

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ANGOLAN SITUATION  
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Presented by Dr. John Marcum  
to the Executive Board  
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A series of events, beginning with the Addis Ababa Conference of the Heads of African States and ending with the Dakar Conference of Foreign Ministers have brought about a radical change in the Angolan situation.

At a meeting in Dar es Salaam early this summer of the nine-member Commission appointed by the Addis Ababa conference to administer the Solidarity Fund, a split between Dr. Agostinho Neto and Mario de Andrade of the MPLA became evident. The meeting of the Commission was followed by the recognition on June 30th of the GRAE (Government in Exile) by the Government of the Congo (Leopoldville). The Government of the Congo (Brazzaville) which had also been expected to extend recognition to the GRAE failed to do so, when Abbe Fulbert Youlou reneged on his promise eight hours after having made it. There was speculation that this was due to pressure from Paris. The reaction of most of the world press, including the African press, was that the action of the Leopoldville government had been premature.

The recognition of the GRAE triggered a series of dissident disputes within the MPLA, splitting it into three splinter groups. Viriato da Cruz, the first to break away, made an assault on the leadership of Dr. Neto, in an apparent attempt to regain the prominent position he had held in the party until December 1962. Both the Neto and da Cruz factions claimed support of de Andrade who never returned to Leopoldville after the Addis Ababa conference, and who continued to maintain absolute silence on the entire matter.

Dr. Neto attempted to counter da Cruz' move by merging with a number of unlikely Angolan "nationalist" parties: Ngwizako (a tribal group); MDIA (collaborators with the Portuguese); UNTA (the MPLA labor union); and the 15-member MNA, to form the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Angola. The formation of this front had the effect of splitting each of the partners in two.

These events occurred on the eve of the arrival of the 6-man Reconciliation Commission whose purpose had been to bring together all the Angolan nationalist parties. The makeup of the Reconciliation Commission seemed to indicate that it would favor the MPLA over the FNLA and GRAE in the entire situation. However, after three or four days, it came up with a unanimous decision that the FNLA was the only group to be aided, and that it had the right to admit parties and individuals on any basis it might choose. The decision was probably influenced by testimony given to the Commission by Viriato da Cruz which exploded a number of myths, including the size and effectiveness of military forces, created and circulated by the old MPLA, and by the fact that Dr. Neto had to admit the truth of da Cruz' charges. The tide had turned for the GRAE.

The Dakar conference accepted the recommendations of the Reconciliation Commission and urged African States to extend recognition to the Government in Exile. (In the Portuguese Guinea situation, however, the Dakar conference refused to choose between the numerous nationalist parties, though the PAIGC clearly has control of the military situation).

These developments offer tremendous opportunities to the Government in Exile, but create many problems for it as well. It must now begin to look and act like a government, step up the military campaign, and provide for the greatly increased medical needs which will result.

Dr. Gilchrist is doing an outstanding job and is thoroughly accepted by the Angolans.

It is becoming increasingly difficult for any American, however sympathetic, to work in the Angolan situation, and the difficulties will continue to grow. Sensitivity and bitterness about American policy has creased and spread down into the ranks of the nationalists.

Growing distrust of Westerners in general made itself felt in negotiations which had been undertaken with a Swiss group to set up a school for the training of administrative cadres. A Swiss team responsible for training political cadres would appear to be a commitment to future Western orientation. At present, negotiations are proceeding to work out a compromise formula of non-political training for political roles. This has apparent contradictions and problems, but it still seems that some solution will be arrived at.

### Congo

The ouster of the Youlou government under trade union pressure created fear of a repetition in Leopoldville. The trade union movement is one of the few organized groups in the Congo, and though Adoula is by profession a trade unionist, they are now quite antagonistic to him. A general strike which had been scheduled was averted, but the over-all situation in the Congo remains tense.

Leopoldville is today the scene of a growing alliance of nationalist groups from southern Africa. Unlike Dar es Salaam, where all factions are represented, only one party per country is operating in Leopoldville, where arrangements must be made with Adoula. The revived UDENAMO, which recently broke away from FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front); SWAPO (whose operations are not yet very evident); apparently ZANU (since Sithole made the agreement with Adoula--though this is not yet certain and there is still a chance that ZAPU will be represented instead); and perhaps the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa all have or will have in the near future offices in Leopoldville, and some kind of relationship to the GRAE.

### South Africa

The situation is considerably tougher than ever before. The patrolling of borders is making it very difficult to bring people out of the country. The South African nationalists will this year be facing the most difficult times they have yet had to cope with. They must succeed in keeping hope alive inside the country while mounting action from the outside.