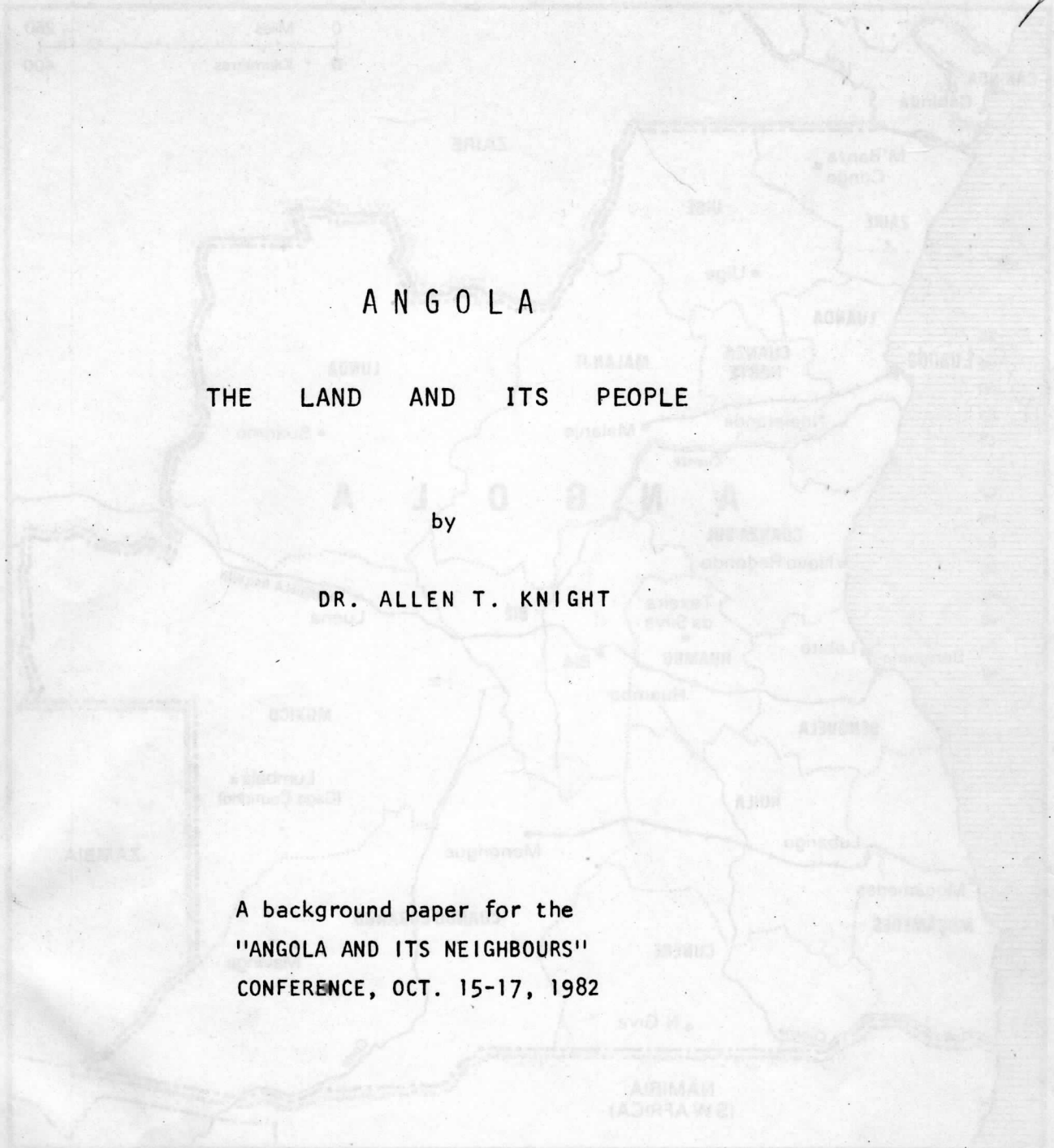


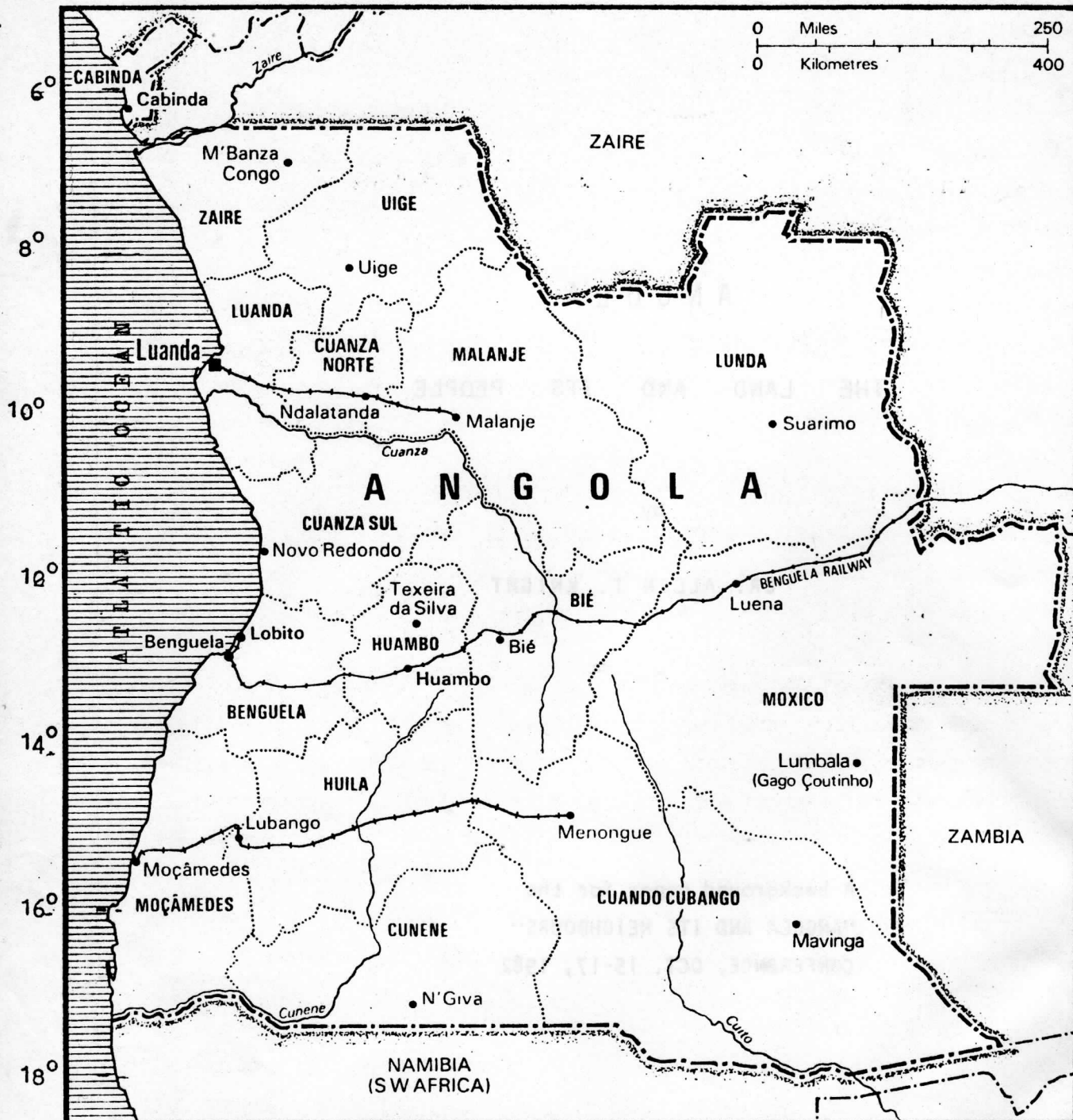
Return to Allen Knight



A background paper for the
"ANGOLA AND ITS NEIGHBOURS"
CONFERENCE, OCT. 15-17, 1982

\$2.00
(Cost of Production and Mailing)

AUG 22 1962



ANGOLA

Area 1,246,700 square kilometers, (481,351 square miles)

Population approximately 6,000,000

Gross National Product per capita \$182.00 in 1968 (IDOC International)

Population Density 5 per Km²

Ethnic Composition Ovimbundu 1,750,000 - Kimbundu 1,055,000, Bakongo 620,000
Chokwe 400,000-- Ganguela 330,000 (IDOC International)

<u>Religion</u>	Roman Catholic	51%	(after Gonçalves)	36%
(1960)	Protestant	17%		13%
	Non-Christian	32%		50%
				1% (pagan and ignored)

Angola

The Land and its people

Angola lies between $4^{\circ} 20' S.$ and $18^{\circ} 2' S.$, with its western boundary formed by the Atlantic Ocean, fourteen times bigger than Portugal, approximately the size of Spain, France and Italy put together.

The central part of the country is a plateau of 1,700 meters above sea level at its highest point, tapering off to 1,000 meters above sea level in the north east and east. The plateau continues to the south west into the Huila District at approximately 1,600 meters. The town of Lubango (formerly Sá da Bandeira) has climatic conditions very similar to those of Mediterranean Europe, a fact which attracted Portuguese settlers. On the plateau, day temperatures rarely pass $30^{\circ} C$, but at 1,600 meters altitude, there is frequently frost in the valleys at night in mid-June to mid-July. Average rainfall is 1,350 mm (approximately 55 inches), on the plateau, decreasing towards the Atlantic Coast to 250 mm and at the Port of Mossamedes, you are already on the northern fringe of the Kalahari Desert. On the plateau, the rainy season begins in early October and continues to the end of April with often a two-week period of dry weather in January or early February. (1)

Corn (maize) is the staple food crop of the people of the Benguela Plateau, with cassava as the staple food crop north of Malanje and extending to the Zaire border. Of the two crops, corn of course is much to be preferred from a nutritional standpoint with its 9% protein whereas cassava meal has less than 1% protein. Improvement of nutrition in these two areas will come about through introducing cereals of high protein level into the starchy diet. In the pastoral peoples of the south and south-west, people do receive some animal protein. Among the Herero people of the south, cattle have both social, spiritual and economic significance. Cotton and coffee are important crops in the north, coffee alone having made up 52.5% of Angola's total exports in 1967. Of the more than 500,000 refugees who fled from Angola in 1961 to Zaire, many from Central Angola had been employed as "voluntary labourers" on the coffee plantations of the north.

It is significant that over much of the Benguela plateau, both temperate and tropical crops can be grown.

Mention must be made of the "forced crops" introduced by the Portuguese. Castor beans and cotton were in this category. Further reference is made to wheat and coffee as forced crops in a description of the Portuguese colonial system.

Most of the country is characterized as having highly leached infertile sandy soils. Even on a 1% slope, serious erosion takes place when traditional cropping practices are followed, that is with ridges being made up and down hill and with annual burning.

No other methods were encountered in the villages for giving to village farmers any education in good farming practices other than the imposing of fines and being sent off to S. Tomé, which meant for most "offenders", up to the 1940's, that they would never return home. There were fines for making whiskey, fines for burning the grass, fines for drumming and dancing, and for the villager, the payment of the fine meant that he could then continue his traditional practices.

There is a mistaken notion that all tropical soils are productive, and potentially so over many generations. It is difficult to understand that a field that is broken in 1982 will be considered an "ocipembe"(a worn-out field) in five years and especially so if it is a sloping field. There are armchair agronomists who become ecstatic about traditional practices of agriculture, and admittedly they did make it possible for people to survive, and they worked with a very small population density. But near the towns and cities, farmers could not allow their fields to lie in fallow for ten years in order to recuperate some of their lost fertility. The Rév. Jessé Chipenda, first General Secretary of the Church of Christ of Central Angola, made a profound statement during a meeting of the Community Improvement Committee in 1958. He said, "New days demand new ways-- but we have not learned the new ways for the new days."

Much of the Benguela plateau is characterized in its natural vegetation as low forest savanna; the south is savanna and the north is forest, with tropical forest in the Umbos area. Before the white man came with his guns, there was an abundance of wild game, antelope, eland, buffalo. Villagers learned how to set fires in the dry season in a pattern that forced the game to flee through a narrow corridor and it was there that the hunters awaited them.

Rivers The Cubango flows in a south-easterly direction, losing itself in the Kalahari Desert. The Cunene, like the Cubango and the Quanza, arise in the Benguela Plateau, and flows south, providing electricity at the Matala Dam and forms the boundary with Namibia on the south. The Quanza, like most other African rivers is only navigable for short distances.

Communications

There are three railroads, the Benguela railway from Lobito on the Atlantic Coast to the Zairian border on the east at Dilolo, a distance of 1,343 km. This line connects with Lubumbashi in Zaire and gives an outlet both to the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. It was built with British Capital by Tanganyika Concessions Ltd who were principally interested in the export of Katanga copper(Zaire). The Mossamedes line goes from Menongue to the Port of Moçamedes, and a third railway goes from Malanje to Luanda. A short railway line (123 km) takes coffee from the Gabela plateau to Port Amboim on the Atlantic Coast. It is the Moçamedes railway built with Krupp aid that brings the iron ore from the Cassinga mine.

Harbours Lobito is an excellent harbour, 5km long and almost 2 km in width. It is the western terminus of the Benguela Railway. Other ports of mention are Luanda, Port Amboim, Moçamedes.

Air Transportation The Portuguese looked upon road and air transportation as of vital importance in maintaining a firm hold on the country. It should be of interest to know that, as contrasted with Zaire (formerly Belgian Congo) and most other African countries, missions were not allowed to import planes nor were they allowed to have radio transmitters. In 1961, the Quessua Mission was searched for radio transmitters. Of course they never found them for they were never installed or even brought into the country. At the Dôndi mission in 1961, there was some uneasiness about having some uninstalled telephone equipment in a storeroom, and its presence could have been misinterpreted by the Portuguese.

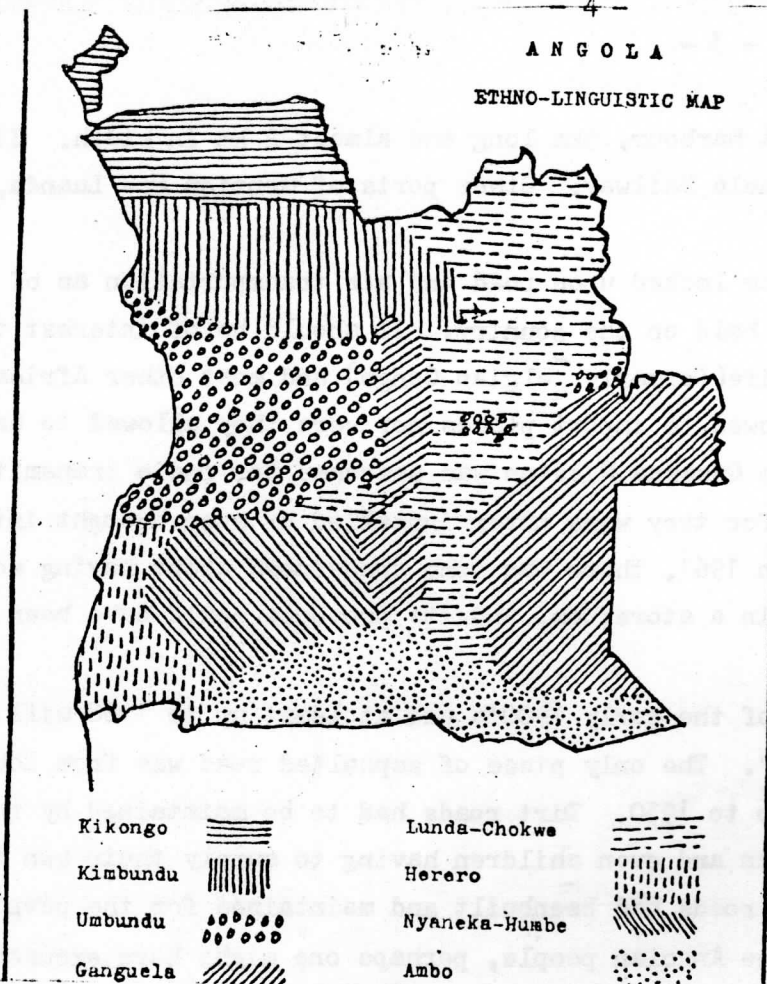
Roads Someone who knows Angola of the early 1900's and at least up to 1960 will be saying "The least said the better". The only piece of asphalted road was from Lobito to Benguela, a distance of 20 km, up to 1950. Dirt roads had to be maintained by forced labour, the workers, men and women and even children having to supply their own food and even their own hoes. If the roads had been built and maintained for the purpose of stimulating the development of the Angolan people, perhaps one might have excused some of the misuse of human energy. The fact is that roads were built, like railways, for the benefit of the few privileged, many of whom lived in Portugal.

Minerals

It was the supposed existence of silver that prompted some of the early European explorers. Certainly the most important mineral discovered in the 1950's was oil and although this paper does not deal with 1982 statistics, it should be noted that the export of oil brings in today to Angola 90% of its foreign exchange. The Salazar government would not allow foreign investment in either Portugal or its colonies until 1965 when it was found that more adequate funding was required in order to carry on the war. Manufacturing was likewise slow to develop and for the same reason. Industrial diamonds are mined in Lunda Province.

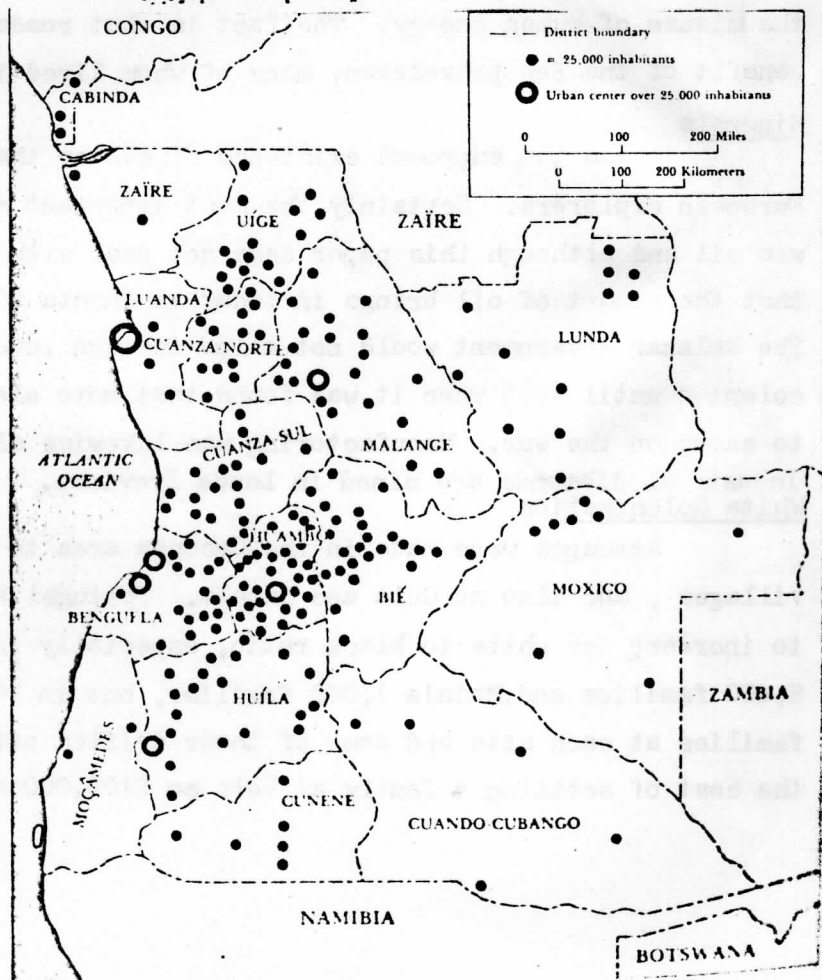
White Colonization

Attempts were made in the Caconda area to have some aldeamentos (grouping of villages), and also at Cela and Matala. Portugal aimed to bring in whites from Europe to increase the white to black ratio, especially in the 1950's. Cela was to receive 8,400 families and Matala 1,000 families, but in 1960 there were not more than 300 families at each site and some of these drifted off into the towns. Henderson reports the cost of settling a family at Cela as \$100,000 and Matala \$25,000. (4)



from ANGOLA
IDOC International
1975

from Angola, Five Centuries of
Conflict
Lawrence W. Henderson
Cornell University Press
p. 140



On the preceding page, there is a location of the principle peoples of Angola together with a presentation of areas of greatest and least population densities. If one transposes the one map over the other, it becomes evident that the greatest population density is among the Ovimbundu of Central Angola, along the Benguela Railway line with the Kimbundu people in second place in the Luanda-Malanje area. The ethnolinguistic distribution of the peoples is as follows: (3)

Ovimbundu	36%
Kimbundu	21
Bakongo	13
Ganguela	8
Lunda-Chokwe	7
Ambo	3
Herero and other	7

Tucker reported 75 vernaculars spoken in Angola, but the three principal languages are Umbundu, Kimbundu and Kikongo.

It is not sufficient to simply state that the population of Angola is 6 million people. One must break that down into tribal areas for, during the 500 years of Portuguese occupation each group was held up or belittled by the Portuguese in order to create divisions. Especially was this strategy utilized in the early days of the 1961 revolution when the Angolan press spoke of the loyal Bailundos and the treacherous Bakongo. It would seem that Portugal did nothing in the direction of creating mutual trust between the different peoples, and how could Portugal ever visualize a harmonious provisional government made up of three political parties when for 500 years, there had only been sown suspicion and hatred.

The Kimbundu were the most anxious of all the peoples of Angola to take the Portuguese language and that meant forsaking their own African language. It was evident among the Angolan refugees in Bas Zaire that the Kimbundu people were reluctant to learn the Kikongo language while other peoples within one year could not be distinguished from the Bakongo people. While missionaries working among the Ovimbundu people were required to spend 6 months at least in intensive study of the Umbundu language on arriving in Angola (and that after having just spent 9 months in the study of Portuguese), and they were expected by the people and by the church to use the African language, especially in worship; missionaries to the Methodist Church (Kimbundu speaking) were ordered by the church to get to work in the Portuguese language. Rev. Malcolm McVeigh was one of the few Methodist missionaries who used Kimbundu and that came about because he himself insisted on having time to study it.

Portugal's policy of assimilation of African people into European civilization

Even Portuguese historians must admit that their policy of making of the African into "Black Portuguese" was a failure. Only some 40,000 Angolans had become "assimilados" by 1961, at which time Portugal declared that all inhabitants (with the exception of foreigners) were citizens of Portugal. What were the requirements for becoming assimilated?

- a) Live in a house with a tiled roof and tiled floor
- b) Speak and write Portuguese correctly
- c) Eat with a knife, fork and spoon and have proper storage for such utensils
- d) Be eighteen years of age
- e) Have a profession and be able to earn a living to support a family
- f) Possess a statement of good conduct
- g) Possess a statement of having fulfilled military and other obligations

In most instances, it was necessary to hire a lawyer in order to put together all the documents and since a birth certificate was only valid for six months, it was extremely difficult to have all documents valid at the same time. Since the use of the Portuguese language was one of the most important criteria used in deciding whether an Angolan was assimilated or not, the writer assumes that it was the Protestant church, this despised intrusion into Portuguese culture and civilization, that did more than any other organization for bringing this 1% of the population to a place where Angolans could become citizens or assimilated people.

Portuguese policy and that of the French were quite similar. Belgium placed little importance on the question of assimilation and was concerned about giving just enough education for the economic exploitation of the country and people. "Pas d'évolués, pas d'ennuis" (No educated people -- no headaches) was Belgian policy for Africans.

Roman Catholic policy and that of the Portuguese government in so far as keeping the masses of the people in ignorance seemed to be identical up to 1961, at least. In Roman Catholic seminaries, a few Angolans were given excellent training, but a visit to a Roman Catholic mission station revealed to the writer that the level of education given in a Protestant central school, operated 100% by Angolans and with no government subsidy, was superior to that given on Roman Catholic mission stations with their expatriate personnel and government subsidies. So often it seemed that either the government would have to bend their established policy and give financial assistance to Protestant schools and hospitals in order to save face, or close down all Protestant schools and hospitals.

Portugal's Fascist Government slowed progress both in Angola and Portugal

From 1926 to 1960's, Portuguese people were dominated by Dr Antonio Salazar. It was a regime that aimed to keep the people ignorant. Most Portuguese in Angola were prepared to exploit the African, but in making this statement, one is reminded that in 1961 there were courageous Portuguese who saved the lives of Africans and did so openly. A Portuguese trader in 1961 insisted that one of the Angolans, lying on the road and about to be savagely murdered by having a loaded truck roll over their bodies, was an innocent man. "Very well" replied the officer "his privilege will be to be shot in the head " Illiteracy, poverty, infant mortality in Portugal were the highest in Europe.

It was stated by Portuguese journalists in the 1960's, writing in Angolan newspapers, that a monument should be built to the Angolan revolution or shall we call it rebellion as they did? Journalists declared that it was the Angolan uprising that caused Portugal to abandon its medieval policy of slowing development, refusing entrance to foreign capital keeping the people in a state of servitude. That monument was never built.

Portugal and Portuguese declared in the 1960's "We have been here for 500 years and we intend to remain for another 500 years." (8). How wrong they were and how blind to the political awakening among the Angolan people.

HISTORY

Arrival of the Portuguese explorers and the beginning of evangelization (1) (4)

In 1482, Diogo Cão, one of Prince Henry's pupils, was the first European to discover the mouth of the Zaire river (formerly Congo) and near the site of the CBZO Church in Bas-Zaire, at Palabala, there is an inscription on the rocks just a short distance from the Port of Matadi. Cão found a Kongo Kingdom established with its capital at S. Salvador. Another kingdom was that of the N'Dongo, and the name Angola derives from Ngola, a blacksmith who brought renown to his people. Dr John Tucker fittingly gives the title of his book as Angola, Land of the Blacksmith Prince (1) Cão left hostages with the chiefs and took four of the inhabitants to Lisbon where they were treated, not as slaves, but as emissaries from one Kingdom to another. When the four hostages returned to the Kongo, they were warmly received and there was a mutual exchange of gifts. The Kongo royal family was baptized and Jesuit missionaries soon arrived as did the sword and the Portuguese, like all the other colonizers of Africa could justify both the cross and the sword.

By the middle of the 16th century, the drive to evangelize by the Jesuits had been corroded by their engagement in the slave trade. Dr John Tucker states (1) "The Jesuits' thirst for power and their inordinate greed are proverbial The permanent influence of the Jesuit missions was small."

Slaves -- Portugal's most lucrative item of trade for over 300 years

From 1500 to 1850, Portugal, England, France and Holland all profited from slavery, and it is estimated that over four million were captured in Angola alone. Henderson calculates that perhaps 13 million people were captured in the hinterland of Angola in order to provide this number of 4 million, for there was a loss of 50% en route to the Atlantic Coast and another 40% died in Luanda.

The slave trail from the Benguela plateau to Benguela on the Atlantic Coast is still visible. The King of Portugal, on being presented with 54 slaves is reported to have said, "I have much joy in them, because of their salvation, who otherwise would have been destined to perdition". As late as 1870, a marble chair could be seen on the docks of Luanda on which the Bishop sat when he baptized boat loads of slaves leaving for Brazil. (1)

There is ample evidence of the fact that more than one of the Angolan tribes or peoples was involved in slavery. Europeans had to regard the African as someone sub-human in order to justify slavery, and certainly there was evidence of Umbundu superiority over such peoples as the Luimbe. Before the Gospel came to Angola, one did not refer to a Luimbe as a person-- he was a dog.

Although slavery was abolished in 1836, Commander Cameron, a British naval officer, was engaged in anti-slavery patrol off the coast of Angola in the 1870's and Tucker reports a young American officer of the ship Dolphin being on anti-slavery patrol off the coast of Angola in the 1880's. It is noteworthy that it was John Means who, on his return to United States, urged the American Board of the Congregational Church to send missionaries to Angola. In the Sanders letters from 1882 - 1891, there are references to slaves being redeemed and it is certain that vestiges of slavery were in evidence up to the end of the century. (Sanders Letters)

Trade in ivory, beeswax and rubber became more and more important, and carriers were required to transport these items from the interior to the coast. So high a priority was placed on earning some money from the transport of rubber that schools were closed as even children were used. Response to the Gospel in the Protestant Church was slow and after the first 25 years of evangelism only 283 converts had been baptized. Tucker states that this slowness of progress was due in part to the boom in the rubber trade as children were taken out of school in order to become carriers to the coast. (1)

The Scramble for Africa (1875 - 1891)

Portugal had aimed to bring the entire band of southern Africa from Angola on the west to Mozambique on the east under its control. French, Belgian and British were looking to their own interests. At the Berlin conference 1884, all European nations were represented with the exception of Switzerland, but no African was even consulted.

Lines were drawn through the middle of tribal areas, for example through the area occupied by the Bakongo people, leaving a part of these people in Angola and the other part in Zaire.

The occupation of the interior of Angola

Up to 1884, Portugal's hold on Angola was for the most part restricted to a narrow strip of land parallelling the Atlantic Coast. In 1890, Captain Teixeira da Silva arrived in Bié and put up a stockaded dwelling at Silva Porto(Kuito). One of the means of avoiding the loss of the contents of a house was to put a layer of some 10 cm of mud over the ceiling. The grass roof might burn but the mud layer would save the rest of the house.

In the pacification of the interior of Angola, the Bailundo war of 1902 is one of the most important events. An Angolan chief, having received two jugs of rum on credit from a Portuguese trader, refused to make payment for the same. A war broke out between the Ovimbundu people of the Bailundo region and the Portuguese. The rebellion was suppressed through superior weapons in the hands of the Portuguese. If the Ovimbundu from Bié had come to their rescue, and if they had had some more modern weapons, the result of the war might have been different. What is significant in this paper is the fact that the Protestants were charged with having urged the Angolans to rise up and throw off the shackles of Portuguese colonialism, a charge that has never been proven. Portugal always had to find a scapegoat when the Africans rose up against them, as happened in the 1961 revolution as well as in the Bailundo war of 1902. It is of interest that after the rebellion had been suppressed, after some 4 months, the governor general found that it was the traders and officials through their harassment of the Angolan population that had caused the insurrection, and even the export of slaves to S. Tomé ceased for a period of six months.⁽⁴⁾

Another rebellion was that of the Dembos people, northeast of Luanda, an uprising that lasted for 42 years and required fifteen military campaigns to give Portugal domination over the arêa.

Forced Labour and the Ross Report of 1925

Gunther, in INSIDE AFRICA, states that the worst thing about Portuguese Africa is forced labour. This book was written in 1954 and corroborates what missionaries had to say when they considered it safe to talk. The finding of men and women working on the roads, carrying a bit of red earth in a piece of bark from a tree to fill up holes in the road, providing their own food, providing their own hoes, often pregnant women being used, is one of the scenes that haunt one's mind just as the forced labour system did.

Arriving at the Port of Lobito in October 1946 in the evening, the writer witnessed the departure of a group of some 20 contract labourers being sent to the coffee plantations of the Isle of S. Tomé. When he asked a Portuguese fellow traveller what crime they had committed, he was told that this was just a part of Portugal's civilizing of the native people.

Portugal required an abundant supply of cheap labour for coffee plantations cotton and for the fisheries. A plantation owner applied to the local Portuguese authority for a certain number of labourers. Indigenous recruiters were sent into the villages to round up the labour force. In order to obtain the necessary number of workers, a bribe was paid to the local authority. Gunther reports that the normal pay-off was ten times the contract labourer's salary for six months. It is not to be wondered at that the Chefe de Posto was able to purchase plantations, houses, tractors etc within a short time of taking up his duties. The local medical doctor also got his "rake-off" for an examination that anyone without a day in a medical course could have made better than the local doctor. The plantation operator was required to provide food and shelter and pay a minimum wage. It was not difficult to find villagers who had not paid their hut tax, or who had not been able to reimburse the Grémio for seed wheat which, when planted, had been eaten by army worms. It is to be wondered at that the Angolan people supported this iniquitous system for such a long time. For what did the Angolan people receive as benefits from their taxes, their work on the roads, their sweat and long hours in the coffee and cotton plantations and the fisheries? Did they receive education for their children, medical assistance? And road maintenance was of questionable benefit ^{for a people} who were forced to travel on foot or at the best by bicycle.

The Ross Report 1926

The International Missionary Council sent Professor Ross of Wisconsin to investigate labour conditions in Angola, and the report could only condemn the system of forced labour. The head tax was equivalent to 100 days wages and there was plenty of labour made available through the rigid imposition of the tax. One can only conclude that forced labour was simply a continuation of slavery and more than one ex-missionary was condemned by the Portuguese for articles written such as "Angola--Portugal's slave colony". In retrospect, it is evident that the churches could have and should have spoken up at the time of the publishing of the Ross Report. Dr John Tucker explained how the Portuguese traders came into the Dôndi Mission and fired off their guns in between missionary residences in venting their anger at the publication of the Ross Report. The churches did indeed protect the lives of their missionaries by "playing it safe" but did they in so doing protect the lives of hard-working, innocent peasant people sent off to contract labour in S. Tomé? (13)

Voluntary Labour system in the 1950's

Portugal did become sensitive to international pressure about its contract or forced labour system and in the 1950's told the world that it was now a voluntary system. Actually it differed little from the former forced system. Labour recruiters went into villages and offered to pay the head tax of anyone if they would work for one year in the coffee, cotton plantations or the fisheries. Although the one-year contract did offer opting out at the end of the year, what happened often was that labourers were only paid a part of their wages and the balance was paid at the end of the contract. They were transported to their nearest administrative post, and there they were offered free drinks by the traders, who succeeded in getting most of the year's wages, so that labourers arrived home with nothing. There was only one procedure, namely sign up again for another year's service. For married men with children, such a system placed tremendous burdens on the women. In the 1950's, it was common to find only women, children and old men in the villages, for the able-bodied men were away at "voluntary labour", or at times were merely hiding in the forest from labour recruiters.

The coming of Protestant missionaries and their opposition to Portuguese colonialism

It has already been stated that the Jesuit missionaries found in the slave trade something much more lucrative than the making of converts and little effort was made by the Roman Catholic Church to evangelize until the arrival of the Holy Ghost Fathers in 1865. (1) (4)

The Treaty of Berlin of 1885 had given freedom of conscience and religious toleration to the "natives", so that Portugal could not easily refuse permission for the first Protestant missionaries to enter the country. Portugal realized too that she must occupy the interior of the country and develop it, otherwise international pressure could provoke the turning over of authority to another country to govern, and Protestant missions might assist in opening a path to progress and civilization.

The Dutch occupation of Angola from 1641 to 1648 was motivated by the slave trade, and according to Gonçalves, left no trace of Protestantism. (3)

The British Baptists, 1878 (3)

T.J. Comber and G. Greenfell reached the town of Noki which is only a few kilometers from the Port of Matadi in Zaire, on the Zaire River. They intended to proceed to S. Salvador, the capital of the ancient Kongo Kingdom but being prevented by the rainy season, they did not arrive until 1879. They were welcomed by the Angolan king Dom Pedro V. A school was initiated and they extended the work to include Quibocolo.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions 1880 (Congregational Church)

Dr John Means, an American naval officer, had urged the American Congregational Church in 1879 to send missionaries to the interior of Angola for he had been well impressed by the carriers that he met at Benguela who told him that in the interior there was no Christian influence. In 1880 a party of three came to Angola made up of Mr W Bagster, Mr W. H. Sanders and Mr S. Miller, who after one year at the Coast, followed the slave trail to Bailundo. There, they met the paramount chief, Ekuikui.

The party wished to continue their journey to Bié to the area of another paramount chief of Ekovongo, but they were not allowed to proceed by Ekuikui. Bagster died within one year of their arrival and Miller returned to United States, leaving Sanders, along with Mr W. Fay, Mr and Mrs W. Stover and Miss Mawhir (who became Mrs Sanders). Sanders and Fay went to Bié in 1883, but in May 1884 they were asked to return to Bailundo as Ekuikui had ordered the missionaries to leave the country. A white rum-distiller named Braga had succeeded in getting the ear of Ekuikui and false charges were laid against the missionaries. The entire company of missionaries returned to the coast where Sanders sought out the Portuguese Governor who gave them letters to Ekuikui ordering him to receive the missionaries, and as they journeyed again on foot into the interior, they were met by a carrier with a letter from Ekuikui inviting the missionaries back. On their return to Bailundo, they found their house ransacked. This part of history is documented in the Sanders letters. Mention must be made of a Plymouth Brethren missionary, F.S. Arnot who came overland from Natal and had much to do with changing Ekuikui's mind about receiving the missionaries.

The Canadian Congregational Church (1886)

Walter and Mrs Currie came to Bailundo in 1886 where Mrs Currie died within a few weeks of their arrival. It was Walter Currie who established the station of Chissamba. It was he who instigated the establishment of Central Institutions at Dôndi in 1914, and his name was given to Currie Institute. A line of stations was opened north and south of the railway line (Caminho de Ferro de Benguela), almost unbroken from Lobito on the Atlantic Coast to the eastern border. The work of the Central Institutions at Dôndi was shared between the Congregational Church of United States and the Congregational Church of Canada. The Central institutions were:

Means School for girls

Currie Institute for young men

Dôndi Hospital for training of nurses and for medical needs of the area

The Press

The Seminary.

Plymouth Brethren (Christians of Mary Lands) 1884

Fredrick Arnot was the pioneer of this mission, and he was joined by others to work in the Bié area, establishing missions at Capango, Chilonda, Capango

Methodist Episcopal Church 1885

Bishop William Taylor was the pioneer. He believed that all missions should be self-supporting. The work was taken over by the Methodist Church of United States in 1897, at Luanda and also at Quessua, near Malanje.

South Africa General Mission (recently called Africa Evangelical Fellowship)

Work was initiated at Sá da Bandeira(Lubango) on the Huila Plateau with other stations at Moçamedes on the coast and at Muíé in the southeast of the country and at Boma near Luso(Luena) with another station at Catota, south of Caconda.

Filafricaine Mission

In 1897, a station was begun at Caluquembe by Heli Chatelain, a Swiss missionary, in Huila Province. Caluquembe represented a continuation of the self-supporting policy introduced by Bishop Taylor. Ebanga is another of their posts. It is of value to consider how the Filafricaine Church was able to receive visas for new missionary personnel right through the 1961 - 1974 war. It was reported that their missionaries were considered "safe" by the Portuguese, a label which seems to be placed on them by the MPLA government of Angola. The Seventh Day Adventist Church and Africa Evangelical Fellowship can be placed in the same category.

The Angola Evangelical Mission 1897

This mission was founded by Rev. M. Stober in the Cabinda enclave. The work was taken over by the Canadian Baptist Overseas Mission Board in 1957. One must extend sympathy to our Canadian Baptist colleagues who had only four years of operation when the events of 1961 curtailed the work and forced the Board to withdraw all personnel in 1964.

The Angola Evangelical Alliance

This was formed in 1922 and served to strengthen and unify the work of the various denominations. The Alliance did serve to mark out the area of operation of the different denominations, and served as a mouthpiece for Protestant opposition to Portuguese authority which was interpreted very early as directed to closing out all Protestant work in the country. This statement is confirmed in Protestantism in Africa by Gonçalves and the Ecumenical Moment of Protestantism and Catholicism in Angola by Father A F Santos Neves. Portugal looked upon Protestantism as a "stain" upon the face of Portugal, a stain that should be eliminated. This matter is discussed more fully in the section on Government-Protestant relationships. (10) (3)

One should not conclude that there was agreement on priorities among the various denominations. The Church of Christ of Central Angola, formed in 1956, became convinced at an early date that they must offer the best possible in education, and

before one could become a church member, it was necessary that people should be able to read. British Baptist missionaries have stated that before 1961, they believed that their function was that of proclaiming the Gospel and that education, medical assistance and community improvement were functions of government. The writer insists that education, medical assistance, agriculture and nutrition were not "baits" to seduce people away from Catholicism or from any of the denominations; they can be, as R. Pierce Beaver states. "dramatic proclamations of the Gospel." When governments refuse to look after the most basic necessities of its people such as health, education and food, the church does not dare to pass by on the other side.

Decrees which influenced the Protestant missions

1. Decree 77 of 1921 (1)

With so many denominations involved in providing some education for their adherents, it was necessary for Portugal to step in and exert some control. The two most important clauses were:

- a) The Portuguese language must be taught exclusively
- b) African languages were not to be used or taught.

It also required that training be given in manual arts and in agriculture and that Protestant missions become involved in hygiene and the treatment of disease. A concession of 500 hectares of land was given to any Protestant Mission able to fulfil the requirements. A subsidy of three thousand escudos was offered to any school employing a qualified Portuguese teacher, but this subsidy was never requested by Protestant missions and it was never given. In 1928, it was decreed that there must be a qualified Portuguese teacher in every school and the salary was to be paid by the mission. Subsidies were paid, however, to Roman Catholic missions. Dr John Tucker believed that Decree 77, although looked upon at the time as just one more obstacle created by Portugal to thwart Protestant missions, eventually did spur many denominations to offer a more advanced kind of education.

2. Concordat between the Vatican and the Roman Catholic Church 1940

A number of privileges were given to Roman Catholic missions. They received subsidies for educational and medical work and their catechists were paid by government. Roman Catholics enjoyed legal privileges, for instance their certificate of baptism and marriage passed by the church was legal. Catechists were exempt from payment of taxes and from forced labour. The following subsidies were paid to Roman Catholic missions:

1940	\$199,273	1955	\$718,356
1945	233,032	1960	1,129,027
1950	359,00		(after Henderson)

It is of value to examine the budget for the Church of Christ of Central Angola for the year 1963, and here we are only dealing with funds sent from North America.

Medical assistance in 7 hospitals	\$79,500	(9)
Evangelism (11 church posts)	10,300	
Evangelism projects	13,200	
Primary education	34,900	
Domestic schools	11,700	
Rural Life Schools	3,000	
Maintenance	7,600	
Secondary education	44,700	
Other	<u>11,800</u>	\$216,700

To this must be added the contribution of the children who came to school, the sick people who came to the hospitals, which if added together made a much larger contribution than what was received from two North American churches. Gonçalves in Protestantism in Africa alleges that Protestant churches are rich. One might pass over such a comment but one does not pass over his repeated charge that the Protestant church engaged in education, in medicine, in community improvement with the purpose of seducing the Angolan people, that is weaning them away from Roman Catholicism and offering baits to bring them into the Protestant fold. (3)

One can only conclude that Portuguese policy was to place obstacles in the way of Protestants, sow the seeds of division between Protestants and Roman Catholics, between people of the north and those of the south, and if possible eliminate the Protestant "stain".

And government certainly did create obstacles. Duties were charged on all material coming into the country, even drugs for use in the hospitals for treating Angolan people. Only on one occasion is it recorded that medicines were allowed in free of duty, namely just preceding the visit of the Director of the American Leprosy Mission to Angola, and these drugs were exclusively for the treatment of leprosy.

The complaints registered in the 1965 report of the Evangelical Church of Dôndi and presented thereby to the government were:

- a) lack of missionary personnel (missionaries going on furlough were not allowed to return)
- b) Restriction on the movement of missionaries
- c) Refusal of the government to give legal status to Protestant missions (personalidade juridica)
- d) obstacles placed in the way of Protestant young people to be registered in schools
- e) Government schools were built alongside existing Protestant schools (after 1963)
- f) Government refusal to allow church meetings (after 1963)

What was the Protestant response to obstacles placed by Government?

In education, evening courses were provided for personnel from the Dôndi Hospital, from the Seminary and others to make possible the upgrading of staffs. Summer courses were offered in the holiday period and this was also offered at Chissamba.

Nurses and midwives were trained in most of the hospitals and a very few nurses did their government examinations in the 1960's. In every Church Post there were many centres with their schools and dormitories, and dispensaries with competent church-trained personnel in charge, with microscopes and reasonable supplies of medicines. In many villages, one could find a graduate of Means School for Girls and a graduate of Currie Institute for young men, and one could count on health programs, literacy programs, better food and better agriculture. Often the pastor was a farmer as well as a pastor and one must emphasize the role of the pastor's wife in agriculture, health, literacy. And traditional people could accept all of this as an integral part of the proclamation of the Gospel; it was the orientation of missionaries from the year 1880 that as Christians, one cannot stand or sit idly by and see hunger, sickness, poverty, illiteracy, oppression and do nothing to relieve these conditions. Jesus Christ came to this world "that they might have Life." (John 10:10)

In 1954 the Community Improvement Program was initiated where teams went out to selected villages for up to five weeks, helping the people to make their own floor tiles set in cement to make good floors, roof tiles for their homes made from clay and burned in an outdoor oven, sanitary latrines 8 meters deep with a cement slab to cover them and sources of good quality drinking water. The program became africanized as most other programs, and in 1960, one team of Angolans conducted their own village improvement program, and another progressive Church post received its own tile making machinery. Of course, Gonçalves points out that the Community Improvement Program was just one more trick of the Protestants to seduce the Angolan from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism. (9)

After 1950, almost 100% of the primary school program had been taken over by nationals, teachers were heads of committees and missionaries could see the day ahead when they would no longer be needed. This devolution of authority from Missionaries to the nationals is exactly what Portugal objected to. Dr Rosa, Inspector of Education for Angola, on visiting a station of the Africa Evangelical Fellowship, Catota, asked the Portuguese teacher, "Who is in charge here? Is it the African or is it the white man". The teacher gave the desired reply, that of course it was the missionary who was in charge, and Dr Rosa remarked that such was the correct procedure and he did not like the devolution that he had seen at the Dôndi mission.

Devolution of authority from the mission to the church 1954 - 1956

At the Annual Meeting of Protestant missionaries at Dôndi in February 1947, all business was transacted by missionaries. In fact, only two Angolans were invited in one afternoon for tea, and that was the extent of their participation in the recruitment and stationing of missionary personnel, financing, etc. There was, however, an organization of the Protestant Church known as Ohongele yinene (The Big Church) but with no participation in administration of schools, hospitals.

By 1948, some very pertinent directives were presented to the missionary group by Dr John Reuling of the American Board, who participated with The United Church of Canada in all of the work at the central Institutions at Dôndi. Dr Reuling had just visited churches in South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and on the basis of what he had learned in those churches, he urged strongly that missionaries of UCC and UCBWM get along with the task of turning over authority to the African Church. "You haven't got much time left" were the sober words of Dr Reuling. It is not recalled that there were any similar directives from The United Church of Canada, and it is fitting to recognize the debt we as a Canadian church owe to Dr Reuling and to the United Church of Christ Board for World Ministries. Neither UCC nor its missionaries attempted to put brakes on this devolution from mission to the church and Dr Reuling himself expressed surprise and caution at the rapid pace that this devolution took on and he stated that, yes, he had urged devolution but he didn't expect it to be so rapid. In 1954, Angolans had become heads of committees, they had become vocal in expressing themselves, even at times in opposition to missionaries.

In the 1954 meeting of the committee of missionaries, the request went forward to the Big Church that they, the missionaries had decided to give up their privileged position as missionaries and had opted to become a part of the Ohongele Yinene (the Big Church). No great enthusiasm was registered by Angolan delegates at this pronouncement. It is believed that they anticipated that there must be a hidden meaning to this move, for missionaries were notorious for attempting to impose their wishes on African committees. By 1956, Angolans were satisfied that this did not represent a trick, but was rather a genuine desire on the part of missionaries to be faithful to the call of the Gospel to be coworkers with the Church, and Rev. Jessé Chipenda was unanimously elected as the first General Secretary of the new Church of Christ of Central Angola. The writer recalls that the Doxology was never sung with such meaning and emotion as on that day when Dr Sidney Gilchrist came over to where Rev Jessé Chipenda was standing and in the name of all those present gave him a warm "abraço" (a hug). What an act of Providence that this devolution took place five years before the

events of 1961 when it became almost impossible for free exchange of opinion to take place. What a blessing it was to have had an Angolan of the calibre of Rev. Jessé Chipenda as the first leader of this new church organization, the Church of Christ of Central Angola. He had evangelized on foot from Lobito to Bailundo, a distance of some 400 km. Missionaries found in him a leader in whom they could trust. It was he who urged that priority for funding be given to central village churches and their programs of education and health rather than to constructing new buildings for central Institutions at Dôndi. The writer served as General Treasurer of Church Council for four years and it never happened that missionaries lined up on one side of an issue and Angolans on the opposing side. It must be recorded for posterity that missionaries had not been forced by the Angolans to give up their power and privileges; rather this had been given voluntarily and it is undoubtedly for this reason that there was dialogue between the African Church and missionaries instead of confrontation. It was noteworthy for the writer, on arriving in Zaire in 1965, to find that only the Swedish Church working in Bas-Zaire had gone so far as the two churches working in Angola in bringing about an identification and an assimilation into the Chongele yinene (the big church). Even in 1969 in Zaire, missionaries were still hanging on to some of their privileges, such as holiday residences on the Atlantic Coast.

The Revolution of 1961 and events up to 1976 (7)

The most important event of this period was the formation of the three national political parties and this is dealt with later.

On February 4, MPLA (Movement for the Liberation of Angola) attacked two prisons and a police station in Luanda, and although no prisoners were freed, the event did give news coverage to the world concerning the struggle against the Salazar regime.

On March 14, on the Primavera plantation in the cotton-growing area near Luanda, the African workers demanded of the Portuguese owner better wages and living conditions. One report states that Reis, the owner, opened up with a volley of machine-gun fire; another states that the workers were told to return the next day and it was the military who opened up the volley of machine-gun fire with some 40 killed and many wounded. This reaction from the Portuguese was typical of their method of attempting to put down this insurrection, and silences the critics who would like to make out that the African is a savage by nature.

African farms were simply taken over by Portuguese ranchers and as one of our young Protestant leaders remarked after fleeing from Angola, "I never knew what justice was until I had fled from Angola".

On March 15 and 16, 1961, Portuguese homes were attacked along the Angola - Zaire border, and from 250 to 500 whites were killed. In retaliation Portuguese militia and military killed from 50,000 to 80,000 Angolans by planes, rockets, machine-guns and light arms, much of the material being of NATO origin. People from northern Angola headed for the Congo(Zaire) and over 500,000 (more than 10% of the population of Angola) escaped to take refuge there. The attack of March 15, 16 was carried out by UPA while the president Holden Roberto was at UN meeting in New York.

There are those armchair critics of the violent means taken by the Angolan people against their Portuguese oppressors as the work of savages. Their reaction can only be characterized as what happens when hostilities are bottled up for 500 years, under a regime that saw the African as little better than an animal, a regime that attempted to exploit the African as a slave.

The Portuguese were quick to lay the blame for the revolution on the Protestants. A scapegoat had to be found just as in the Bailundo war of 1902 and it was convenient to place the blame on those foreigners who had opened schools and hospitals to the Angolans, placing nationals in places of leadership, (the calcinhos, a derogatory term used by the Portuguese against any African who took a position of leadership among his people), Dr Clifford Parsons of the Baptist Church(British) replied well to the charge that the Protestants had caused the outbreak of violence in 1961 when he spoke on BBC(London) telling the world that if demonstrating that these Angolans were people by giving them education, by providing for them and with them medical assistance, by opening to them God's Word in Galatians 3:28 "There is neither Jew nor Greek ...for you are all one in Christ Jesus".., if these attempts to give justice and dignity to the Angolan people caused the outbreak of violence, then it was true that the Protestants had caused it.

Changes in Portuguese policy after 1961

In 1961, all people of Angola were declared to be citizens of Portugal and identity cards were provided to all. Some Angolans with complete primary education showed their identity cards to missionaries on which it was written "The bearer, not being able to read or write, is identified by his thumb print". The Portuguese had still not learned the meaning of that word dignity.

Schools were opened for the training of teachers in which for the first time Protestants were invited to take part.

Forced labour was abolished, but voluntary labour continued.

By 1963, it became evident that Protestant missionaries going on furlough would not be granted return visas, a move considered by Portugal to cause much less international uproar than deporting Protestant missionaries en masse, and in any case there were among these Protestants elements they considered to be "safe".

What kind of protest was made by North American Churches and their missionaries?

It has already been stated that the Board of World Ministries of the United Church of Christ was much better oriented towards events of 1961 than was the United Church of Canada. For most if not all Protestant missionaries in Angola, it can be said that the events of March 16, 1961 came as a complete surprise and the writer knows of no missionary colleague of any denomination in Angola who had advised his Angolan colleagues to rise up against the Portuguese and throw off the yoke of colonialism. Never once in orders from United Church headquarters, either in written or verbal form, did anything appear to instruct that the time had come to speak up against the Portuguese atrocities, either in Canada or in Angola. Nor were there any such orders from the Angolans either as members of the Church Council or from individual colleagues.

In April 1961 at a meeting in Dôndi with Rev Jessé Chipenda, with several missionary colleagues present, we informed our General Secretary that orders had just come from our two Boards, one in Toronto and the other in New York, that the wives and children had been ordered home. He told the group that he understood the action taken but he urged that the men and as many as possible of those others, single women, stay on the job. He instructed the group to be "As wise as serpents and as harmless as doves". "If you speak up to the Portuguese about the atrocities committed against the Angolans, then you will be deported and then who will tell the rest of the world what genocide the Portuguese are practicing on us Angolans?". So in 1961, the Angolan Church did consider the presence of a missionary as an asset rather than as a liability, but within 5 years, this situation was to change; for wherever there was a missionary, there was suspicion that he was hiding a radio transmitter, and having secret meetings with the Angolans.

In 1961, a letter of protest was made against Portuguese atrocities committed against the Angolan people and this letter was signed by 100 Canadian^{and American} church people, Roman Catholic, Baptist, Rabbis and The United Church of Canada.⁽⁸⁾ Looking in retrospect, the protest should have been made many years before, but the Roman Catholic Church would not have signed it. In General Council meeting of 1964 in St John's Newfoundland, it was with some difficulty that Rev Murray MacInnes was given the floor of General Council and the Division of World Outreach seemed to be still saying, "Play it safe. Keep Quiet." "Don't rock the boat".

For the writer, from 1961 to 1964, there did seem to be some genuine efforts on the part of the Portuguese to recognize their errors of the past, and perhaps Angola might still become another Brasil where people of all races had equal voices. It was not until receiving letters written by Rev. Jim Grenfell and Rev David Grenfell, interviews with Angolan refugees escaping from the north of Angola and into safety in Zaire, and learning of the genocide that was still going on that the decision was made to talk.

The following is a quotation from their January 3 letter of 1966 "No. 2,022 (15)

Domingos Milanda 20 years of Seke, Nova Lisboa. Was on contract labour. He was tied with two loads of contratados (contract labourers) in April 1961 and they were taken to the River Danzi. They were all hit with a catana (machette) at the back of the neck, and thrown into the river. The catana hit this lad just above the neck, their hands were tied behind their backs with wire and again the marks are still visible. He got out of the river himself, but it was several hours before he met someone to undo the tied hands."

Some missionaries would have been willing to speak up in Angola were it not for repercussions that would certainly fall on their Angolan colleagues. The missionary would be deported, but the Angolan would have paid with his life.

In 1963, during a missionary retreat in Dôndi, a letter of protest was prepared to send to the Governor General for forwarding to Lisbon, protesting atrocities committed against the Angolans, obstacles placed in the way of missionaries, refusal of government to grant visas to new personnel. The letter acknowledged that, while a missionary is a guest in a country and must respect the law of the host country, nevertheless there are situations that demand that "prophetic utterances" be made, which of course simply mean that the missionary must speak up. All of the men signed the letter but it is not clear why the women were not asked to sign. Reentry visas were refused to all of the signers of the letter of protest.

The Baptist Union of Great Britain, inspired by missionaries of the British Baptist Church, arranged a letter of protest presented to the British Parliament with thousands of signatures, but Britain resolved to go ahead with her commitments to Portugal supplying frigates, planes and jeeps. France continued to supply helicopters, Italy supplied planes and West Germany arms and aircraft. (8)

The role of United Nations in bringing about the end of Portuguese domination

Henderson reports that in 1956, an anonymous petition was sent from S. Salvador do Congo to the United Nations listing their grievances against Portugal, forced labour, lack of health and educational facilities, economic exploitation, arbitrary arrests, land seizure and expropriation.

In November of 1960, United States voted against Portugal in United Nations, and in reprisal, the US Ambassador's car was thrown into the Luanda harbour. There were demonstrations in principal cities in Angola, and the one in Nova Lisboa (Huambo) caused a six-day strike among students of Currie Institute which could have had some very serious repercussions.

FNLA Originally there were two political parties, PDA (Democratic Party of Angola) formed in 1960 and UPA (Union of the Populations of Northern Angola) founded in 1954, the fusion taking place in 1960. Holden Roberto, named after a Baptist missionary, was educated in Leopoldville in the Congo and after completing secondary school, he returned in 1940 to S. Salvador for one year to get some roots in Angola. (4)

Military assistance for FNLA came from a diversity of countries, US, China, Rumania, Libya, Sweden, Tunisia, Morocco, Liberia, Nigeria. In 1962 Holden formed GRAE (Revolutionary Government in exile) and in 1963 the Liberation Committee of OAU (Organization for African Unity) recognized GRAE. In 1968, OAU withdrew its support for GRAE but not for FNLA and accorded recognition to MPLA. (5)

Even before general Mobutu came to power in Zaire in November 1965, a base had been given to FNLA at Kinkuzu and Holden had free movement across the Zairian border into Angola.

Holden Roberto did not receive an enthusiastic support among the Angolan refugees in Bas Zaire and especially so following raids that were made to recruit personnel for the army. Angolans grudgingly paid their party dues. The criticism was heard that Holden refused to take anyone into responsible positions in the party who had better education than himself and the best diploma that Holden could produce was complete secondary school. This was a policy that cost him much popular support, and was completely contrary to the policy of MPLA and it is believed also of UNITA.

Various attempts were made to establish a common front between FNLA and MPLA, the first in 1961, another in 1972 when MPLA wished to have free access to the Zairian border. There was also conflict between FNLA and UNITA and between UNITA and MPLA both before the coup of 1974 and after.

Dr Jonas Savimbi resigned from FNLA in 1964 because military action was restricted to the north of Angola. FNLA was crippled by tribalism and dependence on US IDOC states that on the eve of independence, FNLA was the strongest of the 3 groups

MPLA

The movement was formed in 1956 from a union of two political parties, one of which had roots in the Communist Party of Angola. It attracted the intellectuals and the party stated that they truly represented the masses of the people as well. Among their leaders were Mario de Andrade, Viriato de Cruz, Lucio Lara and Dr Agostinho Neto, the latter being the son of a Methodist pastor.

It was MPLA that organized and carried out the attack on Feb 4, 1961 of two prisons and a police station in Luanda. (5)

In 1963, MPLA headquarters moved to Brazzaville with an office opened in Lusaka, Zambia in 1964. This marked the beginning of the eastern front, from which they were forced to withdraw by Portuguese military activity in 1968.

IDOC states that MPLA's political education is Marxist in origin and revolutionary in tendency.

UNITA Logistic support comes from South Africa

This movement was formed in 1966, ten years after that of MPLA. Its leader from the beginning has been Dr Jonas Savimbi, son of a prominent church leader who suffered much persecution at the hands of the Portuguese. Its roots are among the Ovimbundu people of the Benguela plateau, but like MPLA, the party has sought to establish a national base and Miguel N'zau Puna is a Cabindan. Dr Savimbi maintained that a revolution cannot be led, guided or controlled from the safety of a foreign country and following the expulsion of UNITA from Zambia in 1967 because of blowing up the Benguela railway, the Movement operated strictly within Angola.⁽¹²⁾ UNITA declared that the movement suffered from the lack of an arms supplier and had to make do with arms plundered from the Portuguese. Savimbi declared before 1975 and after that date that he never envisaged a government in Angola without the participation of FNLA and MPLA and Dr and Mrs George Burgess tell of a political rally in former Bela Vista where UNITA supporters were clearly in the majority, but Savimbi insisted that the flags of MPLA and FNLA be raised along with the flag of UNITA and one cannot but ask if the future events after 1975 would have been different if the World Council of Churches had become actively engaged in bringing people of the three parties together.

The coup of April 24 in Portugal

It is doubtful if the coup could have taken place if there had not been so much attrition of Portuguese manpower and the weakening of the reserves built up by Dr Salazar, and this was the result of the intervention of the three nationalist movements. In 1974, half of the Portuguese budget was destined to suppression of the war of liberation with 50,000 Portuguese troops tied up in Angola alone, and with two other wars of liberation going on in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

As late as February 1974, Prime Minister Caetano denied that a war was going on, just as many years before Portugal denied that there was leprosy in the country. General Spínola, having served for 4 years in Guinea-Bissau, became convinced that there was to be no military solution to the wars in Portuguese Africa and he explained this in his book, Portugal and the Future. It was the Portuguese Armed Forces who engineered the almost bloodless coup. Spínola envisaged a voluntary federation of Portuguese states with Lisbon at the centre but this was not the dream of the Angolans who had

fought the Portuguese for more than 13 years.

On May 7, General Costa Gomes offered a cease fire to the liberation movements and called on them to prepare for democratic elections, something that has not yet happened in 1982. UNITA agreed to a cease fire on June 17, 1974 and MPLA and FNLA in October.

The meeting at Mombasa, Kenya January 1975

The three movements declared that each of the three would have equal rights and responsibilities in a provisional government. They proclaimed the territorial integrity of Angola, that is Cabinda would continue to be a part of the country.

The meeting at Alvor in southern Portugal (ten days later)

November 11 was set as the date of independence and full sovereignty of Angola. Until that date, all power was to be handled by a Portuguese High Commissioner and a transitional government, formed January 31, with each party rotating as chair. A National Defense Commission was agreed upon which required that each movement supply 8,000 troops and Portugal 24,000. Elections were to be held by Oct 31, 1975. There were to be no foreign troops or advisers.⁽¹²⁾ Each movement was to be responsible for maintaining order in the area in which the movement had popular support.

The Alvor agreement could not be implemented for there was no desire to have this happen. MPLA and FNLA clashed in Luanda with 500 dead and 700 wounded. War material, supposedly rigidly controlled in entering the country, did indeed come in, openly under the eyes of the Portuguese.

The final meeting at Nakuru, Kenya June 1975

FNLA was receiving weapons from Zaire; MPLA received from the Eastern European countries, and each movement realized that they could not win in democratic elections. An OAU delegation in 1975 stated that UNITA would win in a vote followed by MPLA and with FNLA in last place.

In July 1975, MPLA established complete control of Luanda, that is FNLA and UNITA were forced to evacuate the city and non-MPLA people fled. Jomo Kenyatta's attempts to bring any kind of reconciliation failed.

By the end of January 1976, an MPLA force of heavy war material was on its way to the north, and on February 8, Angolans once again fled for safety to Zaire, having been for the second time refugees, the first time from Portuguese genocide and the second time, from MPLA with Cuban Russian support. The government set up in Huambo under FNLA and UNITA likewise fell and UNITA once again fled to the bush.

South African forces had advanced, capturing Sa da Bandeira, Lobito, Benguela but the United States unwillingness to intervene militarily made its withdrawal from

Angola, ^{necessary} and it is of interest that Savimbi declares that South African forces first came into Angola, not at his invitation but at the invitation of some other unnamed country. (12)

What do the Angolan refugees want, those who are in Zambia in Maheba Camp, those in Zaire, those in Namibia? The word that comes, not from the intellegentsia but from the masses of the people, is that the peasant people, and most of them are of that class, insist upon a) a participation in the government of Angola, in other words they do not want to be second or third class citizens in their own country b) removal of foreign troops from Angolan soil. Those belonging to UNITA would add the requisite of free democratic elections. The World Council would receive a lot more credibility in the eyes of some people of Africa if they were as much concerned about free elections in Angola as they are in Namibia. One listens and waits for concrete proof that the World Council of Churches and its individual members most involved with Angola are involved in reconciliation between the peoples of Angola, not rhetoric but reaching out in love to all of the people of Angola with food, health, education (wherever this is permitted by government). How long, o Lord, until JUSTICE is done?

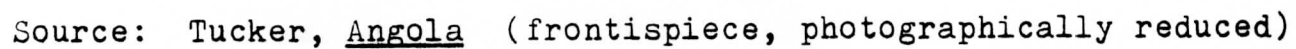
This paper has given its priority to looking back on the setting in which the Gospel was proclaimed in Angola, and especially during the period of 1880 to 1976. There are those who state that the church could have done more in participating in the struggle of the masses of the people for justice and dignity. Only 7.5% of Angolan young people of school age were actually in school in 1960 - 1961, and if one had ^{at} statistics in the field of health care, probably not more than 10% of the people benefitted from a reasonable health care system. It must be admitted that the church could have and should have done something better for the people in the fields of education and health care, and North American churches are involved in this criticism as well as the church in Angola.

The writer has not excused himself or his colleagues for playing it safe before 1961 and there is a conviction that on many occasions we should have spoken up and taken the consequences. But it is easier to talk about these things than to carry them out, and especially when opposition to the Salazar regime would have brought suffering and probable death to innocent Angolans.

God performed a mighty work among his people in Angola in spite of obstacles placed in the way of the church; he raised up saintly souls of the calibre of Rev. Jessé Chipenda who could have taken the easy way out, played it safe, followed precisely the orders and restrictions imposed by the Salazar regime; but he believed that we are called upon by the Lord to suffer and to sacrifice for Christ and for people -- small people who are important to God, but often overlooked by government. He paid with his life for the position which he took.

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Appendix B. Protestant Missionary Societies in Angola.

No. from map at
Appendix A.

9	1878	English Baptist Missionary Society. Worked in North among Kikongo; withdrew overseas personnel in 1966.
2	1880	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregational). Worked among Umbundu in Benguela and Huambo; withdrew in 1967.
8	1884	American Methodist Episcopal Church. Worked among Kimbundu in area from Luanda eastwards. No missionaries remain.
3	1884	Christian Missions in Many Lands (English Brethren; not a true missionary society). Worked among many tribes in a line of mission stations across centre of the country; Later in Lunda province in N.E. 3 missionaries in 1980.
4	1886	Canadian Congregationalists (after 1925, United Church of Canada). Worked among Umbundu in Huambo and Bie. Decided to withdraw in 1967; last missionaries withdrew in 1976.
1	1897	Angola Evangelical Mission. Worked in Cabinda and Zaire province. Work taken over in 1954.
5	1897	Mission Philafricaine. Worked in S.W. among Umbundu, on a self-supporting basis.
10	1910	Christian and Missionary Alliance. Work in Cabinda taken over in 1954.
6	1914	South Africa General Mission. Worked among many smaller tribes in S.E. of country, Moxico and Bie provinces. 2 mission stations remained in 1969.
11	1925	North Angola Mission. Worked in Congo province.
-	1950	Assemblies of God. Worked in Cuanza Sul province; expelled before 1962.
1 and 10	1954	Canadian Baptist Missionary Society. Took over Northern works of CMA and AEM. They had evacuated to Zaire in 1971.
-	1968	Southern Baptist Convention. One couple located in Luanda in 1971.

Sources: J.T. Tucker, Angola; T. Okuma, Angola in Ferment (1962); J. Herbert Kane, A Global View of Christian Missions; Recent Brethren Literature.