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Angola

5 June 1961

Note on the Question of Angola

(Dept. of Political and Secco Affairs)

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND
SECURITY COUNCIL AFFAIRS

CONFIDENTIAL

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Copy No. 1

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I. INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

1. On 26 May 1961, representatives of 41 members of the Asian-African group (including Cyprus) and Yugoslavia, requested Security Council consideration of the situation in Angola. ^{1/} Togo subsequently co-sponsored the request. ^{2/} Among the members of the Asian-African group, only four (Niger, Pakistan, Thailand and Turkey) have not signed the letter. The letter, while referring to reports of "massacres" in Angola and the "most ruthless suppression of human rights and fundamental freedoms" as causing a serious threat to international peace and security, gives no indication of the type of action that the Security Council might undertake and makes no reference to the Subcommittee on Angola.
2. Various official statements and reports, however, give an indication of the aggravation of the situation, the reaction in Africa and of possible lines of United Nations action.
3. As the conflict has continued and casualties increased, the Angolan problem has become a rallying point for all African States and movements. Particular concern is expressed in African capitals at reports that the Portuguese counter-attack would now take its full force, since the rainy season has ended and troop reinforcements have been made available. The communiqués of the Monrovia Conference of African States and of the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Casablanca Powers in Cairo, as well as numerous bilateral communiqués and resolutions of national and international organizations, evidence African sentiment on this matter. Moreover, it would seem that the

1/ S/4816

2/ S/4816/Add.1

very rivalries of African States and political movements on other matters tend to induce them to take more active initiatives on Angola which, to them, is non-controversial. The desire not to leave the case by default to the Soviet Union - which seemed quite willing to grasp it - may well have been another factor inducing Asian-African States to take the initiative. Finally, the efforts of the two major Angola organizations in exile - the Union of the Populations of Angola (U.P.A.) and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (M.P.L.A.) - to adopt a common policy and agree on joint action have made progress, especially after the Monrovia Conference where leaders of both organizations were present seeking support from the African States. Following the resolution of the Monrovia Conference which pledged "whole-hearted material and moral support to Africans in Angola," Mr. Andrade, president of the M.P.L.A., told the press that the two organizations were conducting negotiations for joint action and that they would receive assistance from Asian-African States.

4. Some indication of what the Asian-African States may expect from the Security Council may be derived from in the joint communiqué of Presidents Nkrumah and Sukarno on 15 May 1961 in which they declared:

"The two Presidents affirmed their strongest support for the struggle of the Angolan people to regain their freedom and in this connection condemned the repressive measures Portugal is taking against the people of Angola. They called upon all freedom-loving nations and the NATO allies of Portugal to make Portugal desist from its dangerous policies of colonialism and make her realize the inevitability of freedom for Angola. Further, the two Presidents declared that the United Nations five-man committee visiting Angola should not merely investigate but make positive recommendations (urge) the United Nations to bring about a cessation of Portuguese repression in Angola and Portugal's acceptance of the legitimate rights of the people of Angola."

Unofficial organizations in the Soviet Union called for sanctions against Portugal, but the USSR Government statement of 27 May merely demands "effective action" without specifying the nature of the action. The Asian-African States, in their letter to the Security Council, avoided mention of specific proposals since they are to be the subject of negotiation and agreement in the Security Council and such as to be certain of acceptance by the required majority. Among the proposals discussed are (a) a condemnation of Portugal; (b) a widening of the mandate of the Subcommittee on Angola, including provision for reports to the Security Council as appropriate; and (c) a call for an end to punitive operations. It seems to be generally agreed that sanctions would not receive adequate support.

II. NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS IN ANGOLA^{1/}

5. Though Angolan nationalist leaders in exile claimed that the recent events in Angola represented a spontaneous revolt by the population, press reports indicate that they were inspired and largely organized by the two major nationalist organizations--the União das Populações de Angola (U.P.A.) led by Roberto Holden, and Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola (M.P.L.A.) led by the poet, Mario de Andrade. The incidents in the Cabinda enclave seem to be inspired by another organization. There are a number of smaller organizations, mainly in Leopoldville.

6. Since the nationalist organizations can only exist underground in Angola, the relative strength of the different organizations is unknown. The two major organizations, however, call for the complete independence of Angola and have made efforts towards cooperation and coordination. Both have been represented at the All-African Peoples' Conferences and at the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conferences. Their programmes indicate little difference. Both deny Portuguese charges that they are "communist". The M.P.L.A. is probably somewhat more "Marxist" than the U.P.A.; it claims that it is organized on a non-racial, non-tribal basis, and includes a few white settlers, while the U.P.A. is organized on a tribal basis and shows anti-white tendencies. It may be that the U.P.A. is behind the events near the northern border of Angola, and the M.P.L.A. behind the incidents in Luanda and the south where some Portuguese had reportedly joined with the Africans.

7. At the Second All-African Peoples' Conference in Tunis in January 1960, these two organizations joined with organizations in other Portuguese African territories to form the Frente Revolucionaria Africana para a Independencia

^{1/} Fuller details in Annex I.

Nacional das Colonias Portuguesas (F.R.A.I.N.)---the African Revolutionary Front for the National Independence of the Portuguese Colonies.

8. On the initiative of Mario de Andrade, all nationalist parties in Portuguese colonies in Africa and Goa met in Casablanca from 18 to 20 April 1961, and established a permanent organization to coordinate their struggles for independence. Mr. Andrade was elected Chairman of the Committee. Subsequently, the London representative of the M.P.L.A. declared that negotiations were under way between M.P.L.A. and U.P.A. for the realization of united action, and that important material and moral aid would soon be forthcoming from Asian-African States.^{1/}
9. Both these organizations have appealed for United Nations action on Angola. Some reservations on the United Nations are, however, indicated in the resolution adopted, presumably at their insistence, by the Third All-African Peoples' Conference in Cairo in March 1961:

"The Third All-African Peoples' Conference after examining the present situation in Angola, a situation essentially characterised by the state of popular rebellion on one hand, and the intensification of the barbarian repression of the Portuguese on the other hand, greets the Angolan Partiotis who since the events of last February fight courageously against the Portuguese colonialists;

"The Third All-African Peoples' Conference, convinced that the people of Angola is ready at any moment to assume national sovereignty, condemns all manoeuvres tending to allow imperialists' and neo-colonialists' intervention in Angola, and in particular the propagation of the divisions between the people, the territorial disintegration of the country, or the installation of a government of stooges.

"It recommends:-

"(1) That the Afro-Asian countries members of the United Nations engage all their efforts with a view to obliging Portugal to apply the resolutions of the General Assembly of 14 December 1960 concerning the liquidation of colonialism.

^{1/} Brazzaville radio, 3 May 1961.

"(2) That the Independent African States reconsider their position concerning diplomatic and commercial relations with Portugal.

"(3) That the African States remain vigilant before an eventual intervention of the United Nations in Angola by guarding themselves from taking a position which will place them in a situation where they will have to sanction the imperialist manoeuvres."

III. THE PRESENT SITUATION^{1/}

10. The exact magnitude of the conflict is difficult to determine. Detailed reports from Angola reaching London indicate that at the present time the conflict is on a wider scale and the casualties higher than previously. The conflict extends over a sizeable area in northern Angola, with sporadic incidents in the central and southern regions. The armed attacks by rebel forces increased considerably following the vote in the Security Council at which the United States and the USSR voted in favour of a resolution calling for an inquiry into the situation. It is reported that now that the rainy season has ended the Portuguese Government is preparing a large-scale operation against the rebels in the north of the country. Since the start of the fighting three months ago, the Portuguese Government has poured in a great number of reinforcements, bringing the total number of Portuguese soldiers to 25,000. Towards the end of May increased activity on the side of the rebels was also noticeable, and according to reports of prisoners, attacks on Government forces are planned before further reinforcements arrive.

11. It is estimated by Portuguese sources that 4,000 people were killed, of which 3,000 were rebels and 1,000 were on the Government side. Latest reports in the British Press, however, estimate the total casualties at more than 30,000.

12. According to the Angola correspondent of The New York Times, there is overwhelming evidence that the attacks are organized and led by foreign African volunteers and timed to events such as a United Nations discussion on Angola. Through captured documents and prisoner interrogation, it seems

^{1/} For a survey of the initial incidents in February, see Note on Recent Incidents in Angola, dated 8 March 1961.

that the main organizer of the riots around Luanda in early February and throughout north Angola since then is the Union of Angolan Peoples headed by Holden Roberto who operates under the name of José Gilmore and is considered of the extreme left wing whose agents were detected among African revolutionaries undergoing guerrilla training in camps near Leopoldville originally created by the late Mr. Lumumba.

13. The rebels, in addition to local weapons, are fighting with automatic rifles and hand grenades of foreign manufacture, and it is reported that attacks have come from across the Congo border by Africans in Congolese uniforms. The Portuguese Government contends that Ghanaian instructors were working at training camps across the Angolan border and that the Ghana Government itself has been active in training, supplying and financing the rebel movement. ~~Press reports indicate that seventy-one Ghanaians have been arrested.~~ Portuguese authorities are also preoccupied by the activities of Russian vessels reported to be engaged in hydrographic work off the coast of Angola. According to the London Times of 23 May, Russian trawlers have called at Angola ports four times within a month to land sick seamen.

14. The Portuguese authorities have reacted to the attacks with extreme severity, not only against Africans and African refugees who are streaming across the border to the Congo, but also against certain other groups such as Protestant missionaries whose teachings are accused of being the cause of much of the present troubles. The American Methodist Board charged that at least eight African Methodist ministers were killed by Portuguese militia groups who are terrorizing Protestant Africans. Repression is so strong that the five Catholic bishops of Angola, including the Archbishop of Luanda, published on 15 April a pastoral letter asking the clergy to abstain from all political activity and to condemn the massacres as "unpardonable crimes". The same pastoral letter directed attention to serious social injustices and to legitimate aspirations of the Africans.

IV. CONSTITUTIONAL AND
ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS AS OF MARCH 1961

15. Angola, Portuguese West Africa, stretches along the West African coast for about 1,000 miles between the Congo and the Cunene Rivers. It has an area of 481,351 square miles and its population, as estimated in 1955, is 4,508,000. The capital is Luanda with a population, estimated in 1955, of 189,590. The white population remains small partly because Portuguese emigration has gone mainly to Brazil. The regime has however actively promoted white immigration in the last decade, especially under the Six Year Development Plan adopted by the Portuguese Government in 1953. There are considerable areas of land in Angola almost unused by the African cultivators. Portugal is interested in settling on these lands the impoverished peasantry of Portugal itself. The major colonizing effort is on the Cela plateau about southeast of Luanda. But the African population is likely to view with growing hostility the settlement of large numbers of Portuguese emigrants.

16. Though legal discrimination on grounds of color is not a feature of Portuguese administration in Angola, insistence on a cultural qualification for the full exercise of citizenship has tended to create in practice a barrier possibly even more restrictive than that of color. A definite line of

demarcation is maintained between those entitled to exercise the full rights of citizenship and those who do not yet qualify for the exercise of these rights. While Europeans qualify automatically as full citizens, the colored and African inhabitants can exercise full rights of citizenship only if they fulfil the necessary qualifications. Among these qualifications are the adoption of a European manner of life and the abandonment of certain native customs such as polygamy; the ability to speak fluently and to write Portuguese; the possession of an occupation giving recognized financial status; and completion of the requisite period of military service. The African who can fulfil these qualifications certainly acquires the same status as that accorded to a Portuguese citizen of European birth. But the number of such assimilados is limited partly because the facilities for higher education is such that only in urban areas is it really possible for Africans to acquire the necessary cultural standard. The effect is to divide the population sharply between "Portuguese citizens" and "Portuguese Natives". In 1950 only some 135,000 were accounted civilizada; this included 79,000 white, 26,000 half-caste and 30,000 African assimilados. The decree of 1954, which redefined the qualifications for admission to the category of assimilado, would appear to have increased rather than decreased the difficulty of obtaining this status. Less than 1% of the African population appears to have become assimilado.

17: The distinction between Portuguese 'citizens' and Portuguese natives is reflected in taxation and labour laws. The affairs of Portuguese natives are regulated largely by custom and customary law; the Native is compelled to carry an identification card and he must exhibit it on demand. He may not move from one locality to another without authorisation. A native tax is

levied on all adult males between the ages of 16 and 60; it may be discharged by work for the Government, or a municipality, or a private employer. Non-payment of the tax within three months of the end of the financial year may result in "correctional arrest".

18. Since 1926 Portugal has consistently pursued the policy of the integration of Angola, together with other Portuguese colonial territories, with metropolitan Portugal. Under an act of 11 June 1951, subsequently confirmed by the Organic Law of Overseas Territories of June 1953, the designation of overseas provinces was applied to the former Portuguese colonial territories. Angola elects three deputies to the National Assembly of Portugal, which consists of 120 deputies; however, the representatives elected for Angola are not necessarily local residents. In 1957 one delegate for Angola was Governor of the Bank of Angola, another delegate a former Governor-General of Angola. Moreover, the range of legislation specifically reserved to the National Assembly is distinctly limited. The dominance of the executive side of the Government, essential in a corporate state such as Portugal, is most conspicuously marked in the organization of colonial administration. The Minister of Overseas Provinces has considerable powers to legislate by decree, in addition to a wide range of executive powers. The Governor-General of Angola, appointed for four years, is subject to the general control of the Minister of Overseas Provinces. Though under the Organic Law of the Overseas Provinces of 27 January 1953, a Legislative Council of 18 elected and 8 nominated members has been established in Angola, the functions of the Legislative Council are confined to the expression of opinion of legislative decrees and on such subjects as the Minister and the Governor-General may submit to them. The nominated members in Angola consist of 6 officials and 2 members chosen to represent the interests of the African population.

19. It follows from such arrangements that Africanisation of the administration and government cannot be an objective of the régime in Angola. The purpose is assimilation, not Africanisation. The ratio of Africans to total government employees is lower in Angola than in any other part of Africa -- lower certainly than in the Belgian Congo.

20. Angola is thus not considered a colony, a dependency, or a territory, but an integral and organic part of Portugal itself. During the discussion at the first half of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly of agenda item 87 "Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples" (A/PV.925-934), the question of the Portuguese overseas territories was mentioned. The representative of Portugal stated (A/PV.934, pages 23-42) that "politically as well as juridically, the Portuguese Overseas Provinces are, and always have been, an integral part of the nation and, as such, they enjoy administrative and financial autonomy and absorb entirely their own revenues" and that "since 1612 the overseas provinces have been considered as an integral part of the Portuguese nation". In a speech before the National Assembly on 30 November 1960 Dr. Salazar said: "We cannot accept for our Overseas Provinces, which are part of the Portuguese nation, a status equivalent to that attributed to the territories under mandate from the United Nations, which are destined to later secession, nor can we agree to justify before the Organisation the way in which the Portuguese consider they should govern themselves in their own homeland".

21. On 15 December 1960, the General Assembly, based on the report of the Fourth Committee (A/4651), adopted a resolution on "Transmission of Information under Article 73 of the Charter" by which it requested the Government of Portugal to transmit to the Secretary-General information in accordance with Article 11 of the Charter on the conditions prevailing in the territories there enumerated, among them, "Angola, including the enclave of Cabinda".

IV. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGUESE POLICY

22. In an interview given to the correspondent of the New York Times on 31 May, Dr. Salazar pledged important political, social and economic reforms in Angola "once order is established". He stated that "the populations will be brought more and more into local political and administrative life; the rhythm of implementation of programmes of social advancement with special reference to education, health and housing will not be slowed down, but rather the contrary if possible; lastly, all the available financial resources, those of the province or those of the metropolitan country, or again such as may proceed from foreign capital, will continue to be applied to economic development with a view to creating more wealth and employment... Implementation should suffer no postponement for any reasons other than those imposed by temporary change in the conditions of life in some districts of the province and evidently in relation to these districts alone".

23. Since early February it has been reported that Premier Salazar was planning some new constitutional formula for the Portuguese provinces in view of the criticism in the United Nations and inside Portugal. Any reforms are made more difficult by the division of the Portuguese among themselves. Liberals in the Portuguese Government see a need for early reforms, social improvements to alleviate the Africans' poverty, a loosening of Lisbon's tight rule and the granting of virtual economic, fiscal and administrative autonomy in the territory. Long-disputed reforms are meeting powerful opposition in Lisbon. Much of the discontent among the whites in Angola stems from what they call the overly rigid and unimaginative rule by entrenched bureaucrats and powerful financiers and industrialists. The latter oppose any loosening of the ties that keep Angola a rich "captive" market and source of raw materials. On the other hand, some financial interests and white settlers

from the backwoods districts of Portugal want a policy of toughness. They want the army to take over. They want more money spent on the police and they balk at anything that suggests yielding to African violence.

24. The early disorders in Angola were due at least as much to economic as to political causes. Thus the February troubles in the Luanda slums are attributed to detribalized, rootless elements who had drifted from the countryside to find work in the cities. The search for a job in urban areas is made more difficult for Africans through the stepped-up immigration policy of Portugal since 1945, which involved the settlement of 150,000 Portuguese peasants in Angola.

25. In the second part of March, four leading commercial, industrial and agricultural associations in Angola addressed a letter to the President of Portugal, Admiral Tomas, calling "for urgent and radical measures to meet a grave situation". In particular they proposed the transfer to Angola of the Ministry for Overseas Territories; the proclamation of a state of emergency; the formation of a Governing Council drawn from experienced men on the spot; and the immediate fulfilment of financial commitments together with the transfer of the equivalent of about \$70 million to enable the territory to overcome its economic difficulties.

26. The Portuguese Government, whether or not in answer to this appeal, announced a loan of approximately \$5.6 million to the National Development Bank for investment in Angola and Mozambique. This announcement on 28 March was followed by another one on 2 April by the then Minister for Overseas Territories, Rear Admiral Lopez Alves, for a loan of the equivalent of approximately \$18 million for Angola. The money is to cover emergency and development expenses. At the end of April, with a view to helping Angola's situation, Professor Adriano Moreira, the new Minister for Overseas Territories, signed

decrees freeing overseas cotton trade from official Government market limitation and providing for the transfer of the headquarters of the corn guild from Lisbon to Angola. (Some 6,360 tons of cotton were exported by Angola in 1959 and 149,184 tons of maize.)

27. A radical change in the investment policy of the Portuguese Government towards Angola is also taking place. Portugal's policy had been to oppose foreign investments in overseas territories. This policy has now been reversed and West German and Japanese investments have been accepted. In addition, a foreign loan amounting to 15 million pounds sterling is being considered. There is also a question of new agreements with foreign oil companies for petroleum prospecting.

28. By April plans were completed for a long set of reforms, the most important of which would end the "dual status" of the Angola population and grant full political equality under Portuguese law to all sectors of the population. The two territories of Angola and Mozambique are to have a Resident Minister instead of a Governor-General closely ruled from Lisbon, and Lisbon would retain responsibility only for defence and foreign relations. Other reforms drafted include an expanded programme of primary and secondary schools for Africans, more school-teachers, better transportation of native children to and from schools, and more university scholarships. It is reported that Dr. Salazar has decided to postpone these reforms until next October after the election of 120 members to Parliament because he was vexed by international and especially United Nations criticism of Portugal's policies in Angola.

29. As a result of diverging and often opposing pressures within the Government, the Cabinet was reshuffled on 13 April. In spite of rumours as to the possible unseating of Dr. Salazar by some army officers, he emerged

victorious from the struggle for power and became his own Defence Minister, acquiring thus direct control over defence measures in Angola. When asked the reason for the changes, he replied that they could be explained by the single word "Angola". The portfolio of the Ministry for Overseas Territories was given to Professor Adriano Moreira, a 38-year-old man considered a liberal. Dr. Salazar added that further changes would take place in the Government with a view to improving the situation in Angola, and it is reported that on 3 June the Governor-General, Rodrigues da Silva Tavares, was replaced by General Venancio Augusto Deslandes of the Air Force, who was in addition to be commander in chief of all Angolan armed forces.

30. Some efforts are being made to speed the implementation of the reforms outlined by Dr. Salazar. A manifesto signed by a small group of Portuguese university students appeared on 1 May demanding reforms in education both in Portugal and in her overseas provinces. It also called for new laws governing integration, immigration policies, decentralization of administration, and a complete revision of all international pacts. On 11 May sixty-eight prominent Portuguese who are political opponents of Dr. Salazar signed a programme calling for the rejection of any "colonial imperialism" and the "restoration of democratic liberties in Portugal".

ANNEX I

União das Populações de Angola (Union of the Populations of Angola - U.P.A.)

The Union, established in 1954, has its headquarters in Leopoldville. Its President, Roberto Holden, claimed a membership of 40,000.^{1/} Its main strength is reported to be among the Angolans in Congo (Leopoldville) and among the Bakongo people in the north of Angola. It, therefore, expects support from the Kasavubu group in the Congo.^{2/}

Liberio Newfane and Lello Figuera, leaders of the U.P.A., are reported to be detained in Bie since 1956, and many of their colleagues are said to have disappeared.^{3/}

Its political programme is indicated in a declaration of its Steering Committee, published in 1960, calling for the "immediate independence of Angola", to be acquired by "pacific and democratic means". Angola would then form an autonomous, democratic State and would participate "in the building-up of the United States of Africa in support of the resolutions of the Conferences of African Peoples held at Accra and Tunis". It declared that Portuguese colonists must make restitution to the Angolans for their land and their resources, but that other Portuguese might remain in Angola to work together with the Angolans for the establishment of a democratic and socially just republic. The land would be distributed to those who work the land, all special privileges and exceptions established by Portugal would be abolished, women would have the right to vote, and each person would have equal right to education.^{4/}

1/ The New York Times, 20 March 1961.

2/ Reports indicate, however, that the Kasavubu group had not given much assistance to U.P.A. because of the problems and pressures in the Congo, and perhaps the external associations of the U.P.A.

3/ The Nation, New York, 4 March 1961.

4/ Union of the Populations of Angola, The Struggle for the Independence of Angola, 1960.

While Portugal brands the U.P.A. a Communist organization,^{1/} a British paper suggested that its finances were believed to come largely from the American Committee on Africa, but that it includes a Communist pressure group.^{2/}

Russell Howe, Leopoldville correspondent of the Washington Post, recently gave the following background of Mr. Holden and of the U.P.A.:

".

"The UPA is powerful. Over 60,000 Angolans live in the Congo and most of the nearly 40,000 in Leopoldville belong to the party or sympathize with it. The party gets enough subscriptions of 50 cents a month to publish a 16-page twice-monthly newspaper without advertising and to send delegates to conferences and to the U.N.

"Portuguese opposition leader, Gen. Humbert Delgado, recently sent an emissary to meet UPA leaders and ask for an alliance. But the UPA is holding its hand on this until it knows what Delgado's plan for "independence by stages" in Angola means.

"Most of Delgado's supporters in Angola are white home rulers who would not want Africans to have anything like a representative share of government.

"UPA leaders feel time is on their side and that their cause will triumph with or without Delgado's help.

".

"They have made it clear they intend to continue a violent struggle in the north and eventually elsewhere and the party newspaper says that the "blood that is flowing in Angola" may well prove to be "the leaven of the great Angolan nation".

".

"The UPA leader and possible future prime minister of an independent Angola is Holden Roberto, a tall, bespectacled 36-year-old northerner whose grandfather was sold into slavery in 1915 and whose father works at the Baptist Mission bookshop in Leopoldville.

^{1/} Ambassador Garin told the Security Council that Roberto Holden, who also bears the names of Gilmore, Ventura and Aldane, had been indicted in November 1960 by Messrs. Moanda Vital and Kuyena Escric (President-General and Inspector-General of the Abako respectively) before Mr. Diomi Gaston, Vice-President of the Provincial Government of Leopoldville, as a militant communist. Holden was a signatory of the U.P.A. secret instructions of November 1960 which closed with the slogan: "Long Live Communism". He was in Tunis in January 1961, bearing the name Ventura, after meeting representatives of Galvac's movement in Rome. (S/PV.945, pp. 88-89.)

^{2/} Foreign Report, London, 4 April 1961

"Born at São Salvador in 1925, Roberto came to the Congo with his parents the following year and returned to Angola with them in 1932. He had three years at a Protestant mission school in São Salvador.

"Then the family re-emigrated to Leopoldville, where he again attended a Protestant school. After two final years of education at São Salvador, the family settled permanently in Leopoldville, where Roberto joined the civil service.

"While working in the Belgian Congo finance department he made friends with Joseph Kasavubu, now the Congo's President. After seven years of government service, Roberto quit and went to work for Nogueira, Leopoldville's largest Portuguese firm.

"Five years later in 1944 he founded the party which is now called the UPA, with the avowed aim of independence for Angola, and was obliged to leave Nogueira. For four years he worked for a Belgian insurance company. Since 1958 he has been a full-time politician paid by the party.

"

"Roberto went to the U.N. for the first time in 1959 and stayed in the States for eight months. He was at the U.N. again in 1960 and again last month for the Security Council. He is back there again now for the General Assembly discussion of Angola. In 1949 he met then Sen. John F. Kennedy, who was reportedly impressed by the Angolan leader.

"He cannot, of course, return to Angola, where an arrest warrant is out for him under the state security laws. Abroad he travels under various names such as José Gilmore and Ruy Ventura.

"He attended the All-African Peoples' Conference in Accra in December, 1958, and stayed on in Ghana for seven months.

"Given the sort of condition in which Angola is likely to achieve independence, if Roberto errs it probably will be by being a fundamentalist in politics, by unnecessary ruthlessness and by his emotional feelings about the Portuguese as a whole.

"Roberto has moved away from the left and the American Security Council vote on the Angolan issue has helped him lean further westward. But he is by no means ideologically won and is by inclination probably well left of center.

"After independence, he probably will not prevent the sort of situation developing which will lead to a wholesale exodus of the Portuguese, whom he would probably like to see replaced in Angola by a more cosmopolitan body of European technicians and businessmen."

Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola - M.P.L.A.)

This organization, with its headquarters in Conakry, is led by its President, Dr. Mario Pinto de Andrade and its Secretary General, Viriato da Cruz. It has a representative in London, João Cabral.

João Cabral wrote recently:

"The MPLA, a merger of various groups, is organized on a non-racial and non-tribal basis ... Some of its leaders are graduates of Portuguese, German or French universities. The vice-president, Dr. Agostinho Neto,^{1/} who was arrested last June, is a doctor (Lisbon University). The acting president, Mario de Andrade, now in exile in Conakry, is a graduate of the Sorbonne. ...

"Between March and August 1959, over two hundred Africans, mostly members of the MPLA, were arrested. They include seven Europeans who come from all walks of life."^{2/}

Ambassador Garin (Portugal) described Andrade as "Communist agitator";^{3/} a British paper described the MPLA as "revolutionary Marxist" and claimed that it had been formed after the last war as part of an attempt to establish a Communist state in Angola.^{4/}

In an appeal to the Member States of the United Nations, on 13 September 1960, the Steering Committee of the M.P.L.A. called on them to urge Portugal to recognize now the right of the Angolese people, and of all peoples under

^{1/} Dr. Neto is a prominent poet of Angola. He is now reported to be under detention in Lisbon. He had already spent two years in jail in Portugal, from 1954 to 1956.

^{2/} The Nation, 4 March 1961.

^{3/} S/PV.944, page 42.

^{4/} Foreign Report, London, 4 May 1961.

Portuguese domination, to self-determination.^{1/} Earlier, in August, the M.P.L.A. issued a statement demanding the immediate recognition of the right of self-determination, general unconditional amnesty to all political prisoners, establishment of public rights, especially legalization of political parties, withdrawal of Portuguese armed forces, elimination of military bases, and the convening of a round-table conference before the end of 1960 to be formed of representatives of all the political parties and the representatives of the Portuguese Government to find a peaceful solution. It declared its desire to end Portuguese imperialism by peaceful and democratic means through negotiations.^{2/}

In the Security Council discussion, Mr. Zorin referred to a message of 1 February 1961 from Mr. Andrade to Mr. Khrushchev calling for a United Nations mission to examine the situation in Angola, and adding that the movement was "firmly relying upon the solidarity of your Government in our fight for the independence of the people of Angola".^{3/} A similar message may have been sent to other governments.

In a statement to Le Monde (10 March), Mr. Andrade declared: "We have exhausted all forms of negotiation. The Portuguese are going so far as to deny the existence of the colonial problem. Colonialism in its Portuguese form is pushing the Angolan masses to direct action".

That the leadership of the M.P.L.A. is perhaps hostile to the United States was indicated by a recent report of the New China News Agency on an interview with Secretary General Viriato da Cruz in Conakry. He was reported

1/ Afro-Asian Bulletin, Cairo, September-October 1960, pp. 22-25.

2/ Ibid., pp. 73-74.

3/ S/PV.943, p. 41.

to have stated that the Angolan people were fighting for their complete independence, and to have criticized the United States for its collusion with the Portuguese colonialists in infiltrating and plundering Angola. The United States was a principal buyer of Angolan products, and played an important role in plundering the country's resources. In view of the goals the Angolan people were fighting for, he continued, it was obvious that they would oppose all foreign groups and interests that colluded with Portuguese colonialism. He claimed that following the daily growth of the Angolan nationalist forces during the past three years, the Portuguese colonialists had stepped up their political oppression and economic exploitation to a degree of extreme cruelty.^{1/}

Other Organizations

(a) Mouvement pour la Libération de l'Enclave de Cabinda
(Movement for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave)

This organization, with headquarters in Leopoldville, is concerned with the Cabinda enclave. Ambassador Dadet of Congo (Brazzaville) read messages from this organization during the General Assembly debate. Its President is Mr. Louis Ranques Franck, its vice-president João Francisco Quintao and its Secretary J.C. Ramos.

In September 1960, the Movement requested the sending of a United Nations Commission to investigate incidents in Cabinda. In December 1960, the Baron of Cabinda and other tribal authorities sent a memorandum to the Overseas Minister of Portugal requesting negotiations to study the accession of the Cabinda protectorate to independence, and suggesting that the first reforms towards internal autonomy should be, if possible, applied at the beginning of 1961. The signatories of the memorandum were arrested on

^{1/} NCNA, Peking, 4 April 1961.

4 January 1961 and deported. In messages to Member States and to the United Nations, the Movement denounced repression in Cabinda, requested a United Nations plebiscite on self-determination, and declared that "immediate independence with international technical assistance is the only possible solution to save the Portuguese colonies".^{1/}

(b) Alliance des Ressortissants de Zombo (A.L.I.A.Z.O.)

Ambassador Dadet of Congo (Brazzaville) read a memorandum from this organization during the General Assembly debate, and described it as an organization of refugees in the Congo.^{2/} It has its headquarters in Leopoldville.

(c) Partido de Luta dos Africanos de Angola (Party of the Struggle of the Africans from Angola - P.L.U.A.)

A British paper described this organization as an ally of M.P.L.A. but more clearly in the mainstream of the world communist movement. It claimed that the P.L.U.A. programme was very similar to that of the Communist Party of Angola, formed in 1955 and suspended shortly afterwards by a decision of its own leaders.^{3/}

(d) Association originnaire de l'Enclave de Cabinda, Pointe-Noire, Congo (Brazzaville)

(e) Front de Libération de l'Enclave de Cabinda, Pointe-Noire, Congo (Brazzaville)

(f) Mouvement de Libération des Colonies sous Domination portugaise, Conakry. (Political Secretary, M. Paolo Gomez Dias)

(g) Front commun des Partis politiques de l'Angola, Leopoldville

^{1/} A/PV.990, pp. 16-18, 37. UN File on Communications from Non-Self-Governing Territories, Portuguese Africa, Communications received on 29 March and 14 April 1961.

^{2/} A/PV.990, pp. 11-13.

^{3/} Foreign Report, London, 4 May 1961.