological influences not present in previous generations, and this led to the eventual break of *assimilado* intellectuals with Portugal.

Three essays described and analyzed the evolution of particular nationalist movements.<sup>11</sup> John Marcum dealt with the tripolarity of Angolan politics and the three major nationalist formations, as of 1968, their ethnic base, leadership, and militant activities.<sup>12</sup> The differences among the movements, he argued, deflect nationalist attention from "the goal of independence and consume political and militant energy in a self-defeating struggle for revolutionary leadership." There is a need for acceptance of "the validity of particular interests, the reality of ethnic loyalties, and for inter-communal bargaining on the basis of mutual respect." William Zartman analyzed nationalist conflict in Portuguese Guinea where there is a little-known but full-scale war for independence. His attention was not only to physical aspects of struggle and to the context of nationalist ideas, but to content analysis of documents of the leading African nationalist movement. He traced the stages through which nationalism had passed and examined the relation between colonial and nationalist actions and reactions that produced those stages. Eduardo Mondlane, the former leader of Mozambican nationalism, focused on the failure of the Portuguese in Mozambique, and analyzed the "ideology and reality" of Portuguese colonialism as well as themes of resistance evident in African songs and poetry.<sup>13</sup> The failure of the African to identify with Portuguese culture and tradition, according to Mondlane, led to militancy and severe fighting under the aegis of the Mozambique Liberation Front or FRELIMO. Tracing the armed struggle, its successes and failures, Mondlane outlined the social and economic programs that nationalists were carrying out in liberated areas.

Four essays focused on theoretical aspects of nationalism and development and evaluated in retrospect the Brazilian experience. Cândido Mendes de Al-

meida, Alberto Guerreiro Ramos, Helio Jaguaribe, and Nelson Werneck de Sodr  all at one time had been associated with the Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros (ISEB), established within the Ministry of Education in 1955 as an autonomous unit to study, teach, research, and disseminate ideas that would "permit the stimulation and promotion of national development."<sup>14</sup> Although no single doctrine emerged, nationalist thought was advanced through dialogue, conceptualization, and clarification of ideas. Mendes traced the evolution of Brazilian experience to Portuguese Africa, especially to Brazil's historical and cultural contributions and their significance for Brazilian policy in Africa. Ramos distinguished four types of nationalism in Brazil (operational or strategic, cooptive, naive, and populist) and described "the myths of Brazilian nationalist theory." He also attempted to analyze conceptual characteristics of cognitive orientations of Brazilian nationalists. Acknowledging the contributions of nationalism, Ramos also examined the "breakdown" of the movement. Jaguaribe traced historical and political development through colonial and semi-colonial stages and finally through the periods of the Vargas government and "the crisis of the present decade." Sodr  also focused on developmental aspects, especially state planning. Finally, Adriano Moreira, a Portuguese political scientist, attempted to assess Portugal's historical and cultural contributions to Brazil as well as prevailing misconceptions about national life in each country. He asserted the need to ensure bonds of friendship and a Brazilian foreign policy compatible to Portugal's presence in Africa. In essence, Brazil's unique development occurred through Portugal's transmission of Lusitanian civilization to remote peoples. Therefore, "Brazil's way to the Afro-Asian world is dependent on the permanence of Portuguese political power." His plea, reminiscent of Gilberto Freyre, centered on the strengthening of a Lusitanian community.

In an appraisal, Marvin Harris offered a theoretical framework and fit it to the variety of regions, time periods, and topics that had concerned contributors in the colloquium. He emphasized differences between Brazil and Africa. Why had African slave labor, he queried, been transported across the ocean, first to S o Tom , and later to Brazil? One explanation lay in the easy access to the Americas because of the ineffectual resistance of Indians to the early conquest and occupation in the face of superior weapons and devastating disease brought by the European, while, in contrast, highly stratified African society with sophisticated weaponry and military expertise resisted the advance of the European who also suffered from tropical disease, especially malaria. In short, the Portuguese miscalculated their African adversaries. Additionally, the slave trade was dependent on the maintenance of anarchy in the slave's original area and his location in S o Tom  or Brazil eliminated the problem of escape to his

homeland. The consequences for Africa were total absence of European investment and technological advances.

The Portuguese in Brazil promoted a slave plantation economy that undermined economic development. Slave masses were characterized as illiterate, apathetic, dependent on the patronage system, and deficient of skills in agriculture and the industrial arts, while elites lacked experience and motivation for development. While Portugal was relegated to third power status after Napoleon's invasion in the early nineteenth century, Brazil fell victim to English capital and fluctuating world market prices. Brazil's advanced position today is the result of the nation's own exploitation of rich natural resources, aided by European immigrants who brought energy and drive; and by the 1930's economic activity became based on trade with the United States. The legacy of the slave plantation economy persists, however, especially in the Northeast where illiteracy and high birth and death rates contribute to the emergence of peasant movements led by messianic prophets and to more sophisticated organizational forms such as peasant leagues; better attempts at organization, probably under Catholic leadership, suggest a revolutionary trend for the future.

The development of new weaponry was one condition that allowed Europe to penetrate Africa in the nineteenth century. The Portuguese also made their move, after the Berlin conference. European occupation was brief as independence swept most of Africa after the Second World War, but Portugal was a conspicuous exception to the independence tolerated by the English and French. Portugal's irrational resistance in the face of these guerrilla wars was explained, first, by Portugal's own underdevelopment and incapacity to maintain economic control (like the French) after withdrawal, and second, by the necessity to maintain a buffer zone on behalf of South Africa which probably would occupy Angola and Mozambique should Portugal withdraw.

Lastly, Harris rebutted as false the thesis of Lusotropical racial and social harmony in Brazil where there are racial preferences (more than 400 ranging from Caucasian to Negro)<sup>15</sup> and in Africa, where four distinct types (African, *assimilado*, *mixto*, and white) prevail. Such distinctions are apparent to natives of both areas and have been carefully documented by anthropologists, historians, and sociologists.<sup>16</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Among previous comparative studies, there is H. V. Livermore (ed.), *Portugal and Brazil* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), which includes only one historical essay on the Portuguese Society in the Tropics: *The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800* (Madison and Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), presents a comparative synthesis of local politics in a historical context. Two Brazilian writers have

- offered interesting but opposing theses: Gilberto Freyre's theories of Lusotropicality are delineated in several studies published by the Portuguese Government, including the *Portuguese and the Tropics* (Lisbon, 1961); and José Honório Rodrigues challenges Freyre's assumptions in *Brazil e Africa: outro horizonte* (Rio de Janeiro, 1961 and 1964), translated and published by University of California Press as *Brazil and Africa* in 1967. The polarized position of Freyre and Rodrigues on the African question is represented in the pro-Portuguese Lusotropical slant of many publications of Lisbon's Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais (see, for example, Jorge Dias, *Ensaio etnológico*, Lisbon, 1961) and in the anti-Portuguese, pro-Brazilian publications of Rio's Instituto Brasileiro de Estudos Afro-Asiáticos (see the volume by the Institute's director, Cândido Mendes de Almeida, *Nacionalismo e desenvolvimento*, Rio de Janeiro, 1963). Recent articles on Brazil and Africa include: Artur Cezar Ferreira Reis, "Africa e Brasil: relações e competições econômicas," *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, VI (June 1963), 209–24; José Honório Rodrigues, "The Influence of Africa on Brazil and of Brazil on Africa," *Journal of African History*, III, 1 (1962), 49–67; and Ariano Suassuna, "O Brasil, a Africa e a preguiça brasileira," *Tempo Brasileiro*, 4–5 (December 1966–February 1967), 17–29.
2. Two useful classifications of Brazilian messianic movements are Maria Isaura Pereira de Queros, *O messianismo no Brasil e no mundo* (São Paulo: Dominus Editôra, Editôra da Universidad de São Paulo, 1965); and René Ribeiro, "Brazilian Messianic Movements," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, II (1962), 55–69.
  3. Andrade's writings on the Cabanos movements include *A guerra dos Cabanos* (Rio de Janeiro: Conquista, 1965) and "As sedições de 1831 em Pernambuco," *Revista de História* (São Paulo), 28 (1956), 337–407.
  4. Eric J. Hobsbawm in *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (University of Manchester Press, 1959) examines social implications of banditry and provides a point of departure for some of Souza's analysis.
  5. Levine and also della Cava (above) based their case studies on doctoral dissertations and more than a year of library research in Brazil.
  6. An introduction to African resistance in the Portuguese territories is in Ronald H. Chilcote, *Portuguese Africa* (Engelwood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1967), pp. 61–74, for the Congo, Angola, and Benguela kingdoms; pp. 93–104, for Guinea, and pp. 111–22, for Mozambique.
  7. Birmingham's excellent books on African resistance in the Angola kingdoms are *Trade and Conflict in Angola. The Mbundu and their Neighbors under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1483–1790* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1966), and *The Portuguese Conquest of Angola* (London: Institute of Race Relations, Oxford University Press, 1965).
  8. Castro Soromenho, born in Zambesia, Mozambique, died in São Paulo in mid-1968. He was a well-known novelist whose writings focused on African life in the Portuguese colonies; especially important are his *Terra Morte* and *Viragem*.
  9. An earlier effort to place the concepts of nationalism and development in comparative perspective is in Ronald H. Chilcote, *Portuguese Africa*, Chapter 3, pp. 43–52.
  10. A definition also emphasized by Kalman H. Silvert (ed.), in *Expectant Peoples: Nationalism and Development* (New York: Random House, 1963), introduction and p. 440.
  11. Recent useful information on the nationalist struggle in Portuguese Africa is in the special issue "Three Revolutions: Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea," *Africa Report*, XII

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- (November 1967), 8–72, which includes contributions by Marcum, Wheeler, Samuels, and Zartman.
12. The first of two volumes by Marcum on Angola will be published shortly by the MIT Press and is entitled *The Angolan Revolution: Anatomy of an Explosion (1950–1962)*.
  13. Mondlane, a native of Mozambique, received his doctorate from Northwestern University and was Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Syracuse University before returning to Africa to assume the presidency of FRELIMO in 1963. He died of an assassin's bomb in February 1969.
  14. For background information on this interesting movement, see Frank Bonilla, "A National Ideology for Development: Brazil," Chapter 7, pp. 232–64 in K. H. Silvert (ed.), *Expectant Peoples: Nationalism and Development*.
  15. For the results of field research on racial preferences in Brazil, see Marvin Harris and Conrad Kotak, "The Structural Significance of Bazilian Categories," *Sociologia* (September 1963), 203–08.
  16. See especially Charles R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415–1825*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.

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- Samuels, Michael A. (Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.). "A Failure of Hope: Education and Changing Opportunities in Angola under the Portuguese Republic."
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\* Paper prepared for distribution at the colloquium but not presented in person by the author at the University of California.