

MEMORANDUM TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ZAMBIA

Sir,

We have the honour and privilege to present our Memorandum which carries with it some light on the Angolan problems.

In the light of our duty, we the Angolan Nationalists in Zambia and the masses we represent both in here and Angola, all gathered within the Union of the Peoples of Angola. We are quite aware of the difficulties of exile and of the physical torture of our masses in Angola. Our people here will never forget about the Revolutionary period in Zambia when they all clasped their hands with their Zambia brothers and sisters in their fight against the minority power seekers of the used to be so called The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyassaland led by forgotten boy of Rhodesia-Roy Welensky.

We must first of all express our sincere and Revolutionary gratitude to the Lion of Zambia and Lamb of peace and unity in Africa - His Excellency The President - Dr. K.D. Kaunda who had provided the sparkling leadership and canalised Nationalism into the creative lines. Due to his dynamic leadership and the devotion of his followers both the dead and alive, Zambia has been plotted on the African Map of Freedom.

So now Imperialism and its striving for Colonial exploitation and the plundering of other peoples has been up-rooted in the Republic of Zambia.

We of Angola, totally condemn the Neo-colonial devices funned through Lumpalism for destruction of the peoples' Government for which they have suffered so much. We strongly denounce the grafted and imposed Premier of the Congo being a puppet of the Western Imperialism and Colonialism. Their roots have given rich shoots of Neo-colonialism which have camouflaged exploitation of the Congolese People. We hope that Congolese people's task to fight against Imperialism and Colonialism is not yet fulfilled.

We in the Angolan Peoples Revolution, openly support and recognise the Revolutionary forces of the peoples of Zimbabwe under the iron constituted leadership of Comrade Joshua Nromo and other Nationalist leaders, now restricted into the tsetsefly affected area of Gonakudzingwa. We therefore warn very, very strongly the Welensky's pupil - Ian Smith for threatening to declare an unilateral declaration of Independence in Rhodesia.

In strong worded statement we denounce the vicious sentences of life imprisonment imposed on the Comrades Nelson Mandela, ~~Water~~ Water Sisulu and other Revolutionarists in South Africa by the minority fascist Verwoerd's Regime. These vicious sentences will not extinguish the spirit of the struggle and sacrifice that the South Africa people are making to free their Country as well as themselves from the minority white rule and monopoly capital.

We watch with burning keenness that our fight for freedom in Angola must be and in line with other movements for freedom on the Continent of Africa which is also in context with the struggle of the common people all the world over, where freedom has not yet been esta-

blished in reality, or where it has not yet been established at all.

We shall never forget the government of the African Independent States and those other governments and peoples of the World who are acting in concern with them in encouraging and equipping us for the fight in Angola. We therefore request them to continue to be with us.

Put we shamelessly admit that the Revolution which began as an armed struggle about four years ago, is now passing through serious crisis, the like of which has been the American Imperialism and Tshombeism within the ranks of the Revolution.

We believe that the truth shall never be covered and with your Pan African Assistance, we shall manage to unveil these reservoirs of Imperialism and succeed in uniting all the Angolan Revolutionary forces. Once this is done, the Angola peoples' self determination to Independence will be at its eve.

In particular when we think or talk of the Colonies in Africa ruled by foreign hands, we ultimately remember the poor country - Angola which has been troubled for five centuries by the Portuguese Colonial hippocrates. In fact we would not be wrong to say that in the whole of Africa, Angola is one of the few colonies which have suffered most. Whose people have been mercilessly butchered in cold blood by the cockroaches of Salazar.

Due to the brutality in the country by the Portuguese perpetrators, African people in Angola are ~~was~~ scattered to various countries of Africa. Furthermore, most of the Negroes in America and elsewhere were taken as slaves from Angola.

This time we can find a lot of people from Angola living in other countries, such as the Congo, Zambia, Rhodesia, South-West Africa, South Africa, and so on hiding from mass killing, humiliation and other, by the Portuguese devils of Salazar.

It does not surprise anyone neither would an insect be surprised to see that people from Angola are living in other countries but NOT people from other countries can be found in Angola. This obviously, is because Angola has been turned into an African culchery by the Portuguese.

The people of Angola living in this country, fought tooth and nail for the freedom of Zambia. This was done because they wanted to build a big and strong fort on which to stand and fight for the freedom of Angola too from the hands of the cruel beast-Salazar. That is why without any hesitation we had to join U.P.A.

After serious enquiries from the U.N.I.P. and, from our own observation we decided to join the Union of the Peoples of Angola. This was done in March, 1964 and the National Headquarters in Leopoldville was informed about the formation of the party (U.P.A.) in Zambia.

SHORT HISTORY OF U.P.A. IN ZAMBIA

The Party, Union of the Peoples of Angola, come to be officially re-

cognised by the Zambia Government on 13th March, 1964, when it was registered. Since that time U.P.A.'s gospel has been preached nearly to all the parts of the country where Angolans live.

We could say with pride that our party U.P.A. already wins popularity amongst both the Zamhians and Angolans and has a big number of followers and sympathisers.

Since the formation of the party in this country, we have been writing to the President in Leopoldville for the information on how to run and maintain it but, not even a single reply has been received.

Up to now people of this Regional Office do not know what plans the President has on the future operations in Angola. Due to his failure we the officials of this Region have also failed to tell our followers and sympathisers what picture and independent Angola will have. Above all, he has attended National Conferences in many countries which have been solving major problems and Angola too, has been ~~was~~ tackled in such Conferences. Unfortunately he has not been in contact with this office as to inform us of what has been going on in such conferences, for example, Cairo.

CORRESPONDENCE

Having been very anxious to hear and learn more from him, we wrote him several letters but no replies from him or his office. To mention a few the undermentioned letters were not replied to:

April: 17th, 20th and 30th	i.e.	4 letters no replies
May: 16th, etc.	"	1 letter no reply
July: 12th, 13th and 22nd	"	3 letters no replies
Aug: 14th and 17th	"	2 letters no replies
Sept: 11th, 12th, 19th, 20th, 23th and 25th	"	6 letters no replies
Oct: 1st, 8th and 29th	"	3 letters no replies
Nov: 4th, 23rd and 24th	"	3 letters no replies

22 letters

That is more than twenty-two letters from this office were not replied to but instead he has been sending Messrs Perterson, Kapilango, Watawa, Bastos and Herdrick who have not explained anything about the G.R.A.E. and U.P.A. fighting in Angola and about how we here should work, have confused the work and the situation in Zambia. As a result of his bad and weak leadership, some people from U.P.A. have at occasions attempted to break away new parties, in protest.

As stated earlier on, this office has been in operation since March and is now ten months old but we are not informed of the structure of the Government in-exile neither are we in the position of knowing the composition of his Cabinet as Prime Minister. We are even ignorant of the Party's National Headquarters' Cabinet.

WE ARE SURPRISED AND SORRY

Despite our ignorance of what goes on in Leopoldville, big and very shocking rumours come out that the Party's National Officials and the

and the "evolutionary soldiers are helping Tshombe to fight against the innocent true Congole leaders, the Muleles.

This office does not know what relationship there is between the party (U.P.A.) and the Government in Exile. This is because we are not informed of all such things, we are therefore very much tongue tied and flabbagasted. For we do not know as to how we can co-operate and work together with him in this party for the freedom of our country, as he does not want to correspond with other Regions so that we can let other know of what we should do to free our country quickly.

EDUCATION

Up to this time we have no idea of how the Government in exile is running the education. It is indeed surprising to see that since then our files are overflowing with the names of the students that we want to send to men and women we have got to educate today.

TRAINING OF SOLDIERS

We have so many young men who want to join the Angolan Liberation Army but no instructions and plans of what to do with them have been received. We have written the President on this matter for to negotiate with other countries to train our people. This we cannot hesitate to do for the sake disappointed in that not even one young man has been out to train for militance from this wing. At present we have about 500 young men waiting for recruitment.

REFUGEES

Many times we have reported to him about the difficulties we are getting with the Refugees. We were mostly asking him for where to send them. We have been stating to him that the Government of Zambia tells us that it has not made any provisions for the Refugees' Permanent Camps yet. So accommodations, food and clothing for refugees are a gap that we here at the moment cannot attempt to deal with. We have no funds at all with which to feed them. To this too, he never gave any comment or reply.

We have written him on accommodation matter for several times that the Regional and some other junior officials are suffering from having no accommodations. This is due to the fact we have been able to get enough funds for the tents.

We also wrote him about the Government's instructions of limiting the number of staff in the foreign political party offices, closing of branches and controlling of the movements of the party officials, but no comment from him on these has been received.

OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES

They are several other parties from Congo which allege that U.P.A. in Leopoldville is a tribalistic party and that it has no funds to aid ~~the~~ its struggle for freedom. That Mr; Holden Roberto does not want to work with southern Angolans. That our lack of correspondence between this and his office in Leopoldville is caused by the fact he is not interested in freeing the whole of Angola but northern part only.

Such rumours, and many other things which are not in this memorandum, come in because he seems to have ignored and abused his duties completely. This is because he has not been sending in some instructions of how to deal with such things. We ~~want~~ don't retaliate all that is brought to us about him because he does not keep us informed. But, with us here in Zambia, whatever comes we want only one party to fight for the freedom of Angola. Because formation of so many parties is to strengthen the Imperialists. As such it will not benefit us anything but to cause many deaths of our people in Angola. Negligence of duty even if on a very small scale is very detrimental to the effectiveness of the party. Hence the deterioration in the National Struggle.

WHEN HE CAME HERE IN OCTOBER, 1964

On his departure, when he first visited Zambia for the Independence Celebration, he told us that he would come back to Zambia in two weeks time. This was on 25th October, 1964, when he was leaving for Leopoldville via Tanganyika. That he would, from that time be visiting this office twice every month.

More than seven telegrams have been received from him since October, 1964, telling us that he was coming to Zambia but could not come. No reasons for his not coming have been received.

When he left, he did not leave us any skeleton of plans on which we would base or build our work. This time as he told us to tell our followers to be ready for him, they waited until they booheated us that we deceived them of this coming.

FOREIGN PARTIES TO HAVE SIX OFFICIALS

When we received the instructions from Zambia Government that foreign parties based in Zambia should reduce their officials to only six in every organisation's office, and that all the branches every party had opened in the country should be closed, we sent him two telegrams of requesting him to come and attend to this situation.

Now seeing that all the work we have done since the formation of this party here in Zambia is deteriorating, we therefore propose the following should be done:

- 1 . That the Government may help us to, call for a conference for all the Angolan political parties to meet all the U.P.A. leaders to solve the problems in order to strengthen our Revolution for the freedom of our mother-land Angola, with the help of the members of the Committee of the Nine (9) as conciliators.
- 2 . That Mr. Holden Roberto be persuaded to remove his Headquarters from Congo Leopoldville to some other country. Because we see that he and his work is not free in Congo under Tshombe.

Signed by:-

U.P.A. CABINET ZAMBIA REGION

J. KHAMALATA (?)

NOTA: O original deste memorando levava, na primeira pagina, ao alto, um carimbo, com os seguintes dizeres:

UNION OF THE PLEOPLES OF ANGOLA

U. P. A.

17 FEB 1965

P.O.BOX 2246 - LUSAKA

REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

Na ultima pagina, o memorando é assinado por 4 membros, cujas assinaturas são ilegíveis. ~~It was not possible to read the name~~ O nome que vem na copia não é ~~it~~ seguramente o verdadeiro.