

UNION OF THE PEOPLES OF ANGOLA (U.P.A.)

ZAMBIA REGIONAL HEADQUARTERS

MARCRO BUILDING
CAIRO ROAD
P.O. BOX 2246
LUSAKA

20th September, 1964

MEMORANDUM TO THE HONOURABLE PRESIDENT MR. HOLDEN ROBERTO

In the name of the mighty Union of the People of Angola (U.P.A.) and on behalf of all the Angolan masses living here in Zambia, we bow our heads to greet your cabinet. We are deeply concerned and pricked to heart with the political affairs which squarely have confronted Angola since the portuguese colonisation.

Bearing this mind, we the sons and daughters of Angola here in a deep sense of humanity, earnestly draw your national attention to our delegation which is to present our feelings to you and your cabinet. This is the first in the history of our country that we, the scattered children of Angola jointly meet to discuss about our political convention in order to get back our creational land. We all realise that the creation of a national society in Angola is purely the responsibility of all Angolan masses living in exile and at home. The mighty God who brought us here to get knowledge and political experience, the same God will help us to fight for our way back home.

We, here seriously look at the problems at home squarely in the face and are prepared to take Salazar's blows as they come in and we give twice as much until he falls down. Without commitment we Angolans here promise to give you leadership a prominent backing. This is a spiritual and physical assurance. Remember we shall forgive the portuguese for his folly on your order but we shall never never forgive the atrocities and the ungodly torture inflicted on us for almost 500 years now. We know our suffering will make us great people in the history of African when we unitedly conquer our political enemy. We all know that no one in the history of mankind has ever been successful in suppressing the truth. So the victory is ours.

We, your people here are tired of the political device that has been put us for the sins that we never committed. It is now better for all of us to rise and hate the portuguese government, because it now seems as if God created Africans of Angola for white man's exploitation. We present this case before the Almighty God to judge. These portuguese have tried their very best to change us through assimilation during their 500 years rule but they have failed because God created us African, we shall live as Africans and we shall die as Africans;

Before Zambia attained herself government, we had already a strong feeling

of wedging a political war against Salazar's regime, in Angola. This we thought could be carried through national union ~~which~~ that could carter for all Angolans regardless of their tribes, or place of origin in order to form up United front against the portuguese imperialism.

We were all pleased when we heard of 1961 political pressure that you exerted on Angola, shortly after the Republican status of the Congo. Put as Zambia was still tied to the federal yoke it was difficult for us to say anything in connection with the total liberation of Angola. It was in September when Messrs Nelson Chikomo and Willis C. Ndumba made their first attempt to approach Dr. Kaunda for an assistance on how the Angolans here would approach you so that an U.P.A. office would be opened here. It was at the time that Mr. Romalho Domingos Gil came to approach Dr. Kaunda on the same matter. These three men met for their first time and presented their case together and they were all told wait self-government attained in 1964.

With the establishment of an African Government here this year, our political position has tremendously changed. We all unanimously decided to back your leadership through U.P.A. and lead us to the Independence of Angola. The government again was approached for permission to open offices here and willingly it was granted. We shall never forget thanking Dr. Kaunda and his government ~~we~~ for giving us political support.

SHORT HISTORY OF U.P.A. IN ZAMBIA

The mighty Union of the Peoples of Angola came to be officially recognised by the government on the 13th of March, 1964, when the party was registered. Since March the U.P.A. gospel has been preached nearly to all comers of Zambia where Angolans live.

PARTY PROGRESS

As a result of the leader's dedication, devotion/ and self sacrifice their are now about 70 offices opened both in the villages and towns. Organisation has been extended even in Angola and the reaction both from the their chiefs in Angola and from those living in here is very encouraging. People from Angola have even crossed the border to come and attend U.P.A. meeting here.

We must say with pride that our party U.P.A. is already winning popularity amongst the Zambias and Angolans. Our party is more popular than the African National Congress. Our party since march has now membership of 2500 followers. We must report that even the Government is backing us in a big way.

HEADQUARTERS WEAKNESS IN ADMINISTRATION IN LEOPOLDVILLE

Since the party was started here in March, we have never received even a single letter from you the party president to tell us how we could direct our people from this end. Our party constitution is also incomplete in that it does not explain the power of each officer from branch level to the national. We are operating without a party policy which could give us full picture of our work.

Up to now people of this end do not know what plans are being made on the future operation in Angola. Due to this the office has failed to tell our followers and those interested in our struggle what picture an Independent Angola will have. Our President has attended conferences but this office

has not been informed of the results of such conferences, e.g. the Cairo Conference.

GRAE CABINET AND UPA PARTY

It is now seven months but this office has not been informed of the structure of our Government in Exile. This office has no knowledge of the Prime Minister's cabinet composition. There have been rumours that some Cabinet Ministers have resigned but surprisely no official information has been received. We have no idea of any reshlements made, within the frame work of the cabinet.

Your office does not know what relationship UPA as a party has to the Government in exile. This because we have not been informed of the people who are running the party now.

TRANSPORT

Zambia being a big country more vehicles are needed for the officials to travel wide. The land-rover that we have is too old and we have no money to maintain it. We need more transport so that we could be able to reach whatever they lived. This will give no chance to our political ennemy to have no chance of misleading our people.

FUNDS

Zambia being only a region we have found it difficult to make direct contact with big firms rasing, firms and governments we have contacted so far told us that financial arrangement will have to be made through your office, as the head of Independent Angola. Since March this office has so far received only £ 300, which you sent to us my Mr. Kapilango. This was in April, 1964 and we bought a vehicle out of that amount. There have been no money with which to rent the office and to buy stationary and office equipment.

EDUCATION

Up to this moment we have no idea how our government in exile in running the educational system. It is surprising to us that since March not even a single student has been sent out for Studies and yet Angola future depends on how many young people we educate today.

RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF SOLDIERS

We have so many young people who want to join the Angolan liberation army but alas! no instruction or plans of what to do with these young freedom fighters have been receiving. We have written you on this matter for several times, and we have gone to the extent of requesting you to negotiate with the Kenya Government so that our people could be trained in Mau-Mau activities. This we cannot hesitate to do for the sake of our country. But your people are disappointed in what not even one young man has been sent out for Military training from this wing. We have got about 500 young people waiting for recruitment.

REFUGEES

Up to this time we have not received instructions of your party policy on what we can do within the refugees and where to send the. It is clear

case that this office has no funds with which to feed them, no accommodation and no clothing for them.

ACCOMMODATION

We have written to your office on this case for several times that the Regional Officials and other young officers have no accommodation. This is due to the fact that we have failed to get enough for renting.

OTHER ANGOLAN POLITICAL PARTIES

There are several political parties from the Congo claiming here that UPA is tribalistic in Leopoldville are that the party has no funds for its expansion. That you do not want work with the southern Angola that is why you don't write us. Remember this and many others are coming in because we have never received instructions of what we would do with them. But in here we want only one party that is UPA and the others will just come to mislead peoples.

FEELINGS OF ANGOLANS LIVING IN ZAMBIA, ON THE GRAE

We Angolan people and our chiefs have been watching very carefully about the political misunderstandings in our GRAE which have resulted in our revolutionary army's standstill for almost six months. Now some leaders have resigned purposely in order to delay our freedom. If you can only rely on us in Zambia even those who have will return. What we know is that in the politics of mankind any leader is led by the feelings of the people whom he leads. So we hope that consideration and high attention shall be paid to the resolutions passed by all your people here in Zambia:

1. That this administrative weakness and reluctance in attending to our difficulties is the result of the unstable position of our GRAE.
2. That this is because our party constitution is incomplete in that it does not match with our struggle. That has led to several leaders leaving the GRAE.
3. That this political cancer must be cured so that a solution may be found to accelerate our liberation.
4. That this can only be done by calling a conference to be attended by all those leaders who have resigned from GRAE present of the national council, a delegation from Zambia office and by some mediators from other Independent African States. And propose this conference to take in a month's time outside Leopoldville, say in Kenya or Tanzania.
5. At the conference our constitution must be reviewed for amendments e.g.
 - a) - Our constitution to resemble in one or the other with the African Nationalists' constitutions, say of Kenya, South Africa, Algeria and Southern Rhodesia where the Imperialists' policies have been designed to suppress Africans for ever.
 - b) - The constitution must be tough and reactionally in order to counteract the Portuguese government's policy in Angola.

- e) - The Constitution must work in strong opposition to the portuguese policy and reveal its weaknesses to the world.
 - d) - It must give a full mandate to those in the government and those running the party. This section does not appear in our present constitution, which is the main trouble and weakness.
 - e) - The constitution must show a dynamic programme which all the leaders and the masses will have to follow. Here a clear and simple political direction must be shown.
 - f) - It must show what form of government the Independent Angola will have.
 - g) - The party to be non tribal and non racial.
 - h) - The constitution to aim at the abolition of any tribal society in Angola.
- 6 - That shortly after the Republic status of Zambia our Prime Minister must pay visit to Zambia in order to strengthen his followers and to have his Regional Officials be intriduced to the President of Zambia Republic.
- 7 - That Zambia being central to eastern and southern Angola be given more mandate to work as a Sub Headquarters.
- 8 - That negotiations must be carried on with Zambia government so that after Independence a military base may be established here.
- 9 - That some officials from the Zambia UPA as a party should not be ignore because it the government's base unit. That in Katanga more organisation is require.

Sir, our call to Independence at home is not a political pipe dream but a reality. We are tired of he life in exile now we want to return home. We are not lost and yet we do not know the home. But it is you Mr. Holden Roberto who knows the way home. Are you out to lead us and be home in 1965. We are not alone, but our brothers and sisters in Africa and free world are all waiting for us to start playing the ball of liberation rolling in Angola and they come and join. All this depends on our unit and determination.

Would you assure us through the delegation that we shall be in Angola in 1965? We are prepared to obey your call. We are prepared to drink from the ~~war~~ cup of pain and death for the sake of our land.

May our Almighty God bless you and your leadership and grant unto these love, truth and courage to lead us home.

In Unit and lovekies salvation.

REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. LUSAKA, ZAMBIA

Signed by:

Representative and R/President, Mr. R.D. Gil
 Secretary General, W. C. Ndumba
 Treasurer, S. G. Chata