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The charges relate to the leading role Mandela played in the stay-at-home strike of 1961, a protest against the establishment of a White Republic in South Africa. Although only partially successful, the strike seriously affected the Republic Day celebrations, revealing the true nature of the new Republic, brought into being and maintained by the forceful repression of the majority of South Africans.

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He fled to Johannesburg. This simple act was revolt of the deepest kind against his background and upbringing, and a renunciation of his future. It was a tremendous decision for a young man to make, but already he was determined "never to rule as Chief over an oppressed people."

Hiding from his uncle, Nelson sought work in Johannesburg, and was introduced to Walter Sisulu, who uncovered the young man's desire to become a lawyer, and arranged for him to be articled to a firm of White attorneys. These two men were later joined in many great political struggles. Walter, who became Secretary-General of the now-banned African National Congress, is now to be joined with Nelson on the same charges of incitement.

Without help from home, Nelson often went hungry, but he finished his degree course by correspondence, and went on to the University of the Witwatersrand to study law. There he was plunged into political ferment. He and other young Africans formed a Youth League to inject new life into the African National Congress, which they felt had become over-cautious and conservative. Up to this time the tall, striking, aloof young man, always reserved and meticulously dressed, had been strongly imbued with a narrow type of nationalism and anti-communism, opposed to cooperation with other racial groups and distrustful of all Whites. Now he met Indian and White students with radical ~~views~~^{views}, and began to discover a world of new ideas that were to break down his prejudices and immensely broaden his vision.

In 1952 Nelson and Oliver Tambo, who had also qualified as a lawyer, set up in partnership. Their practice had barely been launched when Nelson became Volunteer-in-Chief in the Campaign of Defiance Against Unjust Laws. He toured the country, organising groups of resisters. The campaign brought disaster to his personal life. He was by then married, with three children, but his wife was opposed to him risking his career in law for politics. They separated, and later divorced.

During this period, Nelson evolved the 'M-Plan', for organising Congress on a cell-system. Where the plan was put into operation, Congress functioned most effectively and the M-Plan type of organisation has contributed to its ability to keep going underground since it was banned by the Government.

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In spite of the intense political activity of both partners, their law practice was flourishing, their offices, continuously expanding, packed with people from early morning to late at night, when in 1956 both Oliver and Nelson were among the 156 arrested for High Treason. Before Court started in the mornings, after it had finished in the afternoons, and during the frequent adjournments, the two lawyers kept their practice going until the Emergency of 1960, following on the Sharpeville shootings. Just before the Emergency Oliver Tambo left the country - not to escape political persecution, but on instructions from the ANC who wanted him to represent them abroad. Nelson remained in gaol for the five months of the Emergency, during which time the offices of Mandela and Tambo, attorneys, finally closed down.

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Early in 1961 the All-In African Conference was called in Pietermaritzburg to organise a united, peaceful protest against the establishment of Verwoerd's Republic. By chance, the bans restricting Mandela's movements and attendance at meetings had just expired, and before the authorities had realised this and renewed them, Nelson had gone to Natal to deliver the main speech, after the ~~its~~ long years of Government-imposed silence. He was elected leader of the National Action Council appointed to organise the Stay-At-Home protest strike.

To avoid arrest he went underground, conducting the strike activities in hiding from the police, giving press statements from public phone boxes, interviewing journalists and meeting with other leaders, but always evading the police. He is reported to have made a deep impression at the Pan-African Conference in Addis Adaba early this year, when he questioned whether freedom in South Africa could ever be achieved by peaceful methods against a Government determined to use the utmost force against the people.

His arrest sent a wave of sorrow through people all over the country. His first appearance in Court was marked by the attendance of huge crowds, who afterwards made the building resound with the full-throated harmony of their singing, in spite of hundreds of armed police. In Durban people met and sang for Mandela, too: "Wamemeza Mandela, waduma izwe lonke!" (Mandela shouted and the country shook!)

There is no doubt that Mandela's exploits as an underground leader have captured the imagination of the people. But his popularity is based on more than the romance of his exploits and his heroic appearance. For he has revealed himself as a true leader, a modest, courageous and intelligent man who believes in collective, not individual decisions. Four years ago he married again, a beautiful Pondo woman and social welfare worker. His wife Winnie and their two small daughters could see him only rarely, for brief, dangerous assignments. The life of self-sacrifice that he led never dimmed

his good humour nor depressed his outlook.

For Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela is one of Africa's new men, who will leave his outstanding mark not only on the freedom struggle in South Africa, but on the development of the whole African continent.

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The peace movement in South Africa is indissolubly linked with the struggle for liberation. This has been so since the formation of an organised peace movement, which actually came into being as the result of the initiative of the national liberatory organisations.

To people in Europe, who have lived through two terrible and devastating world wars, it may seem

world wars, it may seem strange that anyone can be indifferent to the question of peace or war. But abstract appeals for peace have no meaning in Africa, where armed violence and massacre of peoples has long been a way of life. (The examples are legion. One need think only of the Herero people in South West Africa, for instance, who at the beginning of this century were reduced from 80,000 wealthy cattle-ranches to 15,000 homeless and landless people, under the "extermination order" of the German General von Trotha.)

Colonial rule has been established and maintained only through armed might, only by armed police, by soldiers, by the weapons of modern war. Violence and massacre are the normal way of life. Under such circumstances, peace comes to have a particular meaning: not simply the absence of war, of actual fighting between rival nations, but the end of oppressive rule, the end of colonialism, the end of the forceful deprivation of political and economic rights. In Africa there can be no peace between oppressors and oppressed. The people will only know peace when the last vestige of foreign domination has been removed.

A peace movement that does not take these profound realities into account is doomed to fail. In Europe everyone knows immediately what is meant by 'peace', and what are the aims of those working for peace. In Africa, the aims of the peace movement must be more clearly articulated. Concentration camps, forced labour, gas chambers, Hiroshima - sometimes stories filter vaguely through, but they have little reality, and the scale and devastation of modern war is quite inconceivable. What has reality is the policeman raiding one's home, men taken into forced labour on farms, the poverty and backwardness of life in the countryside.

When the Peace Council started its work in South Africa, its activists were often confronted with comments of this nature: 'War between the Big Powers would be a good thing. Let them fight - they will weaken each other, and it will give us a chance to be stronger.' This attitude was widely prevalent. In one vivid phrase, a woman leader summed up her reaction to peace propaganda: "You ask me to make peace in my head when there is war in my stomach."

In spite of this, within South Africa itself people were receptive to the idea of peace, for their struggle had long been conducted in a most orderly and disciplined manner. Emphasis on non-violence in all campaigns was very marked, partly as the result of traditional non-violent methods of struggle introduced by Gandhi, who spent some years in South Africa. At every meeting and conference leaders placed great emphasis on peaceful methods, and on the necessity for people to remain unprovoked by force from the authorities.

With steady, consistent work and through the cooperation of leading members of the liberatory movement, the Peace Council obtained real support among the people. Its propaganda was directed in the first place to show that people could not remain indifferent to the threat of world war, to publicise the menace of nuclear weapons, and to link racialism and racial oppression as a major cause of war.

From the time of the Sharpeville shootings in 1960, followed by a state of emergency, the policies in the national liberatory movement underwent a ferment of debate. People realised - not so much that peaceful methods of struggle had failed, but that all peaceful avenues were blocked. All peaceful protests were met with violence by the State. All peaceful appeals were rejected. With the banning of the major organisation of the people - the African National Congress - political activists spoke openly of using violent means to further the fight for liberation. Over the years it had become increasingly difficult to organise any meeting or rally, and when these were held they were invariably accompanied by a display of force - Saracen tanks are part of the normal police equipment in South Africa.

This brought about a confused attitude to the question of peace, a widespread belief that to work for peace meant a pacifist surrender to State violence or conquest, or that the call for ^{the} preservation of world peace meant the acceptance of oppression to avoid violence or disturbances. Disputes that dominated the international scene aroused little feeling. The Berlin question? 'Let East and West fight it out - we're not committed.' Universal disarmament? This was confused with the idea that those fighting for national liberation should not take up arms.

These are mistaken concepts, and in fact African emancipation and the advance of the world peace movement are inseparable. World affairs make their strong impact on the destiny of all Africa, and Africa in turn must make its impact on world affairs. By disarmament we mean primarily the dismantling of

the enormous military machines of the Big Powers, compared with the armed forces of both the liberatory movements and of newly-independent African countries, with their small industrial potential, are negligible. Disarmament would benefit Africa enormously in many ways. In fact, it is not military weapons in the hands of freedom fighters that have brought about victory, for where they have triumphed, as in Algeria, it has been against enormous imperial armies and resources which they lacked. Disarmament would greatly further the cause of all struggling against colonialism. Africa is already peppered with military bases (21 air bases and 12 naval bases alone, apart from military agreements signed between liberated countries and the former colonial powers.) These bases serve the interests of the colonialists. And they are used solely against the national independence movements of African countries. Were imperial arms and armies not used in Nyasaland, the Rhodesias, Kenya? Who equips the poverty-stricken, internally rotten Portugese regime to hold down the people of Angola? (The military assistance to Portugal from the United States alone amounts to 286 million dollars.) The Americans have given France nearly 4 1/2 thousand million dollars as military aid since the END of World War 2. What was it used for? The answer is in Algeria. Even little Belgium received 1,181 million dollars from the United States as military aid. Those massacred in the Congo cannot now plead with us for disarmament.

Universal disarmament has another side to it. Africa's major task is for quick economic development. Most liberated African countries are largely agrarian, with very little modern industry. To overcome the ravages of colonialism, to eliminate great backwardness, poverty, disease, illiteracy - these are tasks that require concerted effort from the people of these countries, and from the people of industrially advanced countries as well. The main problem is the speedy development of an industry on the basis of a country's own resources and raw materials. This needs capital and experts, which the developed countries can supply. But a huge portion is tied up in the armaments industry. 120 thousand million dollars, spent each year on arms and armies, would be freed by disarmament. This sum corresponds to half of all capital investments in the world. According to some experts, it is exactly the sum of the national incomes of all industrially developed countries.

These are the facts that peace propogandists must bring home to the people. While the very real threat of total disaster through nuclear war cannot be forgotten. Liberation may be our primary aim, but it would count for little among the radio-active ash of a Continent caught in a new World war.

In addition to these problems, the South African Peace Council has had to contend with practical difficulties from the authorities, and in fact the more impact it made on the people, the stronger the reaction on the part of the Government.

For some time regional Peace Councils worked in the Transvaal, the Cape and Natal. In 1953 they came together to form one national organisation. The Government acted immediately. The day before the Conference opened, the person delivering the opening address received an order prohibiting him from attending meetings and ordering him to resign from the Peace Council. Within a week after the Conference was held, four leading Executive members, including the National Secretary, received similar orders. Bearing in mind the nature of the struggle in South Africa, peace cadres were not easily replaceable.

The President of the Peace Council was among those arrested for Treason in 1956, and peace propaganda featured among the evidence at the 4½-year long trial, the international connections of the peace movement being regarded as highly dangerous by the South African Government.

Gradually normal avenues of activity were closed to the Peace Council. An exhibition was slashed to pieces by the police at the Congress of the People in 1955. Halls for meetings became unobtainable. There was almost nobody left capable of speaking at a public meeting who was not banned or proscribed by the authorities. With the banning of the African National Congress, the South African Peace Council lost its main outlet for peace propaganda.

The organisation, however, continues to work, issuing public statements on all major peace questions, whether national or international, and to issue a Bulletin several times a year. Leaflets and booklets are produced from time to time, and poster demonstrations held, as for instance outside cinemas showing films of significance, such as "Judgment at Nuremberg", or at the time of the opening of a new arms factory. The Council has a small exhibition which is given on loan to organisations, and has been shown at three major universities by students organisations. Pictorial material showing what war means, however, is badly needed and seems difficult to obtain. By building up contacts both within the Republic and in other African territories, and regularly sending peace material, the Council has stimulated the formation of a Peace Council in Basutoland and developed correspondents in other African countries.

This vital work needs to be vastly increased and stimulated. As the South African people are more and more threatened by military action, as the Government greatly increases its arms expenditure, builds new arms factories, creates a combined police and army reserve, arms and trains thousands of White

civilians, ~~in~~ and makes almost all opposition subject to the infamous new Sabotage Law (which introduces the death sentence for minor offences) so must the struggle for peace grow as a vital part of the struggle for freedom. "There is no peace without freedom - there is no freedom without peace". This is the principle on which the Peace Council works. Africa needs peace; peace is our aim, our necessity, our salvation. The slogan of a Brazilian peasant movement expresses in a few words everything that can be said about Africa and peace: Land is bread; bread is liberty; liberty is peace.

THE ORGANISATIONS IN ANGOLA

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MPLA - People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola. Based primarily on workers in Luanda and other towns, but supported widely in the countryside. "The MPLA, by far the most powerful in numerical strength, organisation, historical links and ideas, is clearly not a movement to which can be attached any of the traditional cold war labels" - from 'Politics of a Revolt', by P.M. Pinheiro, Oxford University Press.

UPA - Union of the People of Angola, President Roberto Holden. "UPA is largely a peasant party and its strength is confined to the northern area of Angola, its ties with the people of these areas being tribal rather than political." - Pinheiro, the same work.

ELNA - National Liberation of Angola, originally supported UPA but has now broken away.

LGTA - Trade Union movement, mainly of Angolan workers employed in the Congo. Formerly sponsored by UPA but has now broken links with Holden leadership.

A GREAT DEED, WELL FINISHED

". . . I then burnt the city and put everything to the sword. For days together blood continued flowing in the streets . . . Wherever infidels were found, no life was spared to them . . . We calculated 6,000 souls the minimum to have been killed, man and women . . .

"THE WOMEN WHO ESCAPED DEATH WERE CONVERTED TO CHRISTIANITY AND DISTRIBUTED AMONGST THE SOLDIERS . . .

"It was, my lord, a great deed, well fought and finished."

Quotation from a letter to his sovereign by the Portuguese hero, Albuquerque, on the conquest of Goa, dated December 1510.

Angola's Fight for Freedom.

Five hundred years ago, the Portuguese were the first European imperialists to grab colonies in Africa. Now the tyrannical dictatorship of Salazar is determined to make the Portuguese the last of the imperialists to leave the African continent.

Portuguese Africa comprises three main land colonies: Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea; and two groups of islands: Cabo Verde Islands and San Tomé and Príncipe.

CABO VERDE ISLANDS

This group of fifteen islands, six of which are uninhabited, has an area of 4,033 sq.km. with a population of 172,000. The island of Sal has been chosen by Salazar for a concentration camp, where his opponents are left to die a slow death. The international airport of Sao Vicente, constructed by the Americans in 1949, is on the same island.

~~XXXXXXXX~~ PORTUGUESE GUINEA

Not far away, on the West African coast, there is Portuguese Guinea with an area of 36,125 sq.km. and a population of 503,935 Africans and 2,263 Europeans. Although the Portuguese have been there since 1446, this place has the highest illiteracy rate in the world among its indigenous population - 99.7 per cent (U.N. Statistical Year Book.) Diseases such as filariasis, elephantiasis, yaws and leprosy are rife. This is the oldest European colony in Africa, yet was one of the last to be subjugated; the tribes of the interior were "pacified" in 1915, and the Bissagos were finally subdued only in 1936.

SAN TOME AND PRINCIPE

These two tiny islands (area: 964 sq. km., population 60,159) are notorious for the savage treatment meted out to labourers in the coffee and cocoa plantations. A revolt against the system of slave labour in 1953 was ruthlessly crushed. Another recent agitation was put down with machine-guns, three hundred demonstrators falling to the bullets. The Governor himself, Carlos Gorgulho, handled one of the guns.

Agitation continued. More troops were brought in, and arms distributed to the White population. Villages were looted and burned, and thousands thrown into dungeons. On February 5th, 1959, out of 47 persons incarcerated in a small cell, 30 died overnight through asphyxiation.

MOZAMBIQUE

Bordering on the Indian Ocean, Mozambique has an area of 771,125 sq. km. and

a population of 5,732,317. It has been under Portuguese rule since 1446. It possesses the largest groves of coconut palms in the world; American oil interests are active in the area.

The average wage of Mozambique worker is about ninepence a day. There is only one high school in the colony. No figures are available of the illiteracy rate. Mozambique lives on sugar, cotton, tea, and most of all, on the export of black labour to South African gold mines.

ANGOLA

Mozambique and Angola together hold some of the key ports in the whole of Africa, besides both ends of the most strategic railway line, linking the Atlantic with the Indian Ocean. Angola is in south-west Africa, bordered on the south by South-West Africa, on the east by Northern Rhodesia, on the north by the Congo Republic, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean.

Portuguese first reached this part of African in 1482, and for the next hundred years occupied footholds along the coast.

From 1700, for the next 150 years, the country became a reservoir for slaves transported to Brazil. After 1850, the Portuguese began to occupy the interior as well as the coast. They met with repeated resistance to their colonial rule, and there were revolts almost every decade. The revolt that started in 1961 is merely the largest and most fateful of many risings.

For 300 years, the people of Angola were shipped to Brazil and North America as slaves. In some months as many as 10,000 were torn from their homeland, never to return. It is estimated that over a third died on the journey. Between 3 to 5 million Angolans were deported in this way - ONE HALF OF THE ENTIRE POPULATION

That is why today this huge area of 1,246,000 sq. km., fourteen times bigger than Portugal, and roughly the size of Spain, France and Italy put together, has less than 9 people per square mile, lower than most African territories; the result of three centuries of slave deportations and of the forced labour of today. There are $4\frac{3}{4}$ million Africans, 30,000 Coloured, and 170,000 Whites.

After 400 years of Portuguese rule, Angola has an appallingly high rate of illiteracy: 98 per cent of the people cannot read or write. Only about 3,000 children go to school each year, and less than 100 reach high school each year. Over 23 per cent of the White population - those who claim to 'civilise' the Africans - are themselves illiterate.

There are 250 doctors in the whole country, and smallpox, sleeping sickness and tuberculosis are rife. Nearly everyone suffers from malnutrition and its attendant illnesses. 200 out of every 1000 babies born die of malnutrition. In some instances, the infant mortality rate is as high as 60 per cent.

Portugal claims 'assimilation' as her contribution to 'native policy' in Africa. In theory, any African can become an assimilado with full citizenship rights. In practice, over 99 per cent of Angolan Africans are classed as 'uncivilised', with all its attendant evils of carrying an identity book and serving their term of forced labour.

This is the outstanding feature of Angola - forced labour. Every male African, from 16 years to old men, except assimilados, are subject to a law under which they must perform six months forced labour every single year of their lives. In practice, many return home only after years of forced labour.

The rebel Captain Henrique Galvao, leader of the group which captured the Portuguese ship Santa Maria, was formerly Inspector of Overseas Provinces under Salazar. In 1947 he wrote a gripping report on labour conditions in Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique and Angola. Although the report had been commissioned by the Portuguese government, it was suppressed, and Galvao was jailed.

"In some ways," he wrote, "the situation is worse than simple slavery. Under slavery, after all, the native is bought like an animal; his owner prefers him to remain as fit as a horse or an ox. Yet here the native is not bought - he is hired from the State, although he is called a free man. And his employer cares little if he sickens or dies, once he is working, because when he sickens or dies his employer will simply ask for another."

Some employers have lost 35 per cent of their labourers through illness or death, but have never been stopped from obtaining fresh supplies.

Great Poverty, harsh conditions of work, brutality, sickness and death far from home - this is the lot of forced labourers. They have no rights, they can obtain no education, there is no medical care. Physical punishment is normal, flogging and torture frequent, justice unknown, and corruption ^{rife} ~~prevail~~ among the "civilisers."

"After a century of Portuguese occupation and nearly five centuries of Portuguese contact," ~~writes~~ comments the writer Basil Davidson, "Angola has become a political and economic slum where the inmates are kept down by hunger and the whip, the prison and the firing-squad."

"Other African countries have moved forward. Other African peoples have won equality and independence, But the Portuguese rulers of Angola have remained blind or indifferent to all the changes of the 20th century. As late as 1957 they were still bleating: 'Everything in Angola is ^{quiet and} ~~the same~~ the same as before.' And yet, already, the ground was moving beneath their feet."

THE BEGINNINGS OF REVOLT.

Salazar permits no opposition. He will not discuss nor negotiate, nor recognise any authority except his own, maintained by the most ferocious repression. His reply to any attempts to speak on behalf of the people has been unyielding brutality, mass arrests, torture, shootings, carried on behind a wall of complete secrecy.

In the 1950's, small groups began to meet secretly in one or two Angolan towns. A manifesto protesting against the misery and terror of the people was sent to the United Nations in 1953, signed by fifty brave men. Various opposition groups began to grow, in spite of many arrests of both Angolan Africans and also Europeans.

Arrests reached a climax in June 1960, with the seizure of many well-known Angolans, including leading churchmen.

Among the hundreds in gaol was a courageous poet and doctor, Agostinho Neto, president of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA.)

At this stage, the people had not taken up arms against the oppressors. But Salazar and his gunmen did not hesitate to use mass slaughter.

People from two villages, Bengo, the birthplace of Dr. Neto, and the neighbouring village of Icolo, decided to go to their district office in a small local town to ask for his release.

When a thousand men, women and children arrived in a peaceful demonstration, ~~many~~ soldiers were waiting for them, and fired on the crowd without warning, killing 30 and injuring more than 200. On the following day, these soldiers arrived at the two villages, killed or arrested everyone who was found there, then set the villages on fire, destroying them totally. Africa, too, has its Lidices.

In December, MPLA issued this bare but vital announcement: "On the 6th day of December, 1960, the People's Liberation Movement of Angola declared that direct action was the only means by which the people of Angola could obtain independence . . ."

The communique went on to describe how forced labour workers were beaten when they asked for higher wages, and how one one farm they had retaliated by killing their torturer. Neighbouring farm-owners then killed every African they could lay hands on, as a reprisal. The people rose, and resorted to force.

The reaction of the colonialists was the massacre of whole villages as reprisals, and mass tortures and killing of prisoners.

Now the Salazar Government began to look to its allies for military aid, at the same time presenting the Angolan rising as the result of Communists, outside

agitators and 'troublemakers'.

Their propoganda attempted to prove that a peaceful Angola had become victim to a bigger and bloodier Mau-Mau, and reported ferocious raids on Portuguese farmers and traders and fearful atrocities against women and child (see)

It would be extraordinary if some atrocities did not take place, for the people of Angola, forced to the very limit of human endurance and treated like beasts, were bound to retaliate. But the 'civilised' Portuguese had their own way of dealing with such conduct.

"I estimate that we've killed 30,000 of these "animals", one army officer told me. 'There are probably another 100,000 working with the terrorists. We intend killing them when the dry season starts in about six weeks' time.'

"The dry season lasts about four months and to achieve such a target would mean about 1,000 killings a day." (The Daily Mirror's Special Correspondent, writing from Luanda about seven weeks after the uprising started.)

The same correspondent described the behaviour of White settlers in Luanda. He saw an African thrown from the roof of a six-storey building into the street below. "Just around the corner another African was torn to pieces by a mob - a White mob."

A pitiful stream of refugees began to filter across the border into the Congo, later to flood over at the rate of hundreds a day, all with stories of ghastly and indiscriminate savagery by the Portuguese. Not content with individual lynching and massacring of the most barbarous nature, they also used napalm to bomb villages.

IMPERIALIST INTERESTS

Where does Portugal get napalm canisters, and how does this weak, backward and poverty-stricken country maintain its armed forces and war on Angola?

Portugal belongs to NATO, and her whole military capacity rests on support from NATO powers in arms, ammunition and training facilities. Portugal does not stand on her own. Her power in Africa is propped up by bigger imperialist. She is part of the network of military alliances of the "free world".

The powerful British monopoly Tanganyika Concessions is the dominant interest in the Angola railway network. The Benguela Railway, which runs 838 miles from Lobito, Angola's main port, to the Katanga, transports a large proportion of the output of Union Miniere du Haut Katanga which virtually controls the Katanga copper belt. Tanganyika Concessions, with substantial minority interests in Union Miniere, derives huge profit from the Benguela Railway.

Angola has large deposits of diamonds, asphalt, bitumen, manganese, iron, copper and gold, in the exploitation of which Britain, the United States, West Germany and South Africa have interests. The valuable iron ore of Angola is being exploited under a recent agreement with Krupps. The United States is a growing investor, and is prospecting for oil. The most important mineral product, diamonds, is controlled by the Angola Diamond Company with sole rights over about 390,000 square miles. The company, which also has agricultural, industrial and financial interest in Angola, is incorporated in Portugal and the Angolan Government has a minority shareholding. There are two South African directors of the giant De Beers on the company.

Angola Holdings is a British company with a main interest in Companhia de Combustiveis, which owns a bulk oil installation at Lobito, and is linked with British shippers.

In January of this year, 99 nations at the General Assembly of the United Nations called on Portugal to speed extensive reforms in Angola "with a view to the transfer of power to the people." One country (France) abstained from voting. ~~ONE~~ ^{TWO} countries—South Africa and Spain - voted against. South Africa defended Portugal's "right and duty" to maintain law and order "no matter how painfully."

Thus Portugal is not without her allies. South Africa, who depends so much on black labour for her mines from Portuguese Mozambique, is also aligned with Sir Roy Welensky, who said in February 1962 that Portugal had done the "right and proper thing" in keeping order in Angola. Thus once more we see the reactionary axis in Africa - Salazar, Welensky, ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Verwoerd.

THE ORGANISATIONS OF RESISTANCE.

By the end of 1961, Salazar was claiming the 'revolt' had been crushed. In fact, many areas in northern Angola had been bombed into destruction and silence, the people joining tens of thousands who sought refuge in the Congo.

Other areas are under the control of Angolans, and journalists have actually visited some of these places.

Far from being at an end, resistance to Portuguese rule is only beginning. The first year of armed resistance taught many lessons to the Angolan people. One great problem is disunity in the various organisations, and the great need is for a common front of struggle for national liberation.

MPLA has repeatedly called for a common front, but UPA will not cooperate. The tribalism, corruption and outright treachery of the Holden leadership caused the General Staff of ELNA to withdraw support from UPA, and to charge Holden with turning the Angolan revolution into a fratricidal struggle; of

murdering MPLA units; and of converting money collected abroad for arms for ELNA to his own personal use. They accused Holden of producing forged receipts to "prove that the supply of Tunisian material was acquired by him at a cost of thousands of francs" - whereas in fact President Bourgiba and the Tunisian government had supplied the material free of charge.

ELNA, which originally supported UPA, now dissociates from Holden, and LGTA which hitherto supported Holden also issued a statement withdrawing support.

These events, however, have isolated and exposed the Holden clique, and in fact brought Angolan unity closer. It was Holden and his associates who opposed unity, and the MPLA which worked for unity, even remaining silent about harmful activities of UPA leaders.

In an attempt to retrieve a situation that has become critical for them, Holden and his associates have announced the formation of a so-called ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ "Provisional government"; the UPA has dissolved itself and merged into a body which calls itself the "Front for the National Liberation of Angola", with a cabinet restricted to Holden supporters, with Holden as Prime Minister, and not a single representative of the MPLA or even LGTA and ELNA leaders.

Full agreement between all other anti-Salazar groups would have the effect of carrying the peoples' struggle forward. There is a long, hard battle ahead. But the people of Angola have many friends, both in Africa and the rest of the world. Their battle so far has enormously weakened Salazar and shaken his regime in this - one of the last - strongholds of 'old-type' colonialism in Africa.

Angola, with scarcely any industries and its immensely poor and largely illiterate population has enormous tasks ahead. Once Portuguese imperialism, bolstered by its allies, has been cleared out of Angola, the real fight for a decent life can begin. In this peaceful struggle, as with their armed struggle, the people of the world will rally to the assistance of the courageous people of Angola.

ends

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED IN ANGOLA TODAY.

At least eight different Angolan nationalist organisations are now operating in Leopoldville. Four of them, however, reject the use of military means to obtain independence, and it is doubtful if they represent anyone inside Angola. Two of these, at least, are suspected of being essentially Portuguese puppet organisations. The fifth is an organisation only of the peoples of the Enclave of Cabinda.

The other three organisations - UPA, MPLA, and PDA (Democratic Party of Angola) are all committed to winning independence by all means and engaged to one degree or another in military action.

PDA appears to be of little significance, but by uniting with UPA to form an Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA) with a Government-in-Exile (of which Roberto Holden is head) they have given the UPA at least the semblance of representing a unity of more than one organisation. FNLA claim the door is open to MPLA to participate in their united front. MPLA leaders say the Front was created as much for the purpose of isolating them as for genuine unity, without any prior consultations with them; and suggest that the leaders of all Angolan nationalist movements should establish a working committee and start from scratch to create a formula for genuine, lasting unity. FNLA (UPA) has rejected this.

The friction between them appears to be deep, and arises to some extent from their origins. Both organisations grew up independently of each other, with different backgrounds, and at no stage was there much contact between them. Holden Roberto of UPA and Mario de Andrade, President of MPLA, met for the first time in May 1961 at the Conference of African States in Moravia

MPLA was founded in 1956 as a combination of a number of groups of Angolan intellectuals. They established a number of study groups, mainly in the cities, and had contact with missionaries and other people who could take their message to the outside world. Their first official Manifesto on Angolan independence was drawn up in 1956, and serves as a basis for their programme today.

The UPA was founded in the Congo, rather than Angola, and derived most of its support from the large Angolan population living in the Leopoldville Province of the Congo. The migratory nature of some of this population brought the UPA to sections of people in Angola itself, particularly the Kikongo speaking people.

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