

COLLECTION

*POLITICAL ACTIVISM*

*Chiado Publishing*

chiadopublishing.com

chiadopublishing.com

U.K | U.S.A | Ireland  
Kemp House  
152 City Road  
London  
EC1CV 2NX

Spain  
Centro de Negocios Edificio España  
Plaza de España, Nº 5 - 6  
37004 Salamanca  
España

France | Belgium | Luxembourg  
Porte de Paris  
50 Avenue du President Wilson  
Bâtiment 112  
La Plaine St Denis 93214  
France

Germany  
Kurfürstendamm 21  
10719 Berlin  
Deutschland

Portugal | Brazil | Angola | Cape Verde  
Avenida da Liberdade  
Nº 166, 1º Andar  
1250-166 Lisboa  
Portugal

Copyright © 2013 by Chiado Publishing and Bartolomeu Capita

All rights reserved.

Web: [www.chiadopublishing.com](http://www.chiadopublishing.com) | [www.chiadoglobal.com](http://www.chiadoglobal.com)

Title: Cabinda: Obama's Challenges in Africa

Author: Bartolomeu Capita

Graphic Design Ps\_Design – Departamento Gráfico

Printed and Bound by: *Chiado Print*

ISBN: 978-989-51-0719-3

Legal Deposit n.º 364003/13

**BARTOLOMEU CAPITA**

**CABINDA:  
OBAMA'S CHALLENGES  
IN AFRICA**

*Chiado Publishing*



# Contents

Acknowledgements . . . . .	11
Introduction . . . . .	13
<b>I – President Obama’s Obstacles and Challenges in Africa . . . . .</b>	<b>23</b>
1. Does President Obama’s Re-election allow to Hope for the Best? . . . . .	26
1.1. What to Expect from President Obama Administration? . . . . .	32
1.2. President Obama’s Desire to Advance the Cause of Change . . . . .	39
1.3. The European Union’s Role in Africa’s Resistance to Change . . . . .	44
1.4. The Urgent Need to Overcome the Resistance to Change . . . . .	52
1.5. President Obama and US International Legal Obligations . . . . .	56
1.6. The Real Obstruction to President Obama in Africa . . . . .	67
1.7. Angola’s “Strongman” is a European Union Servant . . . . .	94
1.8. Why is EU distracting International Attention from the Congo? . . . . .	110

**II – President Obama between Western and Eastern Imperialists . . . . . 125**

1. Capitalist Imperialism is as harmful as Progressive Imperialism. . . . . 134

1.1. Progressives Coerced Africans into Denying Cabinda Justice . . . . . 141

1.2. Moscow’s Coercion on African and Eastern European Allies. . . . . 160

1.3. African Leaders’ Simplistic Approach to World Affairs. . . . . 171

1.4. Neto was trusted neither by USSR nor by African Leaders . . . . . 179

**III – Cabinda: What is Left of the United Nations?205**

1. The Symbol of the United Nations Ideal of Universal Peace. . . . . 208

2. Angola’s Lack of Legal Title over the Territory of Cabinda. . . . . 214

2.1. The Legal Status of Cabinda as a Protected State216

2.2. Cabinda’s Legal and Political Sovereignty . . . . 218

2.3. Angola’s Attempt to Wipe out Cabinda Nationality . . . . . 225

3. The Political Assault on Cabinda in UN Resolution 1542 (XV). . . . . 236

3.1. Non-Involvement of Portugal in the Act of Aggression . . . . . 239

3.2. Compliance of Portugal with Chapter XI of the UN Charter . . . . . 243

3.3. Cabinda within the Scope of Chapter XI of the Charter . . . . . 246

4. Ploys to Perpetuate Angola’s Colonial Rule over Cabinda. . . . . 248

4.1. Roguery in Portraying Cabinda as an Angolan Ethnic Minority . . . . .	250
4.2. Regional Integration as Trickery to erase Cabinda’s Right . . . . .	254
4.3. Corruption and Falsehood meant to wipe out Cabinda . . . . .	256
5. US Selective Policy undermines the United Nations . . . . .	266
6. Angola’s Serious Crimes of International Concern in Cabinda . . . . .	274
6.1. Victims of President Dos Santos’ Shocking Atrocities . . . . .	278

**IV – China in Africa Being Steered Into a Trap . 285**

1. The West and the Chinese Presence in Africa . . . . .	286
1.1. How did China enter Europe’s “Private Domain”? . . . . .	291
1.2. China on the Geopolitical Chessboard between USA and USSR . . . . .	306
1.3. What America’s Help to Portugal in 1974/75 would have averted . . . . .	315
1.4. China’s Path in Africa is as Perilous as USSR’s during the Cold War . . . . .	325
1.5. Can China Champion Africa’s Right to Development? . . . . .	325

**V – The Hugest Genocide Ever Under Way in Africa . . . . . 345**

1. The Genocide in Delaying/Denying Cabinda Justice . . . . .	365
---	-----

2. Greed and Imperialistic Reasons as Determining Factors . . . . .	385
2.1. Portugal's Discoveries and the European Crises of the 14th Century . . . . .	386
2.2. European Bankers' Greed as root cause of Portugal's Discoveries . . . . .	388
3. Western Wars under way for a New Partition of Africa . . . . .	392
3.1. Actual «Lies» and Wars for a New Partition of Africa . . . . .	394
3.2. European Conflicts in Africa cannot help leading to WWII . . . . .	411
3.2.1. Germany's Quest for a Noteworthy Sphere of Influence in Africa . . . . .	437
3.2.2. West likely to use Blacks as cannon fodder in Wars on Asians. . . . .	456

**VI – The MPLA Distinctive Nature. . . . . 473**

1. The MPLA as Widely Known. . . . .	473
2. MPLA Independence War and the Crucifixion of Viriato da Cruz . . . . .	477
2.1. MPLA proves to be a Revisionist Clique . . . . .	480
2.2. What disturbed Agostinho Neto's balance of mind? . . . . .	489
2.3. MPLA as a Corrupt and Neo-Colonialists' Tool . . . . .	501
2.4. Analyzing Che, Hugo, Sozinho and Holden's remarks . . . . .	508
3. Angola's Civil War and the Crucifixion of Nito Alves . . . . .	513
3.1. MPLA: A National Organization with an Ideology of its own! . . . . .	524
3.2. The Roots of Lúcio Lara and the MPLA own Ideology . . . . .	543

3.3. Factors likely to have led France to make a tool of Lúcio Lara. . . . .	551
3.4. Who is « Proudhon » Whose Evil Ideas Reign over Angola?. . . . .	566
4. Angola and the Nakedness of the MPLA devilish Nature . . . . .	565
<b>VII – Psychological Reparation as a Sine Qua Non for Cabinda and Africa . . . . .</b>	<b>579</b>
1. Reparation as Integration into African Society and Psychology . . . . .	585
2. The Role of Communication in our Psychological Reparation. . . . .	595
3. Black People’s Specific Nature as a Psychological Phenomenon . . . . .	605
4. The Granting of African Citizenship to African-Americans. . . . .	610
5. The Role of Christianity in our Psychological Reparation. . . . .	617
6. Epilogue: our expectations in writing this book . .	631
Pictures	635
Bibliography . . . . .	645
Note about the Author. . . . .	653



## Acknowledgements

The author is indebted to many people who have, through their valued help and assistance on many occasions, contributed to the concept of this book. To list them all here would cover too many pages. I wish however to thank the late Dr. José Pinheiro da Silva (Luso-Cabindan) who, while at the Free University of Lisbon (*Universidade Livre de Lisboa*) more than ten years ago, through his teachings, interviews, writings and his immense and rich private library, gave me many insights into the historical forces at work inside Portugal and Angola. Many Portuguese scholars, active and retired diplomats, have given advice; some have provided data and also source material otherwise difficult to obtain. I cannot help mentioning, among them, the memorable Dr. Mascarenhas Barreto. Since the historical and legal-political aspects of the prevailing difference between Cabinda and Angola in international scenario appear to be of utmost importance, I cannot help being grateful to the honest and fair-minded heir to Portuguese throne, in this instance H.R.H. Dom Duarte Pio, The Duke of Braganza, who has worked long and hard on behalf of then-oppressed people of East-Timor, and who is rightly and tirelessly stating that there is a legitimate case for the independence of Cabinda. I cannot help mentioning my spiritual father, the memorable Cabindan Roman Catholic

bishop, His Excellency D. Paulino Fernandes Madeca, murdered by President Dos Santos' dictatorship in January 2008, whose main encouraging motto was: «Faith is the refusal to give up».

And for the innumerable acts of generosity, of hospitality and of friendliness I have received, I am particularly indebted to H.E. Ms. Flaminia Giovanelli at the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace (Vatican); the French Roman Catholic priest, Father Emmanuel Lebrun, at *Communauté Chrétienne des Africains*; the French Social Worker, Mrs. Martine Dang Tiep, at CASP (*Centre d'Action Sociale Protestant*); the memorable French citizen COLUCHE (*Resto du Coeur*); the Swiss French Reformed Church (*Eglise Française Réformée*); the Old Catholic Parish of Berne (*Christkatholischen Kirche Bern*); and all of those affectionate friends in Germany (Berlin), in the United Kingdom, in Spain, in Switzerland, in the United States, in the Netherlands, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in South Africa, in Ghana, in Brazil, in South Korea, in the Russian Federation, in Japan, in Ecuador, and in the Philippines who have accompanied, wittingly or unwittingly the writing of this book over many years. While I similarly thank each one of the charitable readers of this book for contributing to the spread of its content, I make myself clear that the responsibility for what I offer the reader in terms of information and judgment is, without a doubt, entirely mine.

Bartolomeu Capita  
Berne (Switzerland), April 2013

## Introduction

*“Since Africa is the least understood continent, it is also the one most easily ignored and therefore vulnerable to plunder.”*

John Perkins, *The Secret History of the American Empire*

Since the belligerent occupation of Cabinda by Angola and ensuing maintenance by force of colonial domination remain in existence, even though such colonial domination involves the most serious crimes that fall within the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court, and since the prevailing disagreement between Cabinda and Angola proves to be a legal-political problem that falls within the competence of the United Nations, throughout this book we are wondering why the most powerful nation on Earth and all at once the nation most inclined to champion democracy and human rights all over the world, i.e. the United States, turns out to be powerless with regard to Angola’s flagrant violation of international law in confiscating Cabinda’s political sovereignty by violent means, in plundering our natural resources with complete impunity, in relegating the Cabindan natives to the most revolting poverty, and in persecuting mandate refugees from Cabinda everywhere in the world. Obviously, given the chief purposes of the

United Nations and inasmuch as the UN Secretary-General happens to be the symbol of the UN ideal of universal peace and the spokesman for the interests of the world's peoples, in particular the poor and vulnerable among them, we are also wondering if there is something left of the United Nations.

Through his pertinent Address to the UN General Assembly on 23 September 2009, President Obama emphasized his country's determination to act boldly and collectively on behalf of justice and prosperity at home and abroad, as well as the United States' resoluteness to never waiver in their efforts to stand up for the right of people everywhere to determine our own destiny. In July 2009, in Ghana, President Obama did justly indicate where Change has to be made in order to enable Africa make the type of progress that time demands. In this area, the first African American US President claimed that Africa needs strong institutions instead of Strongmen. Finally, through his sage inaugural speech on 20 January 2009, President Obama declared that "the United States remains the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth" and that "what is required of us now is a new era of responsibility – a recognition, on the part of every American, that we have duties to ourselves, our nation, and the world." Unfortunately, despite President Obama's honest wish, the United States of America is proving to be unable to play its role in pushing for the establishment of a more just and reasonable international political and economic order, particularly in Africa. How come? The fact of the matter is that world's leading powers-led substitution of the genuine "International Law" by the principle of "Might is Right" not only makes people view the United States and the United Nations' main actions

as promoting particular agendas, but also prevents both the US President and the UN Secretary-General from standing comfortably as the world leader par excellence and the authentic symbol of the UN ideal of universal peace respectively.

Given China's growing presence in Africa, as well as the fact that Western Europe's very existence depends on the resources of Africa and the continued control exercised by the West over the black continent, we cannot help forewarning that the re-conquest of Africa and the re-enslavement of its Black people by the European Union with the help of African dictators, like Angola's, are the logical epilogue of the "rivalry" between China and Western powers in Africa. The People's Republic of China does figure among the five Permanent members of the UN Security Council, on which the UN Charter confers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Though, China's growing thirst for natural resources (mineral products, in particular iron ore, copper and platinum, base metals, oil, precious stones and wood products) to feed its prospering manufacturing, is converting the Chinese government into a predatory entity in the eyes of an increasing number of Africans on the Continent and in the Diaspora. President Xi Jinping's China is endeavoring to satisfy the demands of the Chinese fabrics regardless of whether or not they are being supplied with raw materials stolen from Non-Self-Governing Territories like Cabinda. In addition, China's insatiable appetite for hardwood and other goods is leading to massive deforestation and the destruction of crucial wildlife habitat in the illegally occupied territory of Cabinda.

President Dos Santos' eager willingness to buy off governments and businessmen all over the world with bribes and lies, forest concessions or rights to minerals and oil in exchange for their readiness to coerce the international community as a whole into postponing Cabinda's attainment of independence, is frustrating the free functioning of democratic institutions in Africa, in the West, as well as in Asia. In view of Angola's tyrant and colonial regime's nerve to bribe and blackmail even Permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council into silence regarding the illegal occupation of Cabinda, a growing number of western prominent politicians, businessmen/women, heads of political parties, leaders of Civil Societies, news agencies and even religious institutions are presently hiring themselves out as foreign agents to the merciless oligarchy of kleptocrats and criminals that still rule supreme over Angola and Cabinda. As a result, Western European countries playing host to mandate refugees or asylum seekers from Cabinda are doing their best to please Angola by denying us even the most basic human rights, i.e. international protection and humanitarian (legal) assistance, in order to coerce us surrender ourselves to Angola's colonial regime. In other words, refugees and asylum seekers from Cabinda have become real objects of an extremely lucrative bargain between our host-countries and Angola's dictatorship. Whereas victims of a growing denial of basic human rights, mandate refugees and asylum seekers from Cabinda are still giving a strong bargaining to host-countries. Regrettably, even though the Cabinda issue is a situation that must necessarily be brought to the attention of the United Nations Security Council or of the General Assembly, as it proves to be of the nature referred to in Article 34 of the Charter of the

United Nations, no subject of international law is free enough to act in pursuance of the provisions of Article 35 of the Charter of the United Nations given the attractiveness of Angola's poisonous bribes. However, the Cabinda problem simply involves the desire of one sovereign power to annex the territory of another. In this perspective, colonialism implies the subjugation of a subordinate people who desire to be free.

CABINDA is indeed the least understood and the most ignored African country in modern times. Hence this sub-Saharan African country, by some measures one of the world's largest reserves of oil and natural gas, has been given over to plunder since 1975 until now. Though, bounded on the north by the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, and by the Democratic Republic of the Congo on the south and the east, Cabinda was an extremely famed country among Western European nations from the 15th century to the early 20th. The Portuguese are the first Western European nation to set foot on Cabinda soil in 1491. Afterwards, with the arrivals of the Dutch, French, Belgian, Spanish, and British, Cabinda became an important trading center where all these Westerners met. The foremost commodities traded were ivory, leopard skins, exotic birds, tobacco and medicinal plants, packets of various seeds, fruit, kernels, cocoa, coffee, gold, and diamonds. The attractiveness of Cabinda was also determined by its own natives who are Bantu Negroes, called Cabindas. According to Encyclopedia Britannica (1962), the natives of Cabinda are intelligent, energetic and enterprising, and known as daring sailors and active traders. Furthermore, depending on the writing of the Portuguese Roman Catholic priest, Fr. Joaquim Martins, for its laws and moral principles, its

institutions, for its beauty and richness of natural resources, Cabinda is a small branch of Eden. The luxuriance of the forests of Cabinda, particularly the forests of the Maiombe region in the north, as well as Cabinda's prodigious wildlife, has always been and is still an attraction to tourists. Over the years, this prolific African location became more and more attractive, until it became a source of extremely violent conflicts among the European powers concerned. Ultimately, it also turned into one of the most important centers of the Slave Trade.

It is worth knowing the evolvement of those armed conflicts over Cabinda and the European nations involved in, inasmuch as it helps understand US President Obama's main challenges in Africa; permits to perceive the cause of the United Nations' ineffectiveness with respect to the belligerent occupation of Cabinda by Angola since 1975; and enables to see why Angola's crimes against humanity, crimes of genocide, and war crimes in Cabinda are downplayed by world's leading powers. The evolvement of such conflicts leads people to conclude that the criminal confiscation of Cabinda's political sovereignty by "Angola" is the direct consequence of the long-standing imperialistic contention between France and Germany. Germany's quest for a remarkable sphere of influence in Africa, with Cabinda in mind, dates back to the 19th century. This particular interest has ever since then prompted Germans' fierce competitor, i.e. France, to make every endeavor to completely frustrate such a "terrifying" dream.

In fact, from the 15th Century to the beginning of the 17th Portugal's sphere of influence in Africa, particularly in Cabinda, had way on without a single

European contender. Bloody wars between the old player (Portugal) and the new players (Netherlands, France, Belgium, and England) started when the latter began to challenge Portugal's right to have Cabinda in its realm of influence. The Netherlands were the first contenders to attempt to drive out the Portuguese in 1600 by means of a violent confrontation. A few decades later, the Portuguese succeeded in restoring their political influence over the territory of Cabinda, also by the use of violence. Afterwards, in 1700 (c.), the British managed to dislodge the very Portuguese by force of arms as well. In September 1723, under the command of the King of Portugal in person, in this instance D. João V, the British were militarily deposed by the Portuguese. Six decades later, precisely in 1784, under the authority of Sir Bernard de Marigny, the French attempted to force the Portuguese to surrender. The damage caused by this ruthless conflict drove the Portuguese to demand indemnities. Though, indemnities or not the French refused to stop challenging Portugal's right to have political influence over Cabinda. Perverseness and hatred prove to characterize the imperialistic rivalry among Western European nations! In 1806, while in Berlin, Napoleon declared the Continental Blockade, thus forbidding British imports into continental Europe. Of the two remaining neutral countries, i.e. Sweden and Portugal, the latter tried in vain to avoid Napoleon's ultimatum. Here we should not ignore the existence since 1373 of the Portuguese treaty of alliance with the English, which became an alliance with the United Kingdom! In November 1807, after the emphatic refusal of Prince Regent John of Portugal to join the Continental System, Napoleon sent an army into Spain under General Jean-Andoche Junot with the task of invading Portugal. Thus began the so famous

«*Peninsular War*», which in fact was a contest between France and the allied powers of Spain, the United Kingdom, and Portugal for the control of the «*Iberian Peninsula*» during the Napoleonic Wars. This ruthless war began when French armies invaded Portugal in 1807 and Spain in 1808, and lasted until Sir. Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington, defeated Napoleon in 1814. This shameful defeat, as well as Napoleon's solitary confinement in Saint Helena Island by the British (who were Portugal's principal ally in Europe), could not help rekindling French's hatred and stubbornness in trying to annihilate totally Portugal's sphere of influence in Africa, particularly in Cabinda. The fact is that, even though France claimed to fully recognize the "rights" of Portugal in Cabinda, in March 1883 it attacked the Portuguese once again. As a result, Cabinda lost a huge and rich part of its territory, i.e. "Pointe-Noire".

Faced with recurrent brutal wars involving a number of Western European nations; with the seizure of *Pointe-Noire* by the French as well as the latter unveiled threats to occupy much of Cabinda<sup>1</sup>; and eager to free their country from being an everlasting battlefield of competing interests among the European maritime powers concerned; the surviving members of the Cabinda Kingship (Princes, Governors, and Notables) agreed to place the remaining territory of Cabinda under the protection of the Portuguese Crown through three successive Treaties. It is about the *Treaty of Chinfuma* of

---

<sup>1</sup> According to the British Newspaper "*The Economist*" of 18 October 1884, the French were threatening to occupy much of the Congo. Let us remember that Cabinda was also known as "*Portuguese Congo*".

29 September 1883, the *Treaty of Chicamba* of 26 December 1884, and the *Treaty of Simulambuco* signed on 1st February 1885. Portugal was then under the rule of the Sovereign known as “*The Popular*” and “*The Good*”, in this instance *D. Luís I*, King of Portugal from 1861 through 1889. This protectorate Treaty was witnessed by Sir Robert F. Hammick, Lieutenant commander of the British vessel *Flirt*. The latter and Sir R.E. Dennett witnessed the Treaty in the performance of their country’s political obligations with regard to Portugal, considering the provisions of the 1355, 1373, 1642, 1661, 1948, 1951, and 1954 bilateral Treaties between Portugal and the Great Britain. Afterwards, the protectorate treaty between Cabinda and Portugal, better known as “*Treaty of Simulambuco*”, received attention and ratification at the Berlin Congo Conference that took place from 15 November 1884 to 26 February 1885. The Portuguese Delegation at the aforementioned Conference was essentially composed of three prominent figures, namely: Marquis de Penafiel, who was diplomat and the head of the Delegation; Serpa de Pimentel, expert in international law; and Luciano Cordeiro, the geographer. The American Delegation was led by Mr. John A. Kasson, who was then U.S. Ambassador to Germany. The British Delegation was under the leadership of Sir Edward Malet, Ambassador of the U.K. to Germany at the time. The one of Germany was headed by Mr. Graf Hatzfeldt, who was Germany’s Secretary of State in charge of Foreign Affairs at the time. Baron Alphonse de Courcel, sent to Germany in 1881 as Ambassador of France by the then French Prime Minister, in this instance Léon Gambetta, was the head of the French Delegation.

What then is the legal-political status of Cabinda as a protected State in international law? Under international

law, before and after the establishment of an international protectorate the protected State is a State in international law and subject to this legal order. Even though the protected State transfers to the protector the competence to act in its name in the field of foreign relations, it is still entitled to exercise territorial jurisdiction over its own territory and its citizens are neither subject to the legal order of the protecting State nor nationals of this State. So Cabinda is a sovereign State with its own nationals in international law. Nationality, as a legal term, suggests the existence of a legal tie between an individual and a State by which the individual is under the personal jurisdiction of that State. Consequently, given that the international protectorate treaty between Cabinda and Portugal is a protective tool of the Cabinda nationality, and inasmuch as the fundamental limitation international law imposes in matters of nationality is that a State can regulate only its own nationality and not that of another State, Angola's belligerent occupation of Cabinda and ensuing maintenance by force of colonial domination, as well as Angola's President Dos Santos effort to wipe out Cabinda nationality are internationally wrongful acts.

## **President Obama's Obstacles and Challenges in Africa**

In the wake of President Barack Obama's reelection on November 6, 2012, an avalanche of supportive and unsupportive comments from across the globe have been visible in all social networking sites such as Facebook, MySpace and Twitter. "It is good to celebrate Obama for reward of his hard work but note his first term did not serve Africa well. Let's hope for better in second term!" – observed a man from Nigeria. "Mind you, he is President of the United States, not Africa. It is African leaders who should serve Africa well! The United States could then support." – replied Ayo Obe, a good looking young lady from Lagos (Nigeria). Though, they both are right. Ever since the end of the Cold War in 1989, the United States of America happens to be the sole superpower, i.e. a state with a dominant position in the international system which has the ability to influence events and its own interests and project power on a worldwide scale to protect those very interests. In other words, superpower is a country that has tangible capacity to project dominant power and influence anywhere in the world, and, sometimes, in more than one region of the globe at a time. Bearing this in mind, those who claim that President Obama's first term was not of much assistance to Africa are right. Yes, as a superpower, Obama's America would

have promoted positive changes in Africa, by urging African dictators to embrace justice and peace and integral development, and by fighting the widespread impunity that is, indisputably, an obstacle to lasting peace and to the building of a democratic society and a constitutional state.

When the United States was not yet the sole superpower that it happens to be nowadays, it did, however, act the way most Africans believe it should have acted during the first term of President Obama. In the aftermath of the World War II, not only the United States conceived but also implemented the humanitarian «Marshall Plan», officially known as ERP (European Recovery Program). The Marshall Plan was the American program to aid Europe where the United States gave monetary support to help rebuild European economies after the end of World War II in order to prevent the spread of Soviet Communism<sup>2</sup>. The Marshall Plan was in operation for four years beginning in April 1948 and, among other things, the goals of the United States were to rebuild a war-devastated region, remove trade barriers, modernize industry, and make Europe prosperous again. The «initiative» was named after Secretary of State George Marshall, who justly spoke of urgent need to help the European recovery in his address at Harvard University in June 1947. The Marshall Plan was largely the creation of State Department officials and had bipartisan support in Washington, where the Republicans controlled Congress and the Democrats controlled the White House.

---

<sup>2</sup> Says Alexander DeConde in « Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy » (2002), Volume 1, p. 95.

Why was African peoples' quest for justice, peace, democracy and integral development not taken into consideration by the United States during President Obama's first term? "President Obama started with a much weaker economy than I did. Listen to me now. No President! No President – not me, not any of my predecessors; no one could have fully repaired all the damage that he found in just four years. But he has laid the foundation for a new, modern, successful economy of shared prosperity. And if you will renew the President's contract you will feel it. You will feel it. In all my heart, I believe it. (...) Though I often disagree with Republicans, I never learned to hate them the way the far right that now controls their party hates our President<sup>3</sup>." In fact, when President Obama took office in January 2009 the world as a whole was moving into the grip of a general collapse of the global civilization. We're talking about a crisis of the same essential cause and characteristics as that great breakdown-crisis, if in a different time, of the XIV Century European Lombard banking system, the system of investment banking houses of the type of the medieval Bardi and Peruzzi, which plunged all of Europe into a vastly genocidal New Dark Age<sup>4</sup>. Hence, in the eyes of President Obama and of his entire administration, the most significant issue of the first term was stopping that collapse, i.e. tackling national problems before anything else, by uprooting the policies

---

<sup>3</sup> Said former US President Bill Clinton addressing the 2012 Democratic National Convention that took place in Charlotte, North Carolina, from Tuesday, September 4<sup>th</sup> to Thursday, September 6<sup>th</sup>: <http://youtu.be/i5knEXDsrl4> ;

<sup>4</sup> See: « Echoes of the Fall of the House of Bardi: Wall Street's New Dark Age », by Lyndon LaRouche, Jr., in Executive Intelligence Review of October 3, 2008.

and institutions which have generated that perilous state of affairs. In view of this, we can't help saying that the good looking young lady from Lagos is likewise right. All those Africans and non-Africans who feel frustrated, believing that President Obama did not serve Africa well, have their hope for better renewed by President Obama's re-election. Yet the question arises as to whether or not the United States still owns the sole superpower's capability to influence anywhere in the world and in more than one region of the globe at a time!

## 1. Does President Obama's Re-election allow to Hope for the Best?

In a short and expositive article entitled "Servants and Masters: The Special Interests Won in U.S. Election Again", published on 11 November 2012, Dr. Paul Craig Roberts<sup>5</sup> is exhorting all of us, who believe that President Obama's re-election allows to hope for the best, to be under no illusion. The well-known scholar is direct and straight to the point:

«In my opinion, Obama won for two reasons: (1) Obama is non-threatening and inclusive, whereas Romney exuded a "us vs. them" impression that many found

---

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Craig Roberts is an American economist and a columnist. He is Chairman of the «Institute for Political Economy» and former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Economic Policy under Reagan administration; Link: <http://thesantosrepublic.com/2012/11/servants-and-masters-the-special-interests-won-in-u-s-elections-again/>.

threatening, and (2) the election was not close enough for the electronic voting machines to steal. As readers know, I don't think that either candidate is a good choice or that either offers a choice. Washington is controlled by powerful interest groups, not by elections. What the two parties fight over is not alternative political visions and different legislative agendas, but which party gets to be the whore for Wall Street, the military-security complex, Israel Lobby, agribusiness, and energy, mining, and timber interests. Being the whore is important, because whores are rewarded for the services that they render. To win the White House or a presidential appointment is a career-making event as it makes a person sought after by rich and powerful interest groups. ...Wars are profitable for the military/security complex. Israel rewards its servants and punishes its enemies. ... Many Americans understand this and do not bother to vote as they know that whichever candidate wins, the interest groups prevail. ...The military/security complex did not want Reagan negotiating with Gorbachev to end the cold war. What is curious is that voters don't understand how politics really works. They get carried away with the political rhetoric and do not see the hypocrisy that is staring them in the face. Proud patriotic macho American men voted for Romney who went to Israel and, swearing allegiance to his liege lord, groveled at the feet of Netanyahu. Obama plays on the heart strings of his supporters by relating a story of a child with leukemia now protected by Obamacare, while he continues to murder thousands of children and their parents with drones and other military actions in seven countries. The election was about nothing except who gets to serve the interest groups. The wars were not an

issue in the election. Washington's provoking of Iran, Russia, and China by surrounding them with military bases was not an issue. The unconstitutional powers asserted by the executive branch to detain citizens indefinitely without due process and to assassinate them on suspicion alone were not an issue in the election. ... The inability to acknowledge and to debate real issues is a threat not only to the United States but also to the entire world. Washington's reckless pursuit of hegemony driven by an insane neoconservative ideology is leading to military confrontation with Russia and China. ...How is it possible that "the world's only superpower" can hold a presidential election without any discussion of these very real and serious problems being part of it? How can anyone be excited or made hopeful about such an outcome?»

When you take a close look at the excerpt above, you inevitably end up concluding that there is no longer democracy in the United States and no room left for hopes. Dr. Roberts happens to be listed in who is who in America and who is who in the world. Hence, his observations in the excerpt above must be taken into consideration with all the seriousness they deserve. It is high time that all nations of the world woke up and urged President Obama's country to pull itself together as soon as possible, and to ultimately come down on the right side of human rights and international law. The upsetting fact that, in the United States, electronic voting machines can be programmed to steal votes; Washington is controlled by powerful interest groups, not by elections; political parties are mere whores at the mercy of powerful interest groups; hypocrisy with regard to international legal and political responsibilities has become the norm for leading

political figures; citizens can be detained indefinitely without due process and can be assassinated on suspicion alone; and pursuit of hegemony is driven by an insane neoconservative ideology and is, as a result, leading to military confrontation with both Russia and China – whether we like it or not, is leading the world as a whole to the brink of catastrophe. Such retrograde political performance on the part of the most powerful nation on earth is indeed cause for serious concern. Aside from making US Presidents look ridiculous, and not serious about leading the new world order, the United States described by Dr. Craig Roberts turns out to be the world's biggest threat to universal human values.

In the aftermath of the World War II, “a” brilliance of the United States featured prominently within the international system, since the United Nations was viewed as a major milestone for the entire world achieved thanks particularly to the selflessness of then US President, in this instance Franklin D. Roosevelt. Ever since then, in the eyes of the whole human family, the United States became the symbol of hope, viewed as a nation committed to pushing for the establishment of a more just and reasonable international political and economic order. All over the world, oppressed peoples and nations allowed themselves to root their hopes in the glorious content of the Charter of the United Nations. Did not successive US Presidents and respective administrations feel highly flattered to see representatives of nations across the globe come to them asking for assistance and actually take them seriously? So how come the United States, this wonderful and admired nation that gave birth to the priceless jewel that the Charter of the United Nations happens to be, is now a country whose leaders are no longer identifying themselves in the

preamble of the UN Charter?, which among other things reads:

«We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims. Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.»

The answer to the question whether President Obama's re-election does permit Africans to hope for the best is: "as long as Washington is controlled by powerful interest groups, not by elections, and as long as US political parties are nothing but mere whores for Wall

Street, the military-security complex, Israel Lobby, agribusiness, energy, mining, and timber interests, it is preferable to find the appropriate ways and means to help free the United States from its actual yoke rather than nourish and sustain easy hope for the best.” At this point in time, America’s global governing role needs unselfish, wise, and farsighted friends around, not flatterers, in order to stop once and for all the double standard policy it has been pursuing under the leadership of those controlling Washington. The United States has been smoothly converted into the giant lion of the international order, intimidating and preying on smaller, weaker animals in order to survive itself. Though, as godfather of the United Nations and its wonderful Charter, the United States portrayed itself as the elephant which supports a wide variety of other creatures – smaller mammals, birds and insects – by generating nourishment for them and for itself through fair business and mutual respect. It is by far preferable to have the United States as an elephant rather than a lion. In any case, it is in African peoples’ interest to help America reconvert itself into the elephant once loved all over the world. The fact is that an absolute decline of the United States’ world supremacy does not seem to be beneficial to Africans on the Continent and to those in the Diaspora.

If we are to believe Chris Hedges<sup>6</sup>, the United States, which once freed countries and peoples across the globe from oppressors, is now in the hands of a totalitarian

---

<sup>6</sup> Christopher Lynn Hedges is an American; was part of the team of reporters at the New York Times awarded a Pulitzer Prize in 2002 for the paper’s coverage of global terrorism; received the Amnesty International Global Award for Human Rights Journalism in 2002; is a senior fellow at The Nation Institute in New York City, etc...

system, a dictatorship by another name. Just like Dr. Roberts', Chris Hedges' observations are devastating: "We now live in a nation where doctors destroy health, lawyers destroy justice, universities destroy knowledge, governments destroy freedom, the press destroys information, religion destroys morals, and our banks destroy the economy." Millions and millions of American citizens and outside observers share Chris Hedges' diagnosis, concerns and proposals. His pertinent and wise warning is: "The elites are not going to help us; we are going to have to help ourselves." In this connection, Africans and African-Americans have got to play a part in the fulfillment of America's glory and beauty. Yet, the success of Africans as players in the game depends both on the extent to which we are convinced that only through the rule of law can terrorism and dictatorship be brought effectively to an end, and on the moral strength with which we claim that those driving the world to the brink of catastrophe should not be the leaders of the new world order.

### 1.1. What to Expect from President Obama Administration?

Based on the assumption that Washington is controlled by powerful interest groups, not by elections, and that the party winner of any presidential election is the one that gets to be the whore for Wall Street, the military-security complex, Israel Lobby, agribusiness, and energy, mining, and timber interests, the appropriate response to the question 'what to expect from President Obama

administration?' cannot help being divided into three main categories, i.e. the answers to the following three questions: 'what to expect from President Obama himself; what to expect from his administration; and, of course, what to expect from those controlling Washington?'.

Without attempting to argue blindly in favor of President Obama's political performances, as it is an extremely trying task to discern his real personal and political leitmotiv, his remarks and the simple fact of being the first half-caste US President, however, allow any honest and loyal person to firmly claim that President Obama is indeed playing a part in the fulfillment of America's glory and beauty. To understand this reality, one must quietly and impartially pay attention to his political theory and its implementation. Despite adversity, the first US "Black" President is trying hard to embody America's new era of responsibility. To succeed, he has no choice but to rely upon the assistance of all of us who struggle for a more just and safer world, and, above all, our readiness to be in line with him. That is why Africans on the Continent and those in the Diaspora, and any benevolent world citizen, should stand with President Obama in his daily quest for the "Change", which consist, *inter alia*, in reversing the domination of corporations and returning power to the people.

In the speech he delivered on 20 January 2009, when he was sworn in as the 44<sup>th</sup> President of the United States of America, there are indications of his concerns with respect to Africa and all developing countries across the globe. Among other things, the speech reads: "We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. (...) America must play its role in ushering in a new era of

peace. What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility – a recognition, on the part of every American, that we have duties to ourselves, our nation, and the world, (...) To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow; to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds. And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to suffering outside our borders; nor can we consume the world's resources without regard to effect. For the world has changed, and we must change with it.” Yet, four years later, the people of poor nations are still waiting to see their farms flourish and clean waters flow. This sad reality, and some more of the kind, might have been used by Joseph Richardson<sup>7</sup>, in the wake of President Obama's re-election, to justify his learned article «The Media and Obama's Reelection: The Illusion Continues» posted on the Website of «The Santos Republic» on 11 November 2012. Mr. Richardson says President Obama seems to exude an illusory appeal:

“(…) The gushing appraisals coming in the wake of his win attest to the illusory appeal Obama seems to exude. In spite of his serial failings as President, his eloquent rhetoric is still enough to dispel doubt and excite fervent admiration among those harboring a residual sense of nostalgia for the heady days of 2008. Such people seem mainly to be found in the ranks of mainstream journalists, for whom the real world consequences of Obama's insincerity loom less large than the rapturous rhetoric

---

<sup>7</sup> Joseph Richardson is a freelance journalist for Voice of Russia radio station in London. He studied history at Merton College, Oxford.

with which he seeks to obscure his record. For many Americans, however, the potency of the Obama image has given way to the unsightly realities of high unemployment and cringe-worthy obeisance to the diktats of the rich. (...)"

Of course there is an immense gap between President Obama's rhetoric and reality at home and abroad. However, one has got to be brainy and impartial enough to avoid falling into the trap of over-simplification. Since "Washington" is said to be controlled by powerful interest groups, and since US political parties are said to be mere whores at the merci of particular States and private corporations, how will we ever be able to prove that the wide gap between President Obama's political theory and practice is a direct consequence of President Obama's supposed insincerity rather than a direct corollary of the interest groups' diktats? The excerpt above gives us a journalist referring to the outcomes of President Obama's first four years of his assignment being serial failures. In spite of his political fiasco, which he seeks to obscure, implies the freelance journalist, President Obama still seems to exude illusory appeal and his eloquent rhetoric is still enough to dispel doubt and excite fervent admiration. In view of the foregoing, and in view of former US President Bill Clinton's clear stance in favor of President Obama's overall policy, questions arise as to (1) what kind of world J. Richardson stands for and (2) whether President Clinton is a man who did just succumb to Obama's illusory appeal!

Whereas Joseph Richardson dares to showcase his simplistic reasoning, if not ill-intentioned, about the

outcomes of President Obama's overall policy, President Clinton goes far back in time to give us a more balanced line of argument. He said: "President Obama started with a much weaker economy than I did." To help people apprehend the catastrophic nature of the economic crisis in which the United States was at the time President Obama took office, the fair-minded President Clinton said: "No President could have fully repaired all the damage that he found in just four years." To those millions and millions of Americans unable to see President Obama's major achievements, owing to their racial prejudices, if not to the wicked men and women's work aimed at making US citizens doubt their President and cease having fervent admiration for him, the eloquent President Clinton introduces another Obama, one who strives for a national brilliant future: "But he has laid the foundation for a new, modern, successful economy of shared prosperity."

There is a blatant discrepancy between President Clinton's perceptiveness and those who are not free and honest enough to discover what the former perceives. If anything, we have got to have an exceeding number of journalists with such perceptiveness so as to help the world change for the better. In many cases, the projection of extremely negative and demeaning persons' images in different types of media – electronic, print, visual and audio – has more to do with those performing the projection than with the "victims" of the very projection. Every thing we define or portray, be it at the familial or national level, has the potential to become a powerful instrument of change either for the better or the worse, having an enormous impact globally. What does one

expect to be the impact of pronouncements like: « “What is curious is that voters don’t understand how politics really works”? Then, “They get carried away with the political rhetoric and do not see the hypocrisy that is staring them in the face”? Or, “Many Americans understand this and do not bother to vote as they know that whichever candidate wins, the interest groups prevail”? » In fact, by just saying that ‘voters don’t understand how politics really works’ one is suggesting that voters are brainless. And by saying that ‘they get carried away with the political rhetoric and do not see the hypocrisy that is staring them in the face’ one is trying to show the immensity of the voters’ brainlessness. Lastly, and above all, by saying that ‘many Americans understand this and do not bother to vote as they know that whichever candidate wins, the interest groups prevail’ one is cleverly suggesting that people should just refrain from voting. Do the suggestions implied in those pronouncements motivate and uplift voters to fill the roles of responsible and accountable citizens? Not really.

It simply does not make sense that by urging people to refrain from voting we are going to reverse the domination of corporations and return power to the people! According to Chris Hedges, we quote: “a functioning democracy must defy the economic interests of elites on behalf of citizens.” Is there still a room left for democracy where people are recommended by their own academics and journalists to refrain from voting? Are not such recommendations or suggestions advocating in favour of the very interest groups that tend to use governments and political parties as mere whores? In all this, the most alarming truth is that even scholars and journalists are no

longer able to help their own people free themselves from the yoke of the greedy corporations. In this connection, we have to concede that C. Hedges is absolutely right in saying that whereas ‘governments destroy freedom’, ‘universities destroy knowledge’ and ‘the press destroys information’! Academics and journalists worthy of the name should be able to discern the real cause of the discrepancy between what President Obama says and what he does. The actual cause of such contradiction would be a hypothetical insincerity and hypocrisy of the President if we had no interest groups that seemingly make use of sordid means like bribes, threats, and blackmails to gain full control over ‘Washington’. Dr. Roberts’ excerpt (far back) sheds light on that, demonstrating what is at stake and how the system is intended to function: “Wars are profitable for the military/security complex. Israel rewards its servants and punishes its enemies.”

President Obama’s political vision proves to be full of references to universal human values and principles, and is replete with personal good intentions. There is no doubt about that. Of course good intentions alone are not enough! Though what to expect from President Obama and his administration, in concrete terms, depends on how far his moral vitality can go in his dealings with dishonest conducts in his own ranks and with the obstructionist opposition. In other words, what we expect from his administration depends on the political involvement of all of us who sense his sincere desire to advance the cause of justice and peace and shared prosperity at home and abroad.

## 1.2. President Obama's Desire to Advance the Cause of Change

In November 2008, most of us Africans, African-Americans, and the rest of the entire world welcomed Mr. Barack Obama's "coronation" as President of the United States of America, because «Change» was his principal device both theoretically and practically. On the one hand, as first African-American to become President of the United States, his election could not help being a great privilege. On the other hand, as an agent of the so needed «Change» with respect to the international community's customary functioning, his electoral triumph represented and still represents a huge responsibility and an irksome job.

The introduction to any «Change», even the most elementary, gives always rise to significant resistances. The «fear» of moving away from the customary norms proves to be one of the major causes of the resistance to «Change». For instance, if it is true that African tyrants fear any change likely to halt their familial or tribal reign, it is equally true that the powerful and wealthy nations that exclusively gain advantage from the natural resources of those tyrants' countries fear any change likely to thwart the course of their neocolonial power over the black continent. Prejudices against Black people that had purposely been conceptualized and disseminated by the «Slave Traders» in order to minimize within their respective national consciousness the criminal nature of the «Triangular Commerce», which proves to be the main cause of the double standard policy applied by most powerful nations, became an element of the customary

norm from which the enthusiastic proponents of neocolonialism would not like to move away for fear that they might lose their supremacy.

To undertake a «Change» within a country or continent, e.g. integral development, means to negate a set of customs, habits and models which refer to the way of thinking, eating, getting dressed, working, amusing and treating oneself, as well as the way of establishing positive relationship with fellow citizens. As aforementioned, any introduction to «Change», even the most basic, gives usually rise to considerable resistances. This is evidenced by the fact that not only President Obama's «National Health Care Reform» is still faced with the universal phenomenon of resistance to «Change» but also his fair and genuine commitment to improve the international community's customary functioning is being faced with strong resistance. President Obama's personal devotion to the struggle for the triumph of justice and peace at home and abroad is something widely beneficial to those, in the United States itself and all over the world, who have been deprived of justice and who should now receive justice. In this respect, resistance to the «Change» that President Obama is justly and hardly trying to foster is being promoted by people who are either in ignorance of the pernicious customary norms that must be reformed or acting for selfish reasons. This resistance cannot help being exclusively to the detriment of the vast majority of Black peoples all over the world, as we understand it. With regard to Africa, President Obama has already made a number of moves intended to make greater justice, peace and democracy while showing how the international community should work. Yet, those charitable moves turned out to be regrettably faced with resistance. But

since resistance to «Change» is an undeniable universal phenomenon, and since President Obama's Africa policy is intended to help African nations make the type of progress that time demands, it is a matter of urgency that Africans and African-Americans help President Obama overcome Africa's resistance to «Change».

Africans on the Continent and those in the Diaspora should not forget that on 20 January 2009 President Obama delivered his Inaugural Address calling for a new era of responsibility and, with regard to impoverished countries across the globe, urging his western partners to follow suit: "And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to suffering outside our borders; nor can we consume the world's resources without regard to effect. For the world has changed, and we must change with it." In his pertinent Address to the United Nations General Assembly on 23 September 2009, just a few months after he took office, not only President Obama is drawing attention to the right of submissive peoples everywhere to determine our own destiny enshrined in the tools of the international law, and asking for our assistance in his commitment to advancing the cause of «Change», but also showing his readiness to act boldly and collectively on behalf of justice and prosperity at home and abroad. Excerpt from the President's 2009 Address to the UN:

« (...) I come before you humbled by the responsibility that the American people have placed upon me; mindful of the enormous challenges of our moment in history; and determined to act boldly and collectively on behalf of justice and prosperity at home and abroad. (...) There are basic principles that are universal; there are certain truths

which are self evident – and the United States of America will never waiver in our efforts to stand up for the right of people everywhere to determine their own destiny. (...) That is the future America wants – a future of peace and prosperity that we can only reach if we recognize that all nations have rights, but all nations have responsibilities as well. That is the bargain that makes this work. That must be the guiding principle of international cooperation. (...) Those who used to chastise America for acting alone in the world cannot now stand by and wait for America to solve the world’s problems alone. We have sought – in word and deed – a new era of engagement with the world. And now is the time for all of us to take our share of responsibility for a global response to global challenges. (...) And I admit that America has too often been selective in its promotion of democracy. But that does not weaken our commitment; it only reinforces it. »

President Obama is not only being challenged by the obstructionist opposition at home but also by America’s European partners who, seemingly, are not at all willing to stop living off Africa, particularly Sub-Saharan Africa. For sure a vast number of us Africans and African-Americans are having great difficulty perceiving such reality. Though, it is understandable, for the reason that we live in a world where ‘universities destroy knowledge’ and ‘the press destroys information’. Again, President Obama’s desire to advance the cause of «Change» is not only intended to be theoretical but also practical, for all his speeches unveil his sincerity that is witnessed by the accordance between his theories and his deeds. The saddening truth is that, up to now, rich European nations are the ones that exclusively benefit from President Obama’s legal and political predisposition to help

oppressed and exploited peoples make the type of progress that time demands. Knowing that President Obama is determined to act boldly and collectively on behalf of justice and prosperity at home and abroad; that he and his country are not at all willing to waiver in their efforts to stand up for the right of people everywhere to determine their own destiny; that they are likewise urged to not stand by and wait for America to solve the world's problems alone; and knowing that they are also invited by President Obama in his call to take our share of responsibility for a global response to global challenges; European nations are using President Obama's predisposition as a legal and political tool to advance their own interests in Africa. Did not we see European officials urge President Obama to intervene both in Ivory Coast and Libya in the name of democracy and the right of people everywhere to determine their own destiny? We are called to fairly concede, particularly those of us familiar with international law, that the European push for such US intervention in the African countries concerned had legal basis. We have likewise to concede that, in default of Africa's political expertness, the outcomes of the intervention are absolutely detrimental to the entire African continent while they are beneficial to European countries to a large degree and the United States of America to a lesser extent. Whereas US meddling in Libya had been applauded by a vast number of Europeans, it had been severely criticized by most Africans on the Continent and in the Diaspora. "How come a President of the United States who claims to be Black accepts to drop such deadly bombs on his own people and his ancestors' land?", many Africans wondered. So the phenomenon of resistance to «Change» is an emotional phenomenon! A few months after that

meddling in Libya, the neighboring country, i.e. Mali, saw its northern territory to be militarily seized by MUJWA<sup>8</sup>, an al Qaeda-linked Islamist group. Ironically, the very same Africans who severely criticized President Obama's intervention in Libya alongside the Europeans stood up and pleaded for a military support to free the north of Mali from that Islamic militant group. Paris, Brussels, and Berlin appear to be western capitals most visited by the African diplomats in search for such support. In Africa, apparently, only the most powerful European countries are allowed to bring in the Americans for a specific topic or issue of their interest. For matters of Africans' interest, it turns out that, for quite some time, African leaders and other political actors are solely allowed to seek assistance either from Israel or from the European Union. The Obama administration's search – in word and deed – for a new era of engagement with the world is facing discreet, though harsh resistance from the EU and all emerging imperialist powers by means of their respective African servants.

### 1.3. The European Union's Role in Africa's Resistance to Change

Our point of departure must be that democracy begins at home. We must assume in addition that the European Union, bearing in mind its nature and purpose, has not been designated to foster democracy, particularly in Africa. «The European Union portrays itself to the

---

<sup>8</sup> MUJWA: Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa.

world as a role model for 21<sup>st</sup> century democracy. In fact, the EU system of governance reverses all democratic achievements of European civilization over the past thousand years and throws the entire continent back to Medieval times, when autocratic monarchs ruled Europe outside of any democratic control<sup>9</sup>.» The whole invaluable book of Dr. Rath Health Foundation is a detailed proof of how the European Union is controlled by corporate interests. It also reads: “In a true democracy all the power resides with the people. Unlike in a true democracy, in the EU the power no longer resides with the people. Operating outside the basic principles of democracy, the Brussels EU – by definition – is a dictatorship<sup>10</sup>.”

The way in which the most mournful page of the history of Black Africa had been opened at the ending of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; the socio-economic and political circumstances of 14<sup>th</sup> century Europe that ended up boosting the Maritime Discoveries made by the Portuguese Vasco da Gama, of which the highest point in Africa was the total conquest of the African continent and the notorious Triangular Trade; the tangible similarities between the socio-economic and political climate of today's Europe and the one of the fifteenth century that made possible the usurpation of African Lands and ensuing «Slave Trade» by European conquerors; the total

---

<sup>9</sup> In: « The Nazi Roots of the 'Brussels EU', What you always wanted to know about the 'Brussels EU' – But no one dared to tell you! », by Dr. Rath Health Foundation, Germany (2010), pp. 24-25;

<sup>10</sup> In: « The Nazi Roots of the 'Brussels EU', What you always wanted to know about the 'Brussels EU' – But no one dared to tell you! », by Dr. Rath Health Foundation, Germany (2010), pp. 18-19.

absence of case law of the International Criminal Court regarding the «Slave Trade» and the colonial plundering that Africa is still a victim; and the ever more visible policy inconsistency between the objectives and theoretical principles publicized by most African states and what we see in practice; strongly recommend Africans all over the world to pay due attention to the European Union's actual role in Africa.

«Two months prior to the Lisbon Treaty<sup>11</sup> coming into effect, the political stakeholders of the Oil and Drug Cartel left no doubt about their global ambition. On October 7, 2009, the Daily Telegraph newspaper in the UK published an article titled: EU draws up plans to establish itself as 'world power'. If the Cartel gets its way, the Brussels EU will be a mere stepping stone towards the cementing of its economic and political conquest of the world. According to the Telegraph article, the first embassies of this undemocratic construct were being planned for strategic locations, namely: New York (the seat of the United Nations), Addis Ababa (the seat of the African Union) and Kabul (an area of interest due to the ongoing war in Afghanistan) – even before the Lisbon Treaty had come into effect. But long before the Lisbon Treaty had even been drafted, the Cartel was trying to export the political construct of the Brussels EU as a model to expand its control over other continents: African Union. The architects of the African Union (AU) have not hidden the

---

<sup>11</sup> The 'Lisbon Treaty' is an international agreement that amends the two treaties (the Maastricht Treaty and the Treaty of Rome) which form the constitutional basis of the European Union (EU). The Lisbon Treaty was signed by the EU member states on 13 December 2007, and entered into force on 1 December 2009.

fact that the AU was modeled on the European Union – with almost identical institutional structures, including a so-called “AU Commission.” The permanent seat of this commission is Addis Ababa in Ethiopia – apparently, the intended “Brussels of Africa<sup>12</sup>.”»

Since the legal, political, and economic significance of patents in the strategic planning of the Brussels EU for world control means absolute contempt for Africa’s sovereignty and right to peace and integral development, it is self-evident that the European Union is diametrically opposed to President Obama’s pursuit – in word and deed – of a new era of engagement with the world. For the reason that in the EU itself the power no longer resides with the people, it must be put in black and white that the European Union is the very antithesis of the US Black President’s quest for the global «Change», which, among other things, consists in reversing the domination of corporations and returning power to the people. In his speech delivered to the UN General Assembly on 25 September 2012, the first African-American US President makes it clear in the following terms, we quote: “We have taken these positions because we believe that freedom and self-determination are not unique to one culture. These are not simply American values or Western values – they are universal values. And even as there will be huge challenges that come with a transition to democracy, I am convinced that ultimately government of the people, by the people and for the people is more likely to bring about the stability, prosperity, and individual opportunity that serve as a basis for peace in our world.”

---

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p. 32.

So Africa's resistance to «Change», incited by the European Union's leading nations that turn out to be former colonial powers, seems to feed from the European supremacist political and religious leaders' believe that freedom and self-determination are unique to one culture, and that they are quite simply western values. In the opinion of those outdated European leaders, to agree with President Obama's view according to which 'government of the people, by the people and for the people is more likely to bring about the stability, prosperity, and peace in the world', would pave the way for the end of the European race's domination over the rest of the world. Is there any discrimination? Of course there is a self-evident racial hatred, and the first African-American US President is the leading victim of such hatred both at home and abroad (Europe!). As a matter of fact, President Bill Clinton's address to the Democratic National Convention of September 2012 makes sense, as he did mention the hatred President Obama is victim of, we quote: "Though I often disagree with Republicans, I never learned to hate them the way the far right that now controls their party hates our President."

There is, ever since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, a European political, cultural, and religious dominance, which an amazing number of European political and religious leaders do not want to give up enforcing. In this regard, the relationship between the European Union and Africa can't help being a dictatorship. It must be laid out in black and white that, in their dealings with Africa since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the European nations continue to operate outside the basic principles of democracy. In order to maintain its dictatorial supremacy over the African nations and the rest of the world, and thus preserve all special rights

descending from that cruel dominance, the European Union has no choice but to disagree with any policy aimed at establishing true democracy and good governance in Africa. In other words, EU member states are neither eager to see power in Africa to reside with the people nor disposed to help President Obama reverse the domination of corporations and return power to those oppressed and exploited peoples across the globe. In spite of that, the «Obama phenomenon» is softly proving to have positive outcomes. For instance, on Saturday 24 November 2012, in the Vatican City, Pope Benedict XVI appointed six new and non-European cardinals. The six new power brokers in Vatican are from Colombia, India, Lebanon, Nigeria, the Philippines and the United States. In this respect, The Huffington Post's reporter Nicole Winfield wrote: « “Six new cardinals on Saturday joined the elite club of red-robed churchmen who will elect the next pope, bringing a more geographically diverse mix into the European-dominated College of Cardinals. The College of Cardinals remains heavily European even with the new additions. Of the 120 cardinals under age 80 and thus eligible to vote in a conclave to elect a new pope, more than half – 62 – are European. Critics have complained that the princes of the church no longer represent the Catholic Church today, since Catholicism is growing in Asia and Africa but is in crisis in much of Europe. (...) Will the next pontiff come from the southern hemisphere, where two-thirds of the world's Catholics live?” The Head of the Roman Catholic Church is reported to have told the crowd the following: “In this consistory, I want to highlight in particular the fact that the church is the church of all peoples, and so she speaks in the various cultures of the different continents.” » For its part, BBC News' reporter gives us, *inter alia*, the

following account: “The Pope told the congregation that the Catholic Church belongs to the whole human race, not just one group, and was a church for all peoples. Pope Benedict has previously faced criticism for appointing mainly Europeans as cardinals, despite the Church’s estimate that less than a quarter of the world’s Catholics live in Europe<sup>13</sup>.”

In view of these still very little, yet invaluable moves towards a more democratic relationship between Europe and Africa, we cannot help acknowledging that the election and re-election of Prof. Barack Obama as first African-American US President makes a stronger nation of the United States of America both morally and politically. By purposely establishing itself as the first Western entity to excommunicate racial prejudices at its highest political level, President Obama’s country is, at this point in time and in spite of all that we are still urged to criticize, the major positive force for world peace. There is no doubt that the sole election of a “Black” citizen as US President has at once given the United States a new and extremely fascinating international standing. The unprecedented decision of the American nation to entrust the White House to a Black family cannot help wining over international public opinion. When we consider the racial discrimination Black people are still victim of on a worldwide scale, we automatically

---

<sup>13</sup> The Huffington Post’s article by Nicole Winfield is titled: « Pope Elevates 6 Cardinals To Choose Successor »; its related link is: [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/11/24/pope-elevates-6-cardinals\\_n\\_2184102.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/11/24/pope-elevates-6-cardinals_n_2184102.html); For its part, BBC News’ article is titled: « Pope Benedict XVI appoints six non-European cardinals »; the related link is: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-20473929>.

view the election and re-election of Mr. Obama as singular happenings at which the human family as a whole is quite astonished. While the “Black/White” Obama is fascinating because of both his claims for «Change» and the fact of being the first citizen of his race to become President of the United States, the entire American people are broadly enchanting because of their firm resolve to embody the «Change» in question. By electing and re-electing BO, the people of the United States are showing their decisiveness to move beyond the racial prejudices that have long since been dominating the subconscious of the powerful elites of the nations that had enslaved and subjugated Black people over several centuries. As a result, Mr. Obama’s election and re-election are not only great privileges but also and above all huge responsibilities.

Now Black people across the globe justly feel privileged to have as President of the unique superpower a man who identifies himself as Black person, even though his parents are Black (father) and White (mother). Due to the fact that he is all at once Black and White, President Obama is better placed to further the cause of world peace by promoting genuine friendship between peoples of various races, confessions, and civilizations. As a man with a respectable well-balanced self-esteem, a citizen who loves his homeland and the entire human family all at once, and as an efficient pedagogue and a good shepherd, the success of President Obama in all his commitments in the first four years would have been hundred times more brilliant than it is, were it not for the malicious opposition at home and abroad. With regard to the second four years, it is required that those of us who sincerely feel privileged to have him as President of the

sole superpower be conscious of our individual and shared responsibility.

#### 1.4. The Urgent Need to Overcome the Resistance to Change

At a time when the Brussels EU is portraying itself to the rest of the world as a role model for 21<sup>st</sup> century democracy, when in fact it's inadvertently reversing all democratic achievements of European civilization over the past thousand years and throwing the entire continent back to Medieval times; at a time when the free functioning of democratic institutions across the whole African continent is increasingly being frustrated by means of blackmails, bribes, and threats; and at a time when prestigious international institutions are more and more trapped into accepting to operate outside the basic principles of democracy; it is essential that citizens of all continents be conscious of the urgent need to overcome the resistance to the «Change» President Obama is managing to incarnate.

It is true that millions and millions of peoples around the world no longer believe the United States can still be viewed as a country and nation having enough moral authority to stand as the major positive force for world peace. They have great difficulty believing otherwise, on account of the United States' double standard policies, more particularly in the course of the last three decades. We, Cabinda people, victim of Angola's belligerent occupation of our dear country and victim of the colonial plundering of our natural resources since 1975, are equally

victim of the United States' clear double standard policy. Under international law, Angola's military occupation of Cabinda and ensuing maintenance by force of colonial domination, as well as Angola's adventurousness that consists in conferring its nationality upon the citizens of the occupied territory, are international crimes. Since the occupied Cabinda is the territory from where Angola earns nearly all of its foreign exchange, thanks to its oil production alone that is about two million barrels per day, the Angolan government is allowed to go as far as to blackmail even permanent members of the UN Security Council into silence with respect to its serious crimes of international concern in Cabinda. So is Angola a US strategic partner! Hence we are well placed to understand the millions of men and women who, across the globe, look at President Obama's claim for «Change» with skepticism. Nonetheless, we need to be a little more reasonable and full of compassion so we can understand that a nation, just like any single human being, is not only capable of doing evil but also of doing good. We are all saddened or frustrated by the political weakness and fall of the United States and most of us are wondering whether President Obama's country can still be trusted as leading positive force for world democracy and lasting peace.

The impact of America's political fall is of such a magnitude that a huge number of people across the globe doubt its ability to stand up again and progress along the path to justice and peace. Yet the millions of Americans that have recently re-elected President Obama, and with them thousands of millions of people throughout the world, believe that the United States is a nation brave enough to stand again. They believe that, in order for America to stand again, they must open their eyes and

raise their voice to reverse the domination of corporations and return power to the people, considering that in a true democracy all the power resides with the people. Well aware of the chaotic economic state in which their country was when their first ‘Black/White’ President took office, and encouraged by their African-American President to restore their confidence in an America entering a new era of responsibility, an era in which every American is solemnly requested to play a part in the fulfillment of the domestic and worldwide goals, the American people believe justly that their President wants the People to be in charge, and not the Lobbyists<sup>14</sup>. Hence they are managing to get more and more active, more and more organized, and are ultimately trying to find possible ways and means to get the money/bribery out of politics. An increasing number of US citizens begin to believe that only the adoption of a purely public campaign finance system has the potential to challenge the Lobbyists. Since the outcomes of the American people’s ongoing struggle are likely to be beneficial to the rest of the world, that struggle deserves World Citizens attention and help.

It is a clear fact that the American people, with the backing of President Obama, are trying hard to overcome the resistance to «Change». But since the principal cause of the resistance to «Change» is certain interest groups’ «fear» of losing the exceptional profits and privileges the customary norms grant them at the expense of the large majority of the population, and for the reason that the

---

<sup>14</sup> “We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. (...) America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace. What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility – a recognition, on the part of every American, that we have duties to ourselves, our nation, and the world.” – President Obama’s inaugural speech.

impact of the customary norms in question is limitless, a victorious «Change» process requires that the nations of the world admit together the reappraisal of the customary norms in force. According to most sociologists and psychologists, it is easier to reverse the habits of a group than those of an individual. Therefore, such reappraisal has got to be a worldwide requirement, for a single nation might come into view as an individual. As we live in a world where we are having globalization of every concern and every deed, there must be an international movement committed to bringing into play the customary norms and, simultaneously, advertising and strengthening the new norms by means of a pertinent practical organization and pedagogy.

There are two chief methods to overcome any phenomenon of resistance to «Change», i.e. to increase pressures in line with the required «Change» or to minimize resistances to this very «Change». Since the first method leads often to tensions and conflicts more or less serious, it is wise to associate the second method with the first one. Within the current circumstances, the task and duty of smart World Citizens consist in causing enthusiasm for the demanded «Change». In this respect, while the American people come into view as «Change» promoter, those around the world committed to exciting enthusiasm for the very «Change» are viewed as powerful catalysts (facilitators) for «Change». The assignment of the catalysts is to localize the resistances and clarify their signification in the framework of public meetings in which the innovative and customary tendencies give their sentiment. It is extremely important that broad masses of people all over the world be involved. Everywhere large masses of people are more active when they feel themselves directly

concerned and, above all, more deeply committed when they make a collective decision. Nevertheless, it is the way to bring in the «Change» – “*information*” and “*participation*” offered or absent – that gives rise to a significant difference of social or political attitudes and behaviors.

### 1.5. President Obama and US International Legal Obligations

Regarding the legal and moral obligations owed to the international community as a whole, including the United States, it is worth mentioning that ILC (International Law Commission) has singled out some, like the obligations prohibiting «genocide», «slavery», «aggression», «apartheid», «the maintenance by force of colonial domination», and «the massive pollution of the atmosphere or the seas», whose violation qualifies as an international crime and, as a result, gives all subjects of international law, particularly the States, the right to react for the sake of world order of justice and peace. These are the obligations that constitute the legal basis from which President Obama is called to draw the legitimacy and convenience of his country’s meddling abroad. Under these circumstances, the meddling is a clear humanitarian response, one that saves thousands of lives while representing how the whole international community is expected to work. Here is how then US Ambassador to the United Nations, H.E. Dr. Susan E. Rice, has presented President Obama’s commitment to the UN:

«More than 60 years ago, in the aftermath of the destruction and devastation of World War II, the United States provided the leadership and vision that led to the founding of the United Nations. Our leaders understood then that a global institution that brings all of the world's countries together would enhance – not diminish – our influence and bring more security to our country and the world. Today, with our security at home affected by instability, violence, disease, or failed states in far corners of the world, President Obama has affirmed America's commitment to the United Nations as an indispensable, if imperfect, institution for advancing our security and well-being in the 21st century. He has made it clear that we must pursue a national security strategy that builds strong international partnerships to tackle global challenges through the integration of all aspects of American power – military and diplomatic; economic and legal; cultural and moral. The goal of our diplomacy at the United Nations is to make it a more perfect forum to address the most pressing global challenges; to promote peace and development, to advance democracy, and to strengthen respect for human rights.»

Regardless of all frustrating obstructions and resistances to «Change» he faces at home and abroad respectively, President Obama is managing to distance himself from the international community's inappropriate usual functioning, one that has permitted the Rwandan genocide in 1994 and has previously allowed Angola's belligerent occupation of Cabinda and ensuing maintenance by force of colonial domination to happen and prevail thus far. Despite the fact that Angola's colonial rule over Cabinda entails the most serious crimes of international concern as referred to in the Rome Statute, and which, as a result, fall within the

jurisdiction of ICC (International Criminal Court), the international community has remained quiet for more than three decades. If Cabinda's political sovereignty is still confiscated by the criminal regime of Angola, and if most African countries are still underdeveloped, it is primarily for the reason that the international community has long since been functioning on the basis of an «indifferent» international law, one whose unique goal is to permit the establishment of a pacific coexistence between the handful countries that possess weapons of mass destruction. What comes out from all this is that the right of people everywhere to determine their own destiny, as well as the right of countries everywhere to integral development cannot help being intrinsically revolutionary. Yes, revolutionary, for it involves a deep break, a definitive rupture in the ancestral tradition of the «indifferent» international law.

As a good-hearted and principled person, a man well rooted in his Black and White natures, and a man with a well-balanced self-esteem, President Obama is a man intelligent enough to believe that this is the time that those who have been deprived of justice must receive justice, and to realize that the very time does not demand a hypocritical approach to solving African problems. He has declared solemnly that “the United States remains the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth”; has claimed that “what is required of Americans now is a new era of responsibility”; and he himself has claimed to be mindful of the enormous challenges of our moment in history and determined to act boldly and collectively on behalf of justice and prosperity at home and abroad. All things considered, US President Barack Obama has long since been exhorting the “World” (states, civil societies, and political and religious leaders) to work with him shoulder to shoulder in the fight to break off the «indifferent»

international law on behalf of the powerless and needy nations across the world.

In his speech delivered to the UN General Assembly on 25 September 2012, President Obama is proving that he does act and support the forces of «Change» when he is requested to do so in the framework of the moral and legal obligations owed to the international community as a whole. Among other things the first African-American US President stated, we quote: “We were inspired by the Tunisian protests that toppled a dictator, because we recognized our own beliefs in the aspirations of men and women who took to the streets. We insisted on change in Egypt, because our support for democracy put us on the side of the people. We supported a transition of leadership in Yemen, because the interests of the people were not being served by a corrupt status quo. We intervened in Libya alongside a broad coalition, and with the mandate of the U.N. Security Council, because we had the ability to stop the slaughter of innocents; and because we believed that the aspirations of the people were more powerful than a tyrant. And as we meet here, we again declare that the regime of Bashar al-Assad must come to an end so that the suffering of the Syrian people can stop, and a new dawn can begin. We have taken these positions because we believe that freedom and self-determination are not unique to one culture. These are not simply American values or Western values – they are universal values.”

Now the question arises as to why does not President Obama recognize his own beliefs in the aspirations of the Cabinda people still being oppressed, slaughtered, and exiled by the tyrant of Angola ever since the illegal and illegitimate occupation of Cabinda in 1975. And, in

addition, why is not the United States declaring that the colonial regime of President José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola must come to an end so that the suffering of the Cabindan people at home and abroad can stop once and for all? In its article titled «Forgotten People: Displaced Persons in Cabinda Province, Angola», of 26 May 2005, Refugees International states, we quote: “(...) Cabinda is the source of half of Angola’s one million barrels per day of crude oil production. Oil revenues support at least 80% of Angola’s national budget. (...) Countries that purchase Cabinda’s oil, including the United States and China, are reluctant to bring attention to the issues in Cabinda because of their dependence on oil from the province. (...) Human rights monitors and groups in Cabinda have reported abuse, torture, rape, and illegal detentions perpetrated by Angola’s Army (FAA) in Cabinda.” In its annual report 2011 Amnesty International asseverates, we quote: “Angola remains one of Africa’s largest oil producers and China’s second most important source of oil and most important commercial partner in Africa. This oil wealth, and Angola’s regional military power, has greatly limited leverage of other governments and international organizations pushing for good governance and human rights. Trade partners remain reluctant to criticize the government, to protect their economic interests.” Though, in our opinion, it is neither oil nor commercial interests that solely make the aspirations of the Cabinda people less powerful than Angola’s tyrant. Muammar Gaddafi’s Libya was likewise important source of oil, and important commercial partner, for the very same world’s leading powers. And yet, nothing prevented the United States and its allies from toppling Libya’s dictator in October 2011. As we understand it, it is about a self-evident Anti-Black People policy, i.e. a subtle endeavor to maintain the Black Holocaust in Sub-

Saharan Africa and the colonial plundering inflicted on that part of the African continent.

Ever since Angola's President Dos Santos got his fierce opponent Jonas M. Savimbi killed<sup>15</sup> in February 2002, western mighty nations have put in place a concerted worldwide effort aimed to reduce leading leaders of the Cabinda struggle for freedom to silence. From then on, those of us who are peacefully fighting for our legitimate right to recover our political sovereignty have come within that concerted policy's sight. All sorts of Machiavellian mechanisms are being implemented to even deprive us of basic human rights, in the hope that this will force us either capitulate to Angola's colonial rule or cease believing that the aspirations of our people are more powerful than Angola's tyrant. In this connection, it is worth mentioning the strange fate of two Cabindan freedom fighters, i.e. Arthur Tchibassa and António Bento Bembe, who were accused of being involved in the kidnapping of a US citizen (Brent Swan), a Cabgoc employee, in Cabinda in October 1990. Tchibassa was arrested on 12 July 2002, in Kinshasa (DRC), in a joint operation between the security services of the Congo (DRC) and FBI agents. Afterwards, in 2004, he was sentenced to 350 months in a US jail<sup>16</sup>. Then, in June 2005, Bembe was arrested in the Netherlands. The Americans wanted to fly Bembe to the US to be tried.

---

<sup>15</sup> "USA and Israel helped Luanda (Angola's President José E. Dos Santos) assassinate UNITA's leader, Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi". See link: <http://petrinus.com.sapo.pt/savimbi2.htm>;

<sup>16</sup> See: «Let's keep Cabinda in the spotlight», by Lara Pawson (The Guardian), published on Tuesday 12 January 2010. Related link: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/jan/12/angola-oil-cabinda-togo>.

The Bush administration, via Dr. Condoleezza Rice, then State Secretary, officially solicited his extradition to the USA, but a Dutch court turned down the request. Bento Bembe escaped the Netherlands a while later with the help of the Angolan government and went to Brazzaville and Kinshasa where he held meetings and negotiations with the Angolan tyrant. No one seemed to mind – not even the United States – when Bembe agreed to the MPLA’s peace deal in 2006. All that took place well before the election of BO in 2008. When he took office, he talked about a new era of engagement with the world, admitted that America has too often been selective in its promotion of democracy, and claimed the US will never waver in their efforts to stand up for the right of people everywhere to determine their own destiny.

Most Africans and African-Americans who are now familiar with the Cabinda issue wonder whether US Democrats are not undermining justice/peace in Africa more than Republicans. Among others their argument is: “Angola did not have formal relations with the United States until 1993, when the Clinton administration recognized the Government of Angola on 19th May 1993. That is to say US Democrats endorsed Angola’s illegal and illegitimate occupation of Cabinda and the consequent plundering being inflicted on that tiny African country. How come America says nothing at all about an illegally occupied country whose oil production is about to reach two million barrels/day (apart from its diamonds, uranium, gold, hard-wood, and so on) and yet native people are forced to live on less than US \$1 per day? How come an individual who was accused of being involved in a criminal act against a US citizen and whose extradition to America was officially solicited by the US Government

has suddenly become untouchable, thus allowed to sneer at then US Secretary of State and to spit on her for the mere reason that he is a protégé of Angola's President? Mobutu Sese Seko of then Zaïre (now DRC) was a dictator and a Western agent in Africa and we all welcomed his fall in 1997, believing it marked the end of neo-colonialism on our continent. Unfortunately, the fall of Mobutu orchestrated by the Clinton administration only came to worsen the situation with more than 8 millions of Congolese people killed so far. Since there is a vital US interest at stake in that occupied country, the Obama administration should help Portugal fulfill its legal, political, and moral obligations regarding the Cabinda people's right to recover our political sovereignty."

The essential question remains, though: what really prevents President Obama from making common cause with the oppressed people of Cabinda, in view of his new era of engagement with the world? Many Africans and African-Americans assert that he is failing to implement an appropriate Africa policy because he is surrounded by Clinton-era appointees who do not want to revisit their policies in Africa. They might be right! But we should not forget the fact that, after President Clinton, there was a Bush administration that made lots of changes in our Sub-Saharan Africa. For our part, we contend that President Obama is having difficulty to stand up for the right of people everywhere in Africa to determine our own destiny for lack of a single African state genuinely sovereign. The provision of Article 35 of the UN Charter allows any African UN member State to bring the Cabinda issue to the attention of the United Nations General Assembly or of its Security Council on which the UN Charter confers primary responsibility for the

maintenance of international peace and security. None of all African states is sovereign enough to draw President Obama's attention to the criminal occupation of Cabinda in full view of the world. African states are enslaved by the European Union and a handful emerging imperialist powers to such an extent that, as you can see, only western closest allies of the United States alone are entitled to bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34 of the UN Charter, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly, in order for the dispute or situation in question to be worthy of due assessment. That is to say, President Obama is only acting fully where he is urged to do so by the United States' closest allies, namely Israel and the European Union. Yet this negative trend is not only belittling African states but also undermining both the United Nations and the United States' international standing.

There are in Africa lots of situations for which both African states and African Diaspora should request the United States to act either humanitarily, diplomatically, or militarily in pursuance of the obligations owed to the international community as a whole. Knowing that African states are not capable to take such steps due to their absolute submissiveness to their respective European masters, the question arises as to why African-Americans and all our African intellectuals in the Diaspora are unable to fill the gap created by the enslavement of the African states! Some people say African Diaspora's inability is due to a number of factors, which include our intellectual laziness, lack of collaboration and sharing and trust amongst Africans ourselves. Other people argue that such inability results from the European nations' innate

aggressiveness experienced since the 15th century up till now, which explains the so visible African intellectual submissiveness to the European colonial masters; an intellectual resignation. Of course there is an excessive aggressiveness on the part of the Europeans who are doing their best in order not to give away the feeling of superiority they have conquered in the course of the last five centuries. Of course as long as African intellectuals (graduates, researchers, scientists, PhDs, etc.) are dependent on White people's airplane, medicine, fork, language, and so on, White man will feel superior to any Black person no matter the status or education of the latter; and we have got to concede they are superior until we prove them they are wrong. It is not about African intellectuals in former days whose attainments we can point out the libraries of Timbuktu in Mali; the pyramids of Egypt; the Benin bronzes of Nigeria; the obelisks of Aksum in Ethiopia; the stone fortresses of Zimbabwe; the ancient rock art of South Africa; etc.! It is instead about the present-day intellectuals who no longer dream big when we rest our head on the pillow. It is African intellectuals, and not those poor starving people, who is the reason Africa is in such a deplorable state. So, as long as African countries are ruled by tyrants and corrupt leaders, and as long as most African people live in squalors, White people will never have reason to get rid of their feeling of superiority.

The military intervention of the United States and other UN member states in Libya in 2011, at the request particularly of France and the United Kingdom (EU), and which resulted in the regrettable death of that country's leader, i.e. Colonel Gaddafi, got its legitimacy simply for lack of genuine humility on the part of most African

rulers and for lack of farseeing African intelligentsia. The widespread intellectual resignation or intellectual submissiveness to White masters is what makes African scholars both lazy and apathetic to our respective countries and our common continent. Politics is a constant test of strength in all domains. In face of the constant imperialist threat posed by the Western nations militarily better equipped, African nations should excel in diplomacy and intelligence to succeed. There was in Libya's Gaddafi an extremely vital African interest at stake and yet Africans failed to foresee Western designs and failed to protect that continental vital interest in pursuance of the core values articulated in the tools of the international law. Instead, it is the Western nations involved that benefited from the very same tools, since they helped legitimize their intervention through the use of Gaddafi's unique failure, i.e. the would-be order to a fighter pilot supposedly to bomb the peaceful demonstrators concerned. Whether or not Western powers intervened in Libya for its oil, the fact of the matter is that their intervention had obtained international law's green light. It is worth emphasizing that thanks to Presidents Ben Ali and Hosni Mubarak's wise conduct in face of their respective antagonists (demonstrators), there was no requirement of a US military intervention in Tunisia and Egypt. On the contrary, there was an obvious need of international community's intervention both in Libya and in Ivory Coast to minimize the self-evident death threats on thousands of civilians. Nevertheless, to make it clear in Islamic and non-Islamic nations' mind that the intervention in Libya has nothing to do either with crusade or with double standard policy, the United States and its main allies have to show equivalent boldness in battling against African regimes led by Christian tyrants

who happen to be Western friends, like the one of Angola, a country where mass killing and abduction of civilians have become commonplace.

## 1.6. The Real Obstruction to President Obama in Africa

What we learn from the 2011 Western interventions in Ivory Coast and Libya is that, with regard to the observance of international law and human rights, African states are required to be by far more assiduous than their counterparts in the West.

When in July 2009, in Ghana, the first African-American US President said: “Africa needs strong institutions, instead of strongmen”, he was devotedly indicating where «Change» had to be made in order to enable Africa make the type of progress that time demands. In the eyes of all of us whose device is «Change», “Strongmen<sup>17</sup>” are all dictators Africa has known thus far, be those under US influence or those under the Soviet Union (Russian Federation), France, China, and all emerging powers with imperialist appetite. In his 2009 inaugural and so applauded speech President Obama made it clear to his counterparts in the West as well as in the East: “And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to suffering outside our borders; nor can we consume the world’s resources without regard to effect.

---

<sup>17</sup> «Strongman » is often used by European leaders and western medias as a euphemism for «dictator».

For the world has changed, and we must change with it.” Accordingly, the Black/White US President is a genuine altruist, a perceptive, a foresighted person who sincerely strives for the good of the people of America, Africa, and of the world at large.

A benevolent human being who, like President Obama, is well aware of the immense natural resources Africa happens to be endowed with; aware of the suffering of hundreds of millions of African men and women; aware of the extremely humiliating conditions African refugees and asylum seekers in Europe and Africa are at present in; aware of the billions of US dollars African dictators usually pay out to finance western candidates for president in exchange for renewed decades to the great benefit of their bloody dictatorships<sup>18</sup>; aware of the neglected disappearances and deaths of hundreds of African young men and women who daily brave the Sahara desert and the Mediterranean Sea in their journey to reach European countries in the hope of better living conditions; and aware of African Strongmen’s immense stolen assets they bank at western-Banks while a huge majority of their respective population are starving to death; such human being can’t afford indifference to the extreme poverty, abasement, and terror African tyrants put their own people through.

A fair-minded person, who wants the progress and happiness of the entire African people, in no circumstances can s/he connive with African “Strongmen” of the kind of

---

<sup>18</sup> See «La République des Mallettes – Enquête sur la principauté française de non-droit», by Pierre Péan, Fayard, Paris (2011), pp. 112-114.

José Eduardo dos Santos (Angola). For the sake of trustworthiness, s/he connives neither for fortune nor for fame. Thus, as President of the country that is still the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth, President Obama is the «Change» promoter Africans, African-Americans, and the so-called third world as a whole should be supporting every single day. He is a reliable Head of State from whom, despite all obstructionist actions at home and abroad, we can still expect the so needed America's impartial warmth and love for all people without discrimination.

In the aftermath of the «Cold War» a number of African leaders, incited by their respective European masters, started a kind of power struggle aimed at coming into view as Africa's mightiest and most influential leader. In their effort to reach such “defying” realm merely for egocentric, hence petty political reasons, African leaders concerned, who are but European puppets, got the nerve to use all brutal means put at their disposal to torpedo the peace and integral development processes undertaken by those loyal African leaders who, for altruistic political vision, are committed to giving hope to their immense hopeless fellow citizens. It is curious that most, if not all, of the European puppets in Africa are self-centered leaders who have no respect at all for human rights, democracy, and international law. Furthermore, their respective countries abound with all sorts of coveted natural resources such as oil, diamonds, gold, coltan, hard-wood, uranium, and so forth. Strengthened and praised by the European masters and media as “Strongmen”, they have succeeded in imposing themselves on their so impoverished fellow citizens.

They have succeeded thanks to their terribly corrupt and cruel regimes; their blind determination to stay in power forever, which wins them the admiration of their colleagues; and their immense holdings that are like a giant venture capital fund, geared up to make friends and win influence in the poorest countries, not to say in Europe and within the most prominent international institutions. In contrast, the “non-Strongmen”, with self-mastery and trying hard to conduct themselves as African leaders reliable in their minds, hearts and actions, are devoting considerable efforts to gaining political authority by means of their pledge to gradually lessen human rights abuses, and to establish little by little a legally constituted state and democratic order. These modest leaders, though very smart and farseeing, are not flattered by the Europeans, whose work is aimed at reconquering the entire African continent and re-enslaving its Black population, just because their respective territories are less or simply not endowed with the most strategic raw materials. All of these leaders know how it feels to be targeted by the infamous “Strongmen” and their European gurus who do everything they can to either coerce them into becoming likewise “Strongmen” or just silence them one way or another.

Angola’s President José Eduardo dos Santos turns out to be the “Strongman” very much in the public eye at this point in time. His illegal and illegitimate occupation of Cabinda and consequent maintenance by force of colonial domination, as well as the various African wars he has been helping stir up took already millions of innocent lives and displaced millions, and their ripple effect continues to this day. The European

mentors that provide him with all sorts of weapons and military expertise to come into view as Africa's mightiest and most influential leader thanks to his cruelty, are conscious, though, that Angola's power over the tiny Cabinda is devoid of legal title and that President Dos Santos' role in Africa is the major contributing factor to the political insecurity and instability in central and southern Africa, e.g. his destructive involvement in Congo-Brazzaville (1997), in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in Ivory Coast, and very recently in Guinea-Bissau. In fact, African "Strongmen" have not been designed by Western European conquerors to contribute to the fulfillment of international order of justice and peace. Hence any "Strongman", like Angola's, is a serious hindrance to the commitment of any world leader, like President Obama, who really think of everyone's success and happiness in Africa. Up to the time of the 2011 uprising of the Libyan people, the country's supreme leader, Colonel Gaddafi, was also a "Strongman", although his political stance regarding Africa was the very antithesis of President Dos Santos'. One has to know how the two "Strongmen" have succeeded in subjugating a number of African leaders, to realize why African Union (AU) member states have been so reluctant to criticize these two dictators. Libya's "Strongman" played a prominent role in the formation of the African Union, an organism in which he exerted enormous influence because he was one of its major financiers. In fact, Libya was one of the big five (along with South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt, and Algeria) financial contributors of the African Union. It paid 15% of AU's budget, and also the membership fees of countries in arrears. Surely Gaddafi's position in Africa was paradoxical! Just as he backed pro-democracy causes,

he also fuelled rebellions in various countries such as Liberia and Sierra Leone<sup>19</sup>. It is widely accepted that whatever his faults, he was a genuine nationalist, and people prefer nationalists to puppets of foreign interests. Even though he did some good things for Libya, Africa, and the Third World, in the eyes of the Western powers the independent-minded Gaddafi remained an arch-enemy. We should remember that after he took power in 1969 he expelled British and American military bases from Libya.

As a matter of fact, the death of Gaddafi paved the way for the coronation of Angola's tyrant as the most noted "Strongman" in Africa. Unlike Gaddafi, Angola's President José Eduardo dos Santos is but a pure puppet of particular European interests. In contrast with Gaddafi, the President of Angola is so pathetic to his own people's water, food, medicine, schools, and electricity shortage that he cannot help being the European Union's perfect choice as Africa's most prominent "Strongman". Many Africans believe that, despite its financial scarceness occasioned by Gaddafi's death, African Union will work more effectively in the post-Gaddafi era. One thing is for certain: Libya's supreme leader was very intransigent about pursuing a United States of Africa and a handful other political undertakings. Nonetheless, time will tell whether the African Union under Gaddafi's mentorship was more harmful to African people than the blossoming one under the influence of Angola's dictator and his

---

<sup>19</sup> See « What does Gaddafi's death mean to Africa? », by Farouk Chothia, BBC Africa, published on 21 October 2011 – Related link: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/mobile/world-africa-15392189>.

European masters. President Dos Santos is a God-given diamond in the hands of those in Europe whose actual purpose is the re-conquest of the entire African continent and the absolute re-enslavement of its population. While he is pathetic to the extreme suffering of his own people, Dos Santos is using his country's immense revenues from the sale of oil, diamonds, gold, hard-wood, etc. to solely enrich his own family and to buy all kinds of weapons being used in the European Union's devilish efforts in Africa. Is Dos Santos "smarter" than Gaddafi? The former provides America, China, and certain EU member states with the oil plundered from Cabinda, on the one side and, on the other, he gets his weapons from France, Russia, and Israel. This explains why world's leading powers prefer Angola's dictator to the rest of African "Strongmen", and why the West is so reluctant both to condemn Angola's colonial (criminal) occupation of Cabinda and to declare at the United Nations, in the very same way it declares with regard to the regime of Bashar al-Assad, that the colonial regime of Dos Santos must come to an end so that the suffering of the Cabinda people can stop, and a new dawn can begin.

The idea that African Union may work more effectively in the post-Gaddafi era is, if we look at corporate media's subtle insinuations on this topic, a western interest groups' suggestion intended to induce African and international public opinion to blindly rely upon the African Union remote-controlled by "Angola". Let us hope that, in the name of the West's core values that are fairness and democracy, we are not going to be portrayed maliciously as a danger to Western interests, just for trying to foresee that the work of the AU will essentially be to the detriment of the vast majority of Africans. We are not saying that without the late Gaddafi

African Union is needless, nor are we suggesting that the current Chairperson of the African Union Commission, i.e. Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma of South Africa, is incompetent.

However, one must be impartially objective and take a close look at the power relationship on the ground in Africa, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, to have an anticipated inference as to whether or not AU is going to work more effectively in the post-Gaddafi era. One must also be remembered that Addis-Ababa (Ethiopia), where the headquarters of AU is located, has long since come within the Brussels EU's sight, if Dr. Rath Matthias and fellow thinkers are to be believed. « The financial groups behind the oil and drug cartel are interested in controlling giant global markets that affect literally every human life. In this situation, the financial interests behind the Cartel know that their multi-trillion dollar business can no longer survive in a democracy. Thus, the undemocratic construct of the Brussels EU is a strategic step towards the setting up of a global dictatorship on behalf of these corporate interests. (...) According to the Telegraph article, the first embassies of this undemocratic construct were being planned for strategic locations, namely: New York (the seat of the United Nations), Addis Ababa (the seat of the African Union)<sup>20</sup>... » That is to say, the AU will unfortunately work depending upon the goodwill of Angola's "Strongman" who, in turn, is subjected to the whim of the Brussels EU. The following related excerpts

---

<sup>20</sup> «The Nazi Roots of the 'Brussels EU', What you always wanted to know about the 'Brussels EU' – But no one dared to tell you!», by Dr. Rath Health Foundation, Germany (2010), pp. 30 and 32.

are good enough to help us realize who is who as for the power relationship on the ground in Africa and, finally, to shed light over who is definitely having a greater say within AU, whether Dos Santos of Angola or Jacob Zuma of South Africa.

«The report, authored by the Scorpions, outlines evidence that the Angolan intelligence establishment planned covertly to support former deputy president Jacob Zuma in his presidency bid. It also refers to a meeting of African leaders where possible military backing for Zuma was allegedly discussed and reports on a meeting of former Umkhonto weSizwe veterans which apparently suggested that the local security establishment should support a pro-Zuma coup if necessary. (...) The M&G has a number of these reports dating from 2005 and 2006. One, cited in Browse, alleges that “some time in 2005, the President of Angola Eduardo Dos Santos directly tasked the then chief of Angola’s Intelligence Services with identifying and reporting on ways in which Angola could provide support to Jacob Zuma and further his presidential aspirations – with a view to guiding Angolan government interventions in Zuma’s favour”. Relations between Dos Santos and President Thabo Mbeki are known to be frosty and the sequence of reports indicates that the former MI officer was watching the evidence as it unfolded. For example, a November 2005 ‘memorandum’, drawing on interviews with ‘a high ranking Angolan official’, notes Dos Santos resentment of South Africa’s regional pre-eminence and concerns about Mbeki’s anti-corruption stance in Africa. “It is generally felt that Mbeki wants to enforce First World policies and Western values on African countries”, the memo says. It goes on: “Dos Santos has also issued an order to his Foreign Intelligence Service to monitor the

political climate, specifically within the ANC and the relations between Mbeki and Zuma, very closely. He also requested an assessment of Zuma's grassroots level support in South Africa as well as looking at ways to provide support to Zuma to enhance his political position and ultimately to become the next South African president<sup>21</sup>.”»

«A confidential report written by South Africa's now-disbanded elite police unit the Scorpions in 2006 detailed allegations that former deputy president Jacob Zuma had received secret funding for his presidential campaign from Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi. The report also suggested there was even regional support for a Zuma-backed military coup against Mbeki. The document was faxed anonymously to the trade union Cosatu in 2007 before being published by newspapers<sup>22</sup>.»

«Mandala's state visit to Angola in 1998 helped to ease tensions somewhat, but relations between South Africa's president Mbeki and Dos Santos remained frosty after 1999, with Dos Santos declining all entreaties to pay a state visit to South Africa. The reported purchase of Angolan diamonds in UNITA-controlled areas by South African mining giant De Beers was another source of friction. (...) But there were often disagreements in both countries' approach to resolving conflicts in the DRC and

---

<sup>21</sup> See «Inside the Browse 'Mole' row» in G&M of 3 August 2007; Link: <http://mg.co.za/article/2007-08-03-inside-the-browse-mole-row>;

<sup>22</sup> See also «Gaddafi, Angolans “helped fund Zuma election campaign”» in The Guardian of 6 June 2012; Related link: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2012/jun/06/south-africa-secrecy-bill-interactive>.

Zimbabwe. While Luanda sent troops to bolster the government in Kinshasa and pledged strong support for Robert Mugabe, Tshwane sought to adopt a more even-handed approach. Mbeki visited Luanda in August 2008 to brief Dos Santos about his mediation efforts in Zimbabwe, and Dos Santos attended the Southern African Development Community (SADC) summit in Johannesburg in the same month. But relations never became warm under Mbeki, amidst media reports that Dos Santos had helped to fund Jacob Zuma's legal costs following corruption charges after he was removed as South Africa's deputy president in 2005. (...) Following Angola's difficulties in accessing loans from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for its post-war reconstruction efforts after 2002 due to charges of corruption within the government, China stepped into the breach. Beijing provided \$4 billion in loans to Angola, including for large-scale infrastructure projects involving roads, railways, and low-cost housing. This made China the largest player in the country's reconstruction efforts. Ironically, Beijing had historically supported UNITA as part of its broader ideological battle with the Soviet Union. By 2006, 45 percent of Angola's oil exports went to China. Two years later, Luanda had become Beijing's largest trading partner in Africa, accounting for 25 percent of China's total continental trade. One of the main drivers of South Africa's recent courting of Angola appears to be the lucrative relations of its BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, China) partners with Luanda in its own back yard. Dos Santos paid his first ever state visit to South Africa in December 2010 where Zuma conferred on him the Order of the Supreme Companion of O.R. Tambo: the highest honour for a foreign citizen. (...) During the crisis in Cote d'Ivoire in

2011, the incumbent president, Laurent Gbagbo, refused to cede power to Alassane Ouattara, despite widespread international support for Ouattara's victory. Angola reportedly provided funds and soldiers to Gbagbo, and following a visit by Dos Santos to South Africa, Zuma refused to recognise Ouattara's victory. The Angolan tail was thus wagging the South African dog, until Tshwane rediscovered its moral compass and recognized Ouattara's victory. Between 2011 and 2012, Luanda – as chair of SADC – and Tshwane – as chair of the SADC security organ – have sought to coordinate their security policies and to promote economic integration in the region. Angola also supported the failed candidacy of South Africa's minister of home affairs, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, to become chair of the AU Commission in January 2012. (...) Where Nigeria – which remains South Africa's largest continental trading partner – was a key strategic ally under Mbeki presidency, Angola could now become South Africa's most important strategic ally in Africa<sup>23</sup>»

Was President Obama really wrong in saying that «Africa needs strong institutions instead of “Strongmen”»? The striking excerpts above make it further obvious that in no way can an African continent under the leadership of “Strongmen” give to the vast majority of African men and women who are suffering, starving, and living in squalor an optimistic view about the future. An African Union remote-controlled by Dos Santos' Angola is precisely the

---

<sup>23</sup> See «No. 210: South Africa and Angola: Southern Africa's Pragmatic Hegemons», Vol. 6, No. 1, April 2012 – Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), by Dr. Adekeye Adebajo – Executive Director of the CCR, Cape Town, South Africa; Link: [http://www.ccr.org.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=802:pr-210&catid=40:press-articles&Itemid=105](http://www.ccr.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=802:pr-210&catid=40:press-articles&Itemid=105).

trap that Brussels EU wanted African people and governments to fall into. It is an apparent trick, a trick which will inevitably prove fatal. The prominence of Dos Santos' Angola in Africa is something orchestrated by those European states and interest groups that have deliberately converted Angola into a mercenary entity in charge of terrorizing Africans across the whole continent so as to make easier the re-conquest of Africa and the re-enslavement of its Black population. How come Angola, whose ruling party (MPLA) is widely and long since known as a progressive party and a trench steady of the revolution in Africa, is now playing such a disgusting role? In this connection, we cannot help reminding ourselves of the timeless belief of our unforgettable Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., we quote: "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." By carelessly accepting the European evil advice to expand its grip over Cabinda in 1975, Angola accepted to become the mercenary entity in charge of frustrating the Cabinda people's legitimate hopes of achieving self-determination and independence. Yet, in doing so, not only Angola is doing a great injustice to Cabinda but also to Angola itself, and, at the same time, to Africa and the world as a whole, if Dr. King is to be believed. Once you are against justice someplace, you are against justice everywhere! Ever since Europeans got Angola to impose its colonial rule over Cabinda, they got Angola to wage war against the United Nations' ideal of universal peace and, ultimately, they got us all trapped in a vicious circle of self-destruction. On the one hand, they encourage Angola not to stubbornly give up its colonial grip over Cabinda, and, on the other, they blackmail the very same Angola into giving in to them, in exchange for their complete indifference to whatever Angola's crime or international wrongdoing. The MPLA regime in Angola is the most murderous regime of our time. And yet, to our

surprise, the European Union has made Dos Santos' regime a "darling" of the international institutions and media. About the total blackout of information regarding Angola's serious crimes of international concern both in Cabinda and Angola itself, among various papers, we believe the one written by the skilled British journalist Lara Pawson is of much assistance; we quote: "More amazing, I thought, was the fact that such a significant period in the country's recent history had been kept so well-hidden: I had never even heard about it. Back then, I was no expert on Angola's modern history but I had read a few books by British and North American academics and journalists focusing on the period since independence. Why had they not mentioned the Nito Alves uprising, and the thousands who were killed<sup>24</sup>?" There is at least an arresting article under the title «The Real Story of The Angola Coup Attempt» written by Douglas Degroot in «Executive Intelligence Review» of July 1977. Although Mr. Degroot begins his paper as follows: "The real story of the May 27 coup attempt in Angola has yet to be told", throughout the text he sounds like someone in possession of the real and exhaustive story. In short, for those of us who possibly are much more documented than Mr. Degroot on this topic, his paper makes him sound as someone who is misrepresenting the facts with a collusive partiality. His paper is both unsettling and interesting, inasmuch as it is full of distortions and of tricky realities over which Angolan and African scholars are required to shed light in order to unmask the dark forces that are in fact behind the

---

<sup>24</sup> See « The 27 May in Angola: a view from below », by Lara Pawson, in "*Revista Relações Internacionais n.º 14*", IPRI (*Instituto Português de Relações Internacionais, Universidade Nova de Lisboa*), Lisbon, June 2007, p. 2.

MPLA-government and all its misdeeds. For instance it says: «The reality, compiled in this exclusive NSIPS report from African and European press accounts and from a series of interviews, is that the Angolan “left” putschists were a band of black racists whose ideology and direction came from exactly the same Western intelligence agencies which had earlier created the right-wing FNLA and UNITA counter-gangs against the Angolan revolution<sup>25</sup>.» His studious text is not only a manifest misrepresentation of the facts but also a brainwashing ‘session’ whose foremost aim is to whitewash the fascist nature and mercenary role of the MPLA-regime, which is remote-controlled by European nations, institutions, and individuals who are keen to re-conquer Africa and re-enslave Black people.

As tragic as the 2012 “civil war” in Syria is, the magnitude of the atrocities and scale of deaths pale in comparison to Cabinda’s calamity. Yet when world leaders meet in New York for the yearly UN General Assembly, Cabinda has never been mentioned. The massacres carried out by Angola are thoroughly ignored by media outlets such as The New York Times, CNN, and the BBC, etc. who are always called to focus on a particular issue elsewhere which has purposely been designated as the “hot spot” of the moment. Thus, who in the West (EU) do you want to give media coverage to Dos Santos’ atrocities the very same way in which media coverage has been given to Saddam Hussein’s, to Colonel

---

<sup>25</sup> See «The Real Story Of The Angola Coup Attempt», by Douglas Degroot, in ‘Executive Intelligence Review’, Exclusive/Africa, New Solidarity International Press Service, Washington, Vol. IV, No. 28, 12 July 1977, p. 58.

Gaddafi's, and to Charles Taylor's? There is none, for Dos Santos is the "Strongman" the European Union has entrusted with the task of tightening security in Cabinda, the rich African location where the world's leading powers (both good friends and fierce antagonists) sit at the same table and cynically share their bloody loot in full international public view. We have got to know that, ever since the country's independence from Portugal in 1975, Angola's ruling party (MPLA) is nothing but a mere tool of the EU imperialism in Africa. Yet the very ruling party is blindly worshiped, by most political leaders of the Third World, as the trench steady of the revolution in Africa. In face of this frustrating reality, one cannot help being disgusted at how so many African kleptocrats<sup>26</sup> and mass murderers, who are doing everything the Slave Traders did to us, are using vacuous anti-imperialist discourse as a convenient loincloth to cover their so shameful crimes.

"In a time of universal deceit, telling the truth is a revolutionary act", states George Orwell. We are in a deceitful time, and Chris Hedges is not wrong at all in saying, one more time: "We now live in a nation where doctors destroy health, lawyers destroy justice, universities destroy knowledge, governments destroy freedom, the press destroys information, religion destroys morals, and our banks destroy the economy." Under the self-evident influence of President Dos Santos of Angola,

---

<sup>26</sup> The word «Kleptocracy» or kleptocracy originates from the Greek and means 'rule by thieves'. In other words, kleptocracy is a form of political and government corruption where the government exists to increase the personal wealth and political power of its official and the ruling class or family at the expense of the wider population. So «kleptocrat» is a full member of a kleptocracy.

African Union is now no more than a subsidiary of the EU in charge of legitimizing European policies throughout the continent. As long as Angola kills those who are telling the truth with respect to Cabinda's legitimate right to regain its political sovereignty, African Union is in no way a positive force for Africa and the entire world. "You have to start with the truth. The truth is the only way that we can get anywhere. Because any decision-making that is based upon lies or ignorance can't lead to a good conclusion." – states Julian Assange. The Organization of African Unity, ancestor of the African Union, has issued a document consistent with Cabinda's right to recover its political sovereignty. Ever since its foundation on 25 May 1963, OAU has in all fairness made a list of the African countries in which Cabinda is the 39th State, with Angola as the 35th. That is the truth, with respect to the relationship between Cabinda and Angola. Consequently, African Union's disregard for that truth, disregard based either upon Angola's lies or its own ignorance, cannot help leading to a catastrophic situation. With Angola making every endeavor to cover up its worldwide war of extermination against the Cabinda people, whose unwillingness to give up our inalienable right to self-determination and independence is more than obvious, our African Union is but a mere tool by means of which Angola is going to eliminate no matter which African leader wishing to help solve the Cabinda issue in pursuance of the truth abovementioned. So let us be warned that in the post-Gaddafi era, the work of the African Union will prove to be by far more damaging to democracy, human rights, and international law in Africa than people can imagine.

In the Gaddafi era, as we can see in the valuable paper of Dr. Adekeye Adebajo of the Centre for Conflict Resolution (excerpt above), the “Strongman” of Angola not only planned covertly to support Jacob Zuma in his presidency bid but also a Zuma-backed military coup against the then South Africa’s President Thabo Mbeki. Here, we are required to visualize the extent to which the arrogance of the Angolan tyrant is authorized to exert itself with impunity. The sole idea of a military coup against a South African Head of State suggests that he has strong guarantees of unconditional support from the world’s leading powers for such undertakings. The paper also makes it clear as for what are the issues at stake and persuades everyone that we are right in believing that, in this post-Gaddafi era, the work of AU is undermined from the outset, and that there will be no African people’s advancement at all. There was/is a “Dos Santos resentment of South Africa’s regional pre-eminence and concerns about Mbeki’s anti-corruption stance in Africa.” In addition to that, the text reads: “It is generally felt that Mbeki wants to enforce First World policies and Western values on African countries.” Here we are at the centre of the whole issue, one that sheds light over the harmful assignment in Africa of Angola’s “Strongman”. What is written above is nothing less than the kleptocrat Dos Santos’ inveterate aversion to a regional or continental pre-eminence of any African country whose leader is desirous not only to fight against corruption in Africa but also to enforce “Western values” on African countries. So, in the eyes of President Dos Santos, what he calls western values, i.e. democracy, respect for human rights, self-determination of peoples, etc. are not to be implemented in Africa. If we understand it correctly, the

progressive President of Angola defends dictatorship, kleptocracy, corruption, mass killings and abduction of civilians, etc. as African values. Now, this man turns out to be the godfather of South Africa's President Jacob Zuma, whose ex-spouse is the present-day Chairperson of the African Union Commission. This man turns out to be the head of the Angolan revolution Douglas Degroot is singing the praises of in his abovementioned paper titled «The Real Story of the Angola Coup Attempt».

In the light of the MPLA-regime's bad performances and the self-evident criminal nature of the so-called Angolan revolution 35 years later, that is after the publication of Mr. Degroot's paper which resounds with the praises of that very regime and revolution, we are entitled to wonder whether or not Mr. Degroot is a mere intercessor of all the wicked western interest groups committed to hindering progress in Africa. He portrays Nito Alves, José Van Dunem, and all their fellows involved in the May 27 coup attempt in Angola (1977) as a band of black racists. Yet, those guys unjustly portrayed as mere racists are so labeled because of the fact that they stood up against corruption, embezzlement, neocolonialism and, of course, the cult of personality designed to give the Head of State a quasi-divine status within the MPLA, i.e. the ruling party. In his paper the reporter asserts, we quote:

«Most of the U.S. press reported that a “pro-Soviet” group which had been purged from the Angolan government, led by Nito Alves and Jose van Dunem, led an uprising against Angolan President Agostinho Neto for the purpose of stopping Neto's plans to establish economic ties with Western capitalism. (...) The defeat of the Alves-Van Dunem operation in Angola, at the cost

of the lives of a number of leading MPLA intellectuals, has far-reaching ramifications both for Africa and internationally. Angola's leadership, having weathered this broad-based insurgency, now stands as the acknowledged cornerstone of the "frontline" states which border South Africa and Rhodesia. (...) As soon as the liberation war was won, Nito Alves began a constant factional battle within the MPLA, attacking the leadership for allowing whites, mulattos and assimilated (educated) Africans in leadership positions, and instead called for more positions to be given to "authentic Africans", attempting to reduce the MPLA and the Angolan government to some variant of "Pan-African socialism". Prior to the May 27 events Neto accused Alves of leading a "black racist faction", and the explicitly racial approach used by Alves is what he has in common with all the other operations that have been thrown against the MPLA. The common thread running through Alves, Holden Roberto, Savimbi, and Chipenda is an avowed racism, in the guise of trying to attain a pure pan-African ideal, an authentic, untainted African regime. The western backers of the anti-MPLA forces became livid with rage when the MPLA invited the Cubans to come to their aid, because the arrival of the Cubans guaranteed that the counterinsurgent, black racist environment being created by Western intelligence networks to eliminate the intellectual leadership of the MPLA could not succeed. Both because of what the Cubans represented politically, and because of their own racial mixture. (...) Ever since independence in the 1960s the CIA has used counter insurgent synthetic ideologies to keep African countries controllable. These ideologies of "negritude" and "African socialism," variations of which were used by Alves as well, are now being

attacked openly by the Angolan leadership, and they have promised to carry this issue to the Organization of African Unity as a whole<sup>27</sup>.»

While unfairly portraying those who wholeheartedly strive for the well-being of their fellow citizens as a “band of black racists” on the one side, on the other the reporter is managing to erect Angola’s leadership – the very same leadership that is viewing democracy and human rights as non-African values – as the acknowledged cornerstone of the “frontline” states. No more need of political definition for the concept “frontline state” in the sense that it is viewed and maliciously worshiped by western left-wingers. As a matter of fact, the role of western both left and right-wing media is to push Western agenda and not to report news. When are Africans going to learn the lesson once and for all? In the West, there are no separations at all between the government’s interests and those of multinational corporations and corporate media. The evidence and record do not suggest otherwise. If truth be told, corporate media have historically acted as assiduous apologists and facilitators of imperialist economic interests in Africa. Once Western governments identify a particular Black leader as “the bad guy”, media are unleashed as the attack dogs to demonize him. When Patrice Lumumba, a nationalist, emerged as Congo’s premier in 1961 after independence from Belgium, he was reviled by the West which feared that the exploitation of the mineral rich country’s resources would end. Obediently,

---

<sup>27</sup> See: «The Real Story Of The Angola Coup Attempt», by Douglas Degroot, in ‘Executive Intelligence Review’, Exclusive/Africa, New Solidarity International Press Service, Washington, Vol. IV, No. 28, July 1977, pp. 58, 63, 66.

corporate media portrayed him as an anti-White (racist), sadistic and irrational communist, hence a danger to Western interests. The “good guys” in the Congo (DRC) were Moïse Tshombe, a collaborationist, and army commander Mobutu Sese Seko, who paved the way for Lumumba’s assassination with the help of the CIA, Belgium and Portugal<sup>28</sup>. Over the next 32 years Mobutu ran the Congo into the ground and stole billions of dollars to the great benefit of his Western masters. Yet he remained a “prominent darling” of the United States and all mightiest European states. Likewise, Angola’s leadership is running its country into the ground while embezzling billions of US dollars every single year. Angola is the biggest oil exporter in Africa, yet its population is amongst the poorest on earth owing to state corruption. However, thanks to this performance Angola’s murderous leadership is acknowledged and praised by Westerners as the cornerstone of the “frontline states”.

It is clear that President Obama’s Africa policy, one that fosters strong institutions instead of “Strongmen”, has no chance but to be diametrically opposed to the views of African dictators and their Western mentors, views according to which democracy and self-determination and human rights are quite simply Western values that have absolutely no place in Africa. At the United Nations, on 25

---

<sup>28</sup> “To relieve the pressure in Angola, I decide to support the secession of Katanga in the former Belgian Congo and the Communist Lumumba is executed” – (*Para aliviar a pressão em Angola apoio a secessão catanguesa do ex-Congo Belga e o comunista Lumumba é justicado*); in «*Biografia de António de Oliveira Salazar – Político e Estadista: 1889-1970*», by Fernando Correia da Silva; Related link: <http://www.vidaslusofonas.pt/-salazar.htm>.

September 2012, the first African-American US President did reiterate his firm belief that freedom and self-determination are not simply Western values but rather universal ones. In other words, he is convinced that government of the people, by the people and for the people is more likely to bring about the stability and prosperity and individual opportunity that serve as a basis for peace in our world. On 28 and 29 November 2012, the United States and the African Union (AU) met in Washington for the third annual U.S.-AU High Level Meetings. ‘The discussions focused on how the AU and the US can work together to address challenges and opportunities of mutual interest in order to promote global peace and development. It was an opportunity for the two parties to discuss a number of issues, including the leadership role the African Union plays throughout the continent in promoting a prosperous Africa at peace with itself. In addition, this third U.S.-AU High Level Meetings covered the full range of mutual priorities, including strengthening democratic institutions and good governance; spurring prosperity through trade, investment, and regional economic integration; and, *inter alia*, advancing peace and security, including in several current conflict situations<sup>29</sup>,’ etc.

With both his inaugural speech in January 2009 and the one at the Parliament of Ghana in Accra in July of the same year, President Obama showed his seriousness and trustworthiness in setting the tone and the framework for action and positive “Change” in Africa. Four years later,

---

<sup>29</sup> See «Joint Statement on the Third Annual U.S.-AU High Level Meeting», U.S. Department of State, Office of the Spokesperson, Washington, December 2012; Link: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/12/201552.htm>.

those of us who still rely on his trustworthiness as far as peace and justice in Africa are concerned, find ourselves laughed at by those Europeans who put in place and control the mammoth obstacle to a health-giving “Change” in the glorious continent of the timeless and splendid Queen Meresankh III. The Angolan “Strongman” and those Europeans who put him in power and control him prove to be the gigantic obstacle to peace, justice, and integral development in Africa. Since all Black men and women whose striving is to give hope to the hopeless and to help Africa make the type of progress that time demands, are automatically portrayed by the European gurus of African “Strongmen” as “a band of black racists”, hence qualified to be killed at any cost, the so wonderful objectives of the third U.S.-AU High Level Meetings are quite simply bound to fail. Setting aside the African “Strongmen”, there is in the United States itself, as well as in Europe, a number of political and economical actors with a deep-rooted fear<sup>30</sup> of a mighty and prosperous Africa once again. These guys are ready to do everything they can to keep up the *status quo* in Mother Africa, in order for the European Union member states to continue living off African countries, while taking pleasure in seeing and giving media coverage to Blacks living in squalor. Yet they proclaim themselves to be Christians! However, we firmly claim that in order for the leadership role the African Union plays throughout the continent to be effectual, in its struggle to promote a prosperous Africa

---

<sup>30</sup> Napoleon Bonaparte: “My decision to destroy the authority of the blacks in Saint Domingue (Haiti) is not so much based on considerations of commerce and money, as on the need to block for ever the march of the blacks in the world.”

at peace with itself, the freeing of South Africa from the Angolan political yoke is a *sine qua non*. Though, this presupposes the freeing of Cabinda from the Angolan colonial occupation and plundering. For God's sake, let us practice an objective impartiality in picturing once more the present-day relationship between the Angolan despotism and South Africa, which happens to be the motherland of the prevailing Chairperson of the AU Commission, so we can grasp the extent of President Dos Santos' stranglehold on the South African government. "During the crisis in Cote d'Ivoire in 2011, the incumbent president, Laurent Gbagbo, refused to cede power to Alassane Ouattara, despite widespread international support for Ouattara's victory. Angola reportedly provided funds and soldiers to Gbagbo, and following a visit by Dos Santos to South Africa, Zuma refused to recognize Ouattara's victory. The Angolan tail was thus wagging the South African dog, until Tshwane rediscovered its moral compass and recognized Ouattara's victory." As we know, Angola also supported the candidacy of South Africa's minister of home affairs, Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, to become chair of the AU Commission in January 2012. As a matter of interest, in diplomacy there is always give and take on all sides. Among the mutual priorities the third annual round of U.S.-AU High Level Meetings covered, the joint statement includes "advancing peace and security, including in several current conflict situations". The ongoing disagreement between Cabinda and Angola is one of the several current conflict situations. The question that arises here is whether or not South Africa's President and the Chairperson of the AU Commission are free enough to grasp the «Cabinda issue» with both hands. Again, there will be neither peace nor prosperity in Africa with leaders like Angola's, who are convinced that democracy, human

rights, and self-determination of peoples are Western values that have no place in Africa.

In the late 1990s, believing South Africa has an international legal and moral obligation to help solve the Cabinda issue, the Cabindan National Movement did everything it could until President Mbeki administration became well acquainted with this long-standing but ever urgent issue. As a result, President Thabo Mbeki showed inclination to offer his good offices to try to resolve it. As a proof, on the occasion of the South African Freedom Day, the then Ambassador of South Africa to France and UNESCO, in this instance Her Excellency Mrs. Thuthukile E. Skweyiya, invited amicably the founder and actual Chairman of the Cabindan National Movement, Mr. Bartolomeu Capita, to be among her guests at the palatial reception that she help on Friday 27 April 2001, in the sumptuous reception rooms of the International Conference Center in Paris. Since most diplomatic corps in Paris (including Angola's) were invited, the Ambassador's good-hearted intention was to have this informal contact between Cabindans and Angolans as a prelude to subsequent formal meetings aimed at resolving once and for all the colonial conflict in question. At that time, the prevailing Chairperson of the AU Commission, the much loved and admired Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, was South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs. Ambassador Skweyiya's good move allowed Mr. Capita to get to know and discuss with various diplomats but also to speak to the diplomats of the Angolan embassy in Paris who were at this event, particularly the first secretary who politely agreed that the matter required a long-lasting solution resulting from a negotiating table.

Yet a few days after the Ambassador Skweyiya's well-meant gesture, we surprisingly came to know the extent to which this gesture had angered the Angolans and, curiously, the French. In short, there has never been a second meeting between Cabindans and Angolans under the aegis of South Africa. Apart from that, President Mbeki became since then a man labeled, by those in the West committed to hindering progress in Africa, as an anti-White, a communist, and a danger to Western interests. As soon as he was identified as "the bad guy", as always, media were unleashed as the attack dogs to demonize him. We all know, for instance, the extent to which his calm diplomacy in Zimbabwe was blamed for supposedly protecting the survival of Robert Mugabe's regime at the cost of thousands of lives, and the extent to which he received worldwide criticism for his AIDS stance. All that paved the way for his being recalled by his political party, the ANC, request he acceded to as an inveterate democrat, a committed and loyal member of the ANC for more than 50 years. President Mbeki formally announced his resignation on 21 September 2008. It must, however, be noted that the very western media and political actors who "cared" about the thousands of Zimbabwean people who were/are paying the cost of Mugabe's regime, appear to be the same who are protecting Dos Santos' colonial regime and abuse of power at the expense of hundreds of thousands of lives in Cabinda and millions in Angola itself. Hence, on the basis of what has been set forth above it must be concluded that Cabinda is being deprived of its political sovereignty only by European powers and respective African servants ("Strongmen") who are decisively at war with legality and democratic values. In any rate, the

supremacy of justice on arbitrary being real, it is permissible for the Cabinda people to rely on the goodwill of freedom-loving nations and justice-loving States.

Africa needs courageous leaders and strong institutions! In this connection, we cannot help agreeing with the noted Chief Strategy Officer Mike Myatt – « Courage is a trait possessed by all great leaders. So much so, that leadership absent courage is nothing short of a farce. I'm not advocating for bravado, arrogance, or an overabundance of hubris, but the courage to stay the course and to do the right things.»

### 1.7. Angola's "Strongman" is a European Union Servant

The prevailing Angola's Strongman, President José Eduardo dos Santos, is a member of the ruling party (MPLA) that is remote-controlled by France ever since the 1960s, i.e. well before the country's independence from Portugal in 1975. The whole story regarding this extremely discreet French sponsorship for the MPLA is developed somewhere else in this very work. For now, let us just take a look at the facts that make manifest the revengeful role played by a handful European citizens and States with the aim of turning the "independent" Angola into what exactly it is nowadays. For its part, the European Union endorsed its members' nasty policies concerning Angola ever since the organization's coming into being on 11 November 1993. We cannot help mentioning, by the way, the fact that «11 November» is the very same day Angola gained political independence

from Portugal in 1975. What is obvious is the fact that, in the Portuguese decolonization process (1974-1975), there are two European figures playing the leading role, in this instance Dr. Mário Alberto Nobre Lopes Soares and Admiral António Alva Rosa Coutinho. These two men will go down in history as those who have laid the first stone in the construction of the present-day destructive Angola by means of the most murderous regime ever. It is worth to have a small picture about the two men before we hear a prominent scholar's evaluation of the Portuguese decolonization in which the two appear to be the main characters.

In the aftermath of the Carnation Revolution that took place on 25 April 1974 in Portugal and overthrew Salazar's regime, Mário Soares became minister of overseas negotiations, charged with organizing the independence of Portugal's overseas colonies. He subsequently became prime minister (1976-1978/1983-1985), and then President of Portugal (1986-1996). We cannot help mentioning, as a matter of interest, that Mário Soares was a refugee in France from 1970 through 1974.

During the Carnation Revolution António Rosa Coutinho was one of the officers who made up the *Junta de Salvação Nacional* (JSN), and he was promoted from captain to vice-Admiral shortly after. In fact, he was not particularly significant figure in the first few months after the restoration of "democracy", but he soon gained prominence as the official in charge of the dismantlement of the PIDE<sup>31</sup>. At the end of July 1974, Rosa Coutinho

---

<sup>31</sup> «Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado» or PIDE (International and State Defense Police).

became president of the Council of Governors of Angola. In September he was confirmed in this position by the Portuguese National Defense Council, becoming High Commissioner of Angola. He would remain in this position until the signing of the Alvor Agreement (15 January 1975) between the Portuguese and the three competing liberation movements – the FNLA, the MPLA, and UNITA. His actions in Angola proved to be favorable towards the MPLA. Admiral Coutinho defended the territorial integrity of Angola against the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC) then backed by both Congo-Brazzaville and Zaïre (DRC).

In his scholarly «Remarks and Evaluation of the Portuguese decolonization», Dr. Fausto de Quadros asseverates, we quote: “The decolonization of Portuguese territories suffered from two serious juridical defects. Firstly, it did not respect the right to self-determination, since in no case were the decolonized peoples consulted concerning their future. Instead, a necessary link between decolonization and independence was established, although the peoples in question could have determined their own future in a direction other than independence, as confirmed by UN General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, by the Constitutional Act 7/74 and by spokesmen for the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement. Secondly, the error was made of mistaking territories under colonial domination with overseas territories discovered and peopled by Portugal, such as the archipelagos of Cap Verde and Sao Tome and Principe, which should have been given the same status as the archipelagos of Madeira and the Azores, concerning which the question of decolonization never

arose. Apart from this, the criteria used in the choice of the liberation movements with which to negotiate the independence of the African territories were very subjective. (...) An intention of transferring political power to those movements which at the time claimed to be followers of Marxism-Leninism and were dependent on the Soviet bloc is clearly evident here. ...In the light of the responsibility which Portugal had towards her colonies throughout five centuries and noting the colonizing work she left there, expressed in racial sociability and cultural promotion, of which Brazil is a case in point, Portugal should have ensured a more just decolonization, as the decolonized peoples themselves wanted and deserved<sup>32</sup>.»

Dr. Fausto de Quadros' retrospect not only sheds light over the undemocratic and arbitrary way in which the Portuguese decolonization process had been handled, but also gives a very startling picture of the European Union's real "soul" as far as justice, peace, and democracy in Africa are concerned. Though what worsens the image of the EU, in endorsing the arbitrary decolonization process of Angola and Cabinda by the Europeanists Mário Soares and Rosa Coutinho, is the fact that such decolonization was not an accidental occurrence. Everything had carefully been calculated in advance by the future architects of the European Union. The thing is that, well before Dr. Mário Soares and Admiral Rosa Coutinho came into view as the men playing the leading role in that process, there was General

---

<sup>32</sup> Fausto de Quadros, *Decolonization: Portuguese Territories*, in: R. Bernhardt (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Volume I (1992), p. 990.

António Sebastião Ribeiro de Spínola who has struggled to ensure what Dr. De Quadros calls “a more just decolonization”. General De Spínola became the most important man in the transition to democracy following the Portuguese Carnation Revolution, inasmuch as he became the 14th President of Portugal (15 May 1974 – 30 September 1974). Shortly after the Carnation Revolution, President Spínola met with US President Richard Nixon on 18 June 1974. He sought the support of the United States to achieve a peaceful and successful decolonization, bearing in mind the provision of Articles 5 and 6 of the North Atlantic Treaty (on the guarantee of mutual military assistance in the event of external threats) signed on 4 April 1949. Unfortunately, the Summit between these two NATO members did not yield the anticipated results. Let us pay due attention to the fact that the United States could have avoided the chaotic situation in which the Angolan and Cabinda peoples are forced to live beneath the worth of the rats in the sewers. Motivated by his justice-loving nature, President Spínola decided to not stand by and allow the triumph of evil. He thus ordered Portuguese officials in Cabinda to invite FLEC leaders in exile in the Congo (DRC) for talks meant to lay the groundwork for Cabinda’s path to self-determination and independence. FLEC’s vice-president, Mr. Henriques Tiago Nzita, who later proved to be a French protégé, was the head of the FLEC delegation sent to Cabinda for the talks in question. Regrettably, Tiago Nzita did nothing but intentionally undermine negotiations by rejecting all Portuguese proposals and prompting the grass-roots masses to commit violence against Portuguese citizens. Therefore, President Spínola first attempt to find a negotiated political solution with Cabindans ended in failure. We might mention that as

vice-president of FLEC, Mr. Tiago Nzita was but a mere undercover agent who has consistently worked to further occult European interests through coordination with the Mobutu regime in Zaïre. Yet in spite of all this, President Spínola remained unwilling to abdicate his responsibilities. By means of a telegram, he invited Mr. Luís Ranque Franque (the legitimate President of FLEC) to Sal Island in Cape Verde for a face to face<sup>33</sup> on 15 September 1974, a face to face meant to sign an agreement on *de jure* recognition by Portugal of the right of the people of Cabinda to self-determination and independence. This time, it is to Mobutu himself the nasty mission to torpedo President Spínola's charitable effort to restore Cabinda's political sovereignty was given. Since Mr. Franque was a refugee in his country, Motutu just prevented him from going to Cape Verde Islands and he, Mobutu, went to meet with General Spínola. So the bilateral summit between President Spínola and Ranque Franque did not occur. Mobutu tried to dissuade the Portuguese from seeking negotiations with Cabindans, stating he had a document signed by Tiago Nzita that advocated Cabinda absorption as a province of the Zaïre. And let us be remembered that in August 1974, a few days before the «D» day of the abovementioned face to face, the French President Valéry Giscard-d'Estaing met with Zaïre's despot Mobutu Sese Seko in Kinshasa. President Spínola's 'stubbornness' in trying to assume his international legal and moral responsibilities with regard to Cabinda forced the Masters

---

<sup>33</sup> The purposes of the meeting in the Cape Verde Islands were reported by the Portuguese newspaper República in an article dated 11 October 1974.

of the New World Order to label him as a danger to “Western interests”. Consequently, his respect for democratic and moral values cost him his presidential seat on 30 September 1974, the day he was removed from office. In actual fact, he had to be thrown out to pave the way for Mário Soares and Rosa Coutinho’s access to Portugal’s high political realm so they could implement the evil policies that had to lead to the disastrous situation we are in today. What transpires from all those occurrences meant to make possible an undemocratic and arbitrary Portuguese decolonization in 1974-1975, is that the whole game was played at the same time by both left and right-wing conspirators. In other words, left and right-wing ideologies have become empty talk, inasmuch as all political parties and respective ideologies work for the same bozos, i.e. the powerful interest groups. Here, we cannot help recalling Dr. Paul Craig Roberts’ pertinent insight valid not only for Washington, but for most western capitals and political parties: “Washington is controlled by powerful interest groups, not by elections. What the two parties fight over is not alternative political visions and different legislative agendas, but which party gets to be the whore for Wall Street, the military-security complex, Israel Lobby, etc...” However, the concealed guiding principle of the present-day Western political parties remote-controlled by business interests, is the general European interest, i.e. the «White Supremacy» over the rest of the human family. No need for particular evidences to believe that wherever business interests gain supremacy over others democracy cannot help being threatened, or even murdered. It is absolutely clear that no people on earth can implement a pretended supremacy of its race over others by democratic ways and means. Clearly, the European Union is an anti-democratic values

and respect for other cultures. Just open the eyes and take a close look at how European citizens and governments who show reluctance to promptly endorse the «White Supremacy» ideology are systematically vilified and dismantled respectively. For argument's sake, let us think of notable figures such as the abovementioned Portuguese General De Spínola, the Swiss Prof. Jean Ziegler<sup>34</sup>, the Dutch Prof. Ruud Lubbers<sup>35</sup>, end so forth.

After serious consideration, it is obvious that it was in full consciousness that Europeans and European-Americans did torpedo Portuguese attempts to undertake a fair and democratic decolonization of Angola and Cabinda. Well before the Carnation Revolution in

---

<sup>34</sup> Apart from being a former professor of sociology at the University of Geneva and the Sorbonne in Paris Prof. Ziegler was a Member of Parliament for the Social Democrats in the Federal Assembly of Switzerland from 1981 to 1999. He has also held several positions with the United Nations, especially as Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food from 2002 to 2008, and as a member of the Advisory Committee of the United Nations Human Rights Council from 2008 to 2012. He has authored numerous works and he not only is well-known for his sentence: "A child who dies from hunger is a murdered child", but also for his criticism about the Swiss banks protecting assets of dictators like Mobutu Sese Seko, former President of Zaire (now DRC). In 1994 he had proposed to the Swiss parliament to confiscate the finances of Mobutu and give it back to the country after the end of Mobutu's dictatorship, but his proposal was refused. He is one of those White humanists less loved by the European supremacists nowadays.

<sup>35</sup> In May 2004 Prof. Ruud Lubbers, then United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), from 2001 through 2005, was nastily accused by Cynthia Brzak, an American UNHCR employee, of sexual harassment following a meeting in his office that was attended by two other UNHCR staff members. After a meeting with the then UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan on 18 February 2005, he resigned as High Commissioner on 20 February 2005, stating to the press: "For more than four years I gave all my energy to UNHCR. To be frank, despite all my loyalty, insult has now been added to injury and therefore I resign as High Commissioner."

Portugal in 1974, Europeans and European-Americans whose guiding ideology is «White Supremacy» knew they had to hinder Cabinda's attainment of independence at any cost and, in Angola, to hand over power to the MPLA alone. Do you still want to know why? Douglas Degroot's paper titled «The Real Story of The Angola Coup Attempt» in Executive Intelligence Review, mentioned in the preceding pages, is what says it all: "The common thread running through Alves, Holden Roberto, Savimbi, and Chipenda is an avowed racism, in the guise of trying to attain a pure pan-African ideal, an authentic, untainted African regime. The western backers of the anti-MPLA forces became livid with rage when the MPLA invited the Cubans to come to their aid, because the arrival of the Cubans guaranteed that the counterinsurgent, black racist environment being created by Western intelligence networks to eliminate the intellectual leadership of the MPLA could not succeed." Furthermore, on page 60 of the same Executive Intelligence Review, Mr. Degroot purposely tramples on the legitimate right of the Cabinda people to self-determination and independence by portraying the Cabinda freedom fighters as anti-MPLA gangs. Just like Patrice Lumumba and all other African leaders who have unjustly been portrayed as anti-White people and a danger to Western interests owing to their ambition and political will to provide their respective peoples with acceptable living conditions and future, Holden Roberto, Nito Alves, and Jonas Savimbi have long since been labeled as anti-MPLA, henceforth anti-White and a danger to Western interests. If truth be told, in the eyes of the European Union that treasures the MPLA-regime as its most loyal servant in Africa, to show oneself as Roberto, Savimbi or Alves supporter in today's Angola

is to disclose oneself as an anti-White, which Angolans must know is a deadly sin. Bearing all that in mind, you no longer need to ask yourself why is the European Union, as well as the United States, used to downplaying the MPLA-regime's international crimes in Cabinda, or even its habitual electoral fraud. Likewise, no need to ask ourselves why is Cabinda's lawful right to regain its political sovereignty trampled upon by the European Union. Through the Executive Intelligence Review, the «White Supremacy» has long since sentenced the Cabinda people's political right to death, inasmuch as the Cabinda freedom fighters are considered to be anti-MPLA gangs, which, in the European eyes, is just another name for anti-West.

Dr. Wolfgang Kreissel-Dörfler, a German politician and Member of the European Parliament since 1994 (...) with the Social Democratic Party of Germany, is a voice that should count, with respect to Angola, for the mere reason that he has acted in Angola (1992) as UN election observer and, apart from that, has worked as expert of the German Agrarian Action (Deutsche Welthungerhilfe) in Angola (1986-1987) and, for sure, remains attentive to all happenings in that African country. On the very day of the presidential election of 2012 in Angola, the noted German Deputy in the European Parliament charged the President of the EU Commission, i.e. Mr. Manuel D. Barroso, with putting Portuguese interests over Angolan democracy. He blamed the President of the EU Commission for the absence of a delegation of European observers in Angola and firmly criticized the spread of corruption in that former Portuguese colony. In the eyes of the German politician, the Portuguese citizen Barroso who is the Chief of the EU Commission is also

responsible for Angola not becoming a democratic country. Since Portugal and Angola have major economic links, Mr. Barroso wants nothing but consolidate how good for Portugal (EU) is the work of the Angolan regime. And yet that is exactly what Mr. Kreissel-Dörfler considers «wrong». “But if the MPLA (the ruling party) wins, and looks like it is going to win, then José Eduardo dos Santos will stay in power for over ten years and family/clans will determine life there<sup>36</sup>.”, he concluded.

The weird conduct of the European Union, in the person of the President of its Commission, is likewise denounced by a Portuguese Deputy in the European Parliament. We are talking about Mrs. Ana Maria Rosa Martins Gomes, better know as Ana Gomes. She is familiar with issues in Angola where she was Member of the European Parliament’s Election Observation Missions in 2008. *Inter alia*, she observes, we quote: “Contrary to what happened in 2008, the EU did not follow the elections in Angola with an electoral observation mission – that, for a country of this size, should involve at least about a hundred professionals. This time the EU sent only two experts to Luanda (and they are making extremely interesting reports). The Angolan election observation was not considered a priority by the EU – and the European Parliament has weighed in favor of that decision. (...) Angola was not considered a priority country because of the understanding on the political significance of what happened in 2008 and on the Angolan authorities having ignored the recommendations of the then European election observation mission, as a spokesman for the EU

---

<sup>36</sup> The following link gives access to the «DW.DE» audio tape: <http://www.dw.de/elei%C3%A7%C3%B5es-em-angola-recebem-cr%C3%ADticas-de-pol%C3%ADtico-alem%C3%A3o/a-16212736-1>.

explained recently. In other words, the EU concluded, by the experience of 2008 and subsequent Government attitude, that there was in Angolan authorities no desire to have independent observation. (...) Of course the Angolan opposition, in various quarters, insisted that it wanted the EU observation. But when President Durão Barroso visited Luanda a few months ago, rather than make greater effort to convince those to whom he was talking that it would be in the interest of Angola to have EU observers, sensed the Government disposition and, far-sighted (for the presidential campaign to fund in a few years), tried to silence the opposition, invoking UE's budgetary crisis. At the same time, I am told, to please the Government side, he tried to show off that the Angolan democracy has reached the stage that makes it exempt from observations<sup>37</sup>."

While the Angolan natives asked for a European Union observation to ensure a transparent electoral process and thus move democracy forward, the President of the EU Commission, Mr. Barroso, openly showed his absolute contempt for the Angolan people's profound desire to have a genuine democratic country where the fundamental rights and freedoms of every man and woman are no longer neglected. Guess what? «Dr. Rath Health Foundation» is fully right! Once again: "The European Union portrays itself to the world as a role model for 21st century democracy. However... the Brussels EU construct is anything but a democracy." Is

---

<sup>37</sup> «*Eleições em Angola – sem observadores da UE*» – (“Elections in Angola – no EU observers”), by Ana Gomes, on 31 August 2012; Link: <http://causa-nossa.blogspot.pt/2012/08/eleicoes-em-angola-sem-observadores-da.html>.

not it very strange that the very EU prominent figure who has undervalued or even despised the Angolan and Cabinda peoples' claims a few months earlier be today (15 December 2012) a man supposedly striving for democracy and happiness on behalf of the people of Guinea-Bissau? On 17 October 2012, in the Cape Verde capital, the President of the EU Commission, Durão Barroso, said that the crisis in Guinea-Bissau is linked to drug trafficking and called for reform of the defense and security sector. To underscore EU's "justice-loving" nature, he went on to say: "It is with great regret that I see the sacrificed people of Guinea, hostage of obscure interests that has not permitted the country to assert itself as a viable State. It is important once and for all that a serious reform of the security sector is brought to completion and that republican armed forces that are at the service of political power and not the other way around are created. It is important that all regional and international organizations cooperate in this regard. There is no place here for institutional rivalries. ECOWAS, CPLP, the African Union, the European Union and the United Nations should work closely so as to overcome the current situation and help the people of Guinea-Bissau<sup>38</sup>." For reference, on 12 April 2012, a bloodless military coup took place in that African Portuguese speaking country, right? Shortly after, on Thursday 19 April 2012, the Guinea-Bissau's Military spokesman, Lieutenant-colonel Daba Na Walna, declared, we quote:

---

<sup>38</sup> «UE está disposta a financiar combate ao narcotráfico na região Ocidental Africana, garante Durão Barroso» – ("The EU is willing to finance the fight against drug trafficking in the West African region, says Barroso"), by Sic Notícias; Related link: <http://sicnoticias.sapo.pt/mundo/2012/10/27/ue-esta-disposta-a-financiar-combate-ao-narcotrafico-na-regiao-ocidental-africana-garante-durao-barroso>.

“The Angolan mission in Bissau was acting like an armed faction of the government and the army had acted in self-defense, as they believed they were to be decapitated.” Let us once again be remembered that the MPLA-regime (Angola), which, according to Mr. Degroot, stands as the acknowledged cornerstone of the “frontline” States, is but a regime remote-controlled by European nations, institutions, and individuals who are keen to re-conquer Africa and re-enslave Black people.

In an interesting article in Portuguese published by VOA (Voice of America) on Monday 10 December 2012, the UN Secretary-General Dr. Ban Ki-moon is reported to have said: “efforts are being carried out to settle a political roadmap drawn up by the African Union, the UN, the European Union, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Community of the Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP) in consultation with the Guinean political forces to restore the constitutional order<sup>39</sup>.” On Thursday 13 December 2012, the very VOA issued an article about the arrival of such International Mission (UN, AU, ECOWAS, CPLP, and EU) to Guinea-Bissau on Sunday 16 December. *Inter alia*, the article reads: “There have been disagreements between some of these organizations on the position to be adopted in respect of the transitional Government that took power in Guinea-Bissau after the military coup of April. While CPLP and the United Nations have insisted on that country’s return to constitutional order, ECOWAS

---

<sup>39</sup> «*Ban Ki-moon quer roteiro internacional para a Guiné-Bissau*» – (“Ban Ki-moon wants an international roadmap for Guinea-Bissau”), by Redacção VOA, related link: <http://www.voaportugues.com/content/guine-bissau-security-council/1562150.html>.

supported the formation of a transitional Government that will result in general elections, having dispatched to the country a military and police force to oversee the transition process. In a report to the United Nations Security Council this week the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon suggested there are no conditions for the holding of elections<sup>40</sup>.” It is clear that the UN Secretary-General is under strong pressures from the EU, AU, and CPLP at the same time. In the exercise of his duties, the UN Secretary-General is the symbol of the United Nations ideal of universal peace and the spokesman for the interests of the world’s peoples, in particular the poor and vulnerable among them. That said, the visible EU pressure on him based on the evil principle of «Might is Right» is neither helping the UN nor the EU itself, particularly the President of its Commission. As a matter of fact, coercing the UN Secretary-General into endorsing the policies of an anti-democratic State like Angola makes people view the United Nations’ deeds as meant to promote particular agendas. And, in addition to that, prevents the UN Secretary-General from standing comfortably as the symbol of the United Nations ideal of universal peace. As pitiful as the situation in Guinea-Bissau was, the extent of the atrocities and scale of deaths pale in comparison to Cabinda and DRC’s calamities. Yet the President of the EU Commission is neither urging the UN and the AU to help stop once and for all the ongoing killings in the Congo (DRC) nor doing his best to put an end to Angola’s illegal and illegitimate occupation of Cabinda and the ensuing maintenance by force of colonial domination. However, in

---

<sup>40</sup> «*Missão Internacional chega a Bissau no Domingo*» – (“International Mission comes to Bissau on Sunday”), by Lassana Casamá/VOA, Link: <http://www.voaportugues.com/content/mission-to-arrive-in-bissau/1564398.html>.

Guinea-Bissau, if the truth be told, the foreign interests behind Mr. Barroso (EU) do not match at all with those of the people of that African country. Now that Angola, the powerful African country remote-controlled by the EU, is having full control over the AU through South Africa, apart from the influence it exerts on the CPLP, the re-conquest of Africa and the re-enslavement of Black people by the European Union are taking place in the not too distant future.

On 12 December 2012, the US Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of African Affairs, in this instance Ambassador Johnny Carson, suggested that much attention should be paid to the situation in the Congo, saying: “The security and humanitarian situation in the Congo is the most volatile of all of Africa<sup>41</sup>”, whereas the President of the EU Commission is throwing all his political weight to get his egoistic objectives in Guinea-Bissau legitimized by the UN, CPLP, and the African Union. A word to the wise is enough! The “White Supremacy”, which is the soul of the EU, does not give up its reluctance to promote a prosperous Africa at peace with itself. At this point in time, the European Union is but the most serious impediment to President Obama’s profound and sincere desire to help Africa make the type of progress that time demands. In this regard, it is of utmost importance that we take a close look at Prof. Nicolas Agbohoun’s invaluable book *«Le Franc CFA et l’Euro contre l’Afrique»* to learn much more about the criminal mechanism by means of which the European

---

<sup>41</sup> «EUA consideram situação humanitária no Congo a mais volátil de África»-(“USA considers humanitarian situation in the Congo as the most volatile of Africa”); <http://www.voaportugues.com/content/us-congo/1563582.html>.

Union lives off Africa. All in all, President Obama's Inaugural Address on 20 January 2009 is something the EU is still having a great deal of difficulty in digesting. He spelled it out pretty clearly and bluntly: "And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to suffering outside our borders; nor can we consume the world's resources without regard to effect. For the world has changed, and we must change with it." Does the European Union, which received the 2012 Nobel Peace Prize on December 10, allegedly for preserving peace in Europe, believe that the taste of peace must also be savored by those who have been denied it? Not at all!

### 1.8. Why is EU distracting International Attention from the Congo?

Far more than 8 million Congolese men and women have been killed since we applauded the removal of the dictator Mobutu Sese Seko in 1997 in the Congo (DRC) and the situation is worsening day by day. We also know quite well the full responsibility of Belgium (EU) in the destruction of the Congo for a very long time. Yet, instead of throwing its political weight to put an end to the world's hugest butchery going on in the Congo, the President of the EU Commission is making every endeavor to distract international attention from the carnage in question. For sure there is a «why?». First of all, we must consider the fact that Mr. Barroso is trying to do everything he can to become President of Portugal in the near future. Clearly, he is in need of funding

partners for his forthcoming presidential campaign. If the Portuguese Deputy in the European Parliament Ana Gomes is to be believed, the prospect of having the Angolan tyrant as his main funding partner explains why the EU did not follow the elections in Angola with an electoral observation mission. Mrs. Ana Gomes' observation, by the way, is neither a new thing nor a disclosure, inasmuch as it is well known to the entire world that African «Strongmen» are the ones who provide the financial resources<sup>42</sup> European politicians need for their presidential campaigns.

Secondly, since the role of the MPLA-regime in Angola, particularly in occupying Cabinda and in helping the European Union re-conquer Africa and subsequently re-enslave its Black population, is of utmost importance to EU strategically speaking, Mr. Barroso can do nothing with respect to the ongoing butchery in the Congo but distract international attention from it. The illegal and illegitimate occupation of Cabinda by Angola is economically, politically, and strategically beneficial to the European Union to such an extent that the thought alone of restoring Cabinda's political sovereignty is a sheer blasphemy in the eyes of the President of the EU Commission. The fact of the matter is that you cannot agree to solve the Congo issue without agreeing to resolve the problem of Cabinda all at once. In other words, an authentic constitutional State in a pacified Congo is not a "healthy stuff" for Angola and, hence, for EU and all other powers that live off Cabinda and the

---

42 « La République des malles – Enquête sur la principauté française de non-droit », ("The Republic of the suit cases – Investigation on the French principality of lawlessness"), by Pierre Péan, Fayard 2011, pp. 113-114.

Congo today. Aware of President Obama's deep-rooted dream of an Africa free of poverty thanks to its immense and enviable natural resources, to hinder him from making his dream happen the «White Supremacy» of both left and right-wing are at work. On the one side they are distracting him from all African issues by relentlessly trying to involve him in major wars in the Middle East, and on the other they are attempting to create their own African issues he should pay attention to. Thus the EU is carrying out a policy of bloodshed, imperialism, enslavement, and racial discrimination; an authentic Machiavellian policy.

It is «Africa» that we see in the strategic plans of the «White Supremacy» of both the left and right-wing under the tactful supervision of NATO. The complete re-conquest of Africa and the subsequent ejection of China from it appear to be the chief goal of the EU whose member countries' economies are, one after another, experiencing the greatest crisis since Europe's Fourteenth-Century 'New Dark Age'. Though, long lasting control of African natives and the entailed plundering of Africa's natural wealth and resources seems absolutely impossible as long as countries like Iran, Syria, Iraq, Pakistan, India, Japan, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Libya, China, Afghanistan, Indonesia, and all other renowned protagonists of the Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung (Indonesia) in 1955 are around and relatively strong enough to, once again, make common cause with the oppressed and exploited fellow African peoples. That said, every single protagonist of the 1955 Bandung Conference is a NATO-led EU target and, sooner or later, each one will end up being victim of racist and political bullying.

The EU's obvious attempt to create its own African issues to which President Obama should pay attention is but an attempt to raise a tree meant to hide the "forest". The carnage in the Congo and the serious crimes Angola's illegal occupation of Cabinda entails are so lucrative to the EU that, to maintain the status quo, it has to resort to the use of double standards, and hypocrisy, i.e. the use of a noisy and outright propaganda intended to demonize the leaders of Guinea-Bissau who it wants to portray as Africa's greatest evil ever on which Washington should exclusively focus. As abovementioned, in the Cape Verde capital, on 17 October 2012, Mr. Barroso stood up with all the political weight of a President of the EU Commission to convince the entire world that "the crisis in Guinea-Bissau is linked to drug trafficking." Lies, threats, blackmails, and bribes have become common practice in international relations, more particularly when the mighty nations and governmental organizations want the powerless ones to pledge allegiance to them. Apart from being an extremely malicious wording meant to twist the truth, the linkage of that crisis to «drug trafficking» is the strongest possible term purposely selected to run the Guinean authorities into the ground. In all this Mr. Barroso comes into view as a rude boxer rather than a diplomat par excellence. Astute diplomacy and wisdom should figure among the hallmarks of his leadership style! Unfortunately, we are witnessing a self-evident bullying instead. Yet, what severely taints the whole image of the President of the EU Commission is the fact that he is simply echoing what is dictated by the President of Angola, the Black tyrant from whom he expects to get his presidential campaign financed. The truth is that the linkage of that crisis to «drug trafficking» is, before it became Mr. Barroso's revengeful propaganda, Angola's. On Monday 7 May 2012, less than

a month after the bloodless coup d'État that overthrew the Guinean regime mentored by the despot of Angola, the Angolan Foreign minister, Georges Chikoti, appealed to the Security Council to make an effort toward the immediate restoring of constitutional order, reinstatement of Guinea Bissau's legitimate Government and conclusion of the electoral process, including the adoption of sanctions against the military and civilians involved in the coup d'État. Chikoti was addressing the UN Security Council special session on the situation in Guinea-Bissau, in his capacity as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Portuguese Speaking Community. To demonize his opponents (coup leaders) in the eyes of the UN Security Council and thus make his plea prevail, Chikoti declared Monday (7th May) in New York that the intentions expressed by Guinea Bissau's legitimate Government to organize a consistent fight against drugs trafficking may have been a determining push for the perpetration of the coup d'Etat in that country. He consequently appealed to the international community, particularly the Security Council, to back the fight against the trafficking of drugs, arms and other evils in that Portuguese speaking country. At last, the very Angolan Foreign minister stated that "the only Guinean authorities recognized by the Portuguese Speaking Community are the ones that resulted from the constitutional and democratic legitimacy".

Thirdly, the European Union cannot help distracting international attention from the carnage in the Congo due to the fact that, far from planning or envisioning a Congo free of violence and poverty, the «White Supremacy» is instead trying to escalate and expand the conflict in question so that the European development aid and the revenues from natural resources of the African countries

involved be largely used to purchase arms and weapons. That is what some of us call new world order; a system of moneymaking based on warfare in many parts of the world. Between the year 1997 and 2012, nearly eight million men and women, oldsters, and children have been murdered in the Congo. As an aside, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said: “We must be concerned not merely about who murdered them, but about the system, the way of life, the philosophy which produced the murderers.” So, in the name of the so bloody system we live in today, the European Union is managing to give the Guinean issue the most hyperbolic dangerousness possible to distract the world from the most pressing issues, like the Congo and the Cabinda issues. Given the European Union’s aim to establish itself as the world’s most prominent leading power, the President of the EU Commission should conduct himself as a leader, which means he should be reliable in his mind, heart and actions. Instead of a push for a definitive political settlement of the long-standing armed conflicts in Cabinda and the Congo, what is taking place is a push for an escalation of violence so as to increase the purchase of firearms and weapons, whose main providers happen to be Europeans. The latest example of such a barbarous push occurred in November 2012 with a very momentary seizure of the eastern city of Goma (DRC) by a Congolese rebel group M23, which was widely portrayed as a group trying to overthrow the country’s government in Kinshasa. At stake is the mineral coltan, which is used in mobile phones and computers<sup>43</sup> To make more African countries become involved in the

---

<sup>43</sup> See: «Commodities – Switzerland’s Most Dangerous Business», by Berne Declaration (ED.), Edition d’en Bas, Lausanne, 2011, p. 373.

devilish push, the greedy architects of the world recession, depression, and oppression claimed that the conflict in the Congo could end up breaking the country apart. Hence, most national States in central and southern Africa are now doing their best to avoid a possible breaking apart of their respective countries. As a result, firearms and weapons factories in Europe are going to see their sale of arms thousand times higher than before, while the inhabitants of the African countries buying such weapons are going to see themselves thousand times poorer than before. We see evidence of this in the latest decision of President Joseph Kabila (DRC) and in the very recent move of SADC (Southern African Development Community). On 15 December 2012, the magazine *Jeune Afrique* published a pertinent article which says a lot about the “victory” of Western warmongers’ awful push in the Congo, whose title is: «*RDC: le président Kabila fait de la “défense de la patrie” sa priorité*»<sup>44</sup>. In this very article, President Joseph Kabila is reported as saying: “From now on our priority is the defense of the homeland against the rebellion that destabilizes the East of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the war of aggression by Rwanda allied with the insurgents.” In connection to the regrettable results of the same wicked push, SADC showed its readiness to dispatch a military contingent of about four thousand men to the Congo, according to VOA<sup>45</sup>, and the Executive-

---

<sup>44</sup> «*RDC: le président Kabila fait de “la défense de la patrie” sa priorité*» – (President Kabila makes the “defense of the homeland” his priority); Link: <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/Article/ARTJAWEB20121215162745/>

<sup>45</sup> See: «*Força da SADC para Congo-Kinshasa vai ter 4 mil homens*» – (“The SADC force for Congo-Kinshasa will have 4 thousand men”), Redacção VOA, Link: <http://www.voaportugues.com/content/congo-sadc/1563667.html>.

Secretary of SADC, i.e. Tomaz Salomão, is reported as saying: “the neutral force to be sent to the Democratic Republic of the Congo can integrate troops not only of the countries in the region; that all African countries can be part of the contingent, provided that their respective Governments so decide.” There is nothing more childlike, more ridiculous, and more wood-headed than that! Yet, by means of this medieval game in which our African leaders come into view as mere domestic workers, the authors of the game, i.e. the «White Supremacy», are trying to highlight the so-called Angola’s leadership, one that supposedly “stands as the acknowledged cornerstone of the frontline states”.

In order to put an end to the crisis in Côte d’Ivoire in 2011, where the incumbent president, Laurent Gbagbo, refused to cede power to Alassane Ouattara, European powers did only succeed thanks to their reliance on the UN Security Council’s relevant role. Furthermore, to succeed in Libya, where they wanted to end Qaddafi’s dictatorship, European powers did the best they could in order to act under the umbrella of the very same UN Security Council. And we all know very well that there was neither in Côte d’Ivoire nor in Libya any butchery comparable to the giant massacre ever going on in the Congo. Yet, the very European powers are showing reluctance to end the long-standing crisis in the Congo with the involvement of the UN Security Council, contenting themselves with an African force under the umbrella of Angola’s dictatorship alone. Does it make sense? Is not there something strange? Again, it has to do with the oil-rich country called Cabinda, country on which the biggest plundering ever is being inflicted by world leading powers behind the façade of the occupying State that Angola happens to be. To perpetuate

this robbery, there must be conflicts meant to distract international attention, while the involvement of Angola allows the European Union to show Angola's tyrant to the world as a peace-maker who, despite his crimes and the fact that he has been in power for over 33 years, should continue to be Europe's noted darling in Africa. Cabinda proves to be the only place in the World where world's fierce antagonists sit at the very same table and cynically share their bloody loot in full international public view. At the lavish table named «Cabinda», amazingly full of oil, iron, gold, uranium, diamonds, and so forth, we see America, Russia, Cuba, China, France, England, Switzerland, Israel, India, Italy, Portugal, Germany, Spain, South Africa, Brazil, Canada, etc.. Yet, despite the fullness of the table, natives of Cabinda are excluded with insolence from our own table. Our guests' greed goes as far as to put Cabindans at home and abroad (particularly in Europe!) on the menu by forcing us to live on less than US \$1 a day. Today, more than ever, we have good reasons to believe that none of the so-called rich countries got rich by being "nice" to anyone. Did they?

All in all, the escalation of violence in the Congo is a windfall for the European Union as well as all other countries that take advantage of Angola's involvement in most conflicts in Africa. Our open letter sent to US President Obama as recently as October 2012 under the title «Why Angola's Genocide in Cabinda is downplayed by World's Leading Powers<sup>46</sup>», *inter alia*, reads: "The

---

<sup>46</sup> «Why Angola's Genocide in Cabinda is Downplayed by World's Leading Powers», by Cabindan National Movement; The link: <http://cabindacitizenship.files.wordpress.com/2012/10/why-angolas-genocide-in-cabinda-is-downplayed-by-worlds-leading-powers.pdf>.

mercenary Government of Angola is now purchasing aerial drones, attack helicopters and other advanced technological equipment from Israel, in order to upgrade the genocidal nature of its illegal occupation of Cabinda and thus perpetuate the colonial plundering (oil, gold, hardwood, uranium, diamonds, etc) inflicted on this country whose people are being killed off.” Actually, the current escalation of violence in the Congo is meant to give Angola the sudden field where it can make use of its high-priced drones and other sophisticated military equipments. It is said that the Congolese rebel group M23 is fully supported by the neighbouring countries, namely Rwanda and Uganda. Nevertheless, when you take a close look at the conflict and all the players involved, you come to the conclusion that the African actors are simple dices being played on the table by one and only one master, i.e. the «White Supremacy» that is doing nothing but “business”. Lady MJ Santos is right: “Self-mastery and noble virtues is the only path to long-lasting World Peace.”

Everything considered, the President of the EU Commission remote-controlled by the «White Supremacy» is a man whose chief endeavor is to hinder progress in Africa, inasmuch as he refuses to use all the powers of his office to help advance efforts aimed at putting a complete, total and final end to the 37-year-old belligerent occupation of Cabinda by Angola, and thus end once and for all the serious crimes of international concern the occupation entails. Even so, we desperately hope there is still a room left for his legal power to be of much assistance, in order that the unjustly discriminated refugees from Cabinda in Europe can be treated in conformity with the core values articulated in the tools of the international law, and in order that the people of Cabinda oppressed for so long can ultimately see our legitimate hopes of achieving self-determination and

independence succeed. The EU must be remembered that, in distracting international attention from the ongoing atrocities and pillages both in Cabinda and the Congo, it comes into view as a global player exhibiting its total contempt for Human Rights and International Law. In other words, the EU is turning itself into a world's leading power that is threatening global stability, assaulting powerless peoples around the world, and taking away their freedoms, instead of standing in love for Humanity.

Portugal, Mr. Barroso's motherland, whose Government is allegedly doing its best in order to reestablish constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau, is the European nation with whom the people of Cabinda signed the 1885 international Protectorate Treaty, which the very Portugal and the European Union it belongs to are now unwilling to fairly honor. In view of this, one cannot help having a great deal of difficulty in believing Portugal and EU are really acting for the sake of the Guinean people. Furthermore, Angola's unlawful occupation of Cabinda in 1975 was first seen by Europeans and Americans as a threat to global stability and tried to express their deepest sympathy and pity for the people of Cabinda under occupation. But as soon as the very Europeans and Americans got a real stranglehold on Angola and Cabinda's rich-oil fields and diamonds, they suddenly ceased viewing Angola as a rogue State and also stopped considering Angola's military occupation of Cabinda and the ensuing maintenance by force of colonial domination as a threat to global security and stability. Yet, Europeans and Americans are aware that Angola's foreign policy, which consists in frustrating the free functioning of democratic institutions in Africa, is indisputably the major contributing factor to the political insecurity and instability in Southern Africa and beyond. In his article in the *Tages-*

*Anzeiger* of 30 January 2010, the Swiss journalist Johannes Dieterich concluded about the situation in Cabinda by saying: «*Cabindas Unglück ist das Erdöl*»<sup>47</sup>. And, in its annual report 2011, Amnesty International states: “Angola remains one of Africa’s largest oil producers and is China’s second most important source of oil and most important commercial partner in Africa. This oil wealth, and Angola’s regional military power, has greatly limited leverage of other governments and international organizations pushing for good governance and human rights. Trade partners remain reluctant to criticize the government, to protect their economic interests.” How come the European Union and the United States, which are free enough to criticize the Iranian, Russian, or even the Chinese governments, are now reluctant to criticize Angola’s? How is it that the very Western democracies and international organizations that are powerful enough to push for good governance, human and political rights in Iran, Russia and China are showing powerlessness to push for the same values on behalf of the Angolan and Cabinda peoples? May Amnesty International take note that it is not about oil and nor is it about commercial interests. It is quite simply about a self-evident Anti-Black People, i.e. a subtle endeavor to maintain underdevelopment and Black Holocaust in Sub-Saharan Africa.

A person or a human group with integrity does not live free of wrong. No one does. Integrity acknowledges failure, expresses its regret and goes on behaving in ways that are in harmony with the common sense. “We have

---

<sup>47</sup> «*Cabindas Unglück ist das Erdöl*» – (Cabinda’s Misfortune is Oil), by Johannes Dieterich, in *Tages-Anzeiger*, Link: <http://www.tagesanzeiger.ch/ausland/naher-osten-und-afrika/Cabinda-Unglueck-ist-das-Erdol/story/14813896>.

to start with the truth, because any decision-making that is based upon lies or ignorance cannot lead to a good conclusion”, Julian Assange warns. So let us embrace «truth» even knowing it may sting and hurt our egos, for it is preferable than comforting anyone with sugarcoated lie. Angola’s long-time dictator, one whose style, brutal treatment of prisoners, and notorious massacre of political dissidents is by far more dreadful than Zaïre’s (Mobutu), has never allowed foreign journalists into the occupied tiny Cabinda in order to prevent disclosures of its terrible violations of human rights and international law. Evidence of this is the ill-treatment a British national and senior campaigner at Global Witness, i.e. Dr. Sarah Wykes, endured while arrested in February 2007. Apart from the use of the entire power of his armed forces, including artillery, air forces and foreign mercenaries to crush the Cabinda people’s rightful struggle for freedom, his human rights abuses against unarmed civilians include: instances of torture and mistreatment of detainees; prolonged detention and incommunicado; arbitrary arrests and detention; denial of due process and fair trial; denial of civilians’ freedom of movement; sexual violence; extrajudicial executions; restrictions on freedom of speech, press, assembly, and association; imprisonment of clerics and harassment; and military or armed attacks on Cabindan refugee camps and settlements in the neighboring countries. Both the European Union and the United States cannot fail to have somewhere files containing such crimes. Though, to our surprise, the European Union prefers to distract international attention from Cabinda and the Congo bloodbath and drive it to Guinea-Bissau, sparing thus Angolan tyrant’s feeling.

With the blessing of the European Union, and the United Nations to a certain extent, Angola is portraying itself to the world as a shining example of African democracy. Though, a world order that dares to erect self-evident criminal regimes as an example worth following cannot help being worse than the world order envisioned by Adolf Hitler in his *Mein Kampf*. It is too ironic that, on the one hand, the same people who declare themselves to be fully committed to constructing a world where every child has the same opportunity to succeed and every person has the chance to live out their dreams are, on the other hand, the same people who advocate on behalf of mass murderers and war criminals, like Angola's dictator, allowed to stay in power for three to four decades. How then, can we explain the fact that Angola, long since known as Africa's main transit point for illegal drugs with the involvement of senior members of the government, is at the same time the State to which African Union, CPLP, or even the European Union are giving the exclusive mandate to determine what African State is drug trafficker, therefore punishable, and what is not? The Republic of the Congo, which is Angola's "direct neighbor" and whose President is Angola's protégé, is a notorious transit point for illegal drugs<sup>48</sup>. And yet Angola is not concerned enough to fight drug trafficking in his friend's country. So what is the problem

---

<sup>48</sup> «L'Afrique n'est plus seulement un acteur passif dans le trafic de drogue. La consommation augmente» – ("Africa is no longer exclusively a passive player in drug trafficking. Consumption is increasing"), by Camille Dubruel and Mathieu Olivier, in *Jeune Afrique*; Link: <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/Article/ARTJAWEB20120420174233/>; See also «La nouvelle plaque tournante de la cocaïne», by C.C.: [http://www.rfi.fr/actufr/articles/110/article\\_78496.asp](http://www.rfi.fr/actufr/articles/110/article_78496.asp).

in Guinea-Bissau, whose leadership is being so demonized by the Angolan diplomacy at the global level? The response from Angola is: “we cannot allow in Africa that people take power by means of a military coup and stay in, for it would establish a bad precedent with serious future ramifications.” This is yet another example of the excessive hypocrisy of the Angolan leaders. Did not the prevailing President of Congo-Brazzaville, i.e. Mr. Denis Sassou Nguesso, take power thanks to a bloody military coup fully supported by the very Angolan despot who is now trying to portray himself as a peace-maker? The truth of matter is that, unlike Guinea-Bissau that has nowhere to plunder oil likely to please the most powerful nations, Angola has Cabinda’s oil and, as a result, has become “daddy’s boy” to world’s leading powers. So whatever the «Strongman» of Angola wants has the green light of world’s leading powers from the outset. And what the Angolan kleptocrat wants in Guinea-Bissau is, apart from distracting international attention from his crimes in Cabinda and in Angola itself, to be in control of all drug networks in Africa, for the mere reason that he hates competition.

## President Obama between Western and Eastern Imperialists

“And so, to all other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born: know that America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity, and we are ready to lead once more. (...) To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict or blame their society’s ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy. To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history, but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist. To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow; to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds. And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to the suffering outside our borders, nor can we consume the world’s resources without regard to effect. For the world has changed, and we must change with it<sup>49</sup>.”

---

<sup>49</sup> Excerpt from US President Barack Obama’s 2009 Inaugural Address.

The above extract gives us a US President claiming that “America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity”; urging leaders around the globe to have full political accountability; exhorting those “Strongmen” who cling to power through corruption to willingly unclench their fist; pledging to work alongside the people of poor nations; and prompting wealthy nations like his own to abandon indifference to suffering in foreign countries and be reasonable in their consumption of world’s resources. Four years later an increasing number of Africans and Europeans, who have had the chance to read our paper entitled “*Why Should You Support President Obama’s Africa Policy*”<sup>50</sup> in which we are displaying our belief that the first African-American US President is a reliable person, are questioning the grounds of our belief regarding President Obama’s capability to put into practice his good intentions. “One has to be very naïve to believe there is something a Black US President can do to solve African issues like the illegal occupation of Cabinda and the colonial plundering being inflicted on that country by Angola and its Western and Eastern associates”, reason some European friends. “We have had a Black UN Secretary-General for a bit more than eight years; yet the only thing we got in Africa is the genocide in Rwanda and the ongoing one in the Congo (DRC)”, adds a pessimistic African intellectual. The contesting led us to search for the possible factors likely to prevent President Obama from putting into practice his wonderful intentions.

---

<sup>50</sup> <http://cabindacitizenship.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/2011-04-20-why-should-you-support-president-obamas-africa-policy.pdf>.

It appears that regarding Cabinda, the Congo region, and the African continent as a whole, Washington is ever since the 19th century a key international actor that has freedom to do only the wrong thing. Yet, with respect to European and certain Southeast Asian Countries, Washington proves to be totally free to do the right thing. After World War II, the United States erected itself with the so famous Marshall Plan. This philanthropic plan, known as the European Recovery Program, was the primary program, 1947-1951, of the United States for rebuilding and creating a stronger economic foundation for the countries of Europe. The initiative was given the name of the then US Secretary of State George Marshall, and was largely the creation of State Department officials. In some of her valuable works, Mrs. Sylvie Brunel, a French geographer, economist, and Professor at Paris IV-Sorbonne, mentions the United States' determining role in South Korea's rapid integral development.

In connection with the question of whether Washington is merely free to do the wrong thing with reference to Cabinda and the African continent as a whole, it is worthwhile quoting also former President Clinton so we can grasp the fate of US good intentions. In Martin Meredith valuable work entitled «The State of Africa – A History of Fifty Years of Independence», we read as follows: « During his second term of office, President Bill Clinton was keen for the US to develop a more dynamic approach to Africa and readily seized on the idea. In March 1998 he embarked on the most comprehensive tour of Africa ever undertaken by a sitting American president – a ten-day trip covering six nations starting with Ghana. ‘One hundred years from now your

grandchildren and mine will look back and say this was the beginning of an African renaissance’, he told an exuberant crowd in Accra’s Independence Square. ‘By coming and going a bird builds a nest. We will come and go and do all we can to help you build a new Africa.’ He was similarly effusive in South Africa. ‘It used to be that when US policymakers thought of Africa – if they thought of Africa – they said: “What can we do for Africa, or about Africa?” They were the wrong questions. The right question is: what can we do with Africa? Yes, Africa still needs the world, but more than ever the world needs Africa.’ ... Within three months of Clinton’s visit to Africa, Ethiopia and Eritrea embarked on a futile border war in which 100,000 people died, one-third of Eritrea’s population was displaced and hundreds of millions of dollars were squandered on arms. Two months after the start of their war, Rwanda and Uganda plunged headlong into another round of war in Congo and then began fighting among themselves over the spoils of their occupation there. American support for the idea of an African renaissance rapidly dwindled<sup>51</sup>. » Why did it dwindle?

In an Article entitled “*Forgotten People: Displaced Persons in Cabinda Province, Angola*”, of 26 May 2005, «Refugees International» states as follows: “(...) Oil revenues support at least 80% of Angola’s national budget, (...) Countries that purchase Cabinda’s oil, including the United States and China, are reluctant to bring attention to the issues in Cabinda because of their

---

<sup>51</sup> «The State of Africa – A History of Fifty Years of Independence», by Martin Meredith, The Free Press, United Kingdom, 2005, pp. 277-278.

dependence on oil from the province.” Angola did not have formal relations with the United States until 1993, when the Clinton Administration recognized the Government of Angola on 19 May 1993. Listen: “This decision reflects the high priority our Administration places on democracy”, President Clinton said of the decision to recognize Angola as he began a meeting with Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu of South Africa<sup>52</sup>. In May 2007 the US Council on Foreign Relations published an article that among other things reads: “Few African countries are more important to US interests than Angola. The second-largest oil producer in Africa, Angola’s success or failure in transitioning from nearly thirty years of war toward peace and democracy has implications for the stability of the U.S. oil supply as well as the stability of central and southern Africa. (...) Angola has a tragic past – a harrowing colonial heritage and an even more traumatic decolonization experience. Nearly five centuries of colonial rule, two decades of struggle for independence, and three decades of civil war took a toll on Angola, scarring the nation with massive loss of life and physical destruction. Up to 1.5 million people may have perished, approximately 100,000 Angolans were maimed by land mines, an estimated 500,000 Angolans fled into neighboring countries, and over four million were internally displaced from 1975 to 2002<sup>53</sup>”.

---

<sup>52</sup> «Washington Recognizes Angola Government», by Steven A. Holmes, in *The New York Times* of May 20, 1993;

<sup>53</sup> «U.S. Must Strengthen Ties with Angola to Protect Strategic Energy and Security Interests», US Council on Foreign Relations; <http://www.cfr.org/angola/us-must-strengthen-ties-angola-protect-strategic-energy-security-interests/p13264>.

Taking it all in all, the traumatic decolonization of Portugal's overseas territories and all its bloody consequences would not have happened, and President Clinton's support for the idea of an African renaissance would not have dwindled either, if the United States had had the bravery to stand as the elephant which supports a wide variety of other creatures – smaller mammals, birds and insects – by generating nourishment for them and for itself through fair business, instead of accepting to be converted into the lion of the international system that terrorizes and preys on smaller, weaker animals in order to survive itself. Put differently, Washington's charitable intentions concerning Africa would have been successfully put into practice if the mightiest European colonial powers had not found in Washington an attentive ear, which in fact turns out to be disproportionately one-sided. "Since Western Europe's very existence depends upon the resources of Africa and the European powers' continued control exercised over the black continent, possible loss of Africa to the great benefit of Russians and Asians would have dire effects on Western Europe first, and, subsequently, on USA as well." So is America warned by its European mightiest allies ever since the 1950s! Ever since then the United States of America is gradually displaying absolute contempt for its own creation, one that gave America an unparalleled international delightfulness, i.e. the «United Nations».

That simply means that, in the eyes of Washington, African nations' political sovereignty and total control over our raw materials in accordance with the UN General Assembly resolution 1803 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, concerning the permanent sovereignty over natural wealth and resources, is one of the biggest threats to European Union and America's survival. As a

result, the United States has joined the European colonial powers in their effort to keep their private backyard, i.e. Africa, from being stolen by Russians and Asians who are looked at as mere imperialist contenders. Therefore, post-Cold War bloody conflicts in Africa are meant to prevent Russia and Asian powers from conquering Africa by helping its countries become real nation states. And the biggest threats to progress in Africa, according to corporate media in the West, are disease and conflict!

Though the most important thing to know is what Westerners are offering in order to please China to the extent of converting its government into a Permanent member of the United Nations Security Council totally indifferent to human rights and international law in Africa. As for President Obama, that is the high level political scenario in which he finds himself sandwiched between Asian and the European imperialists. However, we should not forget that the mistrust amongst the European imperialist States and nations, which is hundreds of years old, is well and truly a matter of the utmost importance, inasmuch as it represents the real vulnerability of Western imperialism. We have witnessed a number of bloody conflicts between the European powers in Cabinda alone. So we know there has never been and there will never be a true political and social cohesion amongst the European imperialist powers. Jungle law has always been the rule of their survival. The fact is that while in London, where he was imploring the British and USA to support his efforts aimed at liberating France from the Nazi regime, General de Gaulle feared that Churchill and Roosevelt might steel French possessions and colonies in Africa. In addition, Portugal that we all know is a sheer NATO member state, lost

influence over its overseas possessions to the great benefit of some fellow NATO members. In order for Portugal to obtain the residual presence it has now in certain former colonies, the Portuguese had to have recourse to NATO's main challenger at the time, i.e. to Member states of the Warsaw Pact. This speaks volumes, right? Western propaganda often portrays Russia as a dangerous imperialist power; and yet, with its help to Portugal<sup>54</sup> at grips with certain fellow NATO members in 1974/75, it is a whole different Russia that comes out. In this overall context, Russians seem to carry out a policy aimed at spreading freedom and prosperity around the globe, but very often thwarted by their Western challengers.

The pan-European Assembly, despite its pretense, is still suffering from tremendous social, political, confessional, economic and ethnic fissures that are much likely to cause the collapse of the superficially beautiful building it represents. Although kept from the public, that is the major concern of virtuous European

---

<sup>54</sup> Shortly after the Carnation Revolution in April 1974, Portugal's President Spínola met with US President Richard Nixon on 18 June 1974, hoping he would get America's support in the context of articles 5 and 6 of the North Atlantic Treaty (NATO) that Portugal had signed on 4 April 1949, so he could undertake a peaceful and successful decolonization of Portugal's overseas possessions and colonies. The Treaty's articles 5 and 6 define between the signatories an Atlantic area of guarantee and immediate action, and article 4 is written as follows: «The Parties will consult together every time that, in the opinion of one of them, the territorial integrity, the political independence or the security of one of the Parties will be threatened.» In fact, article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty faces no matter which threat against the territorial integrity of one of the Member States. As the meeting did not bear fruit, the Portuguese turned to Soviet Union for help. On 31st January 1975 a Portuguese demonstration against NATO had gathered dozens of thousands of people together in Lisbon alone.

citizens who do care. Regrettably, the European leading powers are not brave enough to take the bull by the horns. Western nations are largely made up of people from every corner of the world and who, after all, still bear within them all the cultural seeds of their genuine origins. And the truth is that, in the absence of a purposely defined philosophy of psychosocial and political integration, there can be neither authentic social harmony in the country nor peaceful relations with surrounding nations in the near or distant regions. Experience shows that in order to mask the social and political problems of its own, the Government of a country whose population is largely made up of people coming from various horizons usually tends to fabricate external enemies to attack, hoping that its threats and attacks on the fabricated enemies will inspire and bring about national cohesion. Such policy of confrontation, to our knowledge, has never brought the expected results. The only thing it brings is poverty and despair for the general public and pride for the very few. And as soon as a Government carries out such a policy, it immediately desists from being a State and nation committed to the fulfillment of international order of justice and peace.

It is a fact that the foremost European imperialist powers are the first ones in command of the European Union, and many people around the world have a view of the United States as being an imperialist power as well. What about China? Some Africans argue China is simply following its own interests, while others claim it is little by little providing a more just and peaceful world for all nations without exception. For our part, we simply hope China is not blossoming as an imperialist power, particularly with reference to Africa, for we are of the opinion that capitalist imperialism is as harmful as

progressive imperialism! We also hope President Obama has realized that what is required for a world where each nation and man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity avows that America is a friend, is a Washington's global governing role not only equidistant but also, and above all, fair.

## 1. Capitalist Imperialism is as harmful as Progressive Imperialism

The work of Piero Gleijeses entitled «Havana's Policy in Africa, 1959-76: New Evidence from Cuban Archives», and the one of Dr. Odd Arne Westad entitled «Moscow and the Angolan Crisis: A New Pattern of Intervention», in Cold War International History Project (CWIHP Bulletin 8/9 Winter 1996/1997), give us new evidence on the Cold War in Southern Africa, particularly in the Congo region where Cabinda is located. Mr. Westad's interesting work includes a 1975 Memorandum of Conversation between the President of the Movement for the Popular Liberation of Angola<sup>55</sup> (Dr. Agostinho Neto) and the Soviet Ambassador to the "People's Republic of Angola" E.I. Afanasenko. This astonishing Soviet Memorandum comes to confirm the fact that barbarism and coercion are indeed the MPLA regime's typical way to reinforce its power; as its dictatorship upon the Angolan people, its colonial and murderous regime

---

<sup>55</sup> The «Movement for the Popular Liberation of Angola (MPLA)» is Angola's ruling party since the country's independence from Portugal in November 1975. Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA at the time of this conversation (July 1975), became President of Angola from November of the same year.

over Cabinda, and its mercenary role in DRC as well as in Congo-Brazzaville fully confirm. Therefore, Mr. Westad's work is a welcome response to a real and vital need; since it shows how Angola (MPLA) and its progressive allies made use of brutal methods aimed at coercing African leaders into hindering Cabinda's attainment of independence, and permits any of us come to the conclusion that progressive imperialism is as damaging as capitalist imperialism. However, given our being aware of the vital importance of Africa to Europeans, and the fact that African freedom movements, like Angola's MPLA, are mere stooges guided remotely by Western European imperialists since the early 1960s, we believe that, in Africa, the Soviet Union was ambushed by its Western antagonists through hypocritical and double-faced Black leaders like Angola's Dr. Agostinho Neto and José Eduardo dos Santos. The fact of the matter is that Russia and China are being portrayed as being the only «godfathers» of Angola's dictator Dos Santos, implying that Chinese and Russians are fostering dictatorships in Africa, and thus undermining democracy, human rights and international law. In practice, this means that they are obstructing social, cultural and economic development in Africa.

The «Fidel Castro's 1977 Southern Africa Tour: A Report to Erich Honecker» proves also to be a document of great interest, for it mentions Cuba's military involvement in Cabinda, and mentions the murder of the President of the People's Republic of the Congo, in this instance Colonel Marien Ngouabi. While documents obtained from the «CWIHP Bulletin 8/9 Winter 1996» confirm the MPLA and USSR coercion on President Ngouabi aimed at dissuading him from backing up

Cabindans in our just struggle to regain our country's political sovereignty, the abovementioned Report to Erich Honecker reveals an ambiguous Fidel Castro's profile when he talks about President Ngouabi's murder – "It is practically certain that the rightists murdered Ngouabi. But the left wing was also dissatisfied with him." Apart from the MPLA, Cuba, and USSR strong coercions, it is also claimed that Ngouabi was under French pressure to annex the oil-rich Cabinda, and that his refusal to act cost him French support. There is some speculation that the French financed some attempts to remove Ngouabi. Yet we know that (the revelations related to the famous French scandal called "Angolagate" are there to prove) the Angolan troops have intervened in Congo-Brazzaville with the French blessing to support the Denis Sassou-Nguesso's successful putsch against Professor Pascal Lissouba, the very Congo's democratically-elected president who was loyally making common cause with the oppressed people of Cabinda.

Independence came to Angola in 1975 after fourteen years of armed struggle. The "winning" *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, MPLA) created a one-party system based on a «Marxist-Leninist» model. What does not help us grasp the harmlessness that many people see in the progressive imperialism while in their fight against the harmfulness of capitalist imperialism, is the extremely evil role of Angola's ruling party and associates in Angola, Cabinda, and Africa at large. In order to realize the genuine cause of Angola's ongoing and well recorded international crimes in Cabinda and related sub-region, crimes that we believe both progressives and capitalists are accountable for, we are required to pay attention to how «Angola» is

ideologically defined by the MPLA since the 1960s. In agreement with the definition of Angola's self styled progressive party, the MPLA, "Angola is the trench steady of the (progressive) revolution in Africa." To fool the authentic Angolan Marxists in particular and progressives across the globe in general as for its feigned progressive conviction and pragmatism, the MPLA-regime had promptly reacted against the international crimes that were going on in Namibia, East-Timor, South-Africa and elsewhere; i.e. «against the maintenance by force of colonial domination» in the former two countries and «against apartheid» in the latter. As a result, the MPLA-regime has enhanced in the eyes and minds of various peoples throughout the world the image of Angola as the trench steady of the progressive revolution in Africa. Yet, progressive imperialism is proving to be as harming as capitalist imperialism if we have to admit that the MPLA-regime, whose shocking atrocities in Cabinda fall within the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court, is at the service of western and eastern Progressivism in Africa. It would have been correct if the MPLA-regime had been fair enough to give back to Cabindans our political sovereignty.

The Soviet Union, Cuba and Eastern European progressive countries went supposedly to help African liberation movements, including the MPLA, to wage war on Western European colonialism and colonization. The legitimacy of the progressives' involvement, drawn from the United Nations General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, was such that no Western political or religious entity could dare to openly stand up to progressive's anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism in the course of the 1960s and 1970s. This wonderful UN resolution granted USSR, Cuba and Eastern European

progressive States a huge political and moral authority in their stance and undertakings in favor of the African peoples harshly oppressed by the European colonial imperialism. This political and moral authority became greater and greater in the late 1960s and early 1970s, to the despair of Western governments, inasmuch as it obtained an increasing approval from the civil society of the very West. That is how progressives got a «free hand» in most of their decision-makings concerning Africa. And as every «free hand» given to no matter which politician always ends up with arrogance and misconducts of all sorts, the one that was “given” to USSR, Cuba and the MPLA-leaders was no exception to that axiom. This is evidenced by the fact that Soviets, Cubans and quasi all progressives who have supported the MPLA dared and continue to deny the people of Cabinda the right to determine our own destiny, in the same way as the Western imperialist States concerned. From the moment it saw itself labeled as a progressive frontline entity, the MPLA got the sense of self-righteousness to the extent of gleefully repeating the very same shocking crimes and political misconduct as the European colonial power it fought against for fourteen years. If that is what people consider to be Progressivism, then we will always be right in proclaiming that progressives and capitalists are pretty much the same.

International community’s ongoing indifference to Angola’s colonial power over Cabinda, tacitly allowed since 1975 to freely oppress the people of Cabinda and freely frustrate the free functioning of democratic institutions in the region, cannot help making us wonder whether “colonialism” and “imperialism” are exclusively permitted when carried out by a progressive regime. In

the early 1970s, progressive countries had been brave enough to erect enormous propaganda posters denouncing Portuguese colonial and fascist regime, while caricaturing African leaders such as Idi Amin Dada, Mobutu Sese Seko and so many others who had close ties with the United States then seen as the driving-force behind capitalist imperialism. Even the Nordic countries, which were part of the Western bloc, supported the so-called authentic liberation movements including the MPLA<sup>56</sup>. Yes, a number of Western countries including members of NATO did involve themselves in what Tor Sellström calls “struggles for majority rule and independence in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.” At present, not a single Western country, even less a progressive entity, is courageous enough to denounce Angola’s colonial rule characterized by human rights abuses, political repression, ethnic persecution, extra-judicial killings, deportations, kidnappings, constant armed raids on Cabindan refugee camps in the neighboring countries (Democratic Republic of the Congo and Congo-Brazzaville), kleptocracy, embezzlement, millions of civilians killed and buried in myriad mass graves, nepotism, and so on and so forth. Not a single UN member State seems to be free enough to stand up to Angolan bloody dictatorship and narrow-minded policy that consists in claiming the Cabinda territory under its illegal occupation as integral part of Angola, for the simple reason that it is contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. How come?

---

<sup>56</sup> See «Liberation in Southern Africa – Regional and Swedish Voices: Interviews from Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, the Frontline and Sweden», by Tor Sellström, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 2002, p. 353.

Let us not lose sight of the meaningful conversation between Dr. Paulo Cunha, Portuguese Foreign Minister and the Honorable John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State, in November 1955, for the reason that it helps us understand what motivates Western policy with regard to Africa and its aboriginal people. Dr. Cunha said: “the very existence of Western Europe depends upon the resources of Africa and the continued control exercised by the Western European powers over this continent”. He finally added something we should learn from, particularly those of us who still overlook what organized nations do when they find their own survival threatened: “Western European powers should be proud of their colonies and willing to defend them”. The US Secretary of State, for his part, “expressed full agreement with Dr. Cunha’s estimate of the dire effects on Western Europe of the loss of Africa”. And let us remind ourselves the fact that the said conversation took place seven months after the Asian-African Conference also known as the Bandung Conference (April 1955), which was meant to oppose colonialism or neo-colonialism by any imperialist nation. Are Black leaders proud enough of our countries and willing to do everything they can to ensure our survival? On their part, Western imperialist powers are successfully doing their best; by looting the African continent by means of direct colonization or through puppet States like Angola’s. We now know that, in the middle of the Cold War, both Western and Eastern blocs did assist the MPLA-led struggle for independence from Portugal. And we now have the evidence that the MPLA-regime, which is widely known as the Soviet Union’s “godchild” and trench steady of the progressive revolution in Africa, is but a Kleptocracy whose leaders treat their country’s treasury as though it were their own

personal bank account; spending the funds on luxury goods as they see fit; and secretly transferring public funds into secret personal numbered bank accounts in foreign countries in order to provide them with continued luxury if/when they are eventually removed from power and forced to leave the country. Here, the question arises as to whether Zaire's kleptocratic regime under the late Mobutu, who was considered to be the United States' "godson", and Angola's prevailing kleptocratic government are not pretty much the same!

### 1.1. Progressives Coerced Africans into Denying Cabinda Justice

Just like Western European imperialist powers, progressive States including the Soviet Union made use of influencing and violent means to prompt African leaders into denying Cabinda people justice in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The whole thing is regrettable inasmuch as it tarnishes the reputation of a Soviet Union selflessly devoted to the just cause of the victims of capitalist imperialism in Africa, and is deeply troubling inasmuch as it discloses the political mediocrity, incompetence and corruptness of the leaders of the MPLA, which figures among the "authentic liberation movements", in the opinion of the progressive and non-progressive entities that supported its anti-colonial struggle. And since the present relationship between Angola and the Russian Federation is a connection they inherit from the Soviet era, we justly claim that Moscow should help put an end to this historic denial of justice. As a protagonist of the 1884/85 Berlin-Congo Conference, Russians are acquainted with the

political status of Cabinda ever since then. Furthermore, in 1962 the USSR representative to the UN Special Committee on Decolonization<sup>57</sup>, Mr. Poutine, was among the UN officials who interrogated the petitioner from Cabinda, H.E. Mr. Luís Ranque Franque, during the hearings on Cabinda people's legitimate claim for self-determination and independence from Portugal. All things considered, in Cabinda and the Congo basin as a whole, progressives appear to be the main architects of the concrete mess we live in since 1975. The following extract from Dr. Westad's work helps us highlight three facts of critical significance, i.e. the Congolese people's natural and impartial tendency to make common cause with the fellow nation of Cabinda; the MPLA and USSR strong coercion on Congo-Brazzaville's President, Colonel Marien Ngouabi, aimed at dissuading him from supporting Cabindans in our rightful quest for self-determination and independence; and both progressives and capitalists' evil game as the major contributing factor to the political insecurity and instability in central and southern Africa.

«The “African strategy” was developed by the KGB and received the support of the Soviet leadership – and Brezhnev – in the summer and fall of 1970. The KGB reports emphasized that the regimes and liberation movements of Southern Africa were searching for international allies, and underlined the “simplistic” approach most African regimes had to world affairs,

---

<sup>57</sup> [Doc. of the 17th Session of the UN General Assembly – 4th Committee A/C. 4/SR 1391 – 20 November 1962]; «United Nations Official Documents / Point 54 of the Agenda: Non-observance by the Portuguese Government of Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations and of Resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly: Report of the Special Committee for the Territories under Portuguese administration (A/5160)».

understanding neither the conflict between the two camps nor the nature of American imperialism. The black political leaders of Southern Africa felt that their efforts to gain aid from Washington had failed, and that the Soviet Union was the only major power which could assist them in reaching their political and social goals. (...) Moscow in early December 1974 drew up an elaborate plan for supplying the MPLA with heavy weapons and large amounts of ammunition, using Congo (Brazzaville) as the point of transit. Ambassador Afanasenko got the task of convincing the Congolese of their interest in cooperating. This was not an easy task. Congo had never been a close ally of the Soviet Union – in the ruling military junta were many who sympathized with the Chinese – and it had for some time sponsored both Neto's MPLA rivals and a Cabinda separatist group. The latter issue was particularly problematic, and Agostinho Neto had on several occasions criticized the Congolese leader Colonel Marien Ngouabi for his support of Cabindan independence. Still, on December 4 Ngouabi gave his go-ahead for the Soviet operation. Though noting the flexibility of the Congolese government, Afanasenko knew that the job of reinforcing the MPLA would not be easy. In a report to Moscow he underlined the problems the MPLA faced on the military side<sup>58</sup>».

As the excerpt witnesses it, the Congolese people's deep-rooted wish to support the Cabinda people's legitimate struggle for self-determination and independence has always been there ever since the Congo's attainment of independence on 15 August 1960, and has always been

---

<sup>58</sup> See Cold War International History Project – “CWIHP” Bulletin 8/9 Winter 1996/1997, pp. 22, 24.

faithfully embodied in their successive Presidents. The first President of Congo-Brazzaville, Father Fulbert Youlou, whose country happens to be member of the UN Special Committee on Decolonization or C-24, from 1961 to 1963, made every endeavor to bring the difference between Cabinda and Portugal to the attention of the UN General Assembly in compliance with Articles 34 and 35 of the Charter of the United Nations. President Fulbert Youlou and other founding fathers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which came into being on 25 May 1963, had explicitly exhorted the international community as a whole to consider Cabinda's inalienable right to recover its political sovereignty, ranking Cabinda as the 39th State in the OAU's list of the African countries, with Angola as the 35th and South Africa (Azânia) as the 49th. Were not progressives in Moscow and Cuba and elsewhere who exerted pressure on Colonel Ngouabi acquainted with this African approach, or did they just show contempt for it? A few days after President Youlou supervised the first Cabindan Congress in Pointe-Noire from 3 to 4 August 1963, he was removed from office. As for his removal, the work of Martin Meredith reads, we quote: "When demonstrations against his plans for a one-party system erupted, Youlou telephoned de Gaulle pleading with him to order French troops stationed in Congo-Brazzaville to intervene, but de Gaulle refused. Congolese army officers went to Youlou to demand his resignation. He signed, then fell into a faint and, upon recovering, telephoned de Gaulle. '*J'ai signé, mon général*', he announced tearfully. He later sought exile in France, but was turned away and settled in Madrid<sup>59</sup>." Though, the Congolese leaning to stand with

---

<sup>59</sup> «The State of Africa – A History of Fifty Years of Independence», by Martin Meredith, The Free Press, United Kingdom, 2005, p. 166.

the fellow Cabindans in our struggle did not vanish with the removal of Abbot Fulbert Youlou. The fact is that most Congolese Presidents, from both left-wing and right-wing, have tried to follow in his footsteps; Colonel Ngouabi and Prof. Lissouba did try!

The excerpt above says: “Ambassador Afanasenko got the task of convincing the Congolese of their interest in cooperating.” So the Congolese Presidents’ personal commitment to truth, justice and peace had come under attack by Neto’s MPLA and its so-called progressive allies from both Western and Eastern blocs, with USSR in the lead. Although President Ngouabi allowed USSR to supply the MPLA with heavy weapons and large amounts of ammunition using Congo-Brazzaville as the point of transit, he tried to remain at the same time devoted to the rightful cause of his brotherly people of Cabinda. “Though noting the flexibility of the Congolese government, Afanasenko knew that the job of reinforcing the MPLA would not be easy”. Thus, from 1963 to 1997, the “sovereign” Congo-Brazzaville had been transformed into a strange platform of consecutive coup d’états and assassinations. We are of the opinion that Moscow could have done better. In his article entitled «*Russie – L’Afrique s’élève*»<sup>60</sup> published in *Jeune Afrique*, J.-L. Gouraud states: “More ideological than cultural, the relations the two composite giants that the Soviet Union and Africa were have left, more than twenty years after the fragmentation of the former, profound vestiges, at least on human level.” The main question that arises here is: «why did not the Soviets agree with Colonel Ngouabi’s

---

<sup>60</sup> See «*Russie – L’Afrique s’élève*» or “Russia – Africa walking away”, by Jean-Louis Gouraud, in *Jeune Afrique* N° 2676 of 22 to 28 April 2012, p. 56; [translated by us].

view as for Cabinda and together champion the independence of the very Cabinda, ensuring that the President of the sovereign Cabinda be as progressive as Neto and Ngouabi themselves?» The other question is whether or not USSR did get from France a particular green light to use its “backyard” (Congo-Brazzaville) as a conduit for the transit of arms to the MPLA. In any case, the KGB should have figured out that the MPLA was actually being backed up by a powerful NATO member, despite its claim of being a progressive liberation movement. Everything considered, and we dare challenge anyone to state otherwise, nothing has helped Western imperialist powers dismantle the Soviet Union more than Agostinho Neto and Lúcio Lara’s MPLA. Yet Dos Santos’ MPLA is playing the same game so far, at the risk of dismantling the new born BRICS<sup>61</sup> in the not too distant future.

Let us now have a look at an invaluable secret document that we got from the Archive of the Cold War International History Project (CWIHP). The document is in fact a record of a high level diplomatic Conference between Angolans and Soviets that took place about 3 months before Angola’s access to independence in November 1975. It is entitled: «Soviet Ambassador to the People’s Republic of Angola E.I. Afanasenko, Memorandum of Conversation with President of the Movement for the Popular Liberation of Angola Agostinho Neto, 4 July 1975». We sincerely think it is worth reading, as it is simple and it speaks for itself!

---

<sup>61</sup> The acronym “BRICS” stands for the association of the following emerging national economies: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. BRICS members are all developing or newly industrialized countries, though.

«We received a visit from President of the MPLA Agostinho Neto. I informed him that the Central Committee of the CPSU was closely following the development of circumstances in Angola. The Soviet people are interested in the victory of democratic forces in Angola. In 1975, significant aid has been provided to the MPLA. Pursuant to instructions from the Central Committee of the CPSU, we had a conference with the President of the PRC [People's Republic of the Congo] M. Nguabi, in which the issue of rendering aid to the MPLA was discussed. Neto thanked the Central Committee of the CPSU for the rendering of assistance. He stated that the leadership of the MPLA had recently expanded its contacts with governments of the African countries. In the course of these discussions, the MPLA is attempting to increase the number of its supporters in Africa. One of the immediate objectives of the MPLA is to prevent the discussion of the issue of Cabinda at the upcoming assembly concerned about the fact that this year [Ugandan leader] Idi Amin, who collaborates closely with [Zairian leader] Mobutu [Sese Seko], will become the Chairman of the OAU [Organization of African Unity]. We anticipate, said Neto, that the president of Uganda will come forward at the OAU assembly with a proposal to discuss the issue of Cabinda.

«Our meetings in Nigeria and our ongoing negotiations in the Congo with president M. Nguabi, Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the KPT [the Russian acronym for the Congolese Workers' Party] A. Lopez, member of the Central Committee of the KPT Obami Itu, and Foreign Minister [Charles-David] Ganao, said Neto, are directed to this very question. Negotiations between the MPLA and the KPT are proceeding

successfully. An agreement has been reached to maintain ongoing consultations between the MPLA and KPT with the aim of developing a common policy and the conduct of joint efforts in Africa and Angola. In order to enhance propaganda efforts prior to the establishment of radio broadcasting facilities in the country, broadcast of the radio program "Struggle of Angola" will be resumed in Brazzaville. The president of the MPLA stated that one of the main points in the negotiations with the KPT was the issue of Cabinda. The PRC made the decision not to support the demand of autonomy for Cabinda at the OAU assembly which had been advanced by the Congo and Zaire last February. As to the change of their position on the Cabinda question, the Congolese assured the MPLA delegation that they would terminate assistance to the nationalist Cabinda organization FLEC.

«Inasmuch as the parties had reached an agreement on the Cabinda issue, the PRC allowed the MPLA to use its territory for the transport of arms, military equipment and other cargo supplied to the Movement by the Soviet Union and other friendly countries. In addition, the Congolese confirmed their decision to close their land border with Cabinda for the MPLA. In order to export supplies to Angola, they allotted the port and airfield at Pointe-Noire. Transportation of cargo is to be carried out by the land and sea forces of the MPLA. Neto was outspoken in his appraisal of the results of the negotiations with the Congolese. He emphasized that the refusal of the Congo to support the Cabindan demand for autonomy represented an important step forward in the normalization of relations between the MPLA and the KPT. The president of the MPLA proceeded to characterize the domestic situation in Angola. He pointed out that the existence of three national

liberation movements in the country was creating a favorable opportunity for reactionary forces in the country, which in turn was leading to a further intensification of political, social, and economic conflicts. Neto pointed to two groups of reactionary forces acting against Angola. The first group he attributed to domestic Portuguese reactionaries. This group is fomenting tensions in the country and provoking a mass emigration of the white population from Angola.

«The departure of large numbers of technical specialists has resulted in serious damage to the country's economy. The white reactionaries are capitalizing on the support of the present Supreme Commissar of Angola and a large portion of the Portuguese officers. The second group of reactionary forces consists of foreign reactionaries. Neto also included the FNLA in that group. The president of the MPLA said that the military conflict which took place last June demonstrated the strength of the MPLA's military detachments. Notwithstanding the numerical superiority of the FNLA's forces, the MPLA is no weaker than the FNLA in military terms. Neto declared that the MPLA commands great political influence in the country which is continuing to grow. At the same time, he acknowledged that two northwest provinces of Angola have been controlled by the FNLA since last June. In addition, UNITA commands major influence in Bié and the surrounding regions, where a large portion of the country's population lives.

«Neto characterized UNITA as an organization representing the interests of white farmers with reactionary leanings. However, UNITA does not command significant military forces and is attempting to play a role as an intermediary between the MPLA and the

FNLA. The president of the MPLA spoke in favor of a tactical alliance with UNITA. The desirability of such an alliance was advocated to the leadership of the MPLA by numerous heads of African governments, first and foremost, by the PRC. The president of the MPLA expressed doubts about fulfillment of all the agreements signed in Nakuru (Kenya). One of the reasons for the likely breakdown of those agreements is the aggression of the FNLA, which is unlikely to give up its armed provocations. All of this, Neto emphasized, requires the MPLA to continue the development of its armed forces. In this connection it is counting on aid from the Soviet Union. The MPLA has decided to address the Central Committee of the CPSU with a request to furnish additional military and financial aid. At the end of this July, an MPLA delegation will be dispatched to the USSR, headed by member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the MPLA Iko Kareira (commander in chief of the MPLA).

«Neto reported that last June, a delegation of the MPLA visited the PRC [People's Republic of China] at the invitation of the Chinese government. Zambia, Tanzania, and the PRC [People's Republic of the Congo] also took part in the organization of that trip. In the course of negotiations in the PRC, the Chinese assured their delegation that they would terminate all forms of military aid to all three Angolan national liberation movements until the granting of independence to Angola. I thanked the president of the MPLA for the interesting information. I promised to communicate to the Central Committee of the CPSU the request of the MPLA to furnish additional military and financial aid. The conference was attended by members of the

Politburo of the Central Committee of the MPLA Lúcio Lara and José Eduardo, member of the governing council of the MPLA Pedro Van-Dunen, as well as the first Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in the PRC Comrade B. G. Putilin<sup>62</sup>.»

Ambassador Afanasenko's Memorandum reveals one of the most infamous African pictures, i.e. the picture of an African progressive intellectual and leader (Dr. Agostinho Neto) making every endeavor to deliberately torpedo the diplomatic initiatives and pertinent political steps undertaken by the Organization of African Unity, denying thus justice to his African fellow nation. Was the progressive Neto really acting for the good of Africa and its people when he was asking for Ambassador Afanasenko's help aimed at stabbing the Cabinda people in the back with a knife? "One of the immediate objectives of the MPLA is to prevent the discussion of the issue of Cabinda at the upcoming assembly concerned about the fact that this year [Ugandan leader] Idi Amin, who collaborates closely with [Zairian leader] Mobutu [Sese Seko], will become the Chairman of the OAU [Organization of African Unity]. We anticipate, said Neto, that the president of Uganda will come forward at the OAU assembly with a proposal to discuss the issue of Cabinda". Here, what also comes to light is the violent nature of Neto's MPLA and its total disrespect for the sense of justice and the principle of legality and legitimacy. As the saying goes, once a thief always a thief. To those among us who have eyes and still do not

---

<sup>62</sup> See «Moscow and the Angolan Crisis: A New Pattern of Intervention», by Dr. Odd Arne Westad, in Cold War International History Project (CWIHP) Bulletin 8/9 Winter 1996/1997, pp. 32-34.

see anything, we reiterate that the MPLA-regime is but a mercenary entity in charge of terrorizing the peoples of Cabinda, Angola and Africa at large, so that the racist and fascist coalition that wants to play god to Africans can deprive us of our natural right to exist and ensure our survival thanks to our countries' natural wealth and resources. In 1975, Neto's MPLA and its progressive and capitalist allies pressured OAU and President Ngouabi to stop being fair-minded. The pressures ended up with the assassination of a brave African leader, Marien Ngouabi, on 18 March 1977. From 27 May 1977 up to January 1978, the MPLA-regime murdered hundreds of thousands of its own citizens, including a former interior Minister (Nito Alves), for daring to stand up to fight kleptocracy within the MPLA. On 3 February 2013 we got a press release about the MPLA-regime's criminal conduct issued by Berne Declaration (BD), which among other things reads:

«An investigation by the Swiss NGO Berne Declaration has found that Trafigura, the Swiss oil broker, though its opaque business practice is contributing to the enrichment of a caste of autocratic rulers. This is taking place to the detriment of the Angolan people who are amongst the poorest in the world. Trafigura, the third largest Swiss corporation in terms of turnover, is cutting itself a large piece of the pie in Angola. The Geneva and Lucerne-based Company has allied itself with General Leopoldino Fragoso do Nascimento, also known as "Dino". General Dino is a special adviser to General Manuel Helder Vieira Dias Jr, also known as "Kopelipa", himself Chief of the Military Office for the Angolan presidency. This relationship was confirmed with the

alliance of Trafigura Pte (Singapore) and a company called Cochan Pte (Singapore). The Director of Cochan Pte is General Dino and the sole shareholder is Cochan (Bahamas). This matrimony gave birth to DTS Holdings with Dino as one of the directors, and Geneva-based Claude Dauphin, one of the founders of Trafigura, the other. DTS Holdings earns extravagant profits from its oil operations owing to a staggering contract, valued at \$3.3 billion in 2011 – DTS exports Angolan crude and in return provides all of the oil-derivative products that Angola requires. There is a third Cochan, this time based in Angola. An investment contract worth \$931 million led to a partnership between Cochan (Angola) and Puma Energy, another subsidiary of Trafigura. Cochan has a majority holding in this lucrative creation known as Pumangol Holdings (British Virgin Islands). In 2011, Trafigura sold 20% of Puma Energy to Sonangol Holdings LDA, creating further links between the Swiss firm and their Angola interlocutors. Cochan's registered address in Angola is the same as the address for forty or so companies belonging to a trio of Angolan officials all close to President Dos Santos, in power since 1979. This "triumvirate", which dominates the economy, comprises, in addition to General Dino, current Angolan Vice-President and former CEO of Sonangol, Manuel Vicente, and General Kopelipa. They are subject to criminal investigations in Portugal for tax evasion and money laundering. Moreover, an American firm, Cobalt International Energy, is being investigated in the US as a result of its links to the trio<sup>63</sup>».

---

<sup>63</sup> See «Trafigura's business in Angola», by Berne Declaration (BD), press release of 3 February 2013, Switzerland, Related link: <http://www.evb.ch/en/p25021096.html>.

Once a thief always a thief! As we have just seen, the MPLA has not changed and will never change. Dos Santos' MPLA is as an anti-Africa and its people as Neto's MPLA. The shameful "curriculum vitae" of the MPLA as a liberation movement from 1963 to 1975 and as a ruling party since 1975 thus far requires that farsighted African and Asian leaders, who are willing to obstruct re-enslavement and extermination of their respective races in the not too distant future, look at it carefully and condemn and penalize it without delay. With the discreet aid of its powerful Western imperialist powers, the MPLA-government is long since frustrating the free functioning of democratic institutions in Africa and is managing to coerce the United Nations into postponing Cabinda's attainment of independence thanks to its nerve to buy off Heads of State, Members of Parliament, Political Parties, Religious Figures, Human Rights Organizations and so on and so forth, the world over, with the embezzled funds that would grant Angolan people living conditions by far better than the Swiss people have.

To win the trust and confidence of the USSR Ambassador in order to obtain financial and military support from Moscow, Neto's diplomacy had an appropriate progressive language; He was "concerned about the fact that this year [Ugandan leader] Idi Amin, who collaborates closely with [Zairian leader] Mobutu Sese Seko, will become the Chairman of the OAU". The "leopard" of Zaire was long since known and widely publicized by progressives as being the most vicious child of Western imperialist powers in Africa, hence the enemy par excellence of Black people's interests. By emphasizing the fact that the Chairman of OAU,

President Idi Amin Dada, who had the Cabinda issue as a priority in his agenda, collaborated closely with “America’s servant” Mobutu, Neto’s stance on Cabinda could not help being endorsed by the Soviet Union’s government, socialist countries and movements all over the world, growing Marxist-Leninist political parties in the West, and by emerging progressive forces in Africa. In spite of all efforts of Neto’s MPLA and allies, the democratically-elected President of the FLEC, Mr. Luís R. Franque, as well as the Prime Minister of his government in exile, Mr. Francisco Xavier Lubota, had been invited by the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity to appear at the OAU 12th Ordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government held in Kampala (Uganda) from 28 July to 1st August 1975. President Idi Amin did so in pursuance of the 1962 UN resolutions, as well as the 1963 OAU’s list of the African countries. Though, while Mr. Franque was pleading for a commitment from the assembled leaders in Kampala so that Cabinda could recover its political sovereignty, FLEC’s vice-president (Mr. Henriques Tiago Nzita) disseminated contradictory information through the famous RFI (Radio France Internationale), claiming himself to be the real representative of the Cabindan interests. That is how France came to the MPLA’s rescue at a particularly critical juncture, and that is how Mr. Nzita is committed to serving the interests of the Western European imperialist powers to the detriment of his own African people. Thus France’s satanic trickery and Neto’s MPLA, USSR and Cuba’s concerted and very unfair pressures on OAU Member States, as well as the cowardice of FLEC’s vice-president paved the way for the erasing of the Cabinda people’s just cause from the OAU’s agenda. In fact, Neto’s MPLA and its Western and

Eastern allies' wickedness prevented OAU from adopting a resolution on the situation in Cabinda, whereas they manipulated the very same Organization of African Unity in order to obtain the Resolution AHG/Res.72 (XII) on the Situation in Angola, adopted on the occasion of the said Summit, and whose paragraph 2 declares firmly, we quote: «The OAU “earnestly requests Portugal to assume, without delay and in an impartial manner, its responsibilities in Angola”». As for Mobutu Sese Seko's position regarding Cabinda and the great importance the United States attached to him, the work of Erik Hoffmann states:

«Chipenda had the great attraction over Neto from the Zairian point of view in that he was agreeable to dealing with the Cabinda issue as one of “local autonomy”, something much to Zaire's advantage since Mobutu was supporting an “independence” movement there. Zaire, because of its payments problem, faced a critical shortfall in imported petroleum products, and Cabinda, a small territory to the north of the Congo River separated from Angola proper, had petroleum reserves estimated to be in the region of 300 million tons. Moreover, Gulf Oil of Cabinda paid \$400 million in taxes and royalties to the Portuguese in 1974<sup>64</sup>.»

Though, unlike what we read above, Mobutu was not in favor of an independent Cabinda. Instead his main mission was to lull the Cabinda freedom fighters to sleep so the exploitation of Cabinda's oil by Portugal and USA could proceed without incident. In 1975, Mobutu's ties

---

<sup>64</sup> See «The Conduct of Soviet Foreign Policy», by Erik P. Hoffmann & Frederic J. Fléron Jr., Second Edition 1980, USA, p. 524.

with the United States were no longer a secret from anyone and the American officials were no longer hiding it from people. Let's recall, for that matter, that the then Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Edward W. Mulcahy, put it more clearly in testimony before a Senate subcommittee in 1975: "We do have, as you well know Mr. Chairman, a warm spot in our hearts for President Mobutu<sup>65</sup>." Furthermore, as Leslie H. Gelb reported in the *New York Times*, "the major reason for American involvement in Angola was to maintain good relations with President Mobutu Sese Seko, the man on whom Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger is banking to oppose Moscow in Africa and to further Washington's interests in various international forums<sup>66</sup>." Mobutu was widely criticized and scorned by progressive freedom fighters, like Agostinho Neto, owing to his connection with the United States that dated back to the turmoil of the early 1960s, the time when U.S. intervention helped dispose of Lumumba and assisted Mobutu's seizure of power and his consolidation of control. In the 1960s and 1970s most freedom fighters, including Dr. Neto, denounced U.S. intervention and exploitation by foreign corporations, i.e. Western capitalists. Western media could denounce them as "leftists", "communists", "Soviet puppets", or even "friends of Castro", but in Africa we

---

<sup>65</sup> Extract from: "Security Supporting Assistance for Zaire", Hearing Before the Subcommittee on African Affairs and the Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance of the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, 94<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, October 24<sup>th</sup>, 1975 (G.P.O., Washington, D.C., 1975), p. 32;

<sup>66</sup> Cited in "U.S. Policy on Angola", Hearing Before the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 94<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, January 26, 1976 (G.P.O., Washington, D.C., 1976), P. 13.

believed profoundly they embodied the “African Renaissance”, *id est* an African continent whose natives would live better than we were living under the European colonial yoke or under pro-imperialist regimes like Mobutu’s. They were widely portrayed by their Western and Eastern main providers of assistance as genuine nationalists and courageous enough to stand up to Western corrupting corporations. And yet, after the independence of Angola that was painfully gained with the aid of Soviets, Cubans, Chinese and progressives from across the globe, we did not wait a long time to realize that Angola’s colonial masters of the past, the European elite, have simply been replaced by a native Angolan elite. Instead of honoring its promise to ensure that Angola’s natural wealth and resources are well administered and fairly distributed to all natives so they could recover their dignity and humanity, the Black elite of the so-called sovereign and progressive State of Angola has, ever since independence in 1975, joined hands with Western and Eastern imperialists in a strange effort to mercilessly plunder the country. Is that the reasonable way to take revenge for what they have suffered during the European colonial era?

Despite political rhetoric, Angola is poorer today than it was under the Portuguese regime of Dr. António de Oliveira Salazar. In case of doubt, Cuba’s Fidel Castro should be consulted as he knows what it was. The Angolan nation is suffering from chronic hunger and extremely low income levels; her mineral resources are being exploited by careless foreign entities that take advantage of lax regulations and corrupt officials to avoid investing their profits locally, hence perpetuating weak economies and incompetent governments; thousands of

her lovely children die each year from hunger and hunger-related diseases; whereas the average life expectancy for Angola is forty-six, half of what it was in 15th century. Present-day Angola is a country where the statistics displayed by swindlers from around the world look so good, yet the reality is unbelievably bad. And the country's prevailing President Dos Santos is said to have studied in USSR, where he got both his former progressive (Communist) education and Russian wife. Thanks to MPLA leaders' disappointing conduct, we cannot help believing that a self-portrayed Communist is only Communist until he gets rich, and rich to the extent of feeling he has a right to play god to others including his own people. "The slave trade was arguably the most horrific and destructive act by men against men in a long history of human brutality. Add to it the ruthless repression of indigenous cultures, the influence of literature, art, and film that frequently portrayed the native peoples as less-than-human savages, the diversity of the colonial powers that swarmed Africa, and the outright attempts to divide, conquer, and exploit and it becomes tempting to conclude that Africa is the most thoroughly abused and the least understood region on the planet today<sup>67</sup>." Even though the MPLA-regime is a tool meant to facilitate the re-conquest of Africa and the re-enslavement of its natives by the European Union, both progressives and capitalists are tirelessly publicizing the very regime, i.e. Dos Santos', as a regime that is representing noble virtues, and is always doing the right thing for the greater good. In other words, progressives

---

<sup>67</sup> In «The Secret History of the American Empire – Economic Hit Men, Jackals, and the Truth About Global Corruption», by John Perkins, Ebury Publishing, USA 2007, p. 265.

are doing their best so that we religiously believe that the MPLA-regime is doing an excellent job, and not doing it for greedy gains. Does it make sense? We must acknowledge, however, that Angola and its MPLA-regime have become the meeting point par excellence between «Progressivism» and «Capitalism». Angolans and progressives the world over are well aware of the fact that “the very existence of Western Europe depends upon the resources of Africa”. And yet, a Western European man’s dog gets more in the way of nourishment, housing, medicine and medical care than the native African man and woman, for lack of genuine nationalistic leaders like Bolivia’s Evo Morales whose radical, pure and unadulterated love for his people is peerless. Here is what a Western politician of left or right-wing parties pass on to fellow citizens:

“If you ever intend to have children, and want them to live prosperous lives, you damn well better make sure that we control the African continent<sup>68</sup>.”

## 1.2. Moscow’s Coercion on African and Eastern European Allies

For certain, USSR did use means of coercion and pressure on African Heads of State as well as on its Eastern European allies in order to achieve a set of noble aims in Africa. Though, the main purpose here is not to put Moscow at the dock. Instead, we would like to draw

---

<sup>68</sup> John Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

Russian Federation's attention to USSR's past failures in Africa and, in so doing, help envision a more balanced political stance in the future. We cannot avoid such an obligation owing to our firm conviction that the Russian Federation has a key role to play, if justice is to be done to Black nations that have been deprived of justice for several centuries on a worldwide scale. Given Western democracies' ever greater contempt for international law and human rights as far as Africa and its Black people are concerned, we cannot help wishing the political resurgence of Russia as a global player, and exhorting her respected top leaders to champion justice and peace in behalf of the peoples who have been deprived of justice, traded as commodities and heartlessly enslaved due to our military powerlessness.

The persisting indifference of the UN Member States with regard to Angola's international crimes in Cabinda since 1975, which connotes the absence of apposite measures taken by the international legal community concerning international protection, humanitarian assistance, and the lack of real and fair will to clear up the legal-political problem between Cabindans, Portuguese and Angolans, is not only an outrageous denial of justice but also an illustration of the so devastating principle of "Might is Right", which is guiding even those democracies commonly known and trusted in the Western world as freedom, peace, and security lender of last resort.

Considering that the Russian Federation is Angola's foremost military ally, while the United States is Angola's strategic partner and one of the principal powers that purchase Cabinda's oil; and for the reason that both Russia and the United States are Permanent Members of

the United Nations Security Council, on which the UN Charter confers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security; we have a duty to point out the sad consequences of particular policies of the two great powers, and to remind the two countries of their international legal and moral obligations regarding countries like Cabinda, which are victims of such policies. We are of the opinion that policies carried out at the margins of the core values articulated in the tools of the international law cannot help ending up as wars on the United Nations ideal of universal peace. In view of that fact, and since our pledge is that the Russian Federation be a country and nation that push for the establishment of a more just and reasonable international political and economic order, we commit ourselves to verifying our path ahead is clear of mines, by making fair criticism of past mistakes and enhancing our awareness of related tragic consequences. Unlike Western European countries, China, and to a lesser extent the United States, Russia has immense natural resources and, therefore, does not have the same interest for Africa and its raw materials as the former three entities. Apart from that, the links between Russia and Africa also have a biological and cultural dimension, since the ancestor of the greatest poet of Russia, the very founder of the Russian language, Alexandre Pouchkine, was an African; probably originating from the region of Lake Chad, as demonstrated by the historian Dieudonné Gnammankou in his magnificent essay, «*Abraham Hanibal. L'Àïeul noir de Pouchkine*<sup>69</sup>». In view of all these facts (which speak volumes!), we are tempted to believe the mistakes

---

<sup>69</sup> See «*Abraham Hanibal. L'Àïeul noir de Pouchkine*» or “Abraham Hanibal. The black Ancestor of Pouchkine”, by Dieudonné Gnammankou, *Présence africaine*, Paris 1998.

that Moscow made in Africa in the 1970s were basically due to the malice of particular Western European powers and the idiocy of the then MPLA-leader Agostinho Neto who was almost terminally naïve about his Western handlers' intentions.

All things considered, Moscow's coercion on African Heads of State, as well as on its Eastern European allies, coercion aimed at denying Cabindans our right to self-determination and at motivating African diplomatic recognition of the MPLA regime, is an outrageous misconduct and demonstrates that Dr. Neto and his MPLA were not trustworthy person and liberation movement respectively in the eyes of most African leaders. Mobutu's ties with the USA and his relationship with Uganda's President Idi Amin are neither arguments nor facts likely to absolve Neto's MPLA and its progressive allies from their flagrant violation of international law in invading and occupying Cabinda in 1975. The fact of the matter is that the Ugandan leader [Idi A. Dada], the then Chairman of the OAU and so feared by the MPLA on account of his ties with Mobutu Sese Seko, as well as the Congolese President, Marien Ngouabi, and a number of other African leaders were not pursuing ideological objectives, but solely acting in compliance with the core values articulated in the tools of the international law, i.e. OAU's stance and relevant UN General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Besides, neither Marien Ngouabi nor Mobutu Sese Seke or even Idi Amin were Presidents of their respective countries when the OAU founding fathers had ranked Cabinda as the 39th African State in their list of the African countries, with Angola as 35th. Though, Neto's MPLA as well as Dos Santos' is used to blackmailing

African countries that shelter Cabindans; used to persecuting Cabindan refugees in Europe by bribing respective States; while urging its allies to rush to the defense of “African liberation and global anti-imperialism” by supporting its misconduct.

«In addition to its flagging fortunes on the battlefield, the MPLA ran up against increasing problems in securing their Soviet lifeline through the Congo. The flamboyant and independent minded Congolese leader, Colonel Ngouabi, had been angered by Neto’s persistent criticism of Brazzaville for sheltering Cabindan separatist groups. In an irate message to the Soviet ambassador, Ngouabi informed Moscow that he would no longer accept that Neto, “on the one hand, demands assistance from Congo, [and] on the other makes accusations against us.” By early August the Congolese had informed Afanasenko that they would not accept Soviet plans for large-scale support of the MPLA through Congolese territory. It was the threat to the “Congo connection” which, in early August, prompted Moscow to ask Fidel Castro—who had close connections with the Congolese leaders—to act as a facilitator for assistance to the MPLA. After the creation of the MPLA regime the Politburo authorized the Soviet General Staff to take direct control of the trans-Atlantic deployment of additional Cuban troops, as well as the supplying of these troops with advanced military hardware. The massive operation — the first Soviet effort of its kind — transported more than 12,000 soldiers by sea and air from Cuba to Africa between late October 1975 and mid-January 1976. In the same period it also provided FAPLA and the Cubans with hundreds of tons of heavy arms, as well as T-34 and T-54 tanks, SAM-7s, antitank missiles, and a number of MiG-21

fighter planes. It is still not possible to chart in any detail the logistics of the Soviet operation. What we do know is that the governments of several African countries agreed to assist with the enterprise. Congo was the main staging ground for personnel and arms arriving from Cuba and the Soviet Union (although in some cases An-22 transport planes flew directly from the southern USSR or from Cuba). Algeria, Guinea, Mali, and Tanzania cooperated with the efforts in different ways, even if the Soviets on some occasions had to push hard to get their cooperation. Moscow also had to push some of its East European allies to rush to the defense of “African liberation and global anti-imperialism” by supporting the MPLA<sup>70</sup>.»

The terrifying way Moscow, Havana and Neto’s MPLA constrained African leaders and the OAU into destroying Cabinda people’s rightful hopes of recovering our political sovereignty, thus drowning the best hopes of justice, peace and prosperity in Africa, makes us question whether the three progressive entities above are not mere tools of certain Western European States meant to intensify the devastation and human suffering in Africa. Moscow and Cuba claimed to be the purest progressive entities, displaying themselves as the ones that really long for justice and peace in behalf of the human family as a whole, and showing themselves rush to the defense of African liberation and global anti-imperialism by supporting Neto and Dos Santos’ MPLA. After all, the well-being of African peoples was/is pursued neither by the MPLA nor by Moscow and Fidel

---

<sup>70</sup> Dr. Odd Arne Westad, *op. cit.*, p.25.

Castro's Cuba. Conclusive proof of this is the quick manner the progressive MPLA metamorphosed into a kleptocracy par excellence that impoverish its own people and belittle Black people as a whole. Nonetheless, to our great surprise, Moscow and Havana continue to praise MPLA's Progressivism in the same way as Western European imperialist powers. Is that a mere coincidence or should we establish a causal link? In 1975, we saw Moscow make use of France's backyard (Congo-Brazzaville) to supply Neto's MPLA with weapons intended to occupy Cabinda, right? And in the 1990s there was «Angolagate», an international political scandal over the secret sale and shipment of weapons from Russia to the government of Angola by the Government of France. The said scandal has been tied to several prominent figures in French politics. It seems that the trilateral cooperation (Moscow, France, MPLA-regime) has a 50-year history and, since the very existence of Western Europe depends on African natural resources, we have no choice but believe Cabinda's oil and other resources were and remain the real and only purpose of France, USSR and Cuba's support for Neto and Dos Santos' MPLA.

«The events of the two last months of 1974 seemed to indicate that Moscow had made the right move. (...) About the same time, forces of the newly organized MPLA military wing – the FAPLA (Forças Armadas Popular para Libertação de Angola) – took control of most of the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda in the north. (...) Just as it had opened the gates for African acceptance of Soviet-Cuban aid to the MPLA, the by now defunct South African intervention also paved the way for

African diplomatic recognition of the new Angolan regime. By mid-February 1976, most African states had officially recognized Neto's government, as had the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in spite of attempts by its chairman, Ugandan President Idi Amin, to have the decision postponed. Soviet diplomatic efforts contributed significantly to this development, for instance in the case of Zambia, where President Kenneth Kaunda switched over to the MPLA's side after substantial Soviet pressure. (...) Reporting on Neto's visit to Havana in July 1976, the Soviet embassy noted with disapproval that Fidel Castro had told the Angolans that Cuban troops would remain in Africa "as long as they are needed," and that Neto had asked for Cuba's assistance in building a Marxist-Leninist party. Even worse, Castro had spoken of Angola, Cuba, and Vietnam as "the main anti-imperialist core" of the world.» – In *CWIHP Bulletin 8/9 Winter 1996/1997*, pp. 23-24, 27 & 28.

So many African Heads of state, like Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, switched over to the MPLA's side after substantial Soviet pressure. And those leaders, like President Marien Ngouabi, who were principled, willing to take risks for the cause they believed just, and did not bow to Cuban and Soviet pressures, paid the high price of the liberation struggle in the African continent. In a 1977 report to the then East Germany's President Erich Honecker after a southern Africa tour, Fidel Castro is not only critical of President Kaunda's political stance but also mentions the murder of President Ngouabi. The report in question is describing the situation in Africa and the potential for striking a blow against the imperialists in Africa.

«(...) In the Angola matter, Zambia took a very wrong position, in spite of the fact that she was not forced to do so. We had agreed with Angola not to visit Zambia. A few days before my visit to southern Africa the Katanga [Shaba] battles had begun and [People's Republic of the Congo President Marien] Ngouabi was murdered. (...) Things are going well in Angola. There are no grounds for dissatisfaction there. (...) The Soviet military advisors are active at the highest levels. (...) The Cuban troops are above all concentrated in Cabinda and in the defense of the capital, Luanda. (...) In the People's Republic of the Congo there is a confusing situation following Ngouabi's murder. The interior and defense ministers are competing for the leadership. There are also pro-Westerners in the military council. It is practically certain that the rightists murdered Ngouabi. But the left wing was also dissatisfied with him as well. In other words there was a relatively uncertain situation there. We sent Comrade Almeyda to the funeral, and hope that the situation will stabilize. We were also asked to send a military unit to Brazzaville. The internal problems of the country must be solved by the Congolese themselves however. (...) Angola is becoming closer to the socialist camp. It bought 1.5 billion rubles of weapons from the Soviets<sup>71</sup>.»

Joseph-Pierre Proudhon, a French thinker and politician, was known as the fierce adversary of Karl Marx. Very soon Proudhon and his ideas were put in the shade by Marx, since the latter's ideas gained an increasing public attention on a worldwide scale.

---

<sup>71</sup> See Cold War International History Project – “CWIHP” Bulletin 8/9 Winter 1996/1997, pp. 18-20.

Although this was cause for frustration, the French drew from their frustration the needed intellectual strength aimed at proving Marx the Frenchman Proudhon was greater. The political mentor of Neto's MPLA, Lúcio Lara, had been fed Proudhon's reasoning while in France in the late 1950s and early 1960s, as was denounced in 1977 by Angola's first Interior Minister, the late Nito Alves. As a Proudhon's follower, Lúcio Lara strived for a «*cohabitation of classes*» in Angola and did put into practice his belief according to which «*business is the ultimate goal of any political act*». So Marxism-Leninism both in Moscow and Havana had been converted into *Proudhonism*, i.e. into profiteering, which Castro is not hiding from us: "Angola is becoming closer to the socialist camp. It bought 1.5 billion rubles of weapons from the Soviets." The more you buy weapons from the most powerful socialist country the more you become closer to the socialist camp, as we understand it. Hence, we cannot help claiming that Cabinda's crude oil and other raw materials were and continue to be the sole purpose of Western capitalists and Eastern progressives' obvious criminal game that consisted in jointly trampling on Cabinda people's lawful right to self-determination and independence. From the work of Piero Gleijeses we learn that "Havana firmly believed that it had a duty to help those who were struggling for their freedom" and that "Cuba was willing to take risks for a cause it believed just". Is not «Cabinda» a cause Cuba believed just? The fact is that progressive countries' 1964-1989 *modus operandi* in sub-Saharan Africa, which appears to be in parfait agreement with Western European imperialists' interests, was meant to thwart the progress in behalf of Black peoples that time demands.

«Júlio was amazed when I told him that, according to Chevron, the Malongo oil complex in Cabinda continues to be protected by a thick border of landmines laid by the Cubans in the 1970s. Notably, the relationship between the MPLA and Gulf Oil didn't only upset Angolan Marxists. Similar tensions existed beyond Angola's borders, with New Right groups in America and members of the US administration trying to force Gulf Oil to abandon its oil operations in Cabinda. The US group, the Heritage Foundation, alleged that Gulf was paying the MPLA US\$5 million a day in royalties, money they claim was being used to pay the Soviet Union and Cuba for arms<sup>72</sup>.» Did not the relationship between Castro's Cuba, Neto's MPLA (self-styled progressive party) and the American Oil Company upset Soviet and Cuban Marxists in particular and world progressives in general? However, a close look at the assignment of Fidel Castro's troops around Chevron-Texaco's compound in Cabinda, from 1975 thus far, we end up concluding that Fidel and Raul Castro are but mere workers of the American capitalist group called «Chevron». Hence, the ongoing colonization of Cabinda by Angola cannot simply be looked at as owing to the ideological confrontation East-West, as the two blocs are proving to perform a devilish profiteering based on racial discrimination.

---

<sup>72</sup> See « The 27 May in Angola: a view from below », Lara Pawson, Lisbon 2007, p. 18; Also George Wright, *The Destruction of a Nation: United States' Policy Toward Angola since 1945*, Pluto Press, London, 1997. And also John Stockwell, *In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story*, WW Norton, New York, 1978.

### 1.3. African Leaders' Simplistic Approach to World Affairs

The KGB reports<sup>73</sup> of the early 1970s emphasize that African leaders had a simplistic approach to world affairs, understanding neither the conflict between the East and West nor the nature of American imperialism. Furthermore, that the black political leaders of Southern Africa felt that their efforts to gain aid from Washington had failed, and that the Soviet Union was the only major power which could assist them in reaching their political and social goals.

African progressive leaders like Dr. Agostinho Neto, in the eyes of Moscow, did not have a much broader, more integrated approach to world affairs! In a word, the Soviets considered them to be absolutely naïve, artless, childlike, so much so that Moscow, Havana and Western partners decided to just handle those leaders at will. MPLA leaders would have known that a simplistic approach to resolving intricate problems always create more problems had they been born in Cabinda. Depending upon our researches, the second President of the MPLA, Dr. Neto, was first of all a man with a deeply unbalanced self-esteem who unfortunately fell into the devilish hands of Lúcio Lara who eventually made a puppet of him; Lara gave Neto a Portuguese girl in marriage at which he himself played the best man. President Neto was surrounded by Lara and a couple of Lara's friends who were filling his head with the wrong

---

<sup>73</sup> In Cold War International History Project – “CWIHP” Bulletin 8/9 Winter 1996/1997, p. 22.

stuff<sup>74</sup>. The second issue is that President Neto was a boozier close assistants would get to sign important documents when he was drunk. Hence, Dr. Neto was an alcoholic par excellence certain outsiders (Western European imperialists) used as mere black figurehead through his close assistants. Our conclusion is that the real leader of the MPLA was Lúcio Lara. But was Lara a man with a simplistic approach to world affairs or did he just pretend to be a childlike to suit his veritable masters someplace in Western Europe?

What is certain is that ever since Neto and Lara usurped the MPLA leadership at the expense of its founding fathers Viriato da Cruz and Mário Pinto de Andrade in 1963, the movement became more and more perverted in all fields. Since they became the principal leaders of the MPLA, the movement lost the sense of purpose and direction, and its leaders appeared to be overconfident and embroiled down in their self-interests, so much so that Neto and Lara and their MPLA became increasingly mistrusted by most African leaders of the early 1960s. They were suspected of being agents of Western European neocolonialists whose objective was to maintain African natives under the yoke of poverty generated by the colonial system. Neto and Lara's Western allies had to depose all African Presidents who proved to be a hindrance to their goals in Africa by refusing to endorse Neto and Lara's MPLA unconditionally; think of Presidents J. Kasa-Vubu of the Congo (DRC) and Youlou Fulbert of Congo-Brazzaville! It turns out that the facts (human rights abuse, political

---

<sup>74</sup> See « The 27 May in Angola: a view from below », Lara Pawson, Lisbon 2007, pp. 9-12.

repression, ethnic persecution, swindle, corruption, extrajudicial killings, and nepotism) of which the MPLA leaders were accused by African leaders including Holden Roberto (FNLA) in the early 1960s, and later by Nito Alves in 1977 are the very same facts that Dos Santos' regime is being accused of nowadays. That is shown by the fact that, on 6 February 2013, the German diplomat Gunter Nooke, incumbent director general for African Affairs, has conditioned the increase of his country's investments in Angola to an end to corruption as well as to bureaucracy of the institutions that oversee businesses in the country<sup>75</sup>.

All things considered, African leaders like MPLA's with simplistic approach to world affairs, as is emphasized in KGB reports, were leaders purposely promoted by Western imperialist powers for the cause of mafia-type wheeling and dealing to the detriment of African nations. So Moscow and Havana's obvious coercion on African leaders with a view to defeating the Cabindan people's legitimate hopes of achieving self-determination and independence is to be explained partly by the MPLA leaders' foolishness and duplicitous behavior that are still undermining the cause of peace in Southern Africa. Che Guevara, the Marxist revolutionary, diplomat, guerrilla leader, and military theorist from Argentina, who did also set foot on the soil of Cabinda in the 1960s in behalf of Neto and Lara's MPLA, does also refer to African leaders' simplistic approach to world affairs.

---

<sup>75</sup> See «É preciso combater a corrupção, diz enviado alemão a Luanda» or “We need to combat corruption, says German Envoy to Luanda”, by Venâncio Rodrigues/Voz da América (VOA), published on 7 February 2013.

«...I explained to them why we considered the war for the liberation of the Congo to be of fundamental importance: victory there would have repercussions throughout the continent, as would defeat. Their reaction was more than cold; even though most refrained from making any comment, some bitterly reproached me. They stated that their people, ill-treated and abused by the imperialists, would object if they were to suffer losses to free not their own, but another country. I tried to make them understand that the real issue was not the liberation of any given state, but a common war against the common master, who was one and the same in Mozambique and in Malawi, in Rhodesia and in South Africa, in the Congo and in Angola, but not one of them agreed. Their goodbyes were polite and frosty<sup>76</sup>.»

As soon as the KGB agreed with Che Guevara's remarks on African liberation movement leaders' artlessness, Moscow concluded that it had the fate of the African nations of Southern Africa in its hands, since their leaders' efforts to gain aid from Washington had failed. There was indeed despair, or even hopelessness, among African freedom fighters who first sought help from the United States of America in the early 1960s. In an interview with Tor Sellström in 1995, the first President of the independent Zambia, Kenneth D. Kaunda, did mention the failure of the West to provide assistance to African liberation movements, in his response to the question of whether he was supporting

---

<sup>76</sup> Excerpt from Ernesto "Che" Guevara's «*Pasajes de la Guerra revolucionaria (Congo)*» on his meeting with African liberation movement leaders in [Tanzania] Dar-es-Salaam in February 1965, See: CWIHP Bulletin 8/9 Winter 1996/1997, p. 13.

the East in an East-West confrontation, inasmuch as he supported the movements that received military aid from the Communist bloc.

«Kenneth Kaunda: Those who did not know the leaders of the liberation movements might have thought that way. But for those of us who knew them it was different. They were pushed against the wall and they had to get arms from the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China simply because they had to fight. You can refer to the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa, where we – the Heads of State of this region – made it clear that the liberation movements that could attain independence through non-violent methods should do so. But we had no moral or political right in the situation prevailing at the time to say that if they could not attain independence through peaceful means: 'Do not fight!'. We had no right at all. We urged them: 'If you can negotiate peacefully, please, by all means, do so. But if you cannot, we will support the means you decide to use.' And this is what happened. It did not mean that we were siding with the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China. If the West had given them arms, the liberation movements would have been very happy to receive them. They did not have a choice in this matter. They had to go to the countries where they could receive this aid, like the Eastern European countries and the People's Republic of China, who supported them and backed them very strongly and fully<sup>77</sup>».

---

<sup>77</sup> See: «Liberation in Southern Africa – Regional and Swedish Voices: Interviews from Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, the Frontline and Sweden», by Tor Sellström, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 2002, p. 238.

We simply do not agree with Che Guevara and KGB's conclusion according to which African leaders had a simplistic approach to world affairs, for we are of the opinion that they should not have generalized from exclusively two or three individual cases observed. There is and will always be an enormous danger in generalizing from exceptions! The Argentine guerilla leader was just unlucky enough to be at the wrong place at the wrong time and, without a doubt, with the wrong people like the MPLA leaders. The remarkable inclusion of Cabinda in the OAU's list of the African countries in 1963 is something that proves the fact that there were, among the memorable OAU founding fathers, the sense of purpose and a very strong feeling of belonging to the African entirety. In that case, Guevara's idea of "a common war against the common master" was not a novelty to the first Presidents of independent African countries in the early 1960s. In this connection, all we have to do is understand the profound meaning of President Youlou's political party purposely called "UDDIA" (Democratic Union for the Defense of African Interests). Does not it speak volumes? In 1962, the then leader of the Cabinda people's struggle for independence from Portugal went to United Nations (New York) thanks to his financial and diplomatic support, and FLEC was born under his auspices in August 1963. Hence, African leaders' approach to world affairs was not so simplistic.

We learn from the valuable work<sup>78</sup> of Piero Gleijeses that "Havana firmly believed that it had a duty to help

---

<sup>78</sup> See «Havana's Policy in Africa, 1959-76: New Evidence from Cuban Archives», by Piero Gleijeses, in Cold War International History Project (CWIHP) Bulletin 8/9 Winter 1996/1997, p. 12.

those who were struggling for their freedom”. According to the same source, this belief was the strong idealistic motive that *inter alia* marked Cuban policy in Africa. “The Cubans understood better than anyone that they had the duty to help their brothers to become free”, a PAIGC leader is quoted as saying. “This policy would not have been possible without the volunteers – men who freely chose to risk their lives and endure sacrifices in order to serve Cuba and help others”, the book also reads. Individual Cubans, particularly Blacks, did volunteer on their own free will to help free African countries from the European colonial yoke ever since the late 1950s. There is no doubt about that. Yet, there seem to be discrepancies between the real motives and purposes of the individual Cubans (volunteers) and those of the Commander in chief Fidel Castro himself. The question arises as to whether Moscow and Havana were proving their continued willingness to take risks for a cause they believed just, by coercing OAU and African leaders into refraining from endorsing our right to recover our country’s political sovereignty, thus making the belligerent occupation and ensuing colonization of Cabinda easier for the MPLA, and into granting the MPLA regime diplomatic recognition even though the concerned African leaders had good reasons to not trust such regime!

Regarding the inference that the Soviet Union was the only major power which could assist African liberation movements in reaching their political and social goals, given Washington’s abstention at the time, we dare say KGB was not wrong. And, unless the United States stops taking into consideration the views of its Western European allies alone, Russian Federation is one of the world powers Africans can still rely on if we are to

recover our lost dignity. We fully believe that Soviets and Cubans did long for an Africa and its peoples totally free from the dehumanizing yoke of the Western imperialists. Nevertheless, we also believe these two progressive powers had been indirectly misguided in their approach for the accomplishment of their goals in Africa. Western European States, which we know are long since aware that the very existence of their nations depends on African natural resources, did the best they could to damage the international standing (moral and political authority) of both Moscow and Castro's Cuba. Today, at a time when a Western new scramble for Africa is taking place, Moscow and Havana's moral and political authority lacks the strength and the reliability that were theirs in the 1960s and early 1970s. Soviets and Cubans had been purposely misguided by Western European imperialist powers so they could be blamed for exactly the very same thing they previously blamed the West for, *id est* absolute contempt for international law and human rights in Africa. Both USSR and Cuba showed total disregard for the righteousness of OAU and the United Nations, as they trampled on the political rights of the Cabinda people in order to establish the prevailing kleptocratic dictatorship in Angola. While Mobutu Sese Seko was viewed as being agent of Washington (imperialism's capital) and José Eduardo dos Santos as the one of Moscow (progressivism's capital), the difference between the unbearable consequences of the two bloody dictatorships is not significant. What emerges from all this is that Africa, the United States and the Russian Federation are the main losers, whereas France and, by extension, the European Union are the major winners. However, the United States and the Russian Federation still have the potential to be a force of global

stability. We cannot help, in this regard, echoing the striking call of the Human Rights Watch Executive Director, in this instance Mr. Kenneth Roth, we quote: «Time to Abandon the Autocrats and Embrace Rights!» Since Western European States believe that they must maintain a direct or indirect colonial power over Africa in order for their nations to survive, they cannot help viewing the Members of the UN Special Committee on Decolonization or C-24 as their foremost enemies. That is why Western European powers misguided both USSR and Cuba; that is why they are bribing China by allowing their African puppet governments to do business with Chinese; that is why countries like Syria, Russia, Iran, and Mali are in trouble at this point in time; and that is why countries like India, Indonesia, Venezuela, and the other members of C-24 should assume their international legal obligations regarding occupied countries like Cabinda and should resist the lure of the European imperialist powers in Africa.

#### 1.4. Neto was trusted neither by USSR nor by African Leaders

Bearing in mind the facts, it is clear that of all African leaders (Heads of State and liberation movements' leaders) of the 1960s and 1970s, Dr. António Agostinho Neto was beyond doubt the worst to extent of brushing against absolute idiocy. It is however understandable since he simply was a Black figurehead in the hands of his own Western European closest assistants. Neto was not a trustworthy person in the eyes of most African leaders, particularly those of the two independent neighbors, i.e.

Congo-Kinshasa (DRC) and Congo-Brazzaville, for a set of reasons. First of all, the Congolese leaders were unwilling to endorse a new born Angolan liberation movement in the early 1960s, in this instance the MPLA, as there was already the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) in the Congo since the late 1950s. So the Congolese leaders wanted to fully support only one Angolan liberation movement. We are of the opinion that they were right in this matter. Secondly, within the MPLA itself, there was an extremely pronounced internal racial and ideological fight that immediately caused the Congolese leaders' reticence about the MPLA. Thirdly, the Congolese leaders did witness the brutal and so undemocratic way Neto and his mentor Lúcio Lara usurped the leadership of the MPLA in 1963. Apart from all that, Neto's heartless behavior within the MPLA and his superiority complex peculiar to *assimilados* did not help him win the trust of African Heads of State either. These are the root causes of the fierce antagonism between Neto's MPLA and the Congolese leaders, and by extension all founding fathers of the OAU. In short, the MPLA was suspected by African leaders of playing the card of the Western European imperialists ever since Neto and Lara became its main leaders<sup>79</sup>.

The question arises as to how did Neto's MPLA manage to overcome the Congolese leaders' resistance and triumph over its internal adversaries? The apposite response to this pertinent question depends upon our

---

<sup>79</sup> See a 1962 letter/answer of the FNLA President Holden Roberto to the MPLA President Agostinho Neto, in: «*Angola: 20 Ans de Guerre Civile*» or «Angola: 20 Years of Civil War», by Dia Kassembe, L'Harmattan, Paris 1995, pp. 232-234.

capableness to understand what has generated the revolutionary effectiveness of the MPLA as an exiled movement. Though, another question arises! Why did not the MPLA leaders just join the FNLA, which existed since the 1950s and was already fighting against the Portuguese colonial regime, instead of putting in place another liberation movement? As it is true that Neto and Lara's MPLA was not trusted by most African leaders, it is nonetheless true that the very MPLA was a trustworthy movement in the eyes a number of Western European States and leaders. No doubt the alliances with the latter as well as the logistical, financial and political assistance from them turn out to be what has generated the revolutionary effectiveness of the MPLA, has paved the way for the undemocratic takeover by the MPLA during the decolonization process in 1975, and has permitted the consolidation of the MPLA criminal regime up till now. "On the eve of the Portuguese coup in April 1974, the MPLA was at a greater military and diplomatic disadvantage than the FNLA<sup>80</sup>." Despite all its drawbacks on a national and continental (African) scale, and despite all serious crimes of international concern that the laws hold it accountable for, the MPLA is still managing to impose its power to the great displeasure of the peoples of Angola and Cabinda. How come?

That cannot be fully understood if we lose sight of what is really at stake. Here is what in fact is and will be for ever at stake, we quote once again the Portuguese Foreign Minister: "the very existence of Western Europe depends upon the resources of Africa and the continued

---

<sup>80</sup> See «The Foreign Policy of Angola under Agostinho Neto (Master's Thesis)», by Gregory Michael Saunders, USA 1983, p. 13.

control exercised by the Western European powers over this continent”. For those of us who cannot easily realize the magnitude of this belligerent announcement, we must reproduce the statement of interest made by the columnist Finian Cunningham: «During the 19th Century, the leading European powers – Britain, France, Belgium, Germany and Italy – raced to grab territories across the African continent in what was then called the “Scramble for Africa”. Millions of Africans were killed or starved as the European armies rivaled each other to loot the immense resources.» In case Cunningham’s statement is not convincing enough, than we have to have recourse to John Perkins’ work that *inter alia* reads: “If you ever intend to have children, and want them to live prosperous lives, you damn well better make sure that we control the African continent.” Unlike African leaders who easily lower our watchfulness and neglect the fact that we are at war, in every field and every minute, with Western European leaders, the latter are ceaselessly on their guard as they are convinced that their perpetuity as a race on earth depends on their capability to debase and little by little exterminate the Black race on the Continent as well as in the Diaspora. This makes us understand why European imperialist powers regard jungle law as the rule of their greed’s survival. The lesson to learn from this is simply that as long as we Africans do not mentally take the reigns, and utilize the power of our mind to chart the course to our goals, the very existence of Blacks as a race has its days numbered.

Now that we know what is at stake, we can go back to the fundamental question just asked above and reasonably be in agreement with what we consider to be the objective response. So how come Neto and Dos

Santos' MPLA, as a liberation movement and a ruling party, is successfully imposing its power to the great displeasure of the Angolan and African people at large, despite its recurrent and undeniable war crimes and crimes against humanity? Neto and Lara and Dos Santos' MPLA owes its very existence and political "successes" to Western European imperialist powers' effort to keep Africa under their control. In other words, the MPLA under Neto and Dos Santos leadership is the expression of the European Union's will in the Congo Basin. The «Congo factor» must be adequately understood in order for us to get the real picture as for why Western European powers wanted to have the MPLA that we are having since Neto and Lara became the main leaders. The «Congo factor» connotes a strange and deep-rooted Western European imperialists' fear to see the resurgence of the Congo with its political and economic power and radiance in former days. When both Congo-Brazzaville and Congo-Kinshasa (today DRC) became independent in 1960, the Heads of State of these two countries, respectively Fulbert Youlou and Joseph Kasa-Vubu, decided to make common cause with fellow African peoples still under the colonial yoke at the time. So they embraced the cause of Cabinda represented by MLEC under the leadership of Luís Ranque Franque, as well as the one of Angola represented by FNLA under the leadership of Holden Roberto. The ethnic ties ("Bakongo") between the four leaders aforementioned and their political congruity were immediately seen by Western European imperialist powers as a serious threat to their evil purposes in the Congo Basin. In their eyes, nothing was more likely to make possible the resurgence of the powerfulness and radiance of the Congo of an earlier era than the coalition of independent Congo-

Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa, Cabinda, and Angola having as Heads of State people from the very same ethnic group, i.e. Bakongo. Let us not forget the fact that the Bakongo, from whom the FNLA drew its popular support, have also been the forces in the forefront in the whole Congo Basin's politics and nationalism throughout its history. Our European brothers in Christ decided not only to remove the distinguished political role of the Bakongo, but also to obstruct Cabinda's attainment of independence and to erect Neto's MPLA as a force meant to debase the political prominence of FNLA and, by extension, of the Bakongo. But why Neto's MPLA was then and is still Western European imperialist powers' predilection? "The MPLA drew its ethno-populist support from the *Mbundu* groups of north-central Angola who historically were the implacable foes of the Bakongo peoples of northern Angola and southwestern Zaire<sup>81</sup>." Two Portuguese writers, in this instance F. Pigafetta and D. Lopes, are giving us not only an interesting description of the Empire of the Congo and its surroundings by the end of the 16th century (1591), but also a remarkable picture of the very Congo's administrative divisions<sup>82</sup>. The picture, in addition, helps us realize that the Empire was densely populated with a strong administrative structure, as well as to locate the "Ngola kingdom" (*Mbundu*) and notice the enmity between "Ngola" and the Congo Empire.

---

<sup>81</sup> Gregory Michael Saunders, op. cit., p. 13; N.B.: Zaire is the name of the very Congo-Kinshasa while under the leadership of Mobutu (1965-1997), and renamed Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) by Laurent Kabila;

<sup>82</sup> The fullest bibliography and the most precise description to date are to be found in W. G. L. Randles, 1968.

«The Kingdom is divided into six provinces: Bamba, Sogno, Sundi, Pango, Batla and Pemba. Bamba, the largest and richest, is governed by Dom Sebastião Mani Mamba, a cousin of King Dom Alvaro, who died recently; it is situated along the coast from the river Ambrize in the south to the Coanza river; there are many dependent lords, of whom the most important are Dom António Mani Mamba, brother of Dom Sebastião and lieutenant governor, Mani Lemba, Mani Dandi, Mani Bango, Mani Luanda, who is chief of the Island of Luanda, Mani Corimba, Mani Coanza and Mani Cazzani. All these lords have authority in the coastal part of the country. In the interior, on the Angola side, we hear of the Ambundo, who are also the responsibility of Mani Bambre: these are the Angasi (Ngasi), Chinhengo (Kungengo), Motolo, Cabonda and many others of less noble blood. Note that the word *mani* means 'Lord' and that the second part of the name denotes the country, the lordship. Thus, for example, Mani Bamba means 'Lord of the region of Bamba' and Mani Corimba, 'Lord of Corimba', Corimba being part of Bamba, and so it is for the other lords (...) Bamba, as we said, is the main province of the Congo; it is the key to the kingdom, its shield and its sword, its defense, its bastion against the enemy... its inhabitants are courageous and always ready to take up arms, 'to drive back the enemies from Angola'... in case of need an army of four hundred thousand warriors can be mustered<sup>83</sup>».

---

<sup>83</sup> In «General History of Africa – IV – Africa from the twelfth to the sixteenth century», Editor D.T. Niane, UNESCO, 1984, p. 573; Translated from the French version (1965) by the authors of '*General History of Africa*'; (There is also an English translation, 1881).

Those whose principal endeavor is to subjugate and humiliate the entire world, African continent in particular, are long since doing their best to obstruct the political rebirth of the nations and countries that have had in the past a historic influence worldwide. The Congo Empire's ancient radiance is something that poses a serious problem to those who intend to impose themselves as owners of the world par excellence. Due to the interminable wars ever since the 16th century, the Congo Empire is among the African regions that had purveyed most of the Slaves. But why was Neto and is Dos Santos' MPLA loved by Western European imperialist powers? History shows that the «Kingdom of Ngola» (*Mbundu*) has never been part of the Congo Empire. Instead «Ngola» was the Congo Empire's most fierce enemy, and European imperialist powers had used him in their project aimed at thoroughly destroying the enviable Congo Empire. That is why the MPLA (*Mbundu*) is elected to help subjugate the Bakongo people and prevent true emancipation and integral development of the countries that are now standing on the Congo Empire's former territorial space. So Dr. Agostinho Neto and his MPLA were not trustworthy in the eyes of the Congolese and various African leaders who were well aware of the traditional betrayal of Neto's ethnic group, whose collusion with Western European powers in the destruction of the Congo Empire is self-evident. "Publicly, Kasavubu supported Roberto's aims for an independent Angola. During this period, Kasavubu continued to shut off the MPLA from access to Leopoldville [now Kinshasa] and consistently blocked MPLA contact with their supporters in the Dembos-Nambuanguongo forest region north of Luanda<sup>84</sup>." In fact, Neto and Dos Santos' MPLA-regime

---

<sup>84</sup> Gregory Michael Saunders, op. cit., p. 16.

proves to be the most precious tool Westerners have in the Congo Basin; since the MPLA ethnical grassroots are a tiny minority in Angola, and given the *Mbundu's* (MPLA) deep-rooted fear of reprisals on the part of its two giant antagonistic ethnic groups, i.e. the Ovimbundu in the south and the Bakongo in the north of Angola, MPLA leaders have no choice but rely on Westerners. In order to reinforce and protract the MPLA dependence upon Western imperialist powers, the latter are used to manipulating the Angolan main opposing ethnic groups to such an extent that the MPLA always ends up murdering thousands of Bakongo and Ovimbundu people. It is also used to assassinating the political leaders of these two ethnic groups who have found or are simply likely to find in the entire Angolan nation an attentive ear. These cyclical and cruel political assassinations and mass murders make it impossible for Angolans to reconcile. Yet, the continual absence of the needed national reuniting not only perpetuates and hardens the mistrust of most Angolans towards the MPLA and its foreign mentors, but also permits Western imperialist powers and respective Eastern allies to continue to plunder Angola of its treasures, thus impoverishing the Angolan natives even more.

One has to look at the MPLA propaganda, which is the exact copy of Western powers' when they decide to blow up an antipathetic regime, to grasp how bloodthirsty the manipulation of the MPLA by its godfathers is, and hence understand why the MPLA has always lacked the trust of Angolans, not to mention Cabindans, and of most African leaders. Ever Since the 1960s, all those who really care about the natives' suffering and dare speak about high-level corruption among some of President's

close associates, and dare hearten the MPLA to make concrete positive changes, are first debased through an extremely demonizing propaganda before they are murdered. The entire MPLA propaganda is meant to prompt its brainwashed followers to carry out mass murders of which Ovimbundu and Bakongo people appear to be the victims par excellence. “We’d been fed this propaganda that the FNLA [Bakongo] were killing their enemy and eating the flesh<sup>85</sup>.” However, the Angolan people as a whole came to realize that such accusation was a falsehood only decades later, after hundreds of thousands of Bakongo people perished. In a July 1977 MPLA document on the so-called coup attempt by Nito Alves on 27 May 1977, you can see how the MPLA top leaders usually make calls to their supporters and the public alike to carry out mass murders. “... *corresponder ao sentimento nacional de castigar sem perdão todos quantos revelassem responsabilidades na sua organização e execução. Viva a Unidade da Nação! Morte aos fraccionistas! ...A Vitória é Certa! Apliquemos a Ditadura Democrática Revolucionária para acabar de vez com os sabotadores, com os parasitas, com os especuladores*<sup>86</sup>.” In this connection, it is worth to hear Lara Pawson, the British journalist who became acquainted with the MPLA propaganda: «It is an extraordinary read and no doubt some of the information in it is true. Nevertheless, as I waded through page after page of allegations, my doubts about the truth of the Nito

---

<sup>85</sup> See « The 27 May in Angola: a view from below », Lara Pawson, Lisbon 2007, p. 11;

<sup>86</sup> In « *A tentativa de golpe de estado de 27 de Maio de 77, Informação do Bureau Politico do MPLA* », 12 de Julho de 1977, Edições “Avante!”, p. 50.

Alves uprising grew. There was something terribly familiar about the writing style: it was too excessive, too strong, too aggressive. I was reminded of the MPLA propaganda I had been fed as a correspondent in Angola during the war, all those unquestioned exaggerations and manipulations that were promoted through the state media<sup>87</sup>». It is thus interesting to know that apart from Cabindans and most African leaders and Angolans who did not trust Dr. Agostinho Neto and his MPLA, USSR leaders did not either. That is what the excerpts below witness.

«In the civil war which the ambassador predicted, the “reactionaries” would initially have the initiative, and the MPLA would depend on “material assistance from progressive countries all over the world” just to survive. Politically, however, Neto’s group, as the “most progressive national-liberation organization of Angola,” would enjoy considerable support. On the organizational side, one should not think of the MPLA as a vanguard party, or even as a party at all, but rather as a loose coalition of trade unionists, progressive intellectuals, Christian groups, and large segments of the petty bourgeoisie. (...) Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere attempted to get the Soviets to increase the pressure on the MPLA leadership to make the necessary concessions to forge such an alliance. Nyerere, – sympathetic to the MPLA’s political aims, – was exasperated by Neto’s unbending demands in the negotiations. The Angolan leader was “a good poet and doctor,” Nyerere told the East German ambassador, but “a bad politician.” Nyerere

---

<sup>87</sup> Lara Pawson, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

also warned the Soviets against direct involvement in the Angolan conflict. African countries would react sharply against any form of foreign intervention, Nyerere said<sup>88</sup>».

«The Soviet cadres in Angola were, by 1976, very satisfied with the way both Angolans and Cubans had respected Moscow's political primacy during the war. According to the embassy, Neto realized his dependence on Soviet assistance and, equally important, that it was Moscow, not Havana, who made the final decisions. Even though the embassy still did not trust Neto fully, they admitted that he had performed to their liking during these battles. In the spring of 1976 he continued to press for more Soviet military instructors, an attitude which the chargé d'affaires in Luanda, G.A. Zverev, held up as a sign of the Angolan president's dedication to the new alliance, even if Neto had not yet consented to request permanent Soviet military bases<sup>89</sup>».

While in the eyes of the late Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere and other African leaders Neto was «a bad politician», in those of USSR leaders he was not a trustworthy person. This simply means that progressives in Africa and in USSR had their suspicions about Neto and his MPLA. Interesting! Though, in spite of that, there were a number of political leaders and businessmen who not only trusted Neto fully, but did their best so he could become the first Head of State of the independent Angola. Who are they, who trusted Neto so much on behalf of the Angolan natives and African leaders? To our surprise, they are Western Europeans and Americans who claimed

---

<sup>88</sup> In "CWIHP" Bulletin 8/9 Winter 1996/1997, p. 24;

<sup>89</sup> See "CWIHP" Bulletin 8/9 Winter 1996/1997, p. 27.

or claim to be Liberals, progressives or Social Democrats. Neto's MPLA was trusted by most leaders of the Nordic countries from whom it received logistical and financial support. In a priceless interview with Tor Sellström (TS) on 28 February 1996, Per Wästberg's (PW)<sup>90</sup> answers prove to be of much assistance. To the pertinent question how did Southern African leaders see the Nordic countries at the beginning of the 1960s, whether as Western capitalist countries or socialist countries, Per Wästberg's response is, we quote: "They saw us, I think, as Western, but social democratic. Most of them saw us as an ideal, while the Russians were necessary for them and they felt attracted to the Americans because of their freedom tradition. England was the colonial power. Also, we were a small country and they were small. That was a kind of link. And, again, Hammarskjöld was such a name in Africa, especially after being killed on African soil. (...) 'Agostinho Neto – (...) – was much shyer. A difficult person, I think. You could not think of him as a popular speaker'." As to why the Swedish government that supported the so-called authentic liberation movements never extended its assistance to other liberation movements, such as FNLA and UNITA of Angola (...), the answer of Per Wästberg is as follows: "On the whole we supported the first movements and not the breakaway groups, except for ZANU. (...) With regard to Angola, I think that everybody who had met Holden Roberto and other representatives of FNLA-often

---

<sup>90</sup> Mr. Per Wästberg is well known as the Founder of the Swedish Fund for the Victims of Racial Oppression in South Africa; Swedish South Africa Committee; Board member of the International Defence and Aid Fund; Vice President of Swedish Amnesty International; Chief Editor of *Dagens Nyheter*; and Member of the Consultative Committee on Humanitarian Assistance.

dressed in smart suits-could not trust them a bit. Even if Roberto tried to seduce the Liberals and also managed to some extent! I have met him a few times. I immediately thought that this was a person that you should not have any deep relations with, regardless of ideology. He was a tribal man, I would say. It was recognized. Regarding UNITA, I think that in the beginning several of us were giving them a chance, which was never the case with FNLA. (...) Savimbi was, of course, here in order to get support. I was not totally impressed and to Schori's credit I must say that he was even less impressed. But we both recognized that Savimbi – in contrast to Roberto – was a forceful, persuasive talker and a personality. Not unsympathetic. Very civilized, one thought at the time<sup>91</sup>.”

Organizations such as the Swedish National Union of Students (SFS), the Swedish South Africa Committee, the Fund for the Victims of Racial Oppression, Liberal Parties and Social Democrats, did support authentic African liberation movements like Angola's MPLA, right? Yet the question arises as to whether the MPLA-led kleptocratic regime that is debasing the Angolan natives more than the Portuguese colonial regime is what these organizations and the Governments of the Nordic countries strived for and whether they do take pride in the performance of the MPLA as Angola's ruling party since the country's independence in 1975. Let us however remark the curious fact that Neto, the MPLA leader who was not trusted by most African leaders, by the vast majority of the Angolan people or even by USSR, appears

---

<sup>91</sup> See: «Liberation in Southern Africa – Regional and Swedish Voices: Interviews from Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, the Frontline and Sweden», by Tor Sellström, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 2002, pp. 352-353.

to be the perfect choice of Western European powers. FNLA leader Holden Roberto, the man in whom the Angolan natives and the highest African representatives placed all their hopes, was not the right man for the situation in the eyes of Western Europeans. How come? Simply because African interests will never coincide with those of the Western States, at least as long as “the existence of Western Europe depends upon the resources of Africa and the continued control exercised by the Western European powers over the black Continent.” While Africans are taking our very existence lightly, Westerners are long since and tirelessly indoctrinating their children: “If you ever intend to have children, and want them to live prosperous lives, you damn well better make sure that we control the African continent<sup>92</sup>.” As the control over the wealthy African continent is a *sine qua non* for their children to live prosperous lives, our Western brothers in Christ spare no effort to make sure that the Black leader who is going to take power here and there in Africa is a Western puppet par excellence. To succeed, they are used to demonizing any honest and nationalist Black leader who wholeheartedly strives for the well-being of his fellow citizens. Here we must once again thank Dr. Odd Arne Westad and Piero Gleijeses for their abovementioned invaluable findings that are relevant enough to help us thoroughly refute Mr. Douglas Degroot’s baseless accusatory comments about loyal African leaders such as Nito Alves, Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi. We ultimately end up concluding that Mr. Degroot’s defaming comments were but a mere propaganda aimed at keeping secret Neto’s unfaithfulness to Angolans and Africans at large, as he was committed

---

<sup>92</sup> John Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

to turning Angola into a country given over to plunder and chaos to the great benefit of the Western European imperialist powers and respective Asian associates. Mr. Degroot's article is displaying the most unusual way Neto and his MPLA were blindly trusted and defended by their mentors in the West.

«Immediately following the victory by the MPLA in the war of liberation, Alves and his controllers set out to subvert the revolution. The key aspect of this operation was the use of racialism to split the base of the MPLA. (...) CIA conduits in the press have attempted to cover up the operation carried out by Alves with the silly story that Alves was pro-Soviet. The history of the Alves group shows not only that he is not pro-Soviet but was an agent from the beginning. (...) The common thread running through Alves, Holden Roberto, Savimbi, and Chipenda is an avowed racism, in the guise of trying to attain a pure pan-African ideal, an authentic, untainted African regime. The western backers of the anti-MPLA forces became livid with rage when the MPLA invited the Cubans to come to their aid, because the arrival of the Cubans guaranteed that the counterinsurgent, black racist environment being created by Western intelligence networks to eliminate the intellectual leadership of the MPLA could not succeed. (...) Intellectuals in the MPLA referred to him as a Frantz Fanon-type for his virulent anti-white, anti-mulatto tirades, (...) called the whites and mulattos in the leadership of the MPLA and the government the new bourgeoisie, and because he championed the complaints of the lumpen elements of the population, claimed himself to be more pro-Soviet than Neto and the other leaders of the MPLA<sup>93</sup>».

Unlike Mr. Degroot's disclosed conviction, Nito Alves was well and truly more pro-Soviet than the medical doctor Agostinho Neto. That is since 1977 the absolute conviction not only of the "lumpen elements" of the Angolan population but also of most Angolan intellectuals; and that is exactly what we are learning from the findings of the abovementioned prominent researchers, namely Dr. Westad and Mr. Gleijeses. Unlike Neto, Nito Alves had consented to request permanent Soviet military bases for the good of Angola, Angolans and Africans. The question is: why did not Neto, the leader of the country whose existence is supposed to serve as the basis for liberating the rest of Africa<sup>94</sup> and who is touted in the Western «Executive Intelligence Review» as the foremost pro-Soviet in Angola? Was he simply a bad politician, if we are to believe the late Tanzanian President Nyerere, or was he just a puppet devoted to Western European interests at the expense of the Angolan natives? Alves was convinced that «security» is unquestionably what any human being or nation looks for above all. "Most of all, men seek for security<sup>95</sup>." Alves, as a progressive Black leader who was not ill in the mind as was the Black figurehead, i.e. Agostinho Neto, was long since aware that "if Blacks had powerful guns and allies of the Soviet Union's stature Slavery would have never existed!" Was he not right?

---

<sup>93</sup> See «The Real Story Of The Angola Coup Attempt», by Douglas Degroot, in 'Executive Intelligence Review', Exclusive/Africa, New Solidarity International Press Service, Washington, Vol. IV, No. 28, July 1977, p. 63;

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. p. 66;

<sup>95</sup> See «*Les Prodigieuses Victoires de la Psychologie Moderne*» – "The Prodigious Victories of the Modern Psychology", by Pierre Daco, Collection Marabout, Les Editions GERARD & C°, Verviers (Belgique), 1960, p. 5.

After centuries of discrimination and persecution in Europe, Jewish people all over the world feel safer now thanks to Israel's military alliance with the United States of America and to all hefty weapons it has been provided with. Yet, despite the indescribable crimes of which Black people are victim since the 15th century up until now, Westerners are still endeavoring to prevent African nations from establishing our safety by acquiring mighty weapons and forming military alliances with countries like the former Soviet Union, so they can make sure the very existence of the Western Europe is not jeopardized. The sad thing is that most Blacks on the Continent and in the Diaspora, who still believe in ideologies and use to read «Executive Intelligence Review», have been fooled into believing that Nito Alves was but a mere “black racist” and that Cabindans who are struggling to have back our political sovereignty are mere CIA's anti-MPLA gangs squatting on Angola's borders.

«The second lesson the Soviets believed they had learnt from the Angolan adventure was that the Soviet Union can and must rebuild and reform local anti-capitalist groups in crisis areas. The MPLA, local Soviet observers postulated in 1976, was saved from its own follies by advice and assistance from Moscow, which not only helped it win the war, but also laid the foundation for the building of a “vanguard party”. The Angolan movement had earlier been plagued by “careerists and fellow-travellers”, but, due to Soviet guidance, the “internationalists” were in ascendance. These new leaders – men like Lopo do Nascimento and Nito Alves – understood that the MPLA was part of an international revolutionary movement led by Moscow and that, they therefore both then and in the future depended on Soviet support. It was these

internationalists who Moscow wanted to assist in building a new MPLA, patterned on the experience of the CPSU. Noting the poor state of the MPLA organization in many areas, the Soviet party-building experts suggested that this was the field in which Do Nascimento, Alves, and others should concentrate their activities. By taking the lead in constructing the party organization they would also be the future leaders of the Marxist-Leninist party in Angola. (...) For Soviet cadre at the local level the real character of the Moscow-Havana-Luanda relationship complicated their efforts at reforming the MPLA, as shown in excess by the spectacle of the May 1977 coup attempt against Neto, when Nito Alves – a Soviet favourite – found his bid to oust the president blocked by Cuban tanks<sup>96</sup>.»

The excerpt above not only proves that Alves was well and truly a Soviet favorite, but also draws our attention to Moscow-Havana-Luanda difficult relationship in which Fidel Castro's role is somewhat ambiguous. So Alves was by far more pro-Soviet than Neto. With regard to his being portrayed as leader of a "black racist faction", we also declare that it is a falsehood, a demonizing propaganda. Alves, just like Viriato da Cruz, Matias Miguéis, Holden Roberto, Jonas Savimbi and many other Angolan leaders before him, stood up against embezzlement, corruption, nepotism, racial prejudices, tyranny and intolerance within his own ruling party (MPLA), and denounced the infiltration and growing role of the CIA within the MPLA-party and government well before Mr. Degroot wrote his very biased article. The fact of the matter is that the embezzlement and corruption at

---

<sup>96</sup> In: Cold War International History Project – "CWIHP" Bulletin 8/9 Winter 1996/1997, p. 28.

the highest level of the MPLA-government justly criticized by Alves, turned out to be the main practices of President Neto's closest associates who, by a curious coincidence, were Whites and Mulattos. "In 1976, there were these secret accords in which Lara [Lúcio], Carreira [Iko] and Neto [Agostinho] signed up to an oil deal with the Americans without the Central Committee knowing about it. We were supposed to be Marxists! And we signed an agreement with the Americans! I mean, how can this be<sup>97</sup>?" It was transparency that Alves claimed for the good of Angola, and transparency is still among the primary demands of the Angolan people. Fidel Castro not only figures among those who trusted Neto as the leader of the African frontline state, i.e. Angola, but also among those who were profoundly hostile toward Nito Alves. Castro is showing it through his April 1977 report to the then President of East-Germany Erich Honecker.

«Neto made a very good impression. He is an outstanding personality, very clever and decisive. He is increasingly the leading figure in the Angolan leadership. There are also opportunists in Angola, however. Sometimes they try to approach us or the Soviets and to spread certain opinions. We are very clearly taking a line in favor of Agostinho Neto. There is also evidence of black racism in Angola. Some are using the hatred against the colonial masters for negative purposes. There are many mulattos and whites in Angola. Unfortunately, racist feelings are spreading very quickly. Neto has taken a balanced position here, naming both whites and mulattos as ministers. (...) The Defense Minister is not as strong. He

---

<sup>97</sup> Lara Pawson, op. cit., p. 12.

does not have high standards. Because of this a lot of cadres do not have the right attitudes. (...) Many ministers were appointed because they were old war comrades of Neto's. A fact remains: the army and general staff are not working properly. (...) The Soviet Union has committed itself to supplying the entire material needs of the Angolan and our units. (...) Above all that would be a way to roll back China's influence. (...) The liberation struggle in Africa has a great future. (...) In Africa we can inflict a severe defeat on the entire reactionary imperialist policy. We can free Africa from the influence of the USA and of the Chinese<sup>98</sup>.»

Taking into consideration all abovementioned, Agostinho Neto and his successor Dos Santos are double-faced politicians fully trusted by Western European imperialist powers since the 1960s and ever since then entrusted by the very Westerners with the evil task of keeping up the Angolan kleptocracy in force since the country's independence in 1975. In this connection there is an appropriate question Tor Sellström asked the MPLA veteran Lúcio Lara that says it all, we adduce: "Later Sweden donated trucks and other means of transport for MPLA's eastern front activities. Was that not strange to you? After all, Sweden and the other Nordic countries were part of the Western world<sup>99</sup>?" As one might expect,

---

<sup>98</sup> See «Fidel Castro's 1977 Southern Africa Tour: A Report to Erich Honecker», in CWIHP Bulletin 8/9 Winter 1996/1997, pp. 18-20;

<sup>99</sup> See «April 1996 Interview with Lúcio Lara (MPLA), Secretary for Organization and Cadres, former Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, former President of the National Assembly», in «Liberation in Southern Africa – Regional and Swedish Voices: Interviews from Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, the Frontline and Sweden», by Tor Sellström, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 2002, p. 10.

Lara's answer was evasive. Up to Africans to understand that Western European powers' policy consist in making every endeavor so that we ultimately end up endorsing "Barabbas" and destroying "Jesus". That is the political system set up by Conservatives and Liberals, and progressives alike. Whereas Liberals and progressives instigate the world to take a dislike to our faithful leaders ("Jesus") by demonizing them as "band of black racists" and as mere "bandits in the pay of the CIA", Conservatives do the same by portraying them as "terrorists" and "dangerous communists". Just like Neto, Angola's President Dos Santos is a real "Barabbas" Westerners are forcing us to endorse since 1979. If not, how can people explain the fact that, since Angola's attainment of independence in 1975, both left-wing and right-wing-led Western constitutional states are cynically downplaying the MPLA-regime's recurrent crimes that fall within the jurisdiction of the international criminal court? It is due to Germany's long-standing attempt to conquer a considerable sphere of influence in Africa through Cabinda and the Congo (DRC) that the rightful march of Cabindans towards self-determination and independence is brutally being frustrated by Germany's fierce rivals in Western Europe, and it is because of the Western European imperialist States' fear of a possible resurgence of the once very prosperous and powerful Congo, with a hypothetical push of the Germans, that the Congo is in the grip of such a ruthless devastation since the end of WWII; that the Germans are being ferociously prevented from having an estimable presence and a big say in Africa; that Western European powers are doing their best to obstruct the «Bakongo leaders» of Angola, Congo-Brazzaville and Congo (DRC) from ever gaining power again; and that the repetitive mass murders of

people belonging to the «Bakongo ethnic group» in the three countries concerned have never been considered as serious crimes of international concern in the entire West. Other than the hundreds of thousands of the «Bakongo men and women» killed in the aftermath of the so-called «27 May (1977) coup attempt» by Nito Alves in Angola, we mention the slaughter that took place from 31 October to 3 November 1992, well known as «The Halloween Massacre<sup>100</sup>», and the mass killings of 22 and 23 January 1993, also known as «Bloody Friday<sup>101</sup>». Regarding the 27 May event in which the MPLA-regime carried on killing for weeks in Luanda and for months in the provinces, with the total of hundreds of thousands of people murdered, here we have a British journalist wondering as follows: “More amazing, I thought, was the fact that such a significant period in the country’s recent history had been kept so well-hidden: I had never even heard about it. Back then, I was no expert on Angola’s modern history but I had read a few books by British and North American academics and journalists focusing on the period since independence. Why had they not mentioned the Nito Alves uprising, and the thousands who were killed<sup>102</sup>?” Reporting on the 1884-1885 Berlin-Congo Conference, the British newspaper «The Economist» of 15 December 1884 allows us to realize how valuable is the Congo Basin in the eyes of the Western European imperialist powers and to discern how worthless is the Congo natives’ lives in the very Westerners’ eyes.

---

<sup>100</sup> See «ANGOLA: 20 Ans de Guerre Civile» – “ANGOLA: 20 Years of Civil War”, by Dia Kassembe, L’Harmattan (Mémoires Africaines), Paris 1995, pp. 261-265;

<sup>101</sup> Dia Kassembe, op. cit., pp. 266-269;

<sup>102</sup> Lara Pawson, op. cit., p. 2.

«The interests concerned are, in reality, considerable, the Congo being one of the great rivers of the world, and the regions drained by it large enough and fertile enough to form, under happier circumstances, the bases of great kingdoms. The contest between the European States, too, is very sharp, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom coming into direct, though not as yet, hostile contact, and the rest of Europe being deeply interested in the principles to be laid down, some of which may prove unexpectedly favourable to the minor States. Above all, it is the first occasion, so far as our reading serves, upon which “Europe”, as an informal federation, has avowedly assumed a sort of authority over the uncivilized world, and has claimed a right, in the general interest of mankind, to dispose of States and territories... This is the first that Europe has acted as the supreme political force in the world, and has claimed the right to distribute territories and peoples in her own interest and for the good of mankind. The happiness, and even the safety, not to mention the future history, of millions of dark persons who never heard of Berlin will be affected by the Conference<sup>103</sup>...»

The very same Neto (MPLA) who was trusted neither by USSR nor by African leaders, sadly, appears to be a man of great merit in the eyes of Mr. Degroot (Executive Intelligence Review) as well as in those of Cuba’s Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Both did clearly take a line in favor of Agostinho Neto; both did

---

<sup>103</sup> See «The Economist» of 15 December 1884, in «*Imperialistische Interessenpolitik und Konfliktregelung 1884/85*», Wissenschaftlicher Autoren-Verlag (WAV), by Dr. Elfi Bendikat, Berlin 1985, pp. 154-157.

unfairly portray those who were wholeheartedly striving for the well-being of their fellow citizens as a “band of black racists”; and both did consider the MPLA leadership as the acknowledged cornerstone of the “frontline” states. Thirty-eight years after it gained independence from Portugal, the once publicized as frontline state, i.e. the MPLA’s Angola, appears to be one of the poorest and most corrupt on the planet. Neto’s country is occupying the most shameful position in the Human Development Index ranking, if we consider the contrast between this appalling reality and the country’s immense wealth in oil, iron, gold, diamonds, and so on and so forth. Systematic bribery and the total absence of public tendering procedures lead habitually to contracts that mostly serve the interests of the private mining groups and corrupt high ranking officials. In this respect, and bearing in mind the well-known perverted behavior of Neto’s MPLA ever since 1963, we are allowed to claim that nothing has changed up to now. The MPLA leadership, from Neto to Dos Santos, has always viewed democracy and human rights as non-African values. How come such a leadership won the trust of respected people like Mr. Degroot and Fidel Castro? Are the two men racists? No. They cannot be racists, for they are progressives! Good. But racists or not, what is clear is that their advocacy of Neto’s trustworthiness implies an aversion to the fight of Black leaders like Nito Alves aimed at enabling African children to live prosperous lives thanks to their respective countries’ natural wealth and resources. As for the two men’s plea that Neto should be looked at as the man of the situation and his MPLA as the cornerstone of the frontline states in Africa, we are of the belief that it is understandable inasmuch as it fits with the major articulations of the political dynamic. It has to

do with the conflict of interests that looms up at any time in international society as well as in every society, as the objectives intended by some people give rise to resistances in others. As they had to do their best in order for their children to live prosperous lives thanks to Angola's natural resources, unlike Neto's MPLA, they mobilized the appropriate means and adopted the applicable strategies that permitted to prevent or obtain, to enjoin or have an influence. This simply means that the Angolan children are getting exactly what Neto strived for, whereas the Cuban children as well as American children are getting what the Commander in Chief Fidel Castro and Mr. Douglas Degroot respectively strived for. So is politics! Though, despite the fact that he was unjustly and prematurely murdered, Nito Alves is coming into view as a Black leader by far more provident than Fidel Castro who predicted the end the Chinese influence in Angola.

## **Cabinda: What is Left of the United Nations?**

In view of the February 1885 international protectorate treaty signed between Cabinda and Portugal; in view of the Portuguese imperial Constitutions, particularly the one in force from 1933 to 1976, in which the legal status of Cabinda has nothing to do with none of Portugal's colonial territories in Africa<sup>104</sup>; considering the UN General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, concerning the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; considering the United Nations General Assembly resolutions 1807 (XVII), 1808 (XVII) of 14 December 1962 and 1871 (XVII) of 20 December 1962, which appear to be the UN response to the petitioner from Cabinda heard at the UN General Assembly in November 1962<sup>105</sup> in pursuance of paragraph 5 of the UN General

---

<sup>104</sup> Mr. Amos J. Peaslee's «Constitutions of Nations», the first-ever compilation of all the national constitutions of the world published in English to be put at the disposal of the United Nations, includes the 1933 Constitution of the Portuguese Republic supplied together with the 1959 amendments by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in December 1965; It is worth knowing that Mr. Amos Peaslee was a member of the American Bar Association and served as the US Ambassador – Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary – to Australia, from 1953 to 1956;

<sup>105</sup> Doc. of the 17th Session of the UN General Assembly – 4th Committee A/C. 4/SR 1391 – 20 November 1962; and: (17th Session, Annexes, Agenda item 54, documents A/5160 and add. 1 and 2).

Assembly resolution 1699 (XVI) of 19 December 1961; and in view of the OAU (Organization of African Unity)'s list of the African countries<sup>106</sup> in which Cabinda is the 39th national State, with Angola as the 35th; the prevailing difference between Cabinda and Angola is a «Legal-Political Problem» which falls indisputably within the competence of the UN Office of Legal Affairs (OLA), the UN Special Committee on Decolonization (C-24), the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR), the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and, obviously, the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council all at once. Moreover, the International Law Commission (ILC) has long since singled out a set of obligations owed to the international community as a whole, like the obligations prohibiting «genocide», «slavery», «aggression», «the maintenance by force of colonial domination», «the massive pollution of the atmosphere or the seas», and «apartheid», whose violation qualifies as an international crime and, hence, gives all subjects of international law the right to react. Since Angola's belligerent occupation of Cabinda and ensuing maintenance by force of colonial domination proves to be

---

<sup>106</sup> 1963 OAU list of the African Countries: / Key / 1- Morocco, 2- Algeria, 3- Tunisia, 4- Libya, 5- Arabian United Republic, 6- Sahara, 7- Mauritania, 8- Mali, 9- Niger, 10- Chad, 11- Sudan, 12- Ethiopia, 13- Djibouti, 14- Somalia, 15- Canary Islands, 16- Senegal, 17- Gambia, 18- Guinea-Bissau, 19- Guinea, 20- Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), 21- Nigeria, 22- Cameroon, 23- Central African Republic, 24- Congo-Kinshasa, 25- Uganda, 26- Kenya, 27- Rwanda, 28- Burundi, 29- Tanzania, 30- Zambia, 31- Malawi, 32- Mozambique, 33- Zimbabwe, 34- Botswana, 35- Angola, 36- Congo-Brazzaville, 37- Gabon, 38- Rio Muni (Equatorial Guinea), 39- Cabinda, 40- Dahomey (Benin), 41- Togo, 42- Ghana, 43- Côte d'Ivoire, 44- Liberia, 45- Sierra Leone, 46- Namibia, 47- Swaziland, 48- Lesotho, 49- Azânia (South Africa), 50- Madagascar.

a situation that must necessarily be brought to the attention of the United Nations Security Council or of the General Assembly, as it appears to be of the nature referred to in Article 34 of the Charter of the United Nations, we have been for more than three decades drawing a number of UN member States' attention to their international legal and moral obligations in agreement with the provision of Article 35 of the Charter of the United Nations. For the record, we must note that international law is first and foremost a prerogative of national States, and underscore that the Security Council is the UN supreme entity on which the Charter confers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. However, despite the informal recognition of the Cabinda people's lawful right to regain our political sovereignty, most UN member States lack the political will to openly support Cabindan independence without further support from the international community due to the competing interests at stake. This global political picture is perturbing to such an extent that most of us cannot help wondering what is left of the United Nations.

The fact is that, in the light of paragraph 2 of the UN General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, which states that all peoples have the right to self-determination, and that by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development; in the light of the Principles IV and V of the General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) adopted on 15 December 1960 [Annex] on the Principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for under Article 73 (e) of the Charter; in the light of the fact that, in agreement with the two Principles (IV and V), a *prima facie* case

of geographical, ethnical and cultural distinctness of Cabinda exists; and, finally, in the light of the United Nations General Assembly resolution 1807 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, and other relevant United Nations General Assembly and Security Council resolutions that had been adopted in reply to the Cabindan representative who had been previously heard by the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization in New York, Cabinda is still a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI<sup>107</sup> of the Charter of the United Nations. Given the urgent need to avert further human sufferings and material losses by the people of Cabinda, and to achieve a negotiated and long-lasting solution to the colonial conflict that exists in the Non-Self-Governing Territory of Cabinda, our dearest wish is that, in the name of the core values articulated in the tools of the international law, the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization as well as the United Nations Office of Legal Affairs will no longer shirk responsibility as far as our legitimate right to recover our political sovereignty is concerned.

## 1. The Symbol of the United Nations Ideal of Universal Peace

An incumbent UN Secretary-General is the symbol of the United Nations ideal of universal peace and the spokesman for the interests of the world's peoples, in particular the poor and vulnerable among them. Bearing

---

<sup>107</sup> Chapter XI (Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories), in the «Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice», United Nations – New York, p. 46.

all that in mind, the Cabindan National Movement (MNC), which is managing to embody the legitimate and peaceful struggle of the people of Cabinda aimed at freeing ourselves from the Angolan colonial yoke, has referred the Cabinda issue to the UN Secretary-General, His Excellency Dr. Ban Ki-moon, time and time again. Since it is clear that international law is first of all a prerogative of national States, it is similarly clear that we (MNC) respectfully referred to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon as partial subject of international law, i.e. as a liberation movement that draws its legitimacy and relevance from the self-determination of peoples which is one of the principal purposes of the United Nations. While stating that the UN Office of Legal Affairs is supposed to be acquainted with the legal status of Cabinda as early as 1962, we made our Movement's founding principal known to the UN Secretary-General; it consists in standing as the freedom movement which combines legitimacy, integrity, and the genuine desire to pursue its declared aims. Besides, the Cabindan National Movement accepts in advance the obligations of peaceful settlement provided in the Charter of the United Nations inasmuch as we are committed to contributing to the fulfillment of international order of justice and peace.

Through the preamble of the aforementioned UN GA resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, the UN Secretary-General is reiterating his conviction that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international economic co-operation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples and militates against the United Nations ideal of universal peace. In addition, the

following six paragraphs of the very same resolution declare solemnly that:

«1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation; 2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development; 3. Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence; 4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected; 5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom; 6. Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.»

Due to the fact that, under international law, the belligerent occupation and the effectiveness of the usurpation of Cabinda by Angola do not give the latter a

*de jure* sovereignty, and given the core values above as well as all those articulated in the tools of the international law, we are entitled to ask ourselves what has prevented the Symbol of the United Nations ideal of universal peace to end once and for all Angola's colonial power over Cabinda, which, as we all know, has been going on for 38 years. Although the criminal confiscation of Cabinda's political sovereignty by "Angola" is the direct consequence of the long-standing imperialistic rivalry between France and Germany, the continual colonization of Cabinda by Angola is mainly due to the fact that the international community is long since functioning on the basis of an «indifferent» international law, one whose main goal is to permit the establishment of a pacific coexistence between the most powerful nations on earth, militarily speaking. Hence, our profound conviction is that the World is deep in trouble because of the world's leading powers-led unfairness. The world's leading powers' demoniacal principle of "Might is Right", which is now having the wind aft on a worldwide scale, is what is forcing other national states to go nuclear. It is more and more obvious that, in this "New World Order", only the States that possess weapons of mass destruction can surely claim to be full sovereign nations. In the final analysis, world's leading powers' growing contempt for "International Law" and "Human Rights" is, without doubt, what really threatens global stability. Angola's belligerent occupation of Cabinda in 1975 was first seen by the world's leading powers as a threat to global stability. As soon as the very same powerful nations got a real stranglehold on Angola and Cabinda's oil and diamonds, they suddenly ceased viewing Angola as a rogue state and stopped considering Angola's military occupation of Cabinda and following

maintenance by force of colonial domination as a threat to global stability. Though Angola's foreign policy, which entails the most serious crimes of international concern is still the major contributing factor to the political insecurity and instability in Southern Africa and beyond.

So what remains of the United Nations in view of its powerlessness with respect to Angola's criminal demeanor? In order to perpetuate his colonial power over Cabinda and permit the plundering of this Non-Self-Governing Territory's natural resources, particularly petroleum and diamonds, the autocratic president of Angola is managing to exterminate Cabindans as a people and a nation on a worldwide scale, thanks to his nerve to bribe and blackmail even Permanent Members of the UN Security Council into silence; Cabinda, Congo-Brazzaville, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Africa, Ivory Coast, Guinea-Bissau, and so on, the list of the African countries in which Angola's dictator has frustrated or is frustrating the free functioning of democratic institutions is so long that people have no difficulty noticing the United Nations' indifference and powerlessness all at once. The fact is that in all those cases the United Nations, particularly its Security Council, did not even dare at least threaten sanctions against President Dos Santos regime whose mercenary role in Africa is no longer a secret to the international community as a whole. Curiously, and to the great displeasure of men and women throughout the world with a great love of justice and peace, the very same Angolan colonial power which is showing total contempt for human rights and international law in Cabinda, thus militating against the UN ideal of universal peace, is managing to have a bigger say within the very United

Nations. In reaction to the military coup d'Etat that took place in Guinea Bissau on 12 April 2012, Angola and Portugal have called for deployment of a UN force in Guinea-Bissau. Later, on Monday 7 May 2012, the Angolan Foreign minister, Georges Chikoti, appealed to the Security Council to make an effort toward the immediate restoring of constitutional order, reinstatement of Guinea Bissau's legitimate Government and the conclusion of the electoral process, including the adoption of sanctions against the military and civilians involved in the coup d'Etat. Chikoti was addressing the UN Security Council special session on the situation in Guinea-Bissau, in his capacity as chairman of the Council of Ministers of CPLP (Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries). To demonize his opponents (coup leaders) in the eyes of the UN Security Council and thus make his plea prevail, Chikoti said on that occasion in New York that the intentions expressed by Guinea Bissau's legitimate Government to organize a consistent fight against drugs trafficking may have been a determining push for the perpetration of the coup d'Etat in that country. He consequently appealed to the international community, particularly the Security Council, to fully back the fight against the trafficking of drugs, arms and other evils in that Portuguese speaking country. At last, the very Angolan minister stated that the only Guinean authorities recognized by CPLP were those resulted from the constitutional and democratic legitimacy. How dare Chikoti champion the rule of law in Guinea Bissau while doing right the opposite in Cabinda, in Angola itself, and in a number of African countries? Did he forget that in early October 1977, at a time when he was vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Angola invaded the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville)

to support the military coup against the legally elected President of that country, i.e. Prof. Pascal Lissouba? The leading question is: how can the UN Security Council help restore the constitutional order and reinstate the lawful Government of Guinea Bissau when it has not, to date, helped the Congolese people regain their legitimate Government and democratically-elected President? The most saddening situation is that the United Nations is increasingly being taken hostage! The fact remains that world's leading powers-led substitution of the "International Law" by the principle of "Might is Right" not only makes people view the United Nations' main actions as promoting particular agendas, but also prevents the UN Secretary-General from standing comfortably as the symbol of the United Nations ideal of universal peace and the spokesman for the interests of the world's peoples, in particular the poor and vulnerable among them, e.g. the cruelly subjugated and exploited people of Cabinda.

## 2. Angola's Lack of Legal Title over the Territory of Cabinda

Angola is the official administering power of the territory of Cabinda since 1975, succeeding thus Portugal as colonial power. We must however emphasize from the outset that Angola's power over Cabinda is thoroughly devoid of legal title. In other words, its power has neither legality nor legitimacy. The fact is that the Alvor agreement (15 January 1975) between the Portuguese government and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of

Angola (MPLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), in which the Portuguese State accepted the right of the people of Angola to independence (Diário do Governo, I S, 28 January 1975), and whose Article three declared Cabinda as “an integral and inalienable part of Angola”, is the only tool in which Angola would have grounded the legitimacy of its power over Cabinda. All things considered, the Alvor agreement cannot help the MPLA-government for the simple reason that Cabindan independence movements had no input on the said entente, and that Portugal had unilaterally suspended it by the Decreto-lei (Decree-law) 458-A/75 of 22 August 1975. Hence, apart from the Angolan powerful army, nothing binds Cabinda to Angola. This gives us an outline of Cabinda’s political status under international law, which is in absolute harmony with the legal status of Cabinda as a protected State (1885-1976).

Practically, the principle of legality is a fundamental principle which stipulates that a State must submit to the rule of law. From this perspective, the principle of legality is the greatest expression of a democratic and legally constituted State, and the essential guarantee that the related society is not victim of particular and personal whims of the one who governs. In political science, legitimacy is the concept with which one judges the ability of a given power to achieve obedience without need to resort to coercion, which implies the threat of force, in such a way that a State is legitimate if there is perfect agreement between the members of the political community to accept the ruling authority. Consequently, political legitimacy is the popular acceptance of a governing law or regime as an authority. It is thus obvious that, by usurping and desecrating Cabinda’s political

sovereignty without the slightest consideration for its inherent legal sovereignty, the Angolan political power over Cabinda is totally devoid of legality and legitimacy, since it is neither submitted to the rule of law nor has Cabinda's popular acceptance.

## 2.1. The Legal Status of Cabinda as a Protected State

An international protectorate is a legal/political relationship between a "Protector" State and a "Protected" State or group of States; the latter is sometimes also called the protectorate. The legal basis is a treaty concluded between the two States, by which the protector is bound to defend the protected State against aggression and other violations of law. It is a well-known legal principle that to be effective in relation to a third party it is necessary that a complete or international protectorate be recognized by other States. Let us note in passing that, in the light of the international law, the Protectorate Treaty between Cabinda and Portugal is not a colonial protectorate; it is instead an «international protectorate<sup>108</sup>». In accordance with that legal principle, only after having obtained recognition by third party can the State protector rely on the competences resulting to it from a protectorate treaty. For those among us who do not know, the Protectorate Treaty between Cabinda and Portugal received attention and ratification at the Berlin-Congo Conference held from 15th November

---

<sup>108</sup> See Gerhard Hoffmann, Protectorates, in: R. Bernhardt (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Volume III (1997), p. 1147.

1884 to 26th February 1885, of which Russia, Germany, Portugal, France, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Belgium, Spain, the United States of America, Denmark, Italy, Austrian-Hungary, Sweden and Turkey were the protagonists. In the Final Act of the Conference, the Congo as a whole was divided into three political entities as is evident from the German records, which states the following:

*«Bismarck verkündet das Ende der Konferenz. In der Schlußakte werden letztlich fünf Punkte festgehalten, die es den europäischen Mächten erlaubten, Afrika nach ihrem Gutdünken aufzuteilen: 1) Der Kongo – Hauptanlaß für das Stattfinden der Konferenz – wird in drei Regionen unterteilt: Kabinda bleibt unter portugiesischer Herrschaft, das Kongobecken wird in den späteren Kongo-Brazzaville (heute Volksrepublik Kongo) und in den Freistaat Leopolds II unterteilt (heute Zaire)<sup>109</sup>».*

What then is Cabinda's legal status as a protected State in international law? The fact is that, under international law, before and after the establishment of an international protectorate the protected State, in this instance Cabinda, is a State in international law and subject to this legal order. Since the protected State transfers to the protector the competence to act in its name in the field of foreign relations, its sovereignty is restricted. Though, the protected State is still entitled to

---

<sup>109</sup> *«Afrika den Europäern!: Von der Berliner Kongo-Konferenz 1884 ins Afrika der neuen Kolonisation»*, by Ruth Weiss, Hans Mayer and Antony Martin, Peter Hammer Verlag GmbH, Germany 1984, p. 221; the document reads: "CABINDA (Kabinda) remains under the Portuguese Lordship".

exercise territorial jurisdiction over its own territory. Its citizens are neither subject to the legal order of the protecting State nor nationals of the latter. So Cabinda, as a protected State, is a State with its own nationals in international law. Since international law emphasizes that a State does not cease to exist as a legal entity even if its entire territory is occupied by the enemy, it is aphoristic that the State of Cabinda does not cease to exist as a juridical entity even though its territory is under Angola's belligerent occupation<sup>110</sup>. In such cases, the Government whose territory is occupied by the enemy will be somewhere in exile, i.e. Government in exile. Basically, Angola's effort in occupying a foreign country (Cabinda) and holding down its people by military means is an internationally wrongful act<sup>111</sup>.

## 2.2. Cabinda's Legal and Political Sovereignty

In connection with Angola's prevailing belligerent occupation of Cabinda, it is self-evident that the government of Angola is regrettably identifying sovereignty with might, instead of legal right. Though, by doing so, Angola's colonial regime is removing the term sovereignty from the sphere of jurisprudence, where it had its origin and where it properly belongs, and

---

<sup>110</sup> Michael Bothe, Belligerent occupation, in: R. Bernhardt (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Volume III (1997), p. 763;

<sup>111</sup> Rüdiger Wolfrum, Reparation for Internationally wrongful Acts, in: R. Bernhardt (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Volume IV (2000), p. 177.

is importing it into political science, where it has no chance but to be source of confusion and shocking atrocities. Basically, Angola's tyrant is long since endeavoring to confer, by means of the principle of effectiveness in the exercise of power, a legal title to his acquisition of the territory of Cabinda by military conquest. It is nevertheless clear that, under international law and practice, mere force unaccompanied by a legally recognized form of acquisition does not confer a legal title. The general principle of law is that a right cannot arise from a wrong. Therefore, a claim to a territorial title which originates in an illegal act is purely and simply invalid. That being said, the MPLA-regime's effectiveness in the exercise of power does not confer a valid title to its illicit act that is the conquest of Cabinda by violence. Effectiveness produces legal results if, after a reasonable time, the illicit act is not effectively contested. Accordingly, the principle of effectiveness proves to have two limitations. First, it has no application where a claim of title is maintained or, at least, is not abandoned. Secondly, the principle of effectiveness has practically no application in the case of legal sovereignty in contradistinction to political sovereignty for the simple reason that the existence or non-existence of a right cannot depend on the effectiveness of the usurpation. In all the instances where the political sovereignty of a nation was revived or restored on its territory, despite its conquest and annexation, the conqueror's annexation was fully effective, and regardless of its effectiveness the legitimate title was fully restored. This comes to underscore the fact that a precise distinction exists between legal and political sovereignty, the latter meaning factual dominion and control and the former signifying the rightful and inalienable title of a people to

its territory. Such a distinction is corresponding to the difference between sovereignty in law, i.e. *de jure* sovereignty, and sovereignty in fact, i.e. *de facto* sovereignty.

In view of its present-day two spheres, i.e. of jurisprudence and political science, sovereignty combines legal and political connotations relating to right and power. It is worth knowing that Professor G. Schwarzenberger has expressed the distinction between legal and political sovereignty as follows, we quote: “The last word is still not with law, but power. On such a level, the counterpart of legal sovereignty is political sovereignty<sup>112</sup>.” For his part, Professor G. Jèze has remarked that the belligerent occupier acquires sovereignty in fact but not in law, we quote<sup>113</sup>:

*“Cette prise de possession, qui repose exclusivement sur la force, n’entraîne pas au profit du vainqueur l’acquisition du territoire occupé ... Supposons d’abord que l’Etat dont le territoire est envahi se refuse à traiter, et que le vainqueur maintienne son occupation. La domination de l’Etat victorieux sera une souveraineté de fait et non de droit ... Tant que des protestations se feront entendre, il y aura bien une domination de fait, mais non un état de droit.”*

The materials of international law employ the term sovereignty to describe both the concept of title and the legal competence which flows from it. Territorial

---

<sup>112</sup> See «The Fundamental Principles of International Law», by G. Schwarzenberger, Hague Recueil (1955), p. 215;

<sup>113</sup> In «Etude Théorique et Pratique sur l’Occupation», by Gaston Jèze, Paris (1896), pp. 44-46.

sovereignty bears thus an obvious resemblance to ownership in private law. So, territorial sovereignty refers neither to a relation of persons to persons nor to the independence of the State itself, but to the nature of rights over territory. The relationship between sovereignty and property has fortunately been retained both in legal theory and in existing international practice. Van Kleffens notes: “Under the influence of Roman law sovereignty with regard to territory was long regarded and interpreted in terms of property<sup>114</sup>.” Fauchille, for his part, makes the following remark<sup>115</sup>: “*Le territoire d’une nation est sa propriété exclusive. Seul cette nation a le droit d’en user.*” Similarly, Hall calls territorial sovereignty «property<sup>116</sup>». Italians uphold alike the relationship between sovereignty and property, and Donato Donati is the strongest exponent of the doctrine<sup>117</sup>.

In pursuance of international practice, the relationship between sovereignty and property has served to determine the legitimacy of title of a State to the territory that it

---

<sup>114</sup> See «Sovereignty in International Law», by E. N. Van Kleffens, Hague Recueil (1953), Vol. 82, p. 94;

<sup>115</sup> See «*Traité de Droit International Public*», by Fauchille, T.I., Ire partie, Rousseau, Paris (1925), p. 450; See also: «*Théories et Réalités en Droit International Public*», by Charles de Visscher, 4th Ed., Pedone, Paris (1970), p. 185;

<sup>116</sup> See «A Treatise on International Law», by Hall, 8th Ed., p. 125; Also: «Identity and Continuity of States in Public International Law», by K. Marek, Droz, Geneva (1968); Also: «Principles of Public International Law», by Ian Brownly, Oxford (1966), pp. 114 and 122; & «Private Law Sources and Analogies of International Law», by H. Lauterpacht, Archon Books (1970), p. 95; See also «The Law of Nations», by J. I. Briery, 6th Ed., Clarendon Press, Oxford (1963), p. 13;

<sup>117</sup> See «*Stato e Territorio*», by Donato Donati, Italy (1924), pp. 59-117; See also: «The Reconstruction of Europe», by Guglielmo Ferrero (translation by Jaeckel), New York (1941).

occupies. Even though in its political aspect sovereignty means the supreme power of a State over a certain territory and its people regardless of the legitimacy of its origin, in its juridical appearance sovereignty entails a broader and more fundamental concept – the legal and inalienable title of a king or a nation to a territory. It was on the basis of this concept of legitimacy of title that the pre-Napoleonic sovereigns were restored to power and Europe was reconstructed after 1815, indeed. It is on the basis of the very same concept that the nationhood of Poland was preserved during the long interregnum between 1795 and 1919 until it eventually triumphed with the restoration of its sovereignty and of its international personality. Again, it was on the basis of the same concept that Poland's title and legal sovereignty survived the Russo-German conquest of its territory in 1939. The very concept of legitimacy of title sustained the continuance of Ethiopia's sovereignty despite its annexation by Italy in 1936. Several States then accorded recognition, either *de facto* or *de jure*, to Italy's annexation and accredited their diplomats to the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia. Yet, the fact of recognition by other States did not terminate Ethiopia's legal sovereignty or extinguish its title to its territory. During the whole period of Italy's annexation of Ethiopia and of the recognition of such annexation by other States, Ethiopia retained its title to its territory. The same fundamental concept of legitimacy of title also explains the survival of Austria's sovereignty during the era of its forced union with Germany in 1938 until its formal re-establishment in 1945, as well as the restoration of Albania's sovereignty after its invasion and annexation by Italy in 1939. All these States were restored regardless of their complete annexation and even extinction as

political entities. These various instances of restoration of States and their territories can be considered as constituting applications of the modern principle that conquest is not a source of title. The United Nations, hoping there is something left of it, must make it clear to Angola that conquest is not a source of title and that Cabinda's sovereignty has to be restored.

For the reason that Angola's lack of legal title over the territory of Cabinda is the principal cause of the crimes being committed ever since 1975 by the State of Angola, including those within the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court, both to hold the perpetrators of those crimes accountable and to restore Cabinda's political sovereignty on the basis of the broad concept of legitimacy of title turn out to be the most appropriate way to stop once and for all Angola's international crimes in question. Furthermore, we are required to highlight the fact that ever since 1975 up till now the oppressed people of Cabinda are effectively and persistently contesting Angola's usurpation of our motherland (Cabinda) and the consequent confiscation of our political sovereignty. Inasmuch as Angola's acquisition of the territory of Cabinda was accomplished in disregard of the accepted forms, and given Angola's shocking atrocities, we cannot help reminding the fact that international law insists that a subject of international law which commits an internationally wrongful act towards another is liable for reparations – *restitutio in integrum*.

As the functions and competences of the United Nations consist in: examining controversial situations or likely to cause international friction; recommending methods for the settlement of such disputes or the

conditions for their solution; determining the existence of threats to peace or acts of aggression and proposing the steps to be taken; undertaking a military action against an aggressor; maintaining international peace and security in accordance with the principles of the United Nations, and so on and so forth; we have been for more than three decades exhorting the United Nations Member States to contribute to the enhancement of the relevance and effectiveness of the Security Council; and dedicate themselves to concretizing the fundamental objectives of the United Nations, particularly those of the former, which is the maintenance of international peace and security, by motivating the UN Secretary-General and Security Council to eventually face up to their responsibilities concerning the belligerent occupation of Cabinda and the most serious crimes of international concern it entails. In this regard, we believe Portugal and the United States of America should be playing the leading role as just voices of the voiceless people of Cabinda. Needless to say Portugal, as Cabinda's Protector State, committed itself to maintain the integrity of the territories placed under its protection in compliance of Article 3 of the 1885 Protectorate Treaty, better known as Treaty of Simulambuco. As for the United States of America, US Ambassador to the United Nations, in this instance Her Excellency Dr. Susan Rice, said that "the goal of the US diplomacy at the United Nations is to make it a more perfect forum to address the most pressing global challenges: to promote peace, to support democracy, and to strengthen respect for human rights"; for his part, President Obama declared the following, we quote: "We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. (...) America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace." A few months later he said: "The United States

of America will never waiver in our efforts to stand up for the right of people everywhere to determine their own destiny<sup>118</sup>.” And yet, there is neither Portugal nor America’s efforts to stand up for the right of the people of Cabinda to determine our own destiny! Strange, is not it?

### 2.3. Angola’s Attempt to Wipe out Cabinda Nationality

Nationality<sup>119</sup>, as a legal term, denotes the existence of a legal bond between an individual and a State by which the individual is under the personal jurisdiction of that State. Accordingly, the «Cabinda Nationality» suggests the existence of a legal bond between a Cabinda native man or woman and the «State of Cabinda». As stated above, under international law, before and after the establishment of an international protectorate the protected State is a State in international law and subject to this legal order. In other words, the «State of Cabinda» exists both in pre-protectorate era as well as in post-protectorate era. And since the protected State transfers to the protector the competence to act in its name in the field of foreign relations, its sovereignty is restricted to a certain extent. Nevertheless the protected State is still entitled to exercise territorial jurisdiction over its own territory and its citizens are neither subject to the legal

---

<sup>118</sup> See President Obama’s both Inaugural Address on 20 January 2009 and Address to the UN General Assembly on 23 September 2009;

<sup>119</sup> Albrecht Randelzhofer, Nationality, in: R. Bernhardt (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Volume III (1997), p. 501.

order of the protecting State nor nationals of this State. So, either as a protected State or as an unprotected State, Cabinda proves to be a State with its own nationals in international law. For the reason that the international protectorate treaty between Cabinda and Portugal is a mere protective tool of the «Cabinda Nationality», and since the fundamental limitation international law imposes in matters of nationality is that a State can regulate only its own nationality and not that of another State, it is worth reminding the Angolan government the fact that a flagrant violation of international law occurs when an occupying power (Angola) confers its nationality upon the inhabitants of the occupied territory (Cabinda). This simply means that Angola's efforts to extend its nationality to Cabindans are an attempt to wipe out «Cabinda Nationality» to suit its political expansion in Africa.

Although the Portuguese nationality was given to Cabinda native men and women while the country was under the Portuguese protection, Portugal, through its imperial Constitutions, was fair enough to draw the attention of the international community to Cabinda's legal and political sovereignty, i.e. to Cabinda as a Territory with its defined borders, as a Nationality, and as State. The military occupation and ensuing colonization of Cabinda by Angola, which have long since been ruminated over and concretized by the European States concerned in 1974/75, have converted the entire people of Cabinda into «Stateless People<sup>120</sup>», inasmuch as UN member States are

---

<sup>120</sup> P. Weis, "Statelessness as a Legal-Political Problem", *The Problem of Statelessness* (British Section of the World Jewish Congress, July 1944), and C. A. Batchelor, "Statelessness and the Problem of Resolving Nationality Status", *IJRL*, 1998, p. 159, footnote 5.

more inclined to accept Angola's bribes than to endorse the State of Cabinda as a Government in exile. So is Angola hiding the legal status of Cabinda enshrined in the Portuguese Constitution of 1933! Unlike Portugal whose power over Cabinda did take pride in the 1885 protectorate treaty, the Angolan power is devoid of legality and legitimacy. As a result, there is no legal bond of nationality between the people of Cabinda and the State of Angola. Article 1 (1) of the 1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons does define a stateless person as 'a person who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law'. Inasmuch as the statelessness of the people of Cabinda results from an illegal «State succession<sup>121</sup>», we are not before an original or absolute statelessness. Instead, we are before a subsequent or relative statelessness. In the light of the 1954 Convention's definition of the term "stateless person", nationality refers to a legal bond between a person and a State. In this acceptation, nationality is used as a synonym to the term citizenship. That being said, the Cabinda people's legal identity or

---

<sup>121</sup> See «United Nations General Assembly Resolution 55/153 of 2000, Nationality of natural persons in relation to the succession of States»; See also «UNHCR's Executive Committee Conclusion No. 106 (LVII) – 2006 on Identification, Prevention and Reduction of Statelessness and Protection of Stateless Persons, recalls the right of every person to a nationality and the right not to be arbitrarily deprived of one's nationality as enunciated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and referenced in human rights instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; and the Convention on the Rights of the Child; The Conclusion [No. 106 (LVII) – 2006] notes in addition that the issue of statelessness is already under consideration by the United Nations General Assembly within the broad issue of State succession».

citizenship is the one linked to the State of Cabinda which, if we are to believe the international law, before and after the establishment of the 1885 international protectorate with Portugal, is a State in international law and subject to this legal order. Hence considering the legal continuousness of the «State of Cabinda» that suggests the Cabinda genuine identity, the Angolan identity (nationality) given to Cabindans either at home or abroad (as refugees) turns out to be an internationally wrongful act that consists in depriving Cabindans of our genuine identity, i.e. our legal nationality. That is a flagrant violation of international law! And yet, such wrongful act appears to be endorsed by almost the whole international community. For instance, the certificate issued by UNHCR Regional Office for Central Africa on 29 August 1984, meant to attest that Bartolomeu Capita is a mandate refugee, leaves out the legal identity of the latter as it regards him as Angolan national, instead of Cabinda national. It is an outright violation of international law since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states in its Article 15, paragraphs 1 and 2, that, we quote: “Everyone has the right to a nationality”; “No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality”;

The stateless people of Cabinda consist of two main categories – refugees and non-refugees, and both groups are of concern to UNHCR. Whereas non-refugees are inside the country of origin, refugees are outside our motherland. Thereupon, the 1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons as well as the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees apply to the stateless people of Cabinda inside

and outside the country respectively. In fact, Angola's attempt to wipe out Cabinda Nationality through roguery that consists in depriving Cabindans of our legal identity suits some Western powers interested in Cabinda's natural resources, particularly oil, gold, uranium and diamonds. Owing to these interests, the complete stateless people of Cabinda – refugees and non-refugees – are severely being denied international protection and humanitarian assistance. This denial of justice is meant to put pressure on non-refugees to endorse Angola's colonial power over Cabinda on the one hand; and to constrain us to choose either the voluntary repatriation to the occupied Cabinda or local integration through marriage or naturalization in the countries of asylum on the other hand. The third traditional durable solution envisioned by the United Nations is resettlement. Yet, even mandate refugees are being denied it. Valid travel documents, 1951 Convention Travel Document (CTD), or even UNLP (United Nations Laissez Passer) as well as 1954 CTD are basic human rights. Regrettably, the stateless people of Cabinda – refugees and non-refugees – are drastically being refused such rights.

However, considering that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)<sup>122</sup>, acting under the authority of the UN General Assembly, is entitled to presenting his views before both the UN General Assembly as well as ECOSOC (Economic and Social Council), and reporting annually to the very General Assembly through ECOSOC; bearing in mind the fact

---

<sup>122</sup> Peter Macalister-Smith, *Refugees*, United Nations High Commissioner, in: R. Bernhardt (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Volume IV (2000), p. 78.

that from 1965 onward the Post of Deputy High Commissioner has always been held by a United States citizen; taking into account the fact that UNHCR can provide technical and advisory services to States in «review of the status of persons»; and noting that the issue of statelessness is already under consideration by the United Nations General Assembly within the broad issue of State succession; UNHCR should be fair and brave enough to direct the UN General Assembly's attention to the urgent need to solve the problem of the nationality status of the people of Cabinda in conformity with the core values articulated in the tools of the international law.

For the reason that the 1885 international protectorate treaty between Cabinda and Portugal is a legal instrument that witnesses the existence of the State of Cabinda, which is noticeably distinguishing itself from Angola in the valuable work<sup>123</sup> of Frenchman Pierre Renouvin, and since the prevailing Cabinda people's statelessness results from an illegal and truculent State succession, the United Nations should not disregard the fact that a violation of international law occurs when an occupying power (Angola) confers its nationality upon the inhabitants of the occupied territory (Cabinda). In this case, the United Nations has been remembered time and again that the appropriate solution to the problem of the Cabinda people's current statelessness is, without a doubt, an international recognition of the «Cabinda Nationality» through the restitution to Cabindans of our

---

<sup>123</sup> See «*Histoire des Relations Internationales, Tome VI, 2eme Partie – De 1871 à 1914*», by Pierre Renouvin, Paris-Hachette, 1953, pp. 91, 284, 288-290.

political sovereignty, i.e. the rehabilitation and acknowledgement of Cabinda by the United Nations as a full subject of international law<sup>124</sup> or, in other words, as a State in its own right. The Cabindan National Movement, as a liberation movement that is faithfully representing the Cabinda people's lawful and peaceful struggle to recover our sovereignty, happens to be partial subject of international law. Though, since international law is first and foremost a prerogative of national States, it is required that the Movement metamorphoses into a «Government in Exile», inasmuch as international law sees exile as the place where the State (Government) whose entire territory is occupied by foreign powers is supposed to be until the country is liberated. Pursuant to Article 21 (1) of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, every Cabinda man or woman has the right to take part in the government of our country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. So, in view of our rights and duties, we cannot help reminding the international community as a whole that there is an Angolan obligation to apply the «1949 Geneva Convention IV» in the territory (Cabinda) occupied by it. Since the authority exercised by an occupying power is, as far as international law is concerned, a *de facto*, not a *de jure* authority; and considering that there is no international legal duty of obedience for the population of an occupied territory towards the occupying power; it is worthwhile directing world attention to the fact that the Geneva Convention IV and 1977 Protocol I apply to the fight of peoples, in the exercise of their right to self-determination, against, *inter alia*, alien occupation.

---

<sup>124</sup> Hermann Mosler, Subjects of International Law, in: R. Bernhardt (ed.), Encyclopedia of Public International Law, Volume IV (2000), p. 710.

Besides, bearing in mind «UNHCR's Executive Committee Conclusion No. 56 (XL) – 1989 on Durable Solutions and Refugee Protection», which declares resolutely that the protection of refugees and seeking solutions to refugee problems are mandatory functions of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and emphasizes the importance given to the inter-relationship between protection and solutions, including through the observance of human rights, as the best solution; considering the stipulations of «UNHCR's Executive Committee Conclusion No. 106 (LVII) – 2006 on Identification, Prevention and Reduction of Statelessness and Protection of Stateless Persons»; given the proviso of Article 15 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which declares that no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his/her nationality; taking into account the Hague Regulations, whose Articles 45 and 46 claim that there are two basic duties of the occupying power towards the inhabitants of the occupied territory: it must not require any allegiance from the population and must respect certain of their fundamental rights<sup>125</sup>; given Article 49 of the Geneva Convention IV, according to which «an important protection for the maintenance of the national identity of the occupied territory is the prohibition of transfers of the civilian population of the occupying power into the territories it occupies»; bearing finally in mind the fact that the issue of statelessness is already under consideration by the United Nations General Assembly within the broad issue of State succession, and

---

<sup>125</sup> See: Geneva Convention IV, Articles 27 and 32; Protocol I, Articles 11 and 75; & «The 1930 Hague Convention on Certain Questions Relating to the Conflict of Nationality Laws».

the fact that UNHCR has been given a mandate to work with governments to prevent statelessness from occurring; to resolve those cases that do occur and to protect the rights of Stateless men and women, we cannot help concluding that, given the humanitarian and social character of the problem of resolving “Nationality Status”, UNHCR is entitled to help reestablish «Cabinda Nationality», that is the legal status of every Cabinda native man and woman. As it is self-evident that the problems of the Cabinda people’s statelessness, refugee status and legal identity do overlap, we have got to have recourse to UNHCR which appears to be the agency designated to act as intermediary between UN member States and the stateless people of Cabinda. The fact is that the ANNEX of the United Nations General Assembly resolution 428 (V) of 14 December 1950 asserts that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, acting under the authority of the UN GA, shall assume the function of providing international protection, under the auspices of the UN, to refugees who fall within the scope of the Statute of his Office, and of seeking permanent solutions for the problem of refugees.

Yet, we must concede that the United Nations has consistently issued statements supportive of or consistent with the Cabinda people’s right to self-determination and independence in pursuance of its own General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, about the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as in compliance with the stipulations of Article 1 of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. It is an undeniable fact that the United Nations has long since been trying to face up to its responsibilities with regard

to Cabinda. In 1962, after hearing<sup>126</sup> Mr. Luís Ranque Franque, the Cabinda petitioner, as mentioned above, the United Nations adopted a number of resolutions, particularly the Resolution 1807 (XVII) of 14 December 1962 which, among other clauses ‘reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples from territories under Portuguese administration to self-determination and independence and requests the Security Council, in case the Portuguese government should refuse to comply with the present resolution and previous General Assembly resolutions on this question, to take all appropriate measures to secure the compliance of Portugal with its obligations as a Member State’. In the early 2005, the United Nations did express its concern about the visible presence of the Angolan military so close to civilian populations in Cabinda<sup>127</sup>. Furthermore, through UNHCR’s document on the «Cessation of Refugee Status to Refugees from Angola», the United Nations recognizes the particularity of refugees who are originally from Cabinda in the following terms:

«While Angolan refugees generally should be able to avail themselves of the protection of their country of origin, UNHCR recognizes that the situation of those originating from Cabinda Province requires special consideration. Cabinda Province has been affected by an

---

<sup>126</sup> «Doc. of the 17th Session of the UN General Assembly – 4th Committee A/C. 4/SR 1391 – 20 November 1962; and Annexes, Agenda item 54, documents A/5160 and add. 1 and 2»;

<sup>127</sup> Report submitted by the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General on the situation of human rights defenders, Ms. Hina Jilani – Addendum: MISSION TO ANGOLA – «United Nations Economic and Social Council Document E/CN.4/2005/101/Add.2 of 21 February 2005 on Promotion and Protection of Human Rights – Human Rights Defenders».

insurgency, dating back to 1975, led by separatist groups. Bearing in mind the distinct dynamics in Cabinda Province, UNHCR recommends that States implement simplified exemption procedures for Angolan refugees originating from the Province. UNHCR will provide further information and guidance on the modalities of simplified procedures<sup>128</sup>».

All things considered, just as the Head of the UN Office of Legal Affairs, the Chairman of the UN Special Committee on Decolonization and the UN Secretary-General, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees does figure among the international dignitaries well placed to help end Angola's internationally wrongful act in occupying Cabinda and, all at once, put an end to the serious crimes of international concern such act brings about, and an end to the Cabinda people's statelessness and refugee problem. Regrettably, in UNHCR's «The State of the World's Refugees 2012», the observations of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in this instance H.E. Mr. António Guterres, sound like an obvious resignation. He is displaying an extremely frustrating, though forgivable low profile. He failed to call for the most basic guarantees of rights, like the right to a valid Convention Travel Document (CTD) or UNLP (United Nations Laissez-Passer) for Cabinda natives who are mandate refugees and Human Rights Defenders in an excessively inhuman situation in Western Europe. Hence we are of the opinion that the low profile of Mr. Guterres, who is a Portuguese and a European

---

<sup>128</sup> See «Guidelines on Exemption Procedures in respect of Cessation Declarations, December 2011, in particular Part 6.3», available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/4eef5c3a2.pdf>.

Union citizen, is meant to be consistent with the interests of Western imperialist powers in Cabinda and Africa at large. Given the role of his fellow citizen, i.e. Dr. Mário Soares, as well as the role of the United States and France in the Portuguese decolonization process (1975) that ended up betraying Cabinda; bearing in mind world's leading powers' wide-spreading harmful principle of «*Might is Right*», which is having the wind aft on a worldwide scale, as well as their regrettable readiness to accept bribes even from criminal regimes like Angola's; and considering the total indifference of the Portuguese Government and of the President of the EU Commission, i.e. Mr. Durão Barroso, Mr. Guterres might be acting in pursuance of the fact that “Western Europe's very existence depends on the resources of Africa and the continued control exercised by the Western European powers over this continent<sup>129</sup>.”

### 3. The Political Assault on Cabinda in UN Resolution 1542 (XV)

In the light of the unquestionable legal and historical factors that legitimize the distinctive political status of Cabinda, the inclusion of this territory in Angola, according to the United Nations General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) of 15 December 1960, is but a premeditated political assault on Cabindan territorial

---

<sup>129</sup> Conversation between Dr. Paulo Cunha, Portuguese Foreign Minister and the Honorable John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State, in «*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957, Volume XXVII, Western Europe and Canada, Document 148: Memorandum of a Conversation, Department of State, Washington, November 30, 1955*».

integrity. It is a deliberate assault, for the reason that most, if not all, permanent members of the United Nations Security Council are acquainted with the concerned Portuguese protectorate (Cabinda) as early as 1885. Thus we are allowed not only to claim that the abovementioned resolution is not peremptory and honest enough to legitimize the military occupation and following colonization of Cabinda by Angola since 1975, but also explain that the inclusion of Cabinda in Angola, depending on paragraph 1(e) of the Resolution 1542 (VX), is an intentional political attack on both Cabindan territorial integrity and political sovereignty. The inclusion in question was all the more premeditated as the preamble of the concerned Resolution recalls that, in the early 1950s, differences of views have arisen among United Nations Member States concerning the status of certain territories under the administration of Portugal described by the Portuguese authorities as “overseas provinces” of the metropolitan State. Needless to say Cabinda is ever since the 17th century a bone of contention between Western European imperialist nations! Let us note in passing that it is because of those bloody conflicts between the European powers in question that the Princes and Governors of Cabinda decided to negotiate with the Portuguese Crown a protectorate treaty aimed at preventing new French invasions and additional losses of parts of the territory.

The Resolution 742 (VIII) of 27 November 1953 is the one by which the General Assembly approved a list of factors to be used as a guide in determining whether a Territory is or is no longer within the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations. Since there were

discrepancies among UN Member States regarding the status of certain territories under the administration of Portugal, with a view to resolving those differences the General Assembly, by resolution 1467 (XIV) of 12 December 1959, appointed the Special Committee of Six on the Transmission of Information under Article 73e of the Charter to study the principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for in Article 73e. The result of such study is the adoption of the General Assembly Resolution 1541 (XV) on 15 December 1960, on the Principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for under Article 73, paragraph «e», of the Charter. In the light of these principles and of those brought out in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 entitled: «Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples»; and since the provisions of the said Declaration and any decision of the General Assembly concerning its implementation were thoroughly applicable to the territory of Cabinda under Portuguese administration in the same way as they were to other Non-Self-Governing Territories; we are right in claiming that the inclusion of Cabinda in Angola by means of the General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) is a flagrant violation of international law involving an act of aggression aimed at plundering Cabinda's coveted natural wealth and resources.

### 3.1. Non-Involvement of Portugal in the Act of Aggression

In the opinion of the Cabindan National Movement, the differences of views that have arisen among UN Member States with respect to the status of certain territories under Portuguese administration shed light over the existence, within the United Nations itself, of entities long since making every endeavor to distort the genuine status of Cabinda, and thus totally defeat the Cabindan people's forensic hopes of achieving self-determination and independence. Yet, what is here obvious is the fact that the trafficking of the political status of Cabinda, which is flagrant in paragraph 1(e) of the UN General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) of 15 December 1960, in no way is it an undertaking of the Portuguese authorities. The non-involvement of Portugal in such criminal act is witnessed by the preamble of the very resolution as follows:

«(...) Being aware that the Government of Portugal has not transmitted information on the territories under its administration which are enumerated in operative paragraph 1 below and has not expressed any intention of doing so, and because such information as is otherwise available in regard to the conditions in these territories gives cause for concern,

1. Considers that, in the light of the provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter, General Assembly resolution 742 (VIII) and the principles approved by the Assembly in resolution 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960, the territories under the administration of Portugal listed hereunder are Non-Self-Governing Territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter: (...))»

Bearing in mind the excerpt above, let us assume for a while the hypothesis that the inclusion of Cabinda in Angola, as it is in General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV), has happened due to the simple fact that Portugal had not transmitted information on the territories under its administration, and to the fact that no UN Member State knew the content of the Portuguese imperial Constitution that was in force at the time (1955) of the admission of the State of Portugal as full Member of the United Nations. In fact, as the United Nations itself will soon realize, the Portuguese Constitution in force from 1933 up to 1976 names distinctively every “oversea province” of the metropolitan State. Yet the ease with which the attack on Cabinda’s territorial integrity had been conducted within the United Nations has additional reasons! In 1960, the year when the GA resolution 1542 (VX) was adopted, most African countries were still under Western European control. Hence very few of them were members of the United Nations. We can also presume that Asian, Arabian and Latin American countries that were full members of the United Nations at that time had no exhaustive knowledge of the political situation of many African territories. This, in spite of the fact that through the Asian-African Conference that took place from 17 to 24 April 1955 in Bandung (Indonesia), the assembled leaders underlined the fundamental right of all peoples to self-determination and did pledge their solidarity with each other in the fight against colonialism as well as in the struggle for economic and social development. The question is: “from where did those powers involved in the falsifying on the political status of Cabinda by means of resolution 1542 (VX) draw the needed legal, political and geographic factors to justify

the inclusion of Cabinda in Angola, inasmuch as Portugal did not transmit such information”?

As the differences of opinions among UN Member States with respect to the status of certain territories under Portuguese administration continued, and as the Government of Portugal's unwillingness to transmit information under Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories under its administration persisted, the General Assembly, by resolution 1699 (XVI)<sup>130</sup> of 19 December 1961, more accurately by means of its nice paragraph 5, authorized the Special Committee to receive petitions and hear petitioners regarding conditions prevailing in Portuguese Non-Self-Governing Territories, in order that information available to it might be as up to date and authentic as possible. This allowed the petitioner from Cabinda, in this instance Mr. Luís Ranque Franque, to be heard by the United Nations Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration on 20 November 1962 in New York. We must highlight, by the way, that the petitioner from Cabinda reached New York and pleaded Cabinda people's case at the United Nations thanks to the logistical and political support of a set of UN Member States who were acting in conformity with their faithful and personal commitment to truth, justice and peace, and in pursuance of both the General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and Article 35 of the Charter of the United Nations. The Hearing of Petitioners was under the auspices

---

<sup>130</sup> On Non-compliance of the Government of Portugal with Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations and with General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) of 15 December 1960.

of the President of the Committee, i.e. Mr. Guillermo Flores Avendaño (Guatemala)<sup>131</sup>. The Session started at 3:25 pm and the close occurred exactly at 5:25 pm of the Tuesday 20th November 1962. To the best of our knowledge the petitioner from Cabinda did not leave the United Nations empty-handed, inasmuch as the General Assembly adopted a handful of resolutions in reply to his plea. We gladly put the UN GA resolutions 1807 (XVII) and 1808 (XVII) of 14 December 1962 forward, for the two have something to do with the petitioner from the Non-Self-Governing Territory of Cabinda. In fact, their respective preambles do mention clearly the petitioners' advocacies with the following terms: "Noting the statements of the petitioners" and "Having heard the petitioners"! Whereas the resolution 1807 (XVII) recommends the granting of independence immediately thereafter to all the Territories under Portuguese administration in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples, resolution 1808 (XVII) recognizes further that the United Nations has a responsibility towards the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. It is clear that Portugal is not involved in the Machiavellian assault on the political sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cabinda through resolution 1542 (XV) and clear that, by means of resolutions 1807 (XVII) and 1808 (XVII) among others, the United Nations has consistently issued statements supportive of or in absolute agreement with Cabinda self-determination and independence.

---

<sup>131</sup> Mr. Franque was interrogated by representatives of the following Member States: Bolivia (Mr. Salamanca), Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Mr. Putine), Congo Brazzaville (Mr. Biyouidi), Guatemala (Mr. Gonzales Calvo), Haiti (Mr. Dorsinville), Cyprus (Mr. Moushoutas), Jamaica (Mr. Marsh), Albania (Mr. Lamani), Canada (Mr. Delisle), Central African Republic (Mr. Sato), Cuba (Mr. Juarbe y Juarbe), Gabon (Mr. Saulnerond) and Nigeria (Mr. Monguno). There were also the Secretary of the Committee (Mr. Kunst) and the representative of Syria (Mr. Allouni).

### 3.2. Compliance of Portugal with Chapter XI of the UN Charter

Aware of its international responsibility to maintain the integrity of the territory of Cabinda, which had been freely placed under its protection through the 1885 Treaty of Simulambuco, and considering the seriousness of the premeditated political attack against the territorial integrity of Cabinda in the aforementioned resolution 1542 (XV), the Government of Portugal decided to comply with the Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations. Portugal put its imperial Constitution (in force at the time) at the United Nations' disposal. The compliance of Portugal with Chapter XI was not only aimed at drawing the United Nations' attention to Cabinda's distinctive political status in its own national Constitution, but also at enabling the United Nations to thwart any forthcoming aggression against Cabinda's territorial integrity. Indeed, the Government of Portugal complied with Chapter XI in the light of the provision of paragraph 2 of the UN General Assembly resolution 1700 (XVI) of 19 December 1961, and in conformity with the UN Security Council resolution 180 (1963) of 31 July 1963 [S/5380], whose preamble recalls GA resolution 1807 (XVII) of 14 December 1962 and paragraph 5(e) calls upon Portugal to implement the granting of independence immediately thereafter to all the Territories under its administration in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples. As mentioned on previous pages, in December 1965, the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave the Constitution of Portugal to Mr. Amos J. Peaslee, whose work entitled «Constitutions of

Nations» appears to be the first compilation of the Constitutions of the States of the world put at the disposal of the United Nations. The laudatory introduction to the first edition of «Constitutions of Nations» by Dr. Ivan Kerno, the Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations in charge of the Legal Department at the time, *inter alia* reads, we are quoting: “Mr. Peaslee’s publication should prove very useful to international and national statesmen, officials, lawyers, educators and students of international affairs. As Secretary-General of the International Bar Association he is doing much to promote the growth of international law and to establish and maintain friendly relations among the members of the legal profession of every country. Such activity is itself a great service to the United Nations and to its cause, the cause of peace, which is the fervent desire of all peoples everywhere.”

Despite the compliance of Portugal with Chapter XI since 1965 that was drawing the United Nations’ attention to the distinctive political status of Cabinda, the United Nations Member States involved in the counterfeiting of this status did not give up making every endeavor to concretize their calculated occupation of Cabinda aimed at plundering its natural resources through the occupying power, i.e. Angola. All things considered, the belligerent occupation and ensuing colonization of Cabinda by Angola since 1975 proves to be the corollary of the premeditated political assault on Cabinda’s political sovereignty and territorial integrity in paragraph 1(e) of the General Assembly resolution 1542 (XV) of 15 December 1960. The fact of the matter is that in 1974/75 the wicked UN Member States concerned did every thing

in their power to torpedo the decolonization process of the Portuguese “overseas territories” so as to hinder Cabinda’s attainment of independence. On 15 January 1975, in Alvor (Portugal), the Portuguese Government and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) signed an agreement in which the Government of Portugal accepted the right of the people of Angola to independence (*Diário do Governo, I S*, 28 January 1975). Article three of the Alvor agreement<sup>132</sup> declared Cabinda as “an integral and inalienable part of Angola”. The malicious inclusion of Cabinda in Angola through the Alvor entente was meant to give Angola a legal tool on which to base the legality and legitimacy of its power over Cabinda. Though, despite the strong pressures exerted on the Government of Portugal by powerful Western nations not to do so, Portugal stood up once again to fulfill its legal and moral obligations with respect to Cabinda inasmuch as it abrogated the agreement in question by means of the *Decreto-Lei* (Decree-Law) 458-A/75 of 22 August 1975. Thus apart from the Angolan army and its mighty Western allies, nothing binds Cabinda to Angola.

---

<sup>132</sup> The Alvor agreement had been signed by the Delegation of the Portuguese administration made up of eight officials: Dr. Mário Soares, Dr. António de Almeida Santos, Dr. Fernando Reino, Major Ernesto Melo Antunes, Major Pedro Pizarat Correia, Brigadier António da Silva Cardoso, Lieutenant colonel Fernando Passos Ramos, Lieutenant colonel António Gonçalves Ribeiro, and the careless leaders of the Angolan independence movements, in this instance Dr. António Agostinho Neto (MPLA), Mr. Holden Roberto (FNLA), and Dr. Jonas M. Savimbi (UNITA).

### 3.3. Cabinda within the Scope of Chapter XI of the Charter

Given all UN General Assembly resolutions adopted in reply to the petitioner from Cabinda who had been heard on the occasion of the 17th Session, particularly resolution 1808 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, by which the General Assembly recognizes further that the United Nations has a responsibility towards the inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories<sup>133</sup>; taking into account the compliance of Portugal with Chapter XI of the UN Charter ever since 1965, by which Portugal had placed the distinctive political status of Cabinda at the disposal of the UN Department of Legal Affairs; recalling the proviso of paragraph 5(e) of the Security Council resolution 180 (1963) of 31 July 1963 [S/5380], by which the United Nations Security Council calls upon the Government of Portugal to implement the granting of independence immediately thereafter to all the Territories under its administration in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples; given the deliberate attempts to twist the legal status of Cabinda by means of resolution 1542 (XV) of 15 December 1960 as well as through the Alvor entente of 15 January 1975; and bearing in mind the fact that Angola's power over Cabinda is totally devoid of both legality and legitimacy; the United Nations should acknowledge the fact that the territory of Cabinda is still within the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter.

---

<sup>133</sup> General Assembly Resolutions adopted in reply to the petitioner from Cabinda: 1807 (XVII) of 14 December 1962; 1808 (XVII) of 14 December 1962; and 1810 (XVII) of 17 December 1962.

Since we are definitely committed to contributing to the fulfillment of international order of justice and peace, and accept in advance the obligations of peaceful settlement provided in the Charter of the United Nations, we cannot help claiming that the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization and the UN Office of Legal Affairs are required to consider the militarily occupied territory of Cabinda within the purview of Chapter XI of the Charter, in the light of Principles IV and V of the General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) adopted on 15 December 1960 [ANNEX] on the Principles which should guide Members in determining whether or not an obligation exists to transmit the information called for under Article 73 (e) of the Charter. As available information and authorized international entities are entitled to prove, Cabinda has no common borders with Angola and is distinct ethnically and culturally from the country (Angola) administering it nowadays. Consequently, since such a *prima facie* case of geographical, ethnical and cultural distinctness of Cabinda exists, the United Nations should give careful consideration to the other elements<sup>134</sup> that are, *inter alia*,

---

<sup>134</sup> UN GA resolution 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960 [ANNEX], Principle IV: Prima facie there is an obligation to transmit information in respect of a territory which is geographically separated and is distinct ethnically and/or culturally from the country administering it; Principle V: Once it has been established that such a prima facie case of geographical and ethnical or cultural distinctness of a territory exists, other elements may then be brought into consideration. These additional elements may be, *inter alia*, of an administrative, political, juridical, economic or historical nature. If they affect the relationship between the metropolitan State and the territory concerned in a manner which arbitrarily places the other in a position or status of subordination, they support the presumption that there is an obligation to transmit information under Article 73e of the Charter.

of administrative, political, juridical, economic and historical nature. In fact, as soon as both the UN C-24 and OLA will purposely look into the Cabinda issue they will immediately realize that the said elements do affect the relationship between the Angolan national State and Cabinda in a manner which arbitrarily places the latter in a position of subordination.

#### 4. Ploys to Perpetuate Angola's Colonial Rule over Cabinda

Western European imperialist powers' tricks aimed at annihilating Cabinda as a full subject of international law are not exactly new inasmuch as they date back to the 17th century, that is well before the discovery of Cabinda's extremely rich oil fields in the late 1950s. How come their obstinacy to completely destroy the legal and political existence of Cabinda is still there after centuries and centuries? The captain of the vessel "*Senhora de Antalaia*", i.e. Rui de Sousa, who proves to be the first Portuguese citizen to set foot on Cabinda soil in 1491, would be the person better placed to answer the rightful question above. As far as we know, from the 15th century to the beginning of the 17th Portugal's political influence on the kingdom of Cabinda had way on without a single European contender. Afterwards, with the arrivals of the Dutch, French, Belgian and British, Cabinda became instantly an important trading center where all these Westerners met. The main commodities traded were ivory, leopard skins, exotic birds, tobacco and medicinal plants, packets of various seeds, gold, and diamonds. Over the years, this African location became more and

more attractive, until it became a source of violent armed conflicts among the European powers concerned, and eventually turned into one of the most important centers of the Slave Trade. Though, ever since then, Portugal's effort to have Cabinda as part of its sphere of influence in Africa is continuously challenged by the Netherlands, France, England, and later, to some extent, the United States. The attractiveness of Cabinda, however, is determined by its people's culture and ancestry, if we are to believe the Portuguese prominent historian, in this instance Dr. Mascarenhas Barreto<sup>135</sup>. The fact that hieroglyph writing and other Egyptian traditions were used by Cabindan intelligentsia and nobility in the 15th century was an extremely fascinating reality in the eyes of the Westerners concerned. This and the continual differences between Portugal and France led the former to build on Cabinda soil the Roman Catholic Church named *Rainha do Mundo* or «The Queen of the World». It is suggested by some that European White supremacists, who feel upset about the fact that such a name was given to a Church in a black country, are discreetly and long since working hard to torpedo any likelihood of Cabinda attaining independence. They are unwilling to see Cabinda regain its political sovereignty for fear that the related Black nation might sound as being the Queen of the World. Other than all that, the criminal endeavor that consists in defeating our legitimate hopes of achieving self-determination and independence is also among the direct consequences of the long-standing imperialistic contention between France and Germany.

---

<sup>135</sup> «*Breve Monografia sobre Cabinda*» or “Brief Monograph on Cabinda”, a Manuscript, by Dr. Mascarenhas Barreto, Lisbon, 1991; N.B.: this valuable work was put at our disposal by the author in 1991.

#### 4.1. Roguery in Portraying Cabinda as an Angolan Ethnic Minority

Given Angola's lack of legal title over the territory of Cabinda that became absolute just after the abrogation by Portugal of the aforementioned Alvor agreement, to perpetuate Angola's colonial rule over Cabinda and hence maintain our political sovereignty confiscated for ever, the United Nations Member States involved in the falsifying of Cabinda's political status in UN resolution 1542 (XV) are desperately portraying Cabinda as an Angolan ethnic minority with a false line of argument. Their malicious purpose is to confuse the whole international community and thus prevent it from making common cause with the so oppressed people of Cabinda. The truth is that Cabinda has never been, is not and will never be such a thing as Angolan ethnic minority. In this regard, we draw people's attention to the fact that in no way the political (and legal) definition of the term "minority" coincides with the one of the term "people". Law does not consider "national minority" to be subjected to a foreign power, as is the case for "people", which, as a result, are true holders of the «right to self-determination and independence» in accordance with Article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Therefore, unlike "national minority" which is purely and simply a subgroup in discord with the State to which it belongs, Cabindans are a national group in conflict with foreign powers, in this instance Portugal (European Union) and Angola. It is worth knowing that from 1885, the year when the protectorate treaty was signed, up to the time of the fall of the Salazar regime (Portugal) in 1974, 1st February that became

Cabinda's Independence Day was only celebrated in Cabinda as a holiday, never in other Portuguese oversea territories.

Whereas “ethnic minorities” claim their rights pursuant to Article 27 of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights<sup>136</sup>, the people of Cabinda demand our lawful rights not only in conformity with Article 1 of the same Covenant<sup>137</sup>, but also UN resolution 1514 (XV) adopted by the GA on 14 December 1960, concerning the Declaration about the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, as well as UN General Assembly resolution 1807 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, which reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples from the territories under Portuguese administration to self-determination and independence. We, Cabindans, happen to be a “people” rather than an “ethnic or national minority” as a number of European politicians, diplomatists and business men and women insinuate. The purpose of their insinuation is to throw the people of Cabinda into confusion and prevent the world public opinion from rising up against Western powers disloyalty in our homeland Cabinda. What they are saying,

---

<sup>136</sup> Article 27: In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minority exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language;

<sup>137</sup> Article 1 (1): All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development; and (3): The States Parties to the present Covenant, including those having responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, shall promote the realization of the right of self-determination, and shall respect that right, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

in other words, is that the Cabinda people's political demands are but to be treated within the legal framework of "national minorities". It is a clear Machiavellian attempt to subtract an international conflict from the jurisdiction of the United Nations so as to consider it as no more than an internal conflict of a particular State. An attempt of this sort is but a pitiful diplomacy inasmuch as it involves roguery, racial prejudice, malevolence or even robbery.

At the end of the day those powers and individuals who want our civil and political claims to be treated within the framework of "national minorities", are the ones who have converted Angola into a mercenary entity in charge of terrorizing the people of Cabinda the world over so that Western corporations can freely deprive us of our political sovereignty and loot our natural wealth and resources, particularly crude oil, diamonds, gold, and uranium without the slightest regard for UN General Assembly resolution 1803 (XVII) of 14th December 1962, concerning the permanent sovereignty over natural resources. We, Cabindans, must not and have no intention of permitting our claims to be reduced to or looked at as mere Angolan ethnic or national minority's demands, inasmuch as such endorsement would jeopardize for always our existence as a national group. In spite of the provisions of Article 27 of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, nothing and nobody would henceforth side with us in our quest for independence because of the principle of non-interference in a country's internal affairs.

Hence we hope the United Nations is fully conscious that the conquest of international peace and security is

only possible provided all differences, no matter which one and whatever its legal characteristic feature may be, are of concern to the international community as a whole. As long as world's leading powers champion the evil principle of «Might is Right» and the entire international community functions on the basis of an «indifferent» international law, one whose main objective is to permit the establishment of a pacific coexistence between the most powerful States militarily speaking, the Human Family will find ourselves deeper and deeper in trouble. It is unmistakable to any honest and impartial observer that the increasing indifference in international relations is the foremost determining factor of the so disgusting situation prevailing in Cabinda and bordering countries. Since the Government of Angola refuses to comply with the core values articulated in the tools of the international law with respect to Cabinda, the UN General Assembly should request the Security Council to take all appropriate measures to secure the compliance of Angola with its obligations as a Member State. In the 1960s and early 1970s, Portugal's effort to maintain its colonial policy was easily condemned by a set of UN Security Council resolutions<sup>138</sup>. Paragraph (1) of resolution 218 (1965) states that “the situation resulting from the policies of Portugal both as regards the African population of its colonies and the neighboring States seriously disturbs international peace and security”. For its part paragraph (3) of resolution 312 (1972) says that “the situation resulting from the policies of Portugal both in its colonies and in its constant provocations against the

---

<sup>138</sup> See resolutions: 180 (1963) of 31 July 1963; 183 (1963) of 11 December 1963; 218 (1965) of 23 November 1965; and 312 (1972) of 4 February 1972.

neighboring States seriously disturb international peace and security in the African continent”. And yet, even though the policies of Angola in the occupied territory of Cabinda and edging countries are indisputably the major contributing factor to the political insecurity and instability in central and southern Africa, both the UN General Assembly and Security Council are showing reluctance to condemn Angola’s devastating policies. The fact is that such reluctance prevents Angola from turning itself into a legally constituted State so it can ultimately contribute to the fulfillment of international order of justice and peace.

#### 4.2. Regional Integration as Trickery to erase Cabinda’s Right

In addition to portraying Cabinda as an Angolan ethnic minority with a view to erasing our legitimate right to self-determination and independence, the concept of regional integration is being used as a subterfuge to prevent the people of Cabinda from eventually enjoying such civil and political rights. That is trickery, a cheating! Not only we are entirely convinced of the relevance of an African regional integration, but we even include in our political platform what we consider to be one of the cornerstones of a successful regional integration as well. In order to be of great assistance to leading State dignitaries who wish the African continent a lasting peace and prosperous future, we have long since laid down a set of preconditions for any imaginable regional integration meant to include Cabinda.

The granting of independence to the colonial country and people of Cabinda is thus our first precondition for whatever related regional integration. Our firm belief is that once a people succeed in mastering their own history, the future of the people in question becomes a series of objectives to attain. As for the specification of the progressive arrangement of such targets, our opinion is that it must necessarily result from a careful consideration of several aspects like the psychological, socio-cultural, political, and so on. Though, among the ordered targets to arrive at, there are those that inevitably take precedence over the others. Hence, from this perspective, the stage of our political sovereignty precedes any regional integration. As to the second prerequisite, we contend that the African countries interested in creating any regional integration should first of all reach their respective national integration. Our view is that an enviable regional integration presupposes, within every country, a national approval as far as inner peace and ethnic concordance are concerned. In other words, every government is above all required to get its own people out of tribal civic responsibility and, simultaneously, upgrade the sense of cosmopolitanism that any regional integration calls for.

The portrayal or depiction of the political profile as well as the standard of the development to which the countries interested in the regional integration must aspire constitutes our third precondition. In this field, we are of the opinion that Black peoples on the Continent and in the Diaspora desperately need an African country to look at as prime example in the domain of democracy, political security and stability, human rights, well-being

of society, individual and fundamental liberties, integral development, and future prospects. What we are saying is that African leaders and intelligentsia must most of all construct an African country meant to symbolize the attractiveness of the concerned regional integration. Our fourth and last prerequisite consists in considering dialogue and negotiation to be the only prudent way to construct an African regional integration worthy of the name. Regional integration cannot be a mechanical engineering. In other words, it cannot be inspired by intentions unfamiliar to the ones of the autochthonous populations! Hence to visualize any regional integration while Cabinda is under the colonial rule of the Angolan government is to endorse the perpetuation of the political insecurity and instability in the Congo basin and Africa at large. First, for such integration has no option but to be made by force of weapons, given the Cabinda people's lawful and irreducible civil and political demands. Secondly, for there will be more and more international entities making common cause with the martyred people of Cabinda, given the perturbing unfairness of the Western democratic nations that exclusively take advantage of the natural wealth and resources of Cabinda, particularly oil.

### 4.3. Corruption and Falsehood meant to wipe out Cabinda

There is a United Nations' palpable, yet alarming helplessness with respect to the 38-year colonial conflict between Cabinda and Angola, helplessness which fair

observers around the world believe is mostly caused by the Angolan dictatorship's nerve to bribe<sup>139</sup> and blackmail even permanent members of the UN Security Council into silence. Most saddening is the fact that Western and Eastern prominent politicians, businessmen and women, news agencies, or even religious institutions, are increasingly and shamelessly hiring themselves out as foreign agents to the merciless oligarchy of tyrants, kleptocrats and terrorists that still rule supreme over Angola and Cabinda. The trouble with certain members of the United Nations Security Council accepting bribes from people all at once despots and colonialists like Angola's is that it seriously threatens World peace, inasmuch as the Security Council is the supreme body on which the Charter (UN's) confers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Depending upon Amnesty International's Annual Report 2011, we quote:

“Angola remains one of Africa's largest oil producers and is China's second most important source of oil and most important commercial partner in Africa. This oil wealth, and Angola's regional military power, has greatly limited leverage of other governments and international organizations pushing for good governance and human rights. Trade partners remain reluctant to criticize the government, to protect their economic interests.”  
Furthermore, in an article entitled «Forgotten People:

---

<sup>139</sup> In January 2010 the Swiss journalist Johannes Dieterich published in the Swiss newspaper Tages-Anzeiger an article whose title – «*Cabindas Unglück ist das Erdöl*» or “Cabinda's misfortune is its own Oil” – appears to be the most illustrative observation on the prevailing situation in Cabinda.

Displaced Persons in Cabinda Province, Angola», of 26th May 2005, «Refugees International» states as follows:  
“(...) Oil revenues support at least 80% of Angola’s national budget, (...) Countries that purchase Cabinda’s oil, including the United States and China, are reluctant to bring attention to the issues in Cabinda because of their dependence on oil from the province.”

In May 2007 the US Council on Foreign Relations declared: “Few African countries are more important to US interests than Angola.” Yet, Angola draws its importance from the illegally occupied oil-rich territory of Cabinda. For the record, Cabinda accounts for close to 80% of Angola’s oil production, estimated at approximately 1,800,000 barrels per day (280,000m<sup>3</sup>/d), and it is also estimated that oil exports from this occupied country are worth the equivalent of US\$ 210,000 per annum or US\$ 17,500 per month for every Cabinda native. Regrettably, Cabinda remains one of the poorest regions and country in Angola and Africa respectively; both at home (Cabinda) and abroad, as refugees, we are forced to live on less than « US\$1 » per day. Angola’s eager willingness to disburse hundreds of millions of US dollars to buy off members of governments, heads of political parties and prominent leaders of civil societies of countries playing host to mandate refugees or asylum seekers from Cabinda, in exchange for them to force the said refugees and asylum seekers surrender ourselves to its colonial regime, is contributing to the general erosion of the core principles of international refugee law, more particularly the principle that prohibits the denial of international protection and humanitarian assistance to such vulnerable persons, and the principle of non-refoulement, which ensures that nobody is sent back to

persecution. In view of the Angolan government's attractive bribes, host-countries are managing to please President Dos Santos' dictatorship by denying mandate refugees from Cabinda even the most basic international human rights. Most Western European States have fallen into Angola's trap; even the States of the countries widely displayed as the ones that consistently support the cause of freedom in the world and praise the beneficial effects of a legally constituted state and democratic order, have become mere pawns both in the eyes and hands of Angola's «Strongman». Corruption is weakening Western democracies and the United Nations' specialized institutions led by Europeans all at once. If not, why is the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in this instance Mr. António Guterres, who happens to be a European citizen, paying no attention to the fact that mandate refugees from Cabinda in Switzerland (Western Europe) are unjustifiably deprived of social health insurance and valid CTD (convention travel documents), thus denying us the right to freedom of movement and basic human rights for years and years? You do not need to be a Berne Declaration (ED.)'s researcher to perceive the link between Western European States' grotesque treatment of their refugees and asylum seekers from Cabinda on one hand, and, on the other hand, the growth of extremely lucrative, yet obscure businesses between the European States concerned and senior officials of Angola's colonial and ruthless regime.

Thanks to President Dos Santos' boldness to bribe the leaders of the most powerful nations on earth, the Angolan dictatorship and colonial government has finally succeeded in having an international conspiracy of silence over its ongoing war crimes, crimes of genocide,

and crimes against humanity for which the responsible officials should be held accountable. The fact is that, by endeavoring to buy off Western and Eastern most powerful States with forest concessions or rights to minerals and oil fields, in the hope of having these States' readiness to coerce the international community as a whole into postponing Cabinda's attainment of independence, Angola's autocrat is hindering the States in question from being the ones that push for the establishment of a more just and livable global political and economic order. We also know that the «Strongman» of Angola is used to reaching secret agreements with some Western European States, whereby the Angolan government receives hundreds of million US dollars worth of arms as well as covert political support in exchange for privileged access to oil resources. The problem of corruption between Western States and African dictatorships like Angola's brings the strangeness of western humanitarian organizations' role to light! In fact, as long as African dictators are Western States' protégés, due to the formers' corrupting generosity, the assignments of most if not all western humanitarian organizations in Africa cannot help being detrimental to the masses in Africa. In this connection, John Perkins states: "The deception includes some of the nonprofits, the NGOs<sup>140</sup>." In other words, the concepts of aid and development are simply tools in the arsenal of the West, wielded not for the sake of charity but for the sake of domination. On Monday 20 December 2010 the Swiss

---

<sup>140</sup> In the «The Secret History of the American Empire – Economic Hit Men, Jackals, and the Truth About Global Corruption», by John Perkins, Ebury Publishing, USA 2007, e-Book p. 266.

Newspaper «Le Temps» published an impressive interview, under the title «*Haïti est la preuve de l'échec de l'aide internationale*», given by the representative of the Organization of the American States in Haïti at the time, in this instance the Brazilian Ricardo Seitenfus<sup>141</sup>.

The «principle of inviolability of the borders inherited from colonialism» is an additional tool the Angolan government and foreign accomplices are trying to make use of in their endeavor aimed at frustrating our legitimate hopes of regaining our political sovereignty. Even leaders of the opposition parties in Angola are standing together with the MPLA regime against the just cause of the people of Cabinda, inasmuch as they all claim that “African independences inherited the frontiers left by the European colonial powers”. This was the statement of Isaiás Samakuva of UNITA, Abel Chivukuvuku of CASA-CE, Eduardo Kwangana of PRS, as well as Lucas Ngonda of FNLA in an interview with «Voice of America (*Angola Fala Só*)», during the 2012 presidential election, on 17 August 2012. As African politicians, they are absolutely untrustworthy given the untruthfulness of their pronouncement. The truth, which Angolans and Cabindans know, is that the frontiers left

---

<sup>141</sup> Among other things the interview (French) reads, we quote: «*Le péché originel d'Haïti, sur la scène mondiale, c'est sa libération. Les Haïtiens commettent l'inacceptable en 1804: un crime de lèse-majesté pour un monde inquiet. L'Occident est alors un monde colonialiste, esclavagiste et raciste qui base sa richesse sur l'exploitation des terres conquises. Donc, le modèle révolutionnaire haïtien fait peur aux grandes puissances. Les Etats-Unis ne reconnaissent l'indépendance d'Haïti qu'en 1865. Et la France exige le paiement d'une rançon pour accepter cette libération. Dès le départ, l'indépendance est compromise et le développement du pays entravé. Le monde n'a jamais su comment traiter Haïti, alors il a fini par l'ignorer.*».

by the Portuguese “colonial” regime and which the independence of Angola inherited in 1975 are the same ones enshrined in the Portuguese Constitution that was in force from 1933 up to 1976. The Angolan government, as well as the leaders of the opposition parties, is conscious that the frontiers the independence of Cabinda has got to inherit are likewise enshrined in the very same 1933 Portuguese Constitution. The additional fact to underscore here is that the independence of Angola was proclaimed on 11 November 1975 and that the abovementioned Portuguese Constitution, in which the political status of Cabinda has nothing to do with the one of Angola, became obsolete in 1976. Hence the borders of Angola, at the time of the proclamation of its independence, did not swallow those of Cabinda, at least from a legal point of view. One must be only acting in bad faith, to be incapable to apprehend an enormous truth like the one regarding the non inclusion of the frontiers of Cabinda in Angola’s. As Angolan leaders dare to act out of treachery with regard to the civil and political rights of the fellow African nation of Cabinda, it is self-evident that the aforementioned leaders of the opposition parties are less likely to be genuine democrats and, worse than that, less likely to have a global political performance better than the current dictator’s if elected to the presidency. The worst of it all is that both the leaders of the ruling party and those of the opposition parties prove to have the same foreign mentors who, given their attempt to distort the genuine status of Cabinda in UN GA resolution 1542 (XV) of 15 December 1960, are but swindlers of the worst kind. Bearing all that in mind, we believe that, in order to clear up the misunderstanding with reference to the concept of Cabinda frontiers and Angola’s in the 1933 Portuguese

Constitution, such legal difference must necessarily be submitted to International Court of Justice, as well as to International Criminal Court for the reason that the conflict entails a number of serious crimes of international concern. The Court of Justice will inevitably end up schooling Angolan politicians that Cabinda is as a State as is Angola, after contemplating several documents like the Encyclopædia Britannica which *inter alia* claims, we quote:

«Cabinda, a Portuguese possession on the west coast of Africa, lies north of the mouth of the Congo River. It is bounded by the Atlantic on the west, the Republic of Congo (formerly French middle Congo) north and northeast, and Republic of the Congo (the former Belgian Congo), south and southeast. (...) The inhabitants are Bantu Negroes, called Cabindas. They are intelligent, energetic and enterprising, and known as daring sailors and active traders. The Maiombe region is rich in forests, though transportation difficulties have hindered exploitation, and its beauty is an attraction to tourists. Cabinda's busy trade has consisted mainly of timber, palm oil and kernels, cocoa and coffee. The area is favourable to the production of rubber, fruit and ivory. Alluvial gold is extracted and deposits of mineral and other phosphates have interested United States companies<sup>142</sup>.»

Angola's most insensate diplomacy, whose falsehood is meant to dupe world public opinion and to overpower the United Nations regarding the fact that the

---

<sup>142</sup> In «Encyclopædia Britannica, a New Survey of Universal Knowledge, Volume 4, (A.A.G.P.), Copyright 1962, Printed in England».

belligerent occupation and consequent colonization of Cabinda is the major contributing factor to the political insecurity and instability in the Congo basin and Africa at large, consists in periodically portraying fake negotiations with Cabinda figures previously bribed with a view to a «special status» instead of the full sovereignty required for the sake of world peace. President Dos Santos' false intent to grant Cabinda a sort of special status, nevertheless, implies his implicit recognition of the legal and historical elements that justify our independence claim while explicitly attempting to ignore the same elements for egoistic purposes. Since Angola ignores the legitimacy of our arguments for self-determination and independence, the Angolan government cannot make a good case for a special status inasmuch as it is devoid of well-grounded arguments for such status. We challenge Angola's President to disclose his list of the legal and historical factors that plead for special status in contradistinction to our own list pleading for independence. In this matter, due particularly to the fact that the disagreement has been going on for more than three decades, our belief is that the United Nations Secretary-General should stand up as the symbol of the UN ideal of universal peace and the spokesman for the interests of the world's peoples, in particular the poor and vulnerable among them, and should remind the Government of Angola that time does not demand a hypocritical approach to resolving the problems that are deteriorating more and more the state of Africa.

President Dos Santos' latest diplomatic show in connection with his occasional negotiations aimed at attempting to cajole the international community as a whole into postponing *sine die* Cabinda's attainment of independence, consist in the «Memorandum of

Understanding» signed in Angola's southern port city of Namibe on 1st August 2006. This foolish agreement results from the widely decried negotiations between Mr. António Bento Bembe (a Cabinda native previously bribed) with the Angolan Minister for Interior administration at the time, in this instance Mr. Virgílio de Fontes Pereira, in Congo-Brazzaville on 15 July 2006. Though, what is clear is that a definitive recognition of the said Memorandum by UN Member States, which usually champion democracy and the rule of law on a worldwide scale, does not make the United Nations nor the United States and the European Union shine. In no way can such recognition make these entities radiate, for Bento Bembe is destitute of the needed legitimacy to represent the people of Cabinda. Other than being a man entirely corrupt and a political tool of the Angolan government since the early eighties, Bembe is also involved in several instances of kidnappings, murders and hostage-taking. For instance, due to the kidnapping in Cabinda of the US citizen Brent Swan on 19 October 1990, the United States has long since issued an international warrant for the arrest of Bembe and his associates. Up to now Arthur Tchibassa is the only member of Bento Bembe's gang jailed in the United States, after being captured on 12 July 2002 in Kinshasa (capital city of the Democratic Republic of the Congo) by FBI agents together with the security of this African country. Yet, as we all know, Bembe and his men are officially under the protection of the MPLA government. Although Angola's dictator knew a warrant was/is out for Bembe's arrest, he still endeavored to erect the very same Bembe as his recognized spokesperson, in the hope of enticing the people of Cabinda to acknowledge him as our legitimate representative and, lastly, to draw from this

recognition the so required legitimacy for his colonial power over Cabinda. To President Dos Santos' surprise, however, once again the entire people of Cabinda refused categorically to pretend to be a brainless national group. This frustrated Angola's President to such an extent that he ended up murdering our treasured Roman Catholic bishop, in this instance, the blessed Mgr. Paulino Fernandes Madeca, on 9 January 2008. So we are paying dearly for wanting to have back our political sovereignty! In view of all that, to take Mr. Bembe for representative of the legitimate aspirations of the people of Cabinda gives rise to defaming speculations as far as the United Nations, the United States, and the European Union are concerned. People know that the Angolan government itself is indisputably involved in everything Bembe has done as leader of a gang, and now people are wondering whether the United States' secret services as well as the European Union member states' themselves are not behind the kidnappings in question. That makes people also wonder what is left of the United Nations!

## 5. US Selective Policy undermines the United Nations

In his fascinating speech to the United Nations General Assembly on 23 September 2009, not only US President Barack H. Obama admitted that America has too often been selective in its promotion of democracy but also revealed a Washington ready to act boldly and collectively on behalf of justice and prosperity at home and abroad. Hence, in the belief that the United States was starting a new era of engagement with the world, one

in which all of us are called to take our share of responsibility for a global response to global challenges, we did our best in order to find an attentive ear in President Obama during his first term of office. In fact, we requested the United States to be the independent international entity committed to a legal resolution of the Cabinda issue for we really think it is capable of impartially arbitrating the competing interests at stake, and powerful enough to see that the parties involved negotiate in good faith and fulfill the responsibilities contained in our ultimate agreement. At the same time, in view of Angola's growing role as an instrument for the «re-conquest of Africa» and the «re-enslavement of Black peoples» once again by European imperialist nations, not only we referred to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon our views and well-founded concerns but also exhorted him to work shoulder to shoulder with President Obama in the effort aimed at ending once and for all the long-standing colonial difference between Cabinda and Angola. To our surprise, America is still proving to be selective in its promotion of justice, peace and democracy the world over, at least during President Obama's first term of office. The United States and the United Nations, both did not waver in their efforts to stand up for the right of the people of Côte d'Ivoire, Libya, Syria, and Mali to determine their own destiny. Regarding Cabinda, not a single word, nor a single gesture! Neither from the United Nations nor from the United States! So why is Angola's 38-year belligerent occupation of Cabinda, which we all know involves the most serious crimes of international concern, is downplayed by the United States of America as well as by the United Nations?

It turns out that US expertise in African affairs is deliberately kept lower than the one of the French, for instance. For we cannot believe that US policy makers have not taken cognizance of the illegal occupation of Cabinda and all the crimes it entails up till now. In 2007, a famous US scholar, in this instance Mr. J. Peter Pham, Ph.D., has made a terribly frustrating, though insightful remark on America's consciousness of the prevailing situation in Cabinda. Among other things, Dr. Pham's article, under the title «Cabinda: The "Forgotten Conflict" America Can't Afford to Forget», reads, we quote: "Few, even among those vaguely aware of Angola's significance to American interests, however, have ever heard of Cabinda, the 7,283 square kilometer enclave some sixty kilometers north of the Congo River and surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean, the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where more than half of Angola's oil is produced and from which the country earns nearly all of its foreign exchange. Even fewer are cognizant of the protracted conflict that has been going on in that pocket of territory since Angola achieved its independence in 1975." In our opinion, that does not sound good as it is about the foremost world's leading power. Yet, there are no arguments to blame the United States alone for the spread of the evil principle of «Might is Right», inasmuch as the right to react wherever the obligations prohibiting slavery, apartheid, aggression, the maintenance by force of colonial domination, and the massive pollution of the atmosphere or the seas appear to be violated is formally given to all subjects of international law. In fact, by allowing western closest allies of the United States alone to be entitled to bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34 of the UN Charter, to the

attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly, in order for the dispute or situation in question to be worthy of due assessment, the rest of the UN Member States are inadvertently endorsing the inhuman principle of «Might is Right».

Let us return to US selective policy and its extremely negative impact on the United Nations. With respect to Cabinda, the United States should stop being selective for the Government of Angola's main allies have long since been using the presence of US companies in Cabinda to prejudice the international reputation of the United States. Considering US contribution to the development process of certain South East Asian countries, we would like to see Cabinda and Africa at large receive the same attention so that we can eventually free ourselves from Angola's colonial rule and underdevelopment. It would be equitable for underdevelopment is a revolting exclusion from the scope of the economic and human relations on a worldwide scale. Besides, it would be fair for within the trade relations the underdeveloped country is never regarded as a partner by its interlocutors. As a result, since the right to development is intrinsically revolutionary because it involves a profound break, i.e. a definitive rupture in the ancestral tradition of the «indifferent» international law, the United States is required to willingly play the leading role in the United Nations' effort to break off the said «indifferent» international law on behalf of the poorest and most vulnerable among the world's peoples.

As an economic model, the free market appears to have no rival any longer. Though, both the United Nations and the United States should underscore the fact that the only countries that have successfully developed

are those that have had at their disposal a state not only strong but inspired as well. That is a state with an iron desire for integral development and with the required means to put it into practice. In order for such development process to get under way, local industries in full blossom demand a minimum of protection in relation to external competition, because of the risk of killing the embryonic industrialization process. In short, a solid and interventionist State is a *sine qua non*, but without exaggerating so as not to suffocate the private actors involved in the country's economic life. In this perspective, the observance of the provisions of Article 1 (2)<sup>143</sup> of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights has to be a full one. However, both the United Nations and the United States should also highlight the truth according to which not only most of the countries that have developed all over the world did not lead their small farmers into deadlock, but also have leaned on a solid agrarian basis first, for it is known as the humus of the growth in domestic market. Every country, regardless of its geographic and demographic dimension, requires a satisfying level of political security and stability that is, beyond a shadow of a doubt, prior condition for any establishment of a legally constituted State and democratic order. Stability and security not only empower a government to open the country up to trade but also allow the free circulation of men, women, assets, goods and ideas which, for their part, enable any

---

<sup>143</sup> All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.

society to develop and go into a process of economic diversification. To put it briefly, the role of both trade and exchanges is fundamental. May we also add that there is no development model applicable to no matter which country inasmuch as development is a long-term, inner, endogenous and cumulative process, whose application of a set of economic recipes cannot launch in case the socio-cultural substratum and political environment are not advantageous thereto! And this, whatever the external efforts may be: foreign aid, capital contribution, building of housing, road infrastructures, and so on and so forth.

America's selective policy in its promotion of justice, peace and democracy across the globe cannot help inciting the most humiliated nations to seek for weapons of mass destruction in order to command respect and eventually feel secure. In the eyes of the oppressed peoples like the people and nation of Cabinda, America's political selectivity is viewed as a deliberate discrimination. The question arises as to what credibility and effectiveness will the United Nations stand with in the way of the nations that are striving to acquire weapons of mass destruction in order to command respect, while UN Member States like Angola are allowed to establish themselves as colonial powers by force of weapons! It is obvious that whatever support the United States and the United Nations lend Angola is a self-destruction of their own political and moral authorities respectively. This because the colonial Government of Angola, which is openly carrying out a genocidal policy in Cabinda with a view to defeating our legitimate hopes of achieving self-determination and independence, is an extremely bad example as far as human rights and international law are concerned. The

fact is that just as in the course of the Cold War (1947-1991) dominated by the United States and its NATO allies on the one hand and by the Soviet Union along with the Warsaw Pact on the other, countries possessors of weapons of mass destruction are still playing the decisive role. Historically, the triumph of most African liberation movements over the European colonial system would not have been possible in the 1960s and 1970s without a substantial and unconditional aid from countries possessors of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), in this case the Soviet Union and China. Similarly, the complete liberation of the French people from the Nazi regime in 1945, as well as the definitive resolution of the legal-political problem of the Hebrew people's statelessness, would not have been possible without a copious and unconditional assistance from countries possessors of WMD, in this instance the United States, France, and the United Kingdom. Today, the stay in power of a tyrant or colonial regime (like Angola's!) for decades and decades is absolutely possible provided the despot or criminal regime in question have the political backing of a country or countries retaining WMD.

In the 1950s and 1960s, it is worth remarking, countries that we all knew have WMD in their possession played a relatively positive role, inasmuch as their fair commitment to promoting justice, peace, and harmonious togetherness ended up motivating national States all over the world to strive for a multilateral framework that brings within its sights all practices that are in compliance with the sense of international responsibility sharing. That was a commitment for the sake of international order of justice, peace and security on the part of the concerned nuclear countries. Regrettably, since the fall

of the Berlin wall in 1989, there is no longer any shared responsibility as far as international peace and security is concerned. Hence, since the Permanent Members of the UN Security Council (possessors of WMD) are unbelievably and increasingly paying no attention to the legitimate claims of the peoples and nations victims of injustice and oppression, not only the existing weapons of mass destruction have lost their primary dissuasive role but their respective owners (States) have also lost the required moral authority to restore international order of justice and peace. This suggests that the world as a whole needs more nuclear weapons in the hands of national States willing to act on behalf of the peoples and nations victims of the mightiest nations' selective policy and well-disposed to demonstrate the relevance of the good-natured principle of shared responsibility. We must concede, however, that the World is deep in trouble because of the world's leading powers-led unfairness! Yet, the more this unfairness grows the more non-nuclear States will do their best to acquire as much sophisticated WMD as possible, simply because they are by far less indifferent to the suffering of the most discriminated peoples and races than the Permanent Members of the UN Security Council, and, in addition, because they cannot stand the world's leading powers-led unfairness any longer. As far as Cabinda is concerned, the fact is that our political sovereignty is still confiscated by Angola's powerful army, regardless of all United Nations relevant resolutions, because Angola's dictator and colonial regime are in favor with the Permanent Members of the UN Security Council, which, as we know, do possess WMD. It is disgusting that a handful of powerful countries keep killing through their satellite States, like Angola; and unfair that such countries have the right to

bear arms in self-defense and deny other countries the very same right. Hence we hope the United Nations and the United States will soon cease to be indifferent to the cries of pain that rise up from Cabinda, and hope that they both will soon make their own the pleas for help made by the oppressed people of Cabinda faithfully represented by the Cabindan National Movement, and that the two will soon pledge themselves to foster justice and peace in Cabinda, in the Congo basin, and Africa at large.

## 6. Angola's Serious Crimes of International Concern in Cabinda

Well aware of our international legal and moral obligations as partial subject of international law, we cannot help providing the entire human family with information regarding Angola's internationally wrongful acts in Cabinda, as well as in Cabinda's two bordering countries, i.e. the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We do so for we believe such information constitutes a reasonable basis for an investigation. As can be seen, Angola's internationally wrongful acts in Cabinda and neighboring countries involve the most serious crimes of concern to the international community as a whole, as referred to in the Rome Statute, and which, as a result, fall necessarily within the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court.

One of the founders of international law, Francisco de Vitoria (1480-1546), taught that even in war one was bound to do as little harm as possible to the enemy. Samuel

Pufendorf, who occupied the first chair of international law founded at a university in Heidelberg, for his part, wrote in 1688 that human beings owed each other the duties of humanity. Thus, bearing in mind the Angolan government's clear denial of the right of existence of the entire national group called Cabinda, as well as all its acts committed as part of a systematic attack directed against the civilian population of Cabinda throughout the world, we cannot help denouncing aloud Angola's international crimes concerned as crimes against humanity, war crimes, and crimes of genocide for which the responsible officials should be held accountable.

Since working together for a better world is the ideology behind the United Nations, and for the reason that international law sets out rules governing the rights and obligations of States, the United Nations Member States, as well as any other State or global player bold enough to champion international law, are respectfully requested and expected to explicitly and justly endorse our appeal for a United Nations hearing of our charges that the State of Angola is guilty of international crimes both in Cabinda and in Cabinda's two sole bordering countries. We still have faith in the Symbol of the United Nations ideal of universal peace and believe that the standing device of the Chief Prosecutor of ICC (International Criminal Court) should consist in the fact that crimes against humanity, war crimes, and crimes of genocide must in any case be prosecuted, even if the perpetrator is an acting head of State.

Since Angola's belligerent occupation of Cabinda and consequent maintenance by force of colonial domination involve acts committed with intent to destroy,

in whole or in part, the national group called Cabinda, by: killing its members; causing serious bodily and mental harm to its members; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group; we contend that the government of Angola is carrying out self-evident crimes of genocide in the Non-Self-Governing Territory of Cabinda. Furthermore, since Angola's flagrant violation of international law in occupying Cabinda consists of acts committed as part of a widespread and systematic attack directed against the civilian population of the occupied territory, with undeniable knowledge of the attack, by means of: murder; forcible transfer of population; imprisonment and other severe deprivation of physical liberty in outrageous violation of fundamental rules of international law; rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization; torture; persecution against Cabindans both at home and abroad on political as well as on national grounds; enforced disappearance of Cabindans; and deprivation of access to food (livelihood) calculated to bring about the destruction of part of the population of Cabinda; we seriously claim that President Dos Santos' regime is performing several crimes against humanity. For the reason that such serious crimes threaten the peace, security and well-being of the world, we sincerely hope that the United Nations, particularly the International Criminal Court, will eventually make every endeavor to put an end to impunity for the perpetrators of these crimes and thus to contribute to the prevention of such abominable crimes.

Given the Angolan government's grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and other serious violations of the laws and customs applicable in international armed conflicts, which are committed as part of a policy aimed at quelling our rightful aspirations for self-determination and full sovereignty by means of: willful killing; willfully causing serious injury to people's health; extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly; willfully depriving prisoners of war and other protected persons of the rights of fair and regular trial; unlawful deportation and confinement; taking of hostages; intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population as such and against individual civilians who are not taking direct part in hostilities; attacking or bombarding villages which are totally undefended and which are not military objectives at all; employing poison and poisoned weapons; committing rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, and several other forms of sexual violence also constituting a grave breach of the Geneva Conventions; conscripting children under the age of fifteen years into the Angolan armed forces and using them to participate actively in hostilities; the continual transfer by the occupying power (Angola) of parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies (Cabinda); expressly using starvation of civilians as a method of warfare by depriving us of objects indispensable to our survival; and committing outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and dishonoring treatment; we cannot help stating that President Dos Santos' colonial regime is performing self-evident war crimes in Cabinda and in Cabinda's

neighboring countries. As all crimes abovementioned appear to be within the jurisdiction of the Court (ICC), and given our common belief that international law is not something merely to be admired and laid aside, but it is something to be implemented as the only way of redressing wrongs without creating further injustices, we hope that the United Nations will soon and freely do its best so that the perpetrators of these crimes be eventually held accountable.

### 6.1. Victims of President Dos Santos' Shocking Atrocities

The victims of Angola's atrocities that deeply shock the conscience of humanity are without a doubt the people of Cabinda as a whole. With reference to the social rank of the victims, we are peasants, working-class, and intellectuals. President Dos Santos' effort to exterminate the national group called Cabinda goes as far as to murdering even pregnant ladies, children, and religious figures. With regard to the location of the Cabindan citizens being deliberately killed by the MPLA-regime, one third of the population is the proportion remaining on the territory, whereas the two thirds are found in the Diaspora as refugees or asylum seekers.

In the occupied Cabinda, the Angolan government has long since enacted a criminal rural policy that consists in allowing croppers to go and work in their farms a few particular days a week. In order to coerce the Cabindan peasants respect its policy, the Angolan

government has given its army the green light to slaughter any Cabindan (man or woman, child or old) who is found in his/her farm on unauthorized days. Before resigning themselves to fully observing this terrifying policy imposed by President Dos Santos' regime, the Cabindan peasants have seen thousands of their fellow villagers killed in an unexpected and appalling ways. Consequently, to enhance the odds of not being victim of the Angolan government's intentional manslaughter, entire rural families left and are still leaving the countryside, some to Cabinda's main cities, while most of them choose to go and be hiding themselves in the forests of the neighboring countries, where they are victim of extreme hunger nowadays.

Successive complaints about oil spills used to come from Cabindan fishermen as well. In fact, oil spills turn out to be President Dos Santos' criminal tool to prevent Cabindans on the coast from fishing. In the wake of this ruthless and revolting conduct of the Angolan government, a number of Cabindan families are unjustly and intermittently deprived of their livelihood. Let us make the point that, by ruthlessly depriving Cabindan croppers and fishermen of their respective livelihood, the colonial regime of Angola is undeniably causing serious bodily and mental harm to members of the national group called Cabinda, and is deliberately inflicting on the very national group conditions of life intended to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part. Politically speaking, both the murderous rural policy and the oil spills are calculated to prevent supposed mercenaries, acting for the benefit of the rightful struggle of the people of Cabinda, from having peasants support and from

infiltrating local fishermen to reach and carry out armed attacks against the offshore platforms located in Cabinda and against related commercial crude oil tankers.

Given that there is no international legal duty of obedience for the population of an occupied territory towards an occupying State, to obligate enhanced obedience aimed at defeating the Cabinda people's legitimate hopes of achieving self-determination and independence, the MPLA-regime's shocking atrocities do not spare intellectuals from Cabinda on a worldwide scale. Inside Cabinda, ever since 1975, all those who have tried to stand as Human Rights Defenders as well as those who have dared to voice the legitimate political aspirations of the people of Cabinda have inevitably been victims of President Dos Santos' distinctive cruelty. In this connection, it is worthwhile reminding here the fact that in the course of the last three decades various Human Rights monitors and groups have relentlessly been reporting human rights abuses in Cabinda, including extrajudicial executions, arbitrary arrests and detention, torture and other mistreatment, and the denial of civilians' freedom of movement. Angola's Army (FAA) has been rightly and time and time again accused of committing human rights abuses against civilians with almost complete impunity. The circumstances surrounding the death of Dom Paulino F. Madeca, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cabinda who died at the Military Hospital of Luanda on 9 January 2008, as well as those surrounding the arbitrary arrest and detention of Dr. Raul Tati and several other intellectuals in January 2010, are some of the most conclusive illustrations of the Angolan government's distinctive Machiavellian nature and terrorist conduct in central and southern Africa.

The two thirds of the Cabinda people living in the Diaspora as refugees or asylum seekers are also victims of Angola's shocking atrocities. As we understand it, the existence of such a number of Cabindans in exile confirms the fact that there is between Cabinda and Angola a legal-political problem still to be resolved with the assistance of the international community as a whole. Therefore, in the eyes of Angola's despot Cabindan refugees constitute a serious threat to his colonial power over Cabinda, and a serious problem to Angola's international standing. As Angola draws its national strength and international prestige from the occupied territory's natural wealth and resources, the President of Angola feels a temptation to erase the exiled Cabindans by all means. We should make the point that the occupied territory of Cabinda has become the source of Angola's 80 percent of the State budget, and that, thanks to Cabinda's extremely rich oil fields, Angola has become the foremost strategic partner of the mightiest UN Member States in Africa. In order to perform its policy aimed at erasing the existence of Cabindan refugees on a worldwide scale, the Angolan government has two chief devices at its disposal, i.e. the use of both the illegal and legal tools successively. While the illegal tools comprise the use of military or armed attacks on Cabindan refugee camps and settlements as well as the use of blackmail toward the States that give shelter to refugees and asylum seekers from Cabinda, the legal tools include the partial use of the United Nations' recommendations like the UNHCR's Executive Committee Conclusions on durable solutions to refugee problems. Whereas in Africa, especially in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Congo-Brazzaville, Cabindan refugees used to be killed

on the spot, kidnapped, and subjected to sexual violence by the army of Angola's President Dos Santos; at home, i.e. in Cabinda, returnees continue to be subjected to murder, armed attack, sexual abuse, forced military recruitment, separation of families, violations of or threats to their personal security and other fundamental rights; and in European countries as well as in the rest of the world, mandate refugees and asylum seekers from Cabinda are severely being denied international protection and humanitarian assistance for the sake of the plundering inflicted on Cabinda.

Most powerful countries offer Angola their endeavor to coerce Cabindan refugees to accept voluntary repatriation or local integration as the only residual durable solution to Cabindan refugee problems, in return for inestimable forest concessions or rights to minerals and oil. Blackmailed by the government of Angola, powerful countries across the globe that purchase Cabinda's oil are doing their best so that refugees from Cabinda be refused resettlement and international protection to force us accept voluntary repatriation or local integration through marriage or naturalization as our unique remaining chance to survive. So Angola's coercive diplomacy with respect to Cabinda as well as the connivance of its main partners turns out to be a worldwide persecution intended to deprive Cabindans of fundamental rights by reason of our national identity. This terrifying persecution brings about enforced disappearance of persons, forcible transfer of populations and serious injury to mental and physical health of thousands of Cabindan men and women in our homeland as well as in the Diaspora. Even those Cabindan figures

who have integrated the Angolan regime (by means of bribery!) are similarly victims of persecution, as the government of Angola tries to constantly have them under scrutiny, and dares murder those with equivocal conduct. All things considered, the persisting absence of appropriate measures taken by the international legal community with respect to Angola's international crimes in Cabinda, mainly those of international concern as referred to in the Rome Statute, suggests a clear denial of justice.



## **China in Africa Being Steered Into a Trap**

Under international law, Angola's belligerent occupation of Cabinda in 1975 and consequent maintenance by force of colonial domination is an internationally wrongful act. Furthermore Angola's internationally wrongful act in Cabinda and neighboring countries entail the most serious crimes of international concern as referred to in the Rome Statute and which, as a result, fall within the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court (ICC). And yet, the UN Security Council has never dared at least threaten sanctions against the Angolan government that has been long since converted into a mercenary entity in charge of terrorizing the people of Cabinda so that foreign business corporations can freely loot Cabinda's natural resources, particularly oil, diamonds, hard-wood, gold, uranium, etc... In view of all that, the question is: for what reason are world's leading powers "toothless" with respect to Angola's criminal demeanor when, with regard to Libya and Syria's, they show themselves to be "toothed" at once? The answer is provided by Amnesty International's Annual Report 2011, we quote:

«Angola remains one of Africa's largest oil producers and is China's second most important source of oil and most important commercial partner in Africa. This oil wealth, and Angola's regional military power, has greatly limited leverage of other governments and international organizations pushing for good governance and human rights. Trade partners remain reluctant to criticize the government, to protect their economic interests».

Consequently the question arises as to whether China in Africa is being steered into a trap by the European Union or not. Let's first of all remember that just like the Soviet Union, Japan and India, China is likewise of the world's leading powers with neither colonial past in Africa nor any involvement in the Black Holocaust (slave trade, slavery, colonialism, etc.). China happens also to figure among the protagonists of the 1955 Asian-African Conference, known generally as the «Bandung Conference», which expressly declared its opposition to both colonialism and neo-colonialism not only by the European powers then in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, but also by the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

## 1. The West and the Chinese Presence in Africa

«The study of Africa – its history, archaeology, sociology and politics – became a serious discipline in universities around the world. What attracted particular interest was new evidence discovered in 1959 that Africa had been the cradle of mankind. After years of exploring the

Olduvai Gorge, a hot, desolate, stony canyon in northern Tanganyika (Tanzania), a Cambridge archaeologist, Louis Leakey, and his wife, Mary, uncovered the skull of an australopithecine, a hominid ancestor whose remains have been found only in Africa. Officially known as *Zinjanthropus boisei*, but more affectionately referred to in the trade as Dear Boy, it was immediately acclaimed the earliest known tool-making ancestor of mankind, about 1.8 million years old<sup>144</sup>».

«On the global stage, African states excited the attention of the world's rival power blocs. The position that each newly independent country adopted in its relations with the West or the East was viewed as a matter of crucial importance. Africa was considered to be too valuable a prize to lose. While the old colonial powers sought to strengthen the special relationship they had mostly formed with their former colonies, the Eastern bloc embarked on major campaigns to gain influence in the new states. There was often intense competition between the two sides at a time when the Cold War in other parts of the world was at one of its peaks. 'We see Africa as probably the greatest open field of manoeuvre in the worldwide competition between the [communist] bloc and the non-communist,' said President Kennedy in 1962, echoing Harold Macmillan's earlier view. The West tended to regard with suspicion and distrust any links between Africa and the socialist world. An even fiercer contest for influence was waged between the Russians and the Chinese. With both the West and the Soviet bloc

---

<sup>144</sup> See «The State of Africa – A History of Fifty Years of Independence», Martin Meredith, Simon & Schuster 2005, London, pp. 142-143.

vying for their support, African politicians became adept at playing off one side against the other<sup>145</sup>».

«A sign of Africa's growing international ambitions came in 1963 when representatives from thirty-one African governments established an Organisation of African Unity. The OAU was launched with many high ideals and a hotchpotch of aims, including the liberation of Southern Africa from white minority rule, but also the hope that it would provide Africa with a powerful independent voice in world affairs<sup>146</sup>».

«A number of foreign players actively sought out revolutionary opportunities in independent Africa, notably China. Lacking the economic resources to compete with Russia on trade and aid, the Chinese hoped to gain more by spreading revolutionary ideology. (...) China's presence in Africa was small, insignificant when placed alongside the West's many contingents. Yet the reputation the Chinese gained throughout much of Africa at the time, in African eyes as much as in the Western view, was of a dangerous breed of men, capable of any feat of subversion. When China's premier, Chou En-lai, made a tour of African states between December 1963 and February 1964, his very appearance was taken as an ominous sign. The Lagos Daily Times described him as 'one of the world's most dangerous men'. His parting speech in Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia, in February 1964, seemed to confirm the worst fears about China's intentions<sup>147</sup>».

---

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p. 143;

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., p. 143;

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., p. 148.

«In Angola the transition from Portuguese rule turned into a major disaster. As the Portuguese administration there disintegrated, three rival nationalist factions competed for power, transforming a colonial war into a civil war, causing the flight of almost the entire white population and drawing the Soviet Union and the United States into a perilous confrontation by proxy. Neither superpower had a direct strategic interest in Angola. But both were determined, for reasons of their own prestige and because of their preoccupation with the global balance of power, to ensure that the Angolan factions they supported were triumphant. In effect, Angola became a pawn in the Cold War. All three nationalist factions were weak and disorganised. They made no serious effort to reach a negotiated settlement, but instead tried to gain advantage by appealing for support from foreign interests. It was because of their incessant rivalry that foreign involvement in Angola acquired such crucial importance. At the time of the Lisbon coup in April 1974, the strongest faction in military terms was Holden Roberto's FNLA. Based in Zaïre, it had received support from Mobutu who aspired to play a Pan-African regional role. (...) On a visit to Beijing in December 1973, Roberto had succeeded in persuading the Chinese government to support the FNLA with military instructors and arms. In June 1974 an advance party of a team of 120 instructors arrived in Kinkuzu, the FNLA's main military base in Zaïre, and a consignment of Chinese arms followed shortly afterwards. Roberto also maintained links with the US Central Intelligence Agency<sup>148</sup>».

---

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., pp. 312-313.

«The position of Agostinho Neto's MPLA in April 1974 was precarious. It had fragmented into three rival groups; guerrilla activity was at a standstill; and Soviet arms supplies had been suspended for fear that they would be used for internal fighting. One of the MPLA's most ardent supporters, Nyerere of Tanzania, had become so disillusioned with it that he had used his influence with the Chinese to persuade them to support Roberto and the FNLA instead. But China's involvement with the FNLA and the subsequent deployment of FNLA troops in northern Angola then prompted the Russians in October to resume military supplies to the MPLA, in the hope that it could be rebuilt into a credible armed force. (...) The third faction, UNITA – *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* – had been launched in 1966 by Jonas Savimbi, one of Holden Roberto's former associates. It attracted a following among the Ovimbundu, Angola's largest tribe, concentrated in the central highland districts of Huambo and Bié. The only significant foreign support it had received was from China which had supplied small quantities of arms<sup>149</sup>».

Martin Meredith's priceless work, whose excerpts above emphasize the fact that Africa was considered to be too valuable a prize to lose, has provided us with a very exciting picture of how the Chinese presence in Africa was viewed by the West as well as by a broad range of local leaders and respective populations in the 1960s. 'The West tended to regard with suspicion and distrust any links between Africa and the socialist world'.

---

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., pp. 313-314

It is worth reminding the fact that Europe has turned Africa into its private domain ever since the fifteenth century and, for discernible reasons, its intention is to tighten and have forever a stranglehold over Africa and its peoples' fate. It must be said that it is thanks to Africa that Europe did overcome the two major crises that had afflicted it a few centuries ago, i.e. the Black Death that killed about 75 millions of peoples, and the Great Famine of 1315-1322, which is viewed as the first of a series of large scale crises that struck Northern Europe early in the fourteenth century.

### 1.1. How did China enter Europe's "Private Domain"?

Did China get in through the back door or the front door? In order to give an appropriate answer to this crucial question, we must first of all consider that the People's Republic of China figures among the protagonists of the Asian-African Conference that took place from 17 to 24 April 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia, and afterwards value the fact that the Conference produced the 10 Bandung Principles which *inter alia* laid a new foundation for the cause of decolonization across the globe. In this connection, we cannot help quoting the so pertinent statement of His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan, then Secretary-General of the United Nations, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Bandung Conference: «The assembled leaders underlined the fundamental right of all peoples to self-determination. They pledged their solidarity with each other in the fight against colonialism and in the struggle for economic and

social development». Thanks to the political influence of the Bandung Conference across the so-called 3rd world, two international legal instruments of utmost importance came into being, i.e. the UN General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, about the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; and the UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 1966 relating to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

In view of the «10 Bandung Principles», and of all core values articulated in the tools of the international law, like the provision of Article 35 of the Charter of the United Nations; in view of the right to react wherever the obligations prohibiting genocide, slavery, apartheid, aggression, the maintenance by force of colonial domination, and the massive pollution of the atmosphere or the seas appear to be violated is a right undoubtedly given to all subjects of international law; and in view of its international legal obligations as permanent member of the UN Security Council (on which the UN Charter confers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security), as well as its international legal and moral duties as member of the UN Special Committee on Decolonization or C-24; China, along with the Soviet Union and other protagonists of the Bandung Conference, dared to grant financial, political, and logistical support to African liberation movements, like Angola's, ever since the 1960s. So far, the answer is: China did for sure make every endeavor to get in through the front door.

Some very strange happenings in Congo-Brazzaville and in China itself, however, do suggest that China did only get in through the back door! It is about the disgusting fate of President Fulbert Youlou of Congo-Brazzaville with his fellow citizens, and the unjust and extremely revolting fate in China of the genuine founding father of the MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola). While in exile in Spain, after he was forced to resign his office on 15 August 1963, the Roman Catholic priest who has become President of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) since the country's independence on 15 August 1960 published in 1966 a book with a striking title: «*J'accuse la Chine*<sup>150</sup>» (I accuse China). In consideration of that, there is necessarily something wrong with China! Furthermore, the Angolan poet and politician who is the authentic founding father of the MPLA, i.e. Viriato Clemente da Cruz, has been killed in Beijing, China on 13 June 1973. It turns out that the Chinese were not good to Viriato da Cruz, as the Chinese government did not let him go when he wanted to leave China and return to Africa. What is wrong with the People's Republic of China?

«When Abbé Fulbert Youlou announced plans to install a one-party system in Congo-Brazzaville in 1963, trade unions and youth groups took to the streets in anti-government demonstrations which lasted for three days. A former Catholic priest, Youlou ran a regime that was notoriously corrupt. Most ministers were heavily involved in their own business affairs, setting up ventures

---

<sup>150</sup> «*J'accuse la Chine*» or (I accuse China), Fulbert Youlou, Table Ronde 1966.

like bars and nightclubs in Brazzaville and running diamond-smuggling rackets. (...) Critics of his regime were dealt with vigorously. Once when the opposition tabled a motion of censure against his government in the National Assembly, Youlou pulled out a revolver from under his soutane and pointed it at the deputies responsible. When demonstrations against his plans for a one-party system erupted, Youlou telephoned de Gaulle pleading with him to order French troops stationed in Congo-Brazzaville to intervene, but de Gaulle refused. Congolese army officers went to Youlou to demand his resignation. He signed, then fell into a faint and, upon recovering, telephoned de Gaulle. ‘*J’ai signé, mon général*’, he announced tearfully. He later sought exile in France, but was turned away and settled in Madrid<sup>151</sup>».

«*J’ai signé, mon general*» (I have signed my resignation, General)! Hence Youlou’s so-called “corrupt regime” and “plans for a one-party system” appear to be mere arguments (pretexts) used to justify his resignation in fact dictated by the colonial master, i.e. De Gaulle’s France. In the presence of this frustrating picture, which unveils the unfair relationship between the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) and its former colonial ruler (France), the question arises as to what meaningful way can Youlou’s country be said independent? We know France has never forgiven Haiti for winning independence by armed struggle and a slave revolt, and we know the wrongdoing of the common currency for the Francophone

---

<sup>151</sup> «The State of Africa – A History of Fifty Years of Independence», Martin Meredith, Simon & Schuster 2005, London, p. 166.

countries, the C.F.A. franc<sup>152</sup>, set up by France through its well-known «*Colonial Pact*». We learn from Prof. Nicolas Agbohoun's valuable book '*The Franc CFA And the EURO Against Africa*' that "just before De Gaulle conceded to African demands for independence in the 1960s, he carefully organized his former colonies in a system of «compulsory solidarity» which consisted of obliging the 14 African states concerned to put 65% of their foreign currency reserves into the French Treasury, plus another 20% for financial liabilities. In other words, these 14 African nations only ever have access to 15% of their own money! If they need more they have to borrow their own money from the French at commercial rates! And this has been the case since the 1960s. To worsen the situation, the «*Colonial Pact*» maintains that France has the first right to buy or reject any natural resources found in the land of the French speaking countries. So even if the African countries can get better prices elsewhere, they can't sell to anybody until France says it does not need the resources. In the award of government contracts, French companies must be considered first; only after that can these African nations look elsewhere. It does not matter if the former colonies can obtain better value for money elsewhere. CFA zones are also solicited to provide private funding to French politicians during elections in France. Presidents of CFA countries that have tried to leave the CFA zone

---

<sup>152</sup> CFA Franc (in French: Franc CFA). Between 1945 and 1958, CFA stood for *Colonies Françaises d'Afrique* ("French Colonies of Africa"); then for *Communauté Française d'Afrique* ("French Community of Africa") between 1958 (establishing of the French Fifth Republic) and the independence of these African countries at the beginning of the 1960s. And since independence, CFA is taken to mean *Communauté Financière Africaine* ("African Financial Community").

have had political and financial pressure put on them by successive French presidents.” Did President Youlou ever try to leave the CFA zone, which would have been a crime of *lèse-majesté*, to be painted a threat and deposed by General De Gaulle, and subsequently forced to flee his country? Or the genuine cause of his forced ousting has to be found elsewhere?

The so-called corrupt regime and plans for a one-party system are too inconsistent to justify the ousting by force of President Fulbert Youlou, since “corruption” and “one-party system” appear to be the political way of life in other former French colonies of Africa at that time. So there is something else, which in the egoistic eyes of General de Gaulle (France) was and is still as unacceptable as the attempt of a President of CFA country to get out of the mortifying CFA Franc zone. As we are heading towards the real grounds of President Youlou’s forced resignation, African (Black) peoples must keep in mind in the years to come that, regarding the relationship between Europe and post-colonial Africa, an African leader who strives for his own people’s interests more than for the selfish and personal interests of his/her former colonial master is instantly painted a threat by all European imperialist States. This was the case with the memorable Fulbert Youlou! He had run for President not really for wealth and glory but, above anything else, to put the same rights, the same opportunities, and the same dreams within reach for both his nation and sister nations of Africa. The appellation of his political party alone says it all: ‘Democratic Union for the Defense of African Interests’. We are allowed to conclude that President Youlou had never posed any significant risk neither to General De Gaulle nor to France, apart from his faithful

commitment to the advancement of African peoples and nations. Bearing this in mind, Africans on the Continent and those in the Diaspora are earnestly exhorted to be well-informed, prior to any comment on our Black leaders. Given his noticeable Pan-Africanism and his vigorous political leadership, President Fulbert Youlou should be referred to with due respect.

Ever since Congo-Brazzaville's attainment of independence on 15 August 1960, the country's first President, Father Fulbert Youlou, could not help making common cause with the sister people and nation of Cabinda in our rightful quest for self-determination and independence. Let us remember that Congo-Brazzaville is one of the two sole countries that share borders with Cabinda, apart from the fact that Cabindans are also "*Kongo People*" whose illustrious ancestor is the great *Kongolo Mwamba*, the first king of the Luba Empire. In November 1962, thanks to the memorable diplomatic and financial support of both President Fulbert Youlou and President Joseph Kasavubu of Congo-Kinshasa (present-day DRC), who were acting in pursuance of Article 35 of the Charter of the United Nations after all, The Right Honorable Luis Ranque Franque, then President of MLEC (Movement for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda) could be heard at the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York as a petitioner<sup>153</sup> from Cabinda, in conformity with the 5th paragraph of the UN General Assembly resolution 1699 (XVI) of 19 December 1961. To follow up the statement of the petitioner from Cabinda, the UN General Assembly had

---

<sup>153</sup> Doc. of the 17<sup>th</sup> Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 4<sup>th</sup> Committee A/C. 4/SR 1391 – 20 November 1962.

adopted the resolution 1807 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, which, among other provisions, “reaffirms the inalienable right of the peoples from all territories under Portuguese administration to self-determination and independence, and requests the Security Council, in case the Portuguese government should refuse to comply with the present resolution and previous General Assembly resolutions on this question, to take all appropriate measures to secure the compliance of Portugal with its obligations as a Member State.” On 25 May 1963, OAU (Organization of African Unity) came into being and President Youlou appears to be one of its illustrious founding fathers. As a matter of fact, he managed to have Cabinda ranked in the OAU’s list of the African countries as the 39<sup>th</sup> (still to be decolonized), with Angola as the 35<sup>th</sup>. All of a sudden, motivated without a doubt by the enemies of Africa’s progress, two other Cabindan political groups (CAUNC and ALLIAMA)<sup>154</sup> came into sight in order to compete with Franque’s MLEC. To proscribe the agenda of those trying to undermine the Cabinda people’s just Cause, the first President of the independent Congo-Brazzaville volunteered to use his good offices to ensure that Cabinda people’s fight for freedom do not suffer from fratricidal struggles. The proof is that, on 3 and 4 August 1963 a Cabindan congress under the aegis of President Youlou took place in the charming city of Pointe-Noire, in Congo-Brazzaville. The three political groups (MLEC, CAUNC, ALLIAMA) merged to form the Front for the Liberation

---

<sup>154</sup> The ‘Committee for the National Union of Cabindans’ (CAUNC), under Mr. Henriques Tiago Nzita; and the ‘Alliance of Mayombe’ (ALLIAMA), under the leadership of Mr. António Eduardo Sozinho.

of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC), and The Right Honorable Luís R. Franque, MLEC's former President and President Youlou's good friend, was elected to assume leadership. Eleven days later, Congo-Brazzaville's Head of State, the Pan-Africanist Fulbert Youlou, was forced by the "French General" to resign.

If the truth be told, the "French General" (De Gaulle) was sick and tired of seeing his unjust and totally inhuman policy towards Africa challenged by a "*pauvre petit noir*" from his former colony of Africa, in this instance, the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville). President Youlou was overthrown (crucified) by the State whose national motto is "*Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*" (liberty, equality, brotherhood), on account of his self-denial and limitless dedication to the defense of African interests. Just like Youlou in 1963, Presidents Marien Ngouabi and Pascal Lissouba will experience the very and same sorry fate respectively in 1977 and 1997. So how come France is so determined and keen to either overthrow or assassinate any African leader committed to restoring Black people's dignity and wellness? Yes, the following brief extract<sup>155</sup> from Tony Chafer's valuable Article in 'African Affairs' fits for a satisfying response.

«IT HAS BEEN a constant feature of French policy towards black Africa that political and strategic factors have been more significant than economic considerations in determining this policy. It is in this sense that reference to continuity has become almost a cliché of surveys of French African policy. At the same time the idea that 'the

---

<sup>155</sup> Tony Chafer, *French African Policy: Towards Change*, (African Affairs, Oxford University Press, Vol. 91, No. 362, Jan., 1992), p.37.

exercise of power in Africa was vital if French status in Europe was to be maintained'<sup>156</sup> has also been a constant feature of French policy towards Africa. In the modern period this policy is sometimes traced back to De Gaulle and the beginning of the Fifth Republic but it actually dates back even further, to the early 1950s when France began to lay the framework for its post-war African policy. A key actor in the formulation of this policy was the Minister for Overseas France at the time, François Mitterrand. Forty years later, in the early 1990s, Mitterrand is once again a key actor in French relations with Africa. Today however he is no longer a force for, but rather an obstacle to, much-needed change. It will be the intention of this article to survey French African policy at the present time, paying particular attention to those features of the situation which, despite the rapidly changing international situation that has rendered many of the premises on which French African policy is traditionally based obsolete, nonetheless continue to constitute major obstacles to change.»

In order for French status in Europe and in the world to continue to be as resplendent as De Gaulle and his followers want it, French government, no matter which, has to do everything it can to perpetuate the exercise of colonial power in Africa. It is obvious that there is nothing France's rulers fear more than a principled man or woman willing to help Africa recover its full political

---

<sup>156</sup> J. Chipman, *French Power in Africa*, (Blackwell, Oxford, 1989), p. 9. This idea can in fact be traced back to the early days of the Third Republic and the justification offered for French colonial expansion into Africa and Indochina at that time: 'Reculer, c'est déchoir, c'est passer au rang des petits pays'. Cf. C-R Ageron, *France coloniale ou parti colonial?*, (Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1978), p. 73.

sovereignty in order for its citizens to be treated with dignity. Due to its fear to be degraded into a small country, France is gladly and fully committed to fostering political, social, and economic dysfunction in black Africa by killing honest local leaders and setting up puppets and corrupt ones. Though, France's fear is Europe and West's as well! In March 1956, almost a year after the 1955 Asian-African Conference, the authoritarian Prime Minister of Portugal (1932-1968), Prof. António de Oliveira Salazar, had delivered a speech relative to the dispute between Portugal and Indian Union on Goa. It is a speech in which Prof. Salazar is giving his western counterparts a warning signal about Asia's "very dangerous" intention to motivate and support the constitution of African peoples as States free from all European interference, and thus put an absolute and complete end to the historic period of time during which Africa's businesses have been ran by Europe. Here is a related excerpt:

«Behind the Indian Union's designs, there is as backdrop the Asian position in relation to Europe, question that will soon spread to the African continent. A reaction of nationalistic inspiration, but having an effect throughout the whole Asian continent, seen as a whole united, has come to light, became widespread and is putting an end to a historic period of time during which the Asia's businesses have been ran by Europe. The goal to reach is the independence of the peoples and their constitution as States free from all European interference; the feeling that inspires this doing is the aversion to the abolished colonial regime and by extension to the White man who symbolizes it. (...) The European locations in Asia are all but entirely demolished, – and all of a sudden the new States get ready to stir up a subversive movement

throughout Africa, without discrimination, as if the conditions were the same in the various African regions and comparable to the ones of the Asian peoples who have obtained their independence. Since Bandoeng (Conference of 18-24 April 1955), the Indian Union has obviously become leader of the movement».

Since Salazar's main goal was to provoke sufficient anger to galvanize western powers as a whole into action against Portugal's then fierce enemies, i.e. the Indian Union and the Soviet Union, the rest of the protagonists of the 1955 Bandung Conference, including China, are not explicitly mentioned in that speech. Though, saying that "behind the Indian Union's designs, there is as backdrop the Asian position in relation to Europe", Salazar could not help having in mind China as well. In this connection, it is worth reminding that ever since then Europe is pursuing a subtle propaganda or even military campaigns one after the other against the countries that have been protagonists of that anti-colonial and anti-imperialist Conference. In fact, since in the eyes of the European colonial powers the Bandung Conference appeared to be a serious threat to their stranglehold on black Africa, all imaginable mechanisms likely to thwart Asian countries' commitment to help Africa free itself from all European interference had been immediately created. Whereas the Bandung protagonists-motivated Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was being discussed in the United Nations, General de Gaulle decided to maliciously grant independence to all French colonies of Africa a few months before UN adopted the resolution 1514 (XV) on 14 December 1960, on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Since to maintain its status in Europe France had to live off Africa with the Colonial Pact, one that set up the common currency for the Francophone countries; which demands that each of the 14 C.F.A. member countries must deposit 65% (plus another 20% for financial liabilities, making the dizzying total 80%) of their exchange reserves in an “Operations Account” at the French Treasury in Paris; De Gaulle could not help making every endeavor to lead Portugal’s colonies to mayhem so as to steal the very colonies subsequently. Apart from having turned Paris into a meeting point for freedom movements from the Portuguese colonies in the 1950s and 1960s, General de Gaulle also dared to carry out a subtle political attack on the territorial integrity of the Portuguese Protectorate in Africa, i.e. Cabinda. Considering all historical and legal factors that prove the distinctive political status of Cabinda, known by four permanent members of the UN Security Council since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the inclusion of Cabinda in the territory of Angola, depending on paragraph 1(e) of the UN General Assembly resolution 1542 (VX) of 15 December 1960, is an obvious premeditated political attack on the territorial integrity of Cabinda. Since De Gaulle’s intention was to conquer both Cabinda and Angola at the expense of Portugal, he first decided to manipulate the United Nations to obtain such a resolution intended to give the future annexation of Cabinda by Angola a sort of legitimacy. He subsequently went on backing the Angolan liberation movements (FNLA & MPLA), and went on motivating the leaders of the said movements to spare no effort to have full political control over Cabinda in the wake of the Portuguese decolonization. For the mere reason that the Colonial Pact established in the 14 C.F.A. member countries is a harmful system basically

opposed to any process of social and economic take off of the French speaking countries in Africa, de Gaulle had to do everything he could to hinder integral development from taking place elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa. That is the shameful picture of the transmutation by which France, from a nation oppressed and exploited by Hitler's Germany, has become an oppressor and exploiter of Africa through monetary Nazism.

Here, we must digress a little as black African states appear to be French taxpayers – taxed at a staggering rate – yet the citizens of these countries are not French and do not have access to the public goods and services their money helps pay for. If you have never heard of the evil Colonial Pact, you might wonder why these African states are not complaining. But the thing is that Presidents of CFA countries that have tried to leave the CFA zone have had political and financial pressure put on them by successive French Presidents. Some of them have been overthrown in a military coup or otherwise, while others have even been killed. The greatest joke of all is that in France, as a friend (C. Zeto) puts it, “the French citizens are manipulated into thinking they are grandfather nation and benefactor nation to Africans! Entire elections are even fought on who is going to stop the endless generosity to Africa and Africans! Does that make you feel like laughing or crying?”

To come back to our main point, i.e. how did China enter Europe's private domain, we are allowed to believe China had been given a green light to access black Africa, of course by the European powers that have turned the sub-Saharan Africa into a private hunting ground. In this regard we must once again refer to Martin Meredith's

excerpt, as it proves to be of much assistance. «*The West tended to regard with suspicion and distrust any links between Africa and the socialist world. An even fiercer contest for influence was waged between the Russians and the Chinese. With both the West and the Soviet bloc vying for their support, African politicians became adept at playing off one side against the other. At the time of the Lisbon coup in April 1974, the strongest faction in military terms was Holden Roberto's FNLA. Based in Zaïre, it had received support from Mobutu who aspired to play a Pan-African regional role. (...) On a visit to Beijing in December 1973, Roberto had succeeded in persuading the Chinese government to support the FNLA with military instructors and arms. In June 1974 an advance party of a team of 120 instructors arrived in Kinkuzu, the FNLA's main military base in Zaïre, and a consignment of Chinese arms followed shortly afterwards. Roberto also maintained links with the US Central Intelligence Agency*».

In view of this we have to say that, with regard to China and the Soviet Union's endeavor to enter Europe's private domain, the most powerful European former colonial masters agreed on the fact that China was preferable to the Soviet Union. As there was a fiercer contest for influence waged between the Russians and the Chinese, the owners of the "private domain" had to decide which one of the two was the lesser evil in order to play with it at least until the one representing the greater risk was defeated. Although Holden Roberto's FNLA was based in Zaïre (then under Mobutu Sese Seko, who was known as an agent of the West), it did succeed in obtaining military instructors and weapons from China. While receiving such a support from the Chinese,

Roberto kept in touch with the US Central Intelligence Agency. So we cannot believe both Mobutu and Roberto did venture down the Chinese path without either an explicit or implicit green light emanating from the West. And of course the Chinese also knew that their military support to Roberto's FNLA through Mobutu's Zaïre could not help being under the eyes of the West. For the reason that the exercise of power in Africa was vital if Western status in the world was to be maintained, the West regarded with suspicion and distrust any links between Africa and the socialist world. Though, the approval that had been given to China for it to enter Europe's private domain make us wonder whether or not China did really belong to the socialist world extremely feared by the West at that time.

## 1.2. China on the Geopolitical Chessboard between USA and USSR

By giving China an approval to enter their private domain, particularly the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) and Angola, the European most powerful countries and former colonial masters were just trying to use China as a mere pawn on the geopolitical chessboard between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Since France and other European former colonial powers feared seeing their "colonies" being stolen by either the United States or the Soviet Union, there were necessarily strong reasons for them (Europeans) to become adept at playing off one side against the other. With such a malicious game, of course through their puppet

governments in Africa, the European politicians (former colonial masters) succeeded in maintaining control over their African territories obtained by the play of forces. As there was the basic premise according to which 'the exercise of power in Africa was vital if French status in Europe was to be maintained', there might similarly have been the premise that 'the exercise of power in Africa was vital if European status in the World was to be maintained'.

Shortly after the Lisbon coup in April 1974 Portugal's new President, i.e. General António Sebastião de Spínola, did everything he could to meet with US President Richard Nixon. The meeting eventually took place on 18 June of the very same year, most probably within the framework of Articles 5 and 6 of the North Atlantic Treaty (NATO) of April 1949, which define between all the signatories an Atlantic area of guarantee and immediate action, and mostly Article 4 of the same Treaty that is written as follows: «*The Parties will consult together every time that, in the opinion of one of them, the territorial integrity, the political independence or the security of one of the Parties will be threatened.*» In fact, Article 4 of the North Atlantic Treaty faces no matter which threat against the territorial integrity of one of the Member states! And apart from that, we must also take into consideration the Portuguese-American Agreement on the Azores air and naval bases of 6 September 1951, which is an obvious Defense Accord between Portugal and the United States of America. Though, the Portuguese efforts to obtain President Nixon's support for a smooth decolonization of its overseas territories turned out to be entirely fruitless. The question arises as to: why was President Nixon (USA)

giving up his power and assignments emanating from the abovementioned multilateral and bilateral treaties respectively? Let us first of all remember that on 9 May 1974, a couple of weeks after the outbreak of the Carnation Revolution in Portugal on 25 April of the same year, US House Judiciary Committee decided to open impeachment hearings against President Nixon in the framework of the «Watergate scandal». Given his great loss of political support and the near certainty of impeachment, Richard Nixon resigned the office of the presidency on 9 August 1974. But was the «Watergate scandal» the unique reason for President Nixon (United States) to relinquish the provisions both in the Portuguese-American Agreement on the Azores and in the North Atlantic Treaty, showing thus a sort of willingness to leave the huge empire of a NATO member state at the mercy of either the Soviet Union or China? Not the unique, to be sure! In this regard, it is pertinent to recall the fact that in the period after the war of Vietnam the US public opinion was mostly against all involvement of its country in a new military theater abroad. It also makes sense to underscore what Richard M. Nixon had said when he was Eisenhower's vice-president in the course of the 1950s: «*The US future interests are such that we must not hesitate to contribute to the departure of the colonial powers established in Africa. If, in doing so, we can become attached to indigenous opinion, the US future in Africa will be assured*<sup>157</sup>».

---

<sup>157</sup> Dia Kassembe, Angola: 20 Ans de Guerre Civile, L'Harmattan, Paris 1995, p. 87; (Author's translation).

Therefore President Richard Nixon and the United States were not the man and the powerful NATO member state Portugal should rely on for the smooth decolonization it desired. That is exactly what appeared to be obvious in the Portuguese leaders' mind. Is Portugal going to knock on China's doors instead? It proves to be extremely frustrating that within the political family called NATO smaller and less powerful countries must necessarily and relentlessly be on the watch to avoid being devoured by voracious big brothers. Yet everything indicates that President Nixon would have helped President Spínola of Portugal in his quest for a fair and peaceful decolonization if there had been no impeachment. In this respect, there are still several sleeping questions that need to be answered. Was not, for instance, the impeachment of Nixon motivated by particular US political circles to generate what Martin Meredith calls "disintegration of the Portuguese administration" in order to have the chaotic decolonization that in fact took place? After all, Nixon's impeachment had been worked out to minimize the role of the United States and thus permit particular powers (US allies!) play the major role in the Portuguese decolonization, but with the aim of turning the transition of the Portuguese rule both in Cabinda and Angola into a major disaster to easily pillage the two African land's natural wealth and resources, oil and diamonds among other things. Is it in vain that H.H. Dalai Lama is tirelessly exhorting peoples of all races and cultures to "understand that a self-centered attitude is the source of all suffering, and that concern for others is the source of all happiness and goodness"?

Even though he was profoundly anguished by the fruitless meeting on 18 June 1974 with his US counterpart,

i.e. Richard Nixon, President Spínola of Portugal maintained his purpose to advance the decolonization process on his own. Yet we must remember that, up until then, the Portuguese administration was still in control of the overseas territories, considering that the Portuguese armed forces were still deployed over the territory of Cabinda as well as of Angola. Two months after the outbreak of the *Revolução dos Cravos* (Carnation Revolution) on 25 April 1974, there was no disintegration of the Portuguese administration at all! So why did not NATO, or some of its mighty members individually, try to help Portugal decolonize and at the same time maintain the freed countries and peoples in the bosom of the West? It is absolutely frustrating that, despite its NATO membership, Portugal had to do it on its own. Hence, in order to sign an agreement on *de jure* recognition by Portugal of the right of the people of Cabinda to self-determination and independence, Portugal's President Spínola sent a telegram to Mr. Luís Ranque Franque, President of FLEC (Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda). By means of that telegram, General Spínola invited the Cabinda leader to appear in Cape Verde Islands on 15 September 1974. In August of the same year, just a few days before the D-Day of the programmed meeting between the Portuguese Head of State, General Spínola, and the Cabinda leader, i.e. Mr. Franque, French President Valéry Giscard-d'Estaing met with Zaïre's President Mobutu Sese Seko in Kinshasa. On 15 September, Sese Seko prevents Mr. Franque from going to Cape Verde Islands<sup>158</sup>, where he was invited for an agreement on *de jure* recognition by the State of Portugal

---

<sup>158</sup> The purposes of the meeting in the Cape Verde Islands were reported by the Portuguese newspaper República in an article dated 11 October 1974.

of the right of the Cabinda people to self-determination and independence. Mobutu went there himself, though with the purpose of dissuading Portugal from seeking the independence of Cabinda. In parenthesis we would mention that Mobutu had indeed a secret document signed by Henriques Tiago Nzita (then vice-president of FLEC) that advocated Cabinda absorption as a province of the Zaïre. This evil plot by Mobutu and Nzita against the people of Cabinda discouraged President Spínola from pursuing further negotiations. Given the European powers' outright attempts to divide, conquer and exploit, it is tempting to conclude that Africa is the most abused Continent.

In the eyes of President Spínola, as well as of several smart Portuguese leaders, the extremely bizarre low profile the United States kept on since April while a fellow NATO member state was deep in trouble, as well as the intrusive interference and malicious purpose of Zaïre's President Mobutu Sese Seko, are suggesting both US and France's hidden plans to take away from Portugal its overseas territories of Cabinda and Angola. It cannot be otherwise, Mobutu being widely known as «an ardently pro-West and anti-Communist leader<sup>159</sup>». Consequently, Portugal got the feeling of being threatened by its own fellows within NATO, fellows whose purpose was to abduct its colonies for use as mere providers of natural resources. Well aware that Cabinda has come within France and some other European powers' sight since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, not to mention the three centuries violent wars among the

---

<sup>159</sup> Gregory Michael Saunders, «The Foreign Policy of Angola under Agostinho Neto (Master's Thesis)», United States of America 1983, p. 11.

European imperialist nations concerned aimed at controlling Cabinda, Richard Nixon's was thus the last western country Portugal relied on. Hence, considering the United States' palpable reluctance to help Portugal carry out a peaceful and fair decolonization, the Portuguese leaders had no choice but to find support from NATO's challengers. In fact, Portugal's belonging to NATO was not enough to secure Portuguese colonies from the «reflex of criminality and of capture<sup>160</sup>», which Freud and Marquis de SADE have diagnosed in anthropology of the western civilization.

On 28 October 1974 the Portuguese political leader, Dr. Álvaro Cunhal, who insinuated that Mobutu was acting under the command of the United States (CIA), went on a business trip to Soviet Union. On 31 January 1975, a gigantic Portuguese demonstration against NATO gathered more than twenty thousand people together. Four days later the News Agency A.P. announced that the Soviet Union's authorities had unofficially asked Portugal certain port easiness for its fishing navy fleet on the Atlantic Ocean, and confirmed, after a Portuguese administration's denial. On April 1<sup>st</sup>, back from Soviet Union, the Portuguese captain Costa Martins declared, we quote: “*A Soviet Union support for Portugal is required.*” In the meantime, the German Democratic Republic and Hungary signed a medium-term economic agreement with Portugal. For their part, Poland and Romania announced their respective intention to make plans for a long-term cooperation always with Portugal.

---

<sup>160</sup> Nicolas Agbohou, «*Le Franc CFA et l'Euro Contre l'Afrique*», Solidarité Mondiale, Paris 1999, p. 18.

In parenthesis we must notice that, immediately after the Portuguese requested Soviet Union's support, Moscow exhorted its partners to act as a team to prove the Warsaw Treaty was an organization of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance. Then, on 18 June 1975, China stood up to denounce the two super-powers' "fierce antagonism" in Portugal. However, the accession of China to the geopolitical chessboard between the Soviet Union and the United States has got to be looked at as a corollary of a long-time game of cat and mouse between France and the United States with respect to the Portuguese overseas territories of Cabinda and Angola.

Just like France, which is passionately interested in the two territories since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the United States got its eye on the very countries ever since the beginning of the struggle for independence of the respective peoples in the 1960s. While the United States put its greatest faith in Holden Roberto's FNLA, France counted discreetly but strongly on Agostinho Neto's MPLA. Since both FNLA and MPLA avowed enemy, i.e. Portugal, is a sheer NATO member state just like US and France, Washington and Paris had to be very careful in their dealings with Portugal's enemies. Hence each one of them, France and US, decided to use China as a country and people behind the façade of whom they could conceal their attitude towards Portugal, which on the international stage was more than just an unfriendly act, and between allies was nothing short of a scandal. «...in December 1973, Roberto had succeeded in persuading the Chinese government to support the FNLA with military instructors and arms. In June 1974 an advance party of a team of 120 instructors arrived in Kinkuzu, the FNLA's main military base in Zaïre, and a consignment of Chinese

*arms followed shortly afterwards.»* As for Agostinho Neto's MPLA, depending upon Lúcio Lara's rich archives<sup>161</sup>, the very same China appears to be an additional permanent member of the UN Security Council that has been helping the movement stand on its own two feet ever since the first visit to Peking of its leaders Viriato da Cruz and Eduardo Santos in August 1960. The two MPLA representatives had been received by Marshal Chen Yi, then China's vice-prime Minister for Foreign Affairs. Since Viriato da Cruz was subsequently evicted from the MPLA leadership, the visit to Peking by Agostinho Neto and his meeting with China's Minister for Foreign Affairs Chu en-Lai, in August 1971, is seen by Lara and Neto's MPLA as the credible starting point of China-MPLA relationship.

All things considered, China's entry into African countries as playing fields since the 1960s is first of all a French initiative and a United States' afterwards. In his Master's Thesis<sup>162</sup>, Gregory M. Saunders is reminding us of the Chinese military involvement in Zaïre (today's DRC) alongside the United States and France in 1978. China's involvement with the FNLA in June 1974 and

---

<sup>161</sup> "*A Vida de Lúcio Lara*" (Lúcio Lara's Life): <http://pt.scribd.com/doc/48889587/A-vida-de-Lucio-Lara>;

<sup>162</sup> «In mid-May 1978, the playing field was Shaba Province of southern Zaïre, a region rich in resources but torn by ethnic rivalries. On one side, there were the Katangans allegedly armed and trained by the Soviets, East Germans, Cubans and Angolans. On the other side, it was the beleaguered regime of Zairean President Mobutu Sese-Seko assisted in some fashion by the United States, France, Belgium, Morocco, Egypt, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, and China. Probably not since the European meddling in the Balkans at the start of the century had the world witnessed such a confusion of ideology, ethnicity, geopolitics, adventurism, and self-interest.»; p. 11.

the subsequent deployment of FNLA troops in northern Angola, which enhanced the weight of the Portuguese argument in favor of a Soviet Union's intervention, prompted the Russians in October to resume military supplies to the MPLA, in the hope that it could be rebuilt into a reliable armed force. So it is thanks to the Portuguese, Russians, and Cubans that Angola is now one of the most, if not the most powerful African country.

### 1.3. What America's Help to Portugal in 1974/75 would have averted

If there had been a US (Presidents Richard Nixon and/or Gerard Ford) support to Portugal's President Spínola in his quest for a US patronized smooth decolonization of the Portuguese overseas territories in 1974/75, for sure most of the terrible happenings that will be regretted for centuries to come could have been avoided. In Cabinda, for instance, the intense political rift between France and the United States that had caused the division of FLEC (Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda) into two antagonistic political factions, i.e. "FLEC-Gulf Oil" sponsored by USA and "FLEC-Elf Congo" financed by France, could have been averted. Furthermore, Cabinda's political sovereignty would have been peacefully restored and, as a result, Angola's belligerent occupation of Cabinda and consequent maintenance by force of colonial domination would not have happened; the killing and disappearance of dozens of thousands of Cabindan men and women since 1975 until now would not have taken place; and the two thirds of the Cabindan people would not have been driven into

exile, where all of us refugees are going through successive misfortunes thus far.

Given the United States' direct strategic interest in Cabinda since the late 1950s, via Chevron Corporation's subsidiary, i.e. Cabinda Gulf Oil Company Ltd. (CABGOC), there were good enough reasons for Mr. Henry A. Kissinger, then US Secretary of State, to embrace Portugal's request for assistance in its decolonization process. It is obvious that a joint work between Washington and Lisbon in 1974 would have prevented the transition from Portuguese rule both in Cabinda and Angola turning into a major disaster. On 25 April 1974, the very day of the outbreak of the «*Carnation Revolution*» in Lisbon, Dr. Agostinho Neto was in Canada in an effort to maintain close contacts with the American Gulf Oil Company Ltd., and in search of Western support for the MPLA. This is not only the proof that US had direct strategic interest in Cabinda but also that the American oil company was well acquainted with the struggle for freedom of the African peoples concerned. Washington is well aware since the late 1950s that the Gulf of Guinea countries, where Cabinda is located, are significant oil producers. In the course of the years 1974-1975 Cabinda was already providing US with more or less 10% of its oil needs, and oil production had and continues to have a yearly substantial increase. Depending upon the National Intelligence Council of the United States, the Gulf of Guinea could provide 25 per cent of US oil needs by 2015. Therefore, in view of its own direct strategic interest in Cabinda, probably in Angola as well, the United States should have helped Portugal perform an exemplary decolonization. The question arises as to whether or not the political appetite

for Cabinda that France did not give away since the 19<sup>th</sup> century was an obstacle to a US possible intervention on behalf of General Spínola, then President of Portugal.

Nevertheless, the abovementioned French appetite has absolutely no grounds to be the reason why Washington was deaf to Portugal's request for assistance in 1974. Cabinda happens to be an offshore and onshore oil-rich country. Since the late 1950s oil is produced in Cabinda's offshore oilfields and it is loaded from Chevron-operated Malongo Terminal. All things considered, Chevron's operational presence in Cabinda is thoroughly legitimate because Cabinda Gulf Oil Company Ltd. entered that African country in the 1950s. At the time, the legal status of Cabinda had and still has nothing to do with the one of Angola, in the light of the well-known international protectorate treaty between the States of Cabinda and Portugal standing since 1885. As the protected state (Cabinda) had transferred to the protector (Portugal) the competence to act in its name in the field of foreign affairs, Cabindan leaders and followers are of the opinion that Chevron did not enter Cabinda by the "back door". Yet, all those foreign oil companies entering Cabinda while this territory is militarily occupied by Angola are in fact entering it by the "back door". Consequently their presence in Cabinda is indisputably an unlawful and damaging presence. It is damaging because it can't help endeavoring to hinder Cabinda's attainment of independence in order to preserve the rights and privileges it got from Angola. And you know why: because it does not draw its legitimacy from the Cabinda people, but instead from the State of Angola that happens to be the occupying and colonial power in Cabinda. Bearing in mind Chevron's rightful presence in Cabinda in the eyes of both

the Portuguese and Cabindan nations, and taking into account Cabinda's extremely generous oil and gas reserves that determine US direct strategic interest in Cabinda, the United States (with Chevron's backing) comes into view as the UN member state best qualified to stand shoulder to shoulder with Portugal and strive for justice, peace, and integral development on behalf of the Cabinda people.

Apart from all abovementioned, US help to Portugal in 1974-1975 would have averted a lot more political headaches in the West and social calamities in Africa. In his book *«The State of Africa – A History of Fifty Years of Independence»* already quoted, Martin Meredith makes the following observation with respect to Angola: *“As the Portuguese administration there disintegrated, three rival nationalist factions competed for power, transforming a colonial war into a civil war, causing the flight of almost the entire white population and drawing the Soviet Union and the United States into a perilous confrontation by proxy.”* With US President Nixon and/or President Ford commitment alongside President Spínola in 1974/75, what Meredith describes above could have been avoided. The Master's Thesis of Gregory Saunders gives us another picture of what could have similarly been averted. On page 8 Saunders' Thesis reads: *«The effects of the Angolan civil war were far-reaching. It delivered a series of blows to efforts to expand the fragile détente that developed between the United States and the Soviet Union. The massive Soviet and Cuban intervention on behalf of the MPLA signaled a qualitative change in the nature of the superpower rivalry in Africa. The continued Cuban presence in Angola became a major sore point for some American policy-makers who saw the*

*Cuban troops as a significant destabilizing factor in southern Africa. Eight years later, their presence continues to block American recognition of the Angolan government. For the U.S.S.R., the victory by the MPLA was a major African success and indicated that Moscow was both able and willing to commit resources and defend socialist movements and Marxist-Leninist regimes in Africa.»* On page 9 of the same Thesis, Saunders is providing the following additional remark: «*The MPLA's 1977 decision to opt for "scientific socialism" and formally convert itself into a vanguard party added another critical dimension to the Angolan situation. A Marxist-Leninist regime in Luanda raised new and perplexing issues for American policy-makers.»* So why did not the United States in 1974/75 welcome General Spínola's request for an assistance that could have prevented all this from happening? From September 1973 up to January 1977 Henry Kissinger was US Secretary of State, meaning that he was Secretary of State under President Nixon and Nixon's successor Gerald Ford. In that position Kissinger was personally well placed to grasp the relevance of the Portuguese demand and act accordingly. Did Kissinger act? Of course he did! He went to Portugal at the end of 1975 to push for the removal of the communists from the Portuguese political scene and to call for the resignation of Portugal's premier, General Vasco Gonçalves, whom the Ford administration considered to be a destabilizing element and, in addition, ally of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) and of its commander-in-chief Álvaro Cunhal. It was too late, though. To understand exhaustively why did not the United States act in time, that is when Spínola was still Portugal's acting President (15 May 1974 – 30

September 1974), one should examine the ways in which Washington generally perceives and responds to its regional and international environment, working on the principle that a state's foreign policy is determined by a number of factors including the ideological predispositions of decision makers, factional politics and the regime's external environment.

In this connection it is worth echoing a Julian Assange's extremely pertinent exhortation. The prominent editor-in-chief and founder of WikiLeaks is justly urging government officials as well as private ones in the following terms: "You have to start with the truth. The truth is the only way that we can get anywhere. Because any decision-making that is based upon lies or ignorance can't lead to a good conclusion." Were the United States' reservations concerning Portugal's 1974/75 call for assistance based on ignorance about the fact that security of the oil infrastructure of Cabinda was and is still of vital concern to US national interests? Possibly, according to Dr. Pham's priceless article entitled «*Cabinda: The "Forgotten Conflict" America Can't Afford to Forget*», which, amongst other things, reads: "Few, even among those vaguely aware of Angola's significance to American interests, however, have ever heard of Cabinda, the 7,283 sq km enclave some sixty kilometers north of the Congo River and surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean, the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where more than half of Angola's oil is produced and from which the country earns nearly all of its foreign exchange. Even fewer are cognizant of the protracted conflict that has been going on in that pocket of territory since Angola achieved its independence in

1975<sup>163</sup>.” In any case, ignorance factor appears to be a hypothesis in competition with civil wars and lucrative business factor. ‘Berne Declaration’s work entitled «*Commodities – Switzerland’s most dangerous business*» paints a searing and detailed picture of one of globalization’s biggest winners, a powerful industry whose dealings often take into dangerous areas, experiencing thus an unprecedented boom, while the population of resource-rich developing countries concerned remains mired in poverty’.

“When US firms are not allowed to do business, and most other large companies do not want to out of concern for their reputation, unscrupulous niche players scent their opportunity of doing brilliant business in legal/political grey areas<sup>164</sup>.” Hence, the escalation of bloody wars in most developing countries with immense wealth in oil reserves, copper, diamonds, cobalt, coltan, zinc, hard-wood or gold, is most likely to be the result of an ingenious work done by unscrupulous commodity traders. Those traders’ credence is that violent civil wars in such countries provide the best environment for lucrative businesses if one wants to become rich shortly. The Congolese province of Katanga, as well as the southern Sudan, is in the grip of a protracted war resulting

---

<sup>163</sup> In «Cabinda: The Forgotten Conflict America Can’t Afford to Forget», by J. Peter Pham (PhD), World Defense Review, United States, published on 5 July 2007; Link: <http://worlddefensereview.com/pham070507.shtml>;

<sup>164</sup> Berne Declaration (ED.), «Commodities – Switzerland’s Most Dangerous Business», Salis Verlag AG, Zurich 2012, p. 294; A “legal/political grey area of capitalism” is an intermediate area or, in other words, an area that is not clearly one thing or the other both legally and politically.

in millions dead and hundreds of thousands other men and women exiled. Yet, as Berne Declaration's work shows it up, successful businesses are being carried out in such a violent environment on a daily basis, businesses from which a handful people become shortly billionaires. Did unprincipled business groups manipulate both Nixon and Ford administrations so that Portugal's unsuccessful decolonization could necessarily lead to the escalation of the bloody civil war that has devastated Angola for 27 years, as well as to Angola's belligerent occupation of Cabinda, and hence carry out highly lucrative businesses thanks to such a sanguinary environment? We are still wondering!

What is obvious for now is that cunning individuals in the government of numerous western States have long since conceived policies, mechanisms and ways to shortly become extremely wealthy by discreetly sponsoring and encouraging independent commodity traders to carry out lucrative businesses in what is being called "grey areas of capitalism". These individuals prove to be a new generation of bloodsuckers of the developing countries where all sorts of commodities are found nowadays. To turn a Third World's country rich in commodities into a country good enough for highly lucrative business, those cunning politicians manage first of all to create the famous grey areas of capitalism, either by maliciously putting the country under a cruel embargo or by simply triggering a widespread violence. In both situations the government of the Third World's country concerned becomes so vulnerable that, in order for it to survive, it must accept even the most unfavorable conditions for its country and people in its dealings with commodity traders. Besides, it is no

coincidence that most developing countries exceedingly rich in commodities are not beacons of democracy and human rights! In fact, unscrupulous commodity traders and their cunning sponsors believe that the less a commodity-rich State is based on the rule of law, the better. By means of inhuman embargos, escalation of violence, or lack of democracy and contempt for human rights in a developing country rich in natural resources, greedy traders interested in those commodities easily make an absolutely enslaved entity of the country's State concerned. They employ blackmail tactics of all sorts against the State in question in order to get franchise agreements very detrimental to that State and its people, and thus keep the wheels of a number of western industries oiled with the cheapest supplies of raw materials. So commodity traders discreetly sponsored by cunning politicians are carrying out a daylight robbery in the style of the staggering French Colonial Pact abovementioned. To those members of human rights organizations who have clue about the situation and dare to label them bloodsuckers of the Third World, the traders' response usually is: "We are not at all what they call us. Surely commodities today are found in countries which are not really beacons of democracy, transparency, and human rights. So if you chose to trade commodities you have got to know it is an extremely delicate business and you are active in corrupt countries which are exploiting their own people. On the other hand, unlike what people say, we are enabling a lot of developing countries to exploit their own resources and to have a full independent stance from multinational companies."

What is obvious and intriguing is that most commodity traders operating as bloodsuckers of the Third

World come from the very and same countries that are usually at the base of either a UN ratified embargo, a military intervention, or an escalation of violence in the developing countries full of raw materials to loot. When, by any chance, they are accused by an entity under state control or by a committed civil society of illegal trading with such Third World's country and of fraud or tax evasion, particular powerful States at once present themselves as their host-countries where they become untouchable, i.e. free from whatever prosecution. So this definitely means that commodity traders doing business in countries under international embargo or in those ravaged by wars are not as independent traders as they claim to be, but States' business managers instead<sup>165</sup>. When we take a closer look at the results of the political maneuver that is changing the world of commodity business from multinational companies towards the governments of countries desirous of exploiting their resources themselves, we come to the conclusion the governments exploiting their own resources under the aegis of the so-called independent commodity traders are by far more damaging than multinational companies. Bad-news stories (dictatorship, corruption, famine, diseases, murders, refugees, contempt for human rights, etc.), come more from developing countries where plundering, looting and racketeering are carried out by commodity traders alongside criminal cartels and foreign armies. In his 1935 book «War is a Racket», Smedley Butler states: "*War is a racket. It always has been. It is*

---

<sup>165</sup> In «*La République des Mallettes – Enquête sur la Principauté Française de Non-Droit*», by Pierre Pean, Fayard, Paris 2011, we find lots of stories of unscrupulous traders who should be sued and yet have become untouchable.

*possibly the oldest, easily the most profitable, surely the most vicious. I spent 33 years and four months in active military service and during that period I spent most of my time as a high class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer, a gangster for capitalism*<sup>166</sup>.” An United States’ support to Portugal in 1974/75 would have averted various intriguing realities, like the fact that since Angola’s independence in 1975 up to 1989 American oil companies active in Cabinda were protected by special task force from Fidel Castro’s Cuba, and since then onwards by a thick border of landmines laid by the Cubans in the 1970s according to Chevron<sup>167</sup>.

#### 1.4. China’s Path in Africa is as Perilous as USSR’s during the Cold War

Depending upon Dr. Salazar’s abovementioned speech, what the West is the most afraid of is all that is likely to put an end to the ongoing period of time during which Africa’s business is entirely ran by Westerners. In other words, the West is overwhelmingly afraid of countries like China, Russia or any other inclined to help

---

<sup>166</sup> In «War is a Racket», by Smedley Darlington Butler, Round Table Press, inc., USA 1935; Smedley Butler was a US Marine Corps Major General. At the time of his death, he was the most decorated Marine in U.S. history. His honest book shows how American war efforts were animated by big business interests. In fact, the book of this outspoken critic of U.S. military adventurism is relevant now more than ever;

<sup>167</sup> «The 27 May in Angola: a view from below», Lara Pawson, *Revista Relações Internacionais* n.º 14, Lisbon 2007, p. 18.

African peoples reach their full independence and their constitution as States totally free from all European (Western) interference. Martin Meredith's extract shows that not only exogenous leanings to back Africa's progress towards freedom was/is a serious threat to the West, but also endogenous initiatives seeking justice, peace and equality between Western and African national States. *"The West tended to regard with suspicion and distrust any links between Africa and the socialist world. (...) A sign of Africa's growing international ambitions came in 1963 when representatives from thirty-one African governments established an Organisation of African Unity. The OAU was launched with many high ideals and a hotchpotch of aims, including the liberation of Southern Africa from white minority rule, but also hope that it would provide Africa with a powerful independent voice in world affairs."* Even the OAU was painted a threat for seeking liberty, equality, and fraternity. Its aims, including the liberation of Southern Africa from white minority rule, were viewed as *hotchpotch* aims!

The following excerpt from Dr. Odd Arne Westad's valuable work entitled *«Moscow and the Angolan Crisis: A New Pattern of Intervention»* provides a new and clear evidence of the United States (West)'s reluctance to promote Africa's political sovereignty. The excerpt reads: *«The "African strategy" was developed by the KGB and received the support of the Soviet leadership—and Brezhnev—in the summer and fall of 1970. The KGB reports emphasized that the regimes and liberation movements of Southern Africa were searching for international allies, and underlined the "simplistic" approach most African regimes had to world affairs, understanding neither the conflict between the two camps*

*nor the nature of American imperialism. The black political leaders of Southern Africa felt that their efforts to gain aid from Washington had failed, and that the Soviet Union was the only major power which could assist them in reaching their political and social goals<sup>168</sup>.»* Though, the reluctance of the United States in particular and the West in general appears to be amazingly consistent with the French Napoleon Bonaparte's "*Mein Kampf*": "My decision to destroy the authority of the blacks in Saint-Domingue (Haiti) is not so much based on considerations of commerce and money, as on the need to block forever the march of the blacks in the world." In view of the need to block forever the advancement of the Black peoples on a worldwide scale that western States do inherit from Napoleon, we cannot help warning China about the fact that its path in Africa is as perilous as the Soviet Union's during the Cold War.

Since the Soviet Union appeared to be western powers' greatest challenger in Africa, NATO member States managed to steer Moscow into a trap. Ever since the early 1960s, most African liberation movements militarily and ideologically supported by the Soviet Union, e.g. Angola's, were artfully infiltrated by the West at the expense of both Africa and Moscow. History shows that the MPLA has never been a pro-Soviet organization. As it was financially fed by capitalist corporations, it had to claim (falsely) to be a communist organization in order to gain acceptance among Pan-Africans and anti-colonialists across the globe. In fact, the double game the

---

<sup>168</sup> «Moscow and the Angolan Crisis 1974-1976: A New Pattern of Intervention», Dr. Odd Arne Westad, in Cold War International History Project (CWIHP) Bulletin 8/9 Winter 1996/1997), London, p. 22.

MPLA (Angola) has played as a freedom movement and is still playing as a ruling party was intended to help thwart the Soviet Union's influence in Africa. Since all internationally wrongful acts Angola has committed in black Africa from 1963 to 1990 are inevitably being looked at as Soviet-backed crimes, Africa's initial greater sense of affection for the Soviet Union has been drastically diminished. Among other things, the back cover of Michael Stuermer's pertinent book entitled "*Putin and the Rise of Russia*" published in 2008 reads: « Russia has the potential to be a force of stability or a force of turmoil, but when it comes to global affairs, can she be persuaded to join the world order? Will yesterday's revolutionary power become tomorrow's stabilizer? » Just like the Soviet Union in the past, the Russian Federation is similarly under pressure to stop being a revolutionary power, to join the world order, and thus to become a force of stability. But what kind of world order is it about? Seemingly, it is about the one that has led Amnesty International to accuse the UN Security Council on Thursday (24 May 2012) of failing to show leadership in the face of global upheaval, putting economic interests ahead of human rights (and international law)!

Hence, given China's increasing thirst for Africa's natural resources, it is unlikely that Beijing will continue to stand as a revolutionary power on behalf of African nations in our search for integral development. China must pull itself together and immediately come down on the right side of human rights and international law with respect to Africa! Anything else would lead Beijing to fully and regrettably join the prevailing world order that put economic interests ahead of Rights. There is, for instance, a clear and compelling case for the regime of

Dos Santos (Angola) to be referred to the International Criminal Court in The Hague for war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity. Yet, as western Human Rights organizations put it, since Angola is China's second most important source of oil and most important commercial partner in Africa, trade partners remain reluctant to even criticize the Angolan government, to protect their economic interests. So China is being steered into a trap, one that is making it blossom as scapegoat for the internationally wrongful acts in Africa of the European Union's imperialistic powers. In less than two decades this will indisputably awaken a strong anti-Chinese feeling among Africans on the continent and in the Diaspora, thus leading Africans to stand against the Chinese interests with the collusion of the Europeans.

«*China 'buying out' Africa: Top 5 destinations of Chinese money*», is the title of Michail Vafeiadis' relevant article published on 1<sup>st</sup> March 2012 in "The Christian Science Monitor". The article says, among other things, we quote: «On a quest to secure raw materials and energy resources to support the exponential growth of its economy, China has become the fastest-growing investor in Africa. As of July 2010, China overtook the United States as the world's largest energy user, according to the International Energy Agency (IEA), and much of that energy comes from African countries such as Sudan and Angola. Critics argue that China undermines democracy, human rights, and transparency by signing business deals with authoritarian leaders. They also point to the "\$10 billion imbalance in China's favor in 2010" as a type of African re-colonization. But many African leaders welcome the unconditional Chinese largesse. (...)» The question is, if China is buying out Africa, who then is

selling out Africa? Two extremely pertinent documents permit to verify that Africa's former colonial powers, with the EU fellow feeling, appear to be the ones selling out Africa for both political and economic reasons. It is about a must read book entitled "*Commodities – Switzerland's Most Dangerous Business*" published recently by *Berne Declaration* (ED.); and Thierry Michel's Film entitled "*Katanga Business*". Let's remind ourselves that China and the Russian Federation are the sole Permanent members of the UN Security Council the West fear the most, as they happen to be the one and only nuclear powers likely to support African States demanding reparations for injustices suffered by African slaves and their descendants. There is real fear, for this would be enough to ruin the whole West! Therefore, China and Russia have got to be extremely cautious in order for them not to be set up for a perilous ambush! Though their cautiousness consists in just getting rid of African autocrats and embracing rights, i.e. human rights and international law.

So China is left with two political choices, either to side with the African peoples in our quest for an exhaustive justice including genuine democracy, fair trade, and integral development, or to stand with western national States fully committed to doing everything in their power to finally ensure the victory of Bonaparte's struggle to block forever the march of the blacks in the world. In both cases China's path in Africa is an extremely perilous one. China will inevitably bring the wrath of the whole West down on itself if it chooses to sincerely make common cause with African (Black) peoples. In view of what Blacks are going through on a worldwide scale since the 15<sup>th</sup> century so far, and given

the growing attractiveness of Africa's raw materials in the minds of western industrialists, the only way for African national States to get to an authentic democracy, equitable trade, and integral development, thanks to their cooperation with China, is to trade some resources with Beijing for access to modern weapon high-tech and for China's vast supply of cheap computers. African (Black) peoples spent in the hands of western nations at least 400 years enduring the worst crimes against humanity ever! For the reason that the past conquest of Africa and consequent enslavement of its Black peoples had been performed thanks to the evil principle of "*Might is Right*", which is having the wind aft all over the world, there are well-founded reasons to be afraid of the re-conquest and re-enslavement of Black peoples on the horizon. Therefore, African States must have the ability to defend themselves, by themselves, against any threat. In this connection, the United Nations can't help being required to give its seal of approval to every African (Black) nation's right to exist because of what is happening to them since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as well as to every African State's right to acquire all sorts of weapons in order for them to be in a position to defend their national security at any time. Due to what happened to Jews in Nazi Germany, we all agreed that Israel has the right to exist and to be able to protect its citizens. So there should not be hindrances to the very same right to existence and self-protection as far as Black peoples are concerned.

China has the potential to be African States and peoples' provider of the so needed effectual military and development assistance respectively. Yet, China's main difficulty to effectively come to African nations' assistance

lies first of all within African States themselves, as most of African governments turn out to be, one way or another, under the control of the western powerful countries. Thanks to ingenious political and financial mechanisms like the Colonial Pact abovementioned, intended to guarantee their takeover of Africa's natural resources and of African peoples' fate, western powers have made dictators and double-faced men of most African leaders. China is one of the handful mighty nations better placed to help Africa make the type of progress that time demands. But is Africa awake to its golden opportunities? To take advantage of all opportunities that China's relationship with Africa entails, first every single African nation should get rid of its corrupt leaders. For lack of honest African leaders committed to reliable peace, political security and stability, and integral development across the Continent, China is already being viewed by a number of Blacks on the Continent as well as in the Diaspora as a predatory power. As long as African leaders and respective States are under western powers' yoke, there can be no fruitful relationship between China and Africa. African leaders and States submissive to either western neo-colonialism or imperialism have no way of playing fair with Beijing, as they owe their respective Masters absolute obedience that consists in doing what they are told regardless of what is right. Instead, China's political and business partners in Africa have got to be men and women who practically claim to owe their respective peoples absolute morality, if the cooperation between China and Africa is to be independent, credible and constructive. Both Chinese and African leaders are required to act out of morality, i.e. to be doing what is right regardless of what they are told. China is one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council on which

the Charter of the very and same UN confers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. So China's international responsibility is at the highest level, but the brilliance of Beijing's might on a worldwide scale is little by little being blemished by the fact of doing extremely lucrative businesses with African countries deprived of democracy, human rights, transparency, and integral development.

### 1.5. Can China Champion Africa's Right to Development?

African countries are purposely maintained underdeveloped because of the striking fact that "The very existence of Western Europe depends on the resources of Africa and the continued control exercised by the Western European powers over this continent<sup>169</sup>." As far as Africa is concerned, this explains why the international community is long since functioning on the basis of an «indifferent» international law, one whose sole aim is to permit the establishment of a pacific coexistence between the mightiest nations militarily speaking. Therefore, Africa's right to development is intrinsically revolutionary, for it involves a deep break, a definitive rupture in the ancestral tradition of the «indifferent» international law. Yet, bearing in mind

---

<sup>169</sup> Conversation between Dr. Paulo Cunha, Portuguese Foreign Minister and the Honorable John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State, in «Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957, Volume XXVII, Western Europe and Canada, Document 148: Memorandum of a Conversation, Department of State, Washington, November 30, 1955».

Western Europe's addiction to African natural resources, such a break or definitive rupture would mean a plan likely to reconcile Western Europe's dependence on African commodities and the right of African children to live prosperous lives thanks to their respective countries' natural wealth and resources. Is the powerful European Union ready to soften its prevailing firm grip on African rich soil? Seems unlikely, at this point in time! Unlikely inasmuch as the question Westerners ask themselves with respect to the global role of the rising Russia says it all: «Will yesterday's revolutionary power become tomorrow's stabilizer?<sup>170</sup>» Though, what is valid with regard to Russia appears to be valid regarding China! Michael Stuermer's useful book *inter alia* reads, we quote: "Medvedev is the man to pronounce that freedom is better than slavery, that democracy is a productive force, that modern societies need to combine freedom and the rule of law and, finally and foremost, that the fundamental interests of Russia and the West are mutually compatible and, in fact, mostly complementary. The rest is, from time to time, a little intelligent conflict management<sup>171</sup>." What we are trying to explain is that, inasmuch as Africa's right to development is intrinsically revolutionary and given that Westerners' main expectation is to see yesterday's revolutionary powers, namely Russia and China, become tomorrow's stabilizer, is absolutely unlikely that China will dare to stand as a revolutionary power and champion Africa's legitimate right to integral development. China would have to overturn the European Union's prevailing inhuman policy rightly denounced by

---

<sup>170</sup> In «Putin and the Rise of Russia», by Michael Stuermer, Phoenix, London (2009);

<sup>171</sup> Michael Stuermer, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

Prof. Agbohoun in his «*Le Franc CFA et l'Euro Contre l'Afrique*», to genuinely contribute to the economic take-off in African countries. In addition to that, China would have to make its African partners endorse the truth that freedom is better than slavery, that democracy is a productive force, and that modern societies need to combine freedom and the rule of law.

When he was still an incoming President Xi Jinping painted a lovely picture of China in the following terms: “History shows that armed aggression and expansion are always doomed to failure. Turbulence is what the Chinese people are afraid of, stability is what they are after and world peace is what they are looking forward to. China is following a road of peaceful development and other countries should do the same. China will never pursue development at the cost of sacrificing other country’s interests. We will never benefit ourselves at others’ expense or do harm to any neighbor.” Assuredly, China is trying to engage itself in Africa with different tone and size, in view of President Jinping’s pleasant picture of China and the approximately million Chinese living in Africa nowadays. Is there any additional reason for Africans to believe that China differs from the greedy Western powers? No doubt there is, reply most European political activists. It is however strange that Western Europeans are the ones who sing the praise of China’s growing presence in Africa more than Africans. But as for whether or not China differs from the West, they might be right! In fact, unlike the United States and France (European Union), China has never tried to establish military alliances or bases in Africa, apart from its military aid to liberation movements in the early 1960s.

In spite of that, we believe that the fundamental interests of China and the West in Africa are mutually compatible and, indeed, mostly complementary. Unlike Russia with its enormous energy reserves, President Jinping's adorable country has the same interest for Africa and its raw materials as Western European powers. This is worth knowing, though! And let us not forget that countries that purchase Cabinda's oil, including the United States and China, are reluctant to bring attention to the issues in Cabinda because of their dependence on oil from this Non-Self-Governing Territory. Furthermore, as Denise E. Zheng puts it, "Today China is increasingly capitalist, modern, and globalized<sup>172</sup>." As an increasingly capitalist power, China cannot help having capitalistic appetites that are every bit as bad as those of the European imperialist nations that ended up conquering Africa and enslaving its Black natives. Hence, even though a number of Westerners claim that China poses serious challenge to the United States for the role of the world's leading superpower – the first credible since the existence of the Soviet Union during the Cold War, China will always make its own interests in Africa fit Western powers'. Of course, to the great displeasure of Black peoples on the Continent and in the Diaspora! The fact is that not only the tools of China's soft power (humanitarian aid, investment, diplomacy, exchange programs, and participation in multilateral institutions) do not differ from those of the West, but also China's military doings in Africa fit Westerners'. The following extract is of great assistance inasmuch as it sheds light over the fact that China does in Africa connive with the West.

---

<sup>172</sup> See «China's Use of Soft Power in the Developing World – Strategic Intentions and Implications for the United States», by Denise E. Zheng, in Report of the CSIS (Center for Strategic and International Studies) Smart Power Initiative, Washington, March 2009, pp. 1-9.

«When a 6.000 man force of Katangan gendarmes, exiles from earlier internal conflict, crossed the Zairean border in May 1978, central Africa once again became the center of international attention and East-West competition. Previously, only the climax of the Angolan civil war had seen such an extraordinary array of international actors in an African internal conflict. In mid-May 1978, the playing field was Shaba Province o southern Zaire, a region rich in resources but torn by ethnic rivalries. On one side, there were the Katangans allegedly armed and trained by the Soviets, East Germans, Cubans and Angolans. On the other side, it was the beleaguered regime of Zairean President Mobutu Sese-Seko assisted in some fashion by the United States, France, Belgium, Morocco, Egypt, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, and China. Probably not since the European meddling in the Balkans at the start of the century had the world witnessed such a confusion of ideology, ethnicity, geopolitics, adventurism, and self-interest<sup>173</sup>»

Africans on the Continent and in the Diaspora, who are on our guard, are well aware of the fact that during the Angolan 27-year civil war, China sold weapons to both sides. We also got acquainted with the fact that during the Ethiopian/Eritrean war in the late 1990s Beijing sold weapons to both sides as well. The double game China has been playing in Africa illustrates the improbability that China will commit itself to Africa's right to integral development. The present-day leaders of China not only would like their country to follow a path

---

<sup>173</sup> Gregory Michael Saunders, «The Foreign Policy of Angola under Agostinho Neto (Master's Thesis)», United States of America 1983, p. 11.

of peaceful development, but would also love their country's progress to never turn itself into a selfish kind that will prove detrimental to other countries. Yet, despite the goodwill of the Chinese leaders and people, China is most likely to end up conquering Africa and enslaving its Black people together with Western imperialist powers. Experience shows that foreign nations and different institutions always end up losing completely their noble virtues in Africa, partially due to African people's ingenuousness and partly to African commodities' attractiveness. In this perspective, Schalk van Zuydam's very, very interesting article entitled «China-based corporate web behind troubled Africa resource deals – Incomplete promises of public works cast doubt on Chinese firms», as well as the professional research performed and published by staff of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission under the title «The 88 Queensway Group – A Case Study in Chinese Investors' Operations in Angola and Beyond», appears to be of great assistance. In fact, these two documents raise doubts about the claim that China's development will never be a challenge or a threat to any other country or the world at large; that China will never seek hegemony or expansionism; that the more China is developed, the more it is conducive to peace and development of the world; and that China is not only an active advocator but also a real doer of win-win cooperation in the world.

«For centuries, wave after wave of colonists and foreign investors have swept through Africa, looking for profits from the continent's abundant reserves of oil and prized minerals. Many instead left records of corruption and broken promises of shared wealth with Africans. It is

against this backdrop that an eager conglomerate has recently been drawing attention and generating headlines throughout Africa. China-Sonangol is part of a global network of companies extracting oil in Angola, buying gold in Zimbabwe, building luxury condominiums in Singapore and developing property in Manhattan. China Sonangol has shown itself to be innovative and well-connected. But as fast as it has risen, it's also drawn the kind of criticism that plagued previous authors of extractive schemes in Africa. China Sonangol is under scrutiny for unfulfilled promises of public investments and opaque deals with African leaders such as Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe and Eduardo dos Santos in Angola<sup>174</sup>.»

«An initial search for Chinese firms operating in Angola resulted in a list of several companies with their headquarters located at the same Hong Kong address. Further investigation revealed that a handful of Chinese individuals control over thirty companies located at this address – 10/F Two Pacific Place, 88 Queensway, Hong Kong. Thus, for simplicity, this paper refers to this group of investors as the “88 Queensway Group.” The 88 Queensway Group’s origins are imprecise, and its power structure and relationship to the Chinese state remain unclear. Its subsidiaries and their operations have not been linked publicly in media reports. Although its companies often are classified as “private” and based in

---

<sup>174</sup> China-based corporate web behind troubled Africa resource deals – Incomplete promises of public works cast doubt on Chinese firms, by Schalk van Zuydam/AP; Link: <http://www.publicintegrity.org/2011/11/09/7108/china-based-corporate-web-behind-troubled-africa-resource-deals>.

Hong Kong, there is evidence that several of its key personnel have ties to Chinese state-owned enterprises and government agencies. The Group also has gained high-level access to the governments and national oil companies of the countries in which it invests. Often, the 88 Queensway Group appears to circumvent normal investment protocols and negotiate business deals directly with the highest levels of governments and oil company executives. The 88 Queensway Group is active in numerous locations, to include financing infrastructure projects in Angola; (...) The lack of transparency and public accountability surrounding the 88 Queensway Group is a major concern for the United States. By posing as a private firm, the Group creates numerous companies within a complicated organizational structure to invest globally, thereby enabling the Group to acquire assets unnoticed. The 88 Queensway Group's purchase of high-profile real estate assets in the United States underscores the importance of identifying the extent of the Group's connections to the Chinese intelligence community, the public security apparatus, and state-owned enterprises<sup>175</sup>.»

China is said to be the last continuous oldest civilization on this planet; is said to respect life and to never have any history of global hegemonic agenda. It is similarly said that what the Chinese people dream since their civilization started was world peace and harmony in a very civilized way like that of Confucian and Taoist

---

<sup>175</sup> «The 88 Queensway Group – A Case Study in Chinese Investors' Operations in Angola and Beyond», by U.S.-China Economic & Security Review Commission; link: [http://www.uscc.gov/The\\_88\\_Queensway\\_Group.pdf](http://www.uscc.gov/The_88_Queensway_Group.pdf).

principles, and that war is the last resort for them. Hence the Chinese moral values want China to never pursue development at the cost of sacrificing other countries' interests. Yet, Western European powers' principle of "Might is Right", which is at the root of the conquest of Africa and the enslavement of its Black people for more than five centuries, is gradually and noiselessly converting China into a Permanent Member of the UN Security Council and full Member of the UN C-24 which tramples on the core values articulated in the tools of international law in Cabinda and Africa at large. In fact, there is a parallel between China's attempt to conquer a noteworthy sphere of influence in Africa and Germany's, inasmuch as China and the African people will inevitably end up as absolute victims of the long-standing imperialistic rivalry between France and Germany. Just like Germany, China will never be forgiven by its Western European partners for trying to help Africans free ourselves from the colonial yoke from the 1950s up to the mid-1980s. It is a reality worth knowing! Just as Germany in mid-nineteenth century, China did provide Black peoples, then under the European colonial rule, with weapons to throw off the colonial yoke. Furthermore, in the aftermath of the Cold War, China took the lead in denouncing Western powers' criminal deeds in Africa, like the deliberate propagation of created virus intended to reduce Black people in sub-Saharan Africa to an absolute minimum. Are we really naives to the extent of believing that Western European imperialist nations, who believe that their very existence depends on African natural resources and on their continual control over Africa, are giving their "backyard" (Africa) up for China? Not necessarily! To trick the Chinese into refraining from siding with Africans in our

quest for justice, peace and integral development, Western European powers are bribing them (Chinese) through African dictators who are but mere puppets of the West. China's unfulfilled promises of public investments and opaque deals with African despotic leaders like Angola's; China's growing reluctance to observe the core values articulated in the tools of the international law, particularly with regard to Africa; and the so discouraging lack of transparency and public accountability surrounding the «88 Queensway Group», are meant to make Africans be distrustful of both the Chinese people and government. For instance, the illegal occupation of Cabinda by Angola is a legal-political problem of the nature referred to in Article 34 of the Charter of the United Nations to which China should bring full attention. However, on the pretext of simply respecting the principle of non-interference in other country's internal affairs, the Chinese government is reluctant to help outlaw the European Union's colonial rule over Cabinda through Angola. Despite the fact that China has become a major participant in UN peacekeeping in Africa, we believe the Chinese leaders' inadvertence in Africa will cost China a lot in the not too distant future. Will China help put an end to the glaring discrepancy between the poverty in African countries with mineral deposits and the wealth of some Chinese companies?

«Armed conflicts have regularly occurred where natural resources are profitably accessible. (...) It is not only diamond necklaces and wedding rings that are bloodstained but also goods that have become more and more indispensable today such as mobile phones, laptops and many other electrical devices, all of which contain

coltan (tantalum). The Democratic Republic of Congo has over 80 per cent of the world's coltan reserves and the conflict surrounding this commodity (and other 'conflict minerals') was and is a significant driving force behind the war there. This conflict has so far claimed almost six million victims, the highest price paid in blood since World War II. (...) Fuel and ore traders are now competing as latecomers with the established mining companies and oil multinationals. This is why they take greater risks and venture into the 'tough places'. Exploiting raw materials is and remains a difficult and often dirty business anyway, especially in weak states. Mines, oil rigs and production facilities are essentially dangerous for those people who have the misfortune to have always lived, as it were, 'on' mineral deposits. Without effective environmental and social legislation worthy of the name, the possible wrongdoings of the companies have an immediate impact on the local inhabitants. It is they who have to face the major (often existential) risks if, for example, Glencore seizes a business opportunity in the Congo. As far as the 'resource curse' is concerned, the danger that the poor majority of the inhabitants of countries rich in natural resources will derive no profit from their resources is not just a threat, it has long since been a certainty. The reasons? Systematic corruption and aggressive tax avoidance<sup>176</sup>.»

---

<sup>176</sup> In «Commodities – Switzerland's Most Dangerous Business», by Berne Declaration (ED.), Edition d'en Bas, Lausanne, 2011; English version: Zurich 2012, pp. 372-373, 380-381.



## The Hugest Genocide Ever Under Way in Africa

In a relevant interview «Press TV» conducted on 3 May 2012 with Mr. Douglas Degroot, with the «Executive Intelligence Review», to further discuss the topic brought out under the title “*IMF, Western countries hindering progress in Sudan*”, to the question «why do you think that the West is pushing for the conflict to be maintained there?» Mr. Degroot’s response was:

“They don’t want strong nation-states anywhere in the world. It’s like why do they attack Iran or why do they attack Syria? They don’t want any nation-states around once this IMF system collapses because those nations then would link up with other nations like Russia and China and make a new system, probably. That’s why they keep pushing this thing. You have similar situations in West Africa with the Boko Haram in Nigeria and so on; they’re weakening all the big nations or trying to. In this case, they’re trying to use long-standing problems that have existed between the north and the south which have existed going way back into the British colonial period. They’re exacerbating all these differences and issues to try and make a permanent conflict out of this thing and ruin the chances for Sudan of ever giving its southern agricultural potential developed which would benefit the

whole region. Look at it as being a country that's between two big countries: Egypt and Ethiopia. They're the second and third biggest countries in Africa now and this area can be destabilized and it's going to be difficult for these other nations to progress either. (...) The forces who are pushing this idea, the IMF, their vehicle for controlling the world – the International Monetary Fund is bankrupt and they don't want any nations around that could pull together the peace, to get together and create an alternative after that collapse becomes evident<sup>177</sup>.”

In saying “the West does not want strong nation-states anywhere in the world”, Mr. Degroot is certainly not presenting a weak argument based solely on his personal opinion. We would like, for our part, to urge people to calmly assess the facts with which we are supporting our opinions regarding the determining factors and ultimate aims of the hugest genocide ever under way in Africa. In addition, since a house built on «LIES» cannot withstand the test of time, we intend to put it in black and white that, in the West, neither the right-wing nor the left-wing really cares about the fate of Black peoples on the Continent and in the Diaspora. In the preface of a document directed to the UN Secretary-General, E.H. Dr. Ban Ki-Moon, on 11 June 2012, *inter alia* we said: “the strange and expanding military involvement of Angola with EU members’ mentorship in various African conflicts; the increasing attractiveness of Africa’s natural wealth and resources to former colonial powers committed to getting out of the prevailing economic

---

<sup>177</sup> «IMF, Western countries hindering progress in Sudan», Interview with Mr. Douglas Degroot, in Press TV, Link: <http://www.presstv.com/detail/239413.html>.

crisis by all means; and the world's leading powers' wide-spreading harmful principle of «Might is Right», which is having the wind aft on a worldwide scale, as well as their disappointing readiness to accept bribes even from criminal regimes like Angola's; do appear among the momentous reasons that make us wonder whether or not Portugal and Angola are just acting as instruments for the «re-conquest of Africa» and the «re-enslavement of African peoples» by the European nations – «history repeating itself», and the major reasons that compel us to respectfully refer to you our views and well-founded concerns<sup>178</sup>.”

However, it is no secret that the «Pan-European Assembly» is ever since the 15th century doing the best it can to thwart progress in Africa; it is no secret that the slave trade, slavery and colonialism Black peoples have endured for centuries have grave consequences for Africa and for the world at large; and it is no secret that Africa's integral development is the European Union's most feared reality. Since love is peace and love is fearless, we cannot help deducing that Europe is not at peace with itself. Hence, due to its lack of love filled with fear, fear of what others think of it, and fear of what can be found out about it, the «Pan-European Assembly» cannot help telling lies and cannot help being a warmonger to the extent of trying to destroy everything including itself. In this connection, it is worth repeating Chris Hedges'

---

<sup>178</sup> «Referring the Re-Enslavement of Black People – “History Repeating Itself” to: H.E. Dr. Ban Ki-moon, United Nations' Secretary-General»; See related link: <http://cabindastruggle.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/referring-the-re-enslavement-of-black-people-to-un-sg-ban-ki-moon.pdf>.

remarkable observation: “We now live in a nation where doctors destroy health, lawyers destroy justice, universities destroy knowledge, governments destroy freedom, the press destroys information, religion destroys morals, and our banks destroy the economy.” So how can the European Union promote world peace when it does not have any peace within itself? How many wars, deaths and destruction are our European brothers in Christ responsible for in the last millennium? In the last couple decades alone millions have been killed without a justified reason, apart from the deep-rooted greed and devilish egos. Nor can we forget the «lies» that the corporate news media in the West usually tell about the wars in Africa, and about Africa’s peoples, culture, and history. Journalists, writers, and artists are purposely paid to propagate lies aimed at making people apathetic for a reason so they can just accept everything, whereas every new crisis unfolding is intended to keep justice and peace-loving people paralyzed to the extent of believing that it is too late to do anything about it.

For a very, very long time European nations involved in slave trade, slavery, colonization, and neocolonialism still under way have denied that they are guilty of these serious crimes. Instead Africans have been accused of being themselves responsible for those atrocities and a number of irresponsible mainstream media journalists have followed suit and propagated such misinformation centuries after centuries. And now that the new generations are little by little discovering that their “House” was built upon «LIES», to avoid being held responsible for their inhuman conduct, elder generations begin to have the political courage to admit the truth, although they are still attempting to whitewash their regrettable acts. Yes, it is a fact that a house built upon «LIES» cannot withstand the

test of time. In the USA, for instance, Mr. Jon M. Hubbard, a Republican member of the Arkansas House of Representatives and an Air Force veteran, has written a book in which he says slavery was “a blessing” in disguise for African-Americans. The American public figure believes that citizenship in the greatest nation ever established upon the face of the Earth is the highest reward African-Americans should treasure; that even while in the throes of slavery, their lives as Americans are likely much better than they ever would have enjoyed living in sub-Saharan Africa; and he also believes that integrating schools is harmful to white students because blacks are ignorant, indolent, have no discipline and are causing a decline in education. In short, he is just saying that African-Americans should be thankful they were once enslaved. As for the immigration issue, both legal and illegal, he believes it will lead to planned wars or extermination, and that, although now this seems to be barbaric and uncivilized, it will at some point become as necessary as eating and breathing.

There should be African-Americans well-informed of Africa’s History, Africa’s unparalleled greatness, and who are peace-loving and courageous enough to calmly and respectfully give Mr. Hubbard a comfortable seat and civilize him once and for all. For our part, we not only condemn his praises of the longest holocaust ever in the strongest possible terms, but we also endeavor to highlight here his full responsibility, as a European-American public figure, in what he considers to be unlivable conditions in sub-Saharan Africa. We thank the Celestial that, on 24 December 2012, Pope Benedict XVI has dared to denounce the present-day man who is refusing God, only glorifying himself and is full of

himself, leaving no space at all for God. On the same occasion, the Pontiff also said that, in this way, within the contemporary man, there is a very little room left for the poor ones, the excluded people, and for foreigners, migrants and refugees. Sadly, most European political actors have been carrying out barbaric policies in line with Mr. Hubbard's way of thinking for a long time. And while perpetrating indescribable atrocities like those the «Triangular Trade» entails, they portrayed themselves as zealous Christians, i.e. God's people. Racism drove the triangular trade and its horrors! So, the racist statements of a man who happens to be public figure in the country that has a very terrifying past, when it comes to treating Black and Indian races, have got to be taken into consideration as a suggestion to his government to restore the enslavement of Black people. Is it a human culture, or a Christian civilization, that some people think they are superior to anyone who does not look like them? Everyone must agree to everything they say because they are superior! And superior to the extent of carrying out atrocities and mass murders with no apologies at all, nor even a slightest remorse. Are they God's race, God's people or Devil's own children on earth? They get deeply offended when they are told they are wrong, and lash out like an angry lion on you because you are telling them the truth.

The truth is that Black people's living conditions in sub-Saharan Africa, particularly in the Congo region, only became as unlivable as Mr. Hubbard points out since the first European economic refugees came unexpectedly to Africa in the late 15th century. Ever since then that very sub-Saharan Africa has been of much assistance to

Europe. Unfortunately, the European nations came to Africa with all their political and religious deep-rooted disagreements. Thus, repetitive bloody conflicts between themselves aimed at conquering the African rich sources of supplies took place at the expense of the natives. The European wars in Africa, yesterday as well as today, keep plunging local kingdoms and innocent nations into disorder, chaos, and anarchy. Thanks to the destruction of the natives' authorities caused by those extremely violent wars and the European nations' alternated political control over the occupied African territories, Cabinda, for instance, became a noted slave mart. There are valuable books fairly written by White scholars between the 16th and 19th centuries in which the opulence of the sub-Saharan Africa and the strength and brightness of its peoples are highlighted. Regarding Cabinda in the Congo region, for instance, the «Encyclopedia Britannica» *inter alia* states:

“CABINDA: a Portuguese possession on the west coast of Africa north of the mouth of the Congo. Westwards it borders the Atlantic, N. and N.E. French Congo, S. and S.E. Belgian Congo. It has a coast-line of 93 m., extends inland, at its greatest breadth, 70 m., and has an area of about 3000 sq. m. In its physical features, flora, fauna and inhabitants, it resembles the coast region of French Congo (q.v.). From the beauty of its situation, and the fertility of the adjacent country, it has been called the paradise of the coast. The harbour is sheltered and commodious, with anchorage in four fathoms. Cabinda was formerly a noted slave mart. There is a considerable trade in palm oil, ground nuts and other jungle produce, largely in the hands of British and German firms. The

inhabitants are Bantu Negroes who are called Cabindas. They are an intelligent, energetic and enterprising people, daring sailors and active traders. The Maiombe region is rich in forests, though transportation difficulties have hindered exploitation, and its beauty is an attraction to tourists. Cabinda's busy trade has consisted mainly of timber, palm oil and kernels, cocoa and coffee. The area is favourable to the production of rubber, fruit and ivory. Alluvial gold is extracted and deposits of mineral and other phosphates have interested United States companies. In 1957 contracts were made for the prospecting and exploitation of petroleum<sup>179</sup>.”

In his illustrated and well researched work entitled «CABINDAS: History, Beliefs, Custom and Habits», the illustrious White Catholic historian, in this instance Fr. Joaquim Martins, C.S. SP., among other things said, we quote: “These people with such beautiful precepts and laws live in a really privileged country. Cabinda, town and district, is one of the richest and most beautiful tropical places. There can be seen large palm-groves used for the oleaginous industry; very rich forests, which furnish sawmills, from which plywood, laminated and compressed wood products are obtained; coffee and cocoa plantations, etc. In the earth there is petrol, now extracted in millions of tons every year; deposits of phosphate, the largest in the world; rich minerals, etc. Besides this there are the food products of the region, the

---

<sup>179</sup> See: The 1911 Classic Encyclopedia, based on the 11th Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica (pub. 1911); Related link: <http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Kabinda>; See also: Encyclopedia Britannica, A New Survey of Universal Knowledge, Volume 4, A.A.G.P., England (1962).

inhabitants of which cannot starve...: wheat, banana, manioc, yam of all kinds, varied fruit, etc. We are almost tempted to state that the Country of Cabinda, the lands of the Ancient Kingdoms of Kakongo and Ngoio, for its laws and moral principles, its institutions, for its beauty and richness of natural resources, is a small branch of EDEN<sup>180</sup>.”

Since the late 19th century up to now, European politicians belonging to left-wing parties are used to sound as the ones making every endeavor to ensure that African peoples and those of other races live free from western imperialists and colonialists who, most usually, belong to right-wing parties. In the 1960s and 1970s, for instance, they dared to make common cause with certain African liberation movements that were fighting against the European colonial powers. Was the political and logistical support of the European left-wing parties to African liberation movements really intended to free Africa from colonialism and to restore fairness and mutual respect and dignity between Europeans and Africans? From our own experience in Africa in the course of the last fifty years, it is self-evident that both right and left-wing parties only involved themselves, yesterday and today, for greed and imperialistic reasons. The unique difference however is that while the essential purpose of the right-wing consists in reestablishing imperialism through white regimes imposed upon African nations, the left-wing, for its part, strives for an

---

<sup>180</sup> «CABINDAS: História – Crenças – Usos e Costumes» – (“CABINDAS: History, Beliefs, Custom and Habits”), by Fr. Joaquim Martins, C.S. SP., Lisboa; Link: <http://www.cabin-da.net/CabindasEnglish.html>.

imperialistic regime in Africa through a government made up of a handful members of one sole Black family selected for such a mercenary role. Honest and selfless African leaders who stood up for decent living conditions, as well as for the right to respect for human personality and dignity on behalf of their fellow citizens, have been all killed both by leftists and rightists. Nationalists like Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah, Nito Alves, Marien Ngouabi, Thomas Sankara, Jonas Savimbi and several other leaders had previously been demonized, reviled and threatened, and subsequently murdered. Whereas Black leaders like Lumumba were killed by rightists who first depicted him as an anti-White, sadistic and irrational communist, hence a danger to Western interests, others like Savimbi and Alves were murdered by leftists who first portrayed them as avowed racists, in the guise of trying to attain a pure pan-African ideal, an authentic, untainted African regime and, at the same time, portrayed as anti-MPLA forces created by Western intelligence networks. All of them have been assassinated because the West (left-wing and right-wing) feared that, with such nationalists in power, the unfair exploitation of the mineral rich countries' resources would end.

What Africans on the Continent and those in the Diaspora must necessarily understand is the fact that Washington and all western capitals are controlled by powerful interest groups. Not by political parties, nor their rotary elections. As Dr. Paul Craig Roberts pointed it out, what western progressive and conservative parties fight over is not alternative political vision and different legislative agendas, but which party gets to be the whore for the corporate interests that have a real stranglehold

on progressives and conservatives at one and the same time. It has to be remembered that, for those corporate interests, billions of dollars in profit each year are never enough! Every African and African-American is required to realize how politics is really working nowadays, and stop expecting anything neither from progressives nor from conservatives. So let us stop being carried away with the ideological rhetoric in order that we can eventually see the hypocrisy that is staring us in the face. There are just two choices left, and the two have nothing to do with ideologies! Either we chose freedom by embracing and spreading love and truth at any cost, or we chose enslavement by giving up the fight for the development of a better understanding of common ethical standards and universal human values everywhere in the world. The re-enslavement of African peoples in the not too distant future is a serious threat to world peace and predictable western wars on all Asian nations. "There are two ways to enslave a nation. One is by the sword. The other is by debt<sup>181</sup>." Though, wars and debt prove to be commonplace in Africa ever since the winds of independence in the 1960s. All in all, the re-enslavement of Black people on the Continent and in the Diaspora is the ultimate goal of both leftists and rightists behind the hugest Genocide ever under way in Africa. To be a western left and right-wing's most prominent "darling" in Africa, you must turn yourself not only into an anti-democracy and a corrupt man but also into a leader strong and courageous enough to murder your own people as much as possible. The «Strongman» of Angola, in power for over 34 years, is the perfect illustration of that.

---

<sup>181</sup> According to John Adams, second President of the United States of America (1797-1801).

Despite the hugeness and repetition of his regime's shocking atrocities, not to mention the recorded violations of human rights and international law, Angola's dictator is the sweetheart of western both right and left-wing parties. The ruling party (MPLA) to which he belongs, in command since the country's independence from Portugal in 1975, appears to be the Pan-European Assembly's favorite thing in the world ever since the 1960s, during the struggle for independence. In fact, the MPLA is the true political machine created by Western intelligence networks in the 1960s with the mission of doing exactly what it has been doing as Western frontline State in Africa. A number of dormant Africans and African-Americans who call themselves progressives still believe that Angola's ruling party is a progressive frontline State and, therefore, an authentic anti-imperialism in Africa. What a pity! The real founding father of the MPLA, i.e. Viriato da Cruz, had been ejected from the movement in 1963 by western infiltrated agents because of his moral integrity and his stubbornness in placing the Angolan people's interests on the top of the movement's agenda. He was subsequently exiled and killed in China. Thus, instead of blaming the veritable authors of this nasty coup against the Angolan people and Africa, you will be blaming the innocent Chinese for that major crime. Nito Alves, the Interior Minister of Angola from independence (11 November 1975) until President Agostinho Neto abolished the position in October 1976, was first reviled and demonized by the MPLA advocates across the globe, and then killed because he had discovered that the MPLA was but a western entity that has nothing to do with the Angolan people's social and political aspirations. The MPLA usurped by Lúcio Lara and Agostinho Neto from its genuine founder and leader embraced progressive

ideology and the relationship with the then Soviet Union just to conceal its true nature and very cruel purposes.

Most Black progressives usually consider “imperialists” (“connoting conservatives”) to be the major responsible for the looting of African natural wealth and resources and related wars, and the sole responsible for the resulting political and economic backward step in Africa. It is a simplistic approach, though. On the assumption that progressives are the ones defending African people’s interests against the covetous imperialists, i.e. conservatives, for too long, it has been acceptable to let “progressive” Black leaders kill, rob, exploit and hold down other Africans, while being quick to condemn these actions when they are being carried out by Black leaders who have the backing of western conservatives (“imperialists”). That is not the smartest way to look at the overnice game being played in Africa by western conservatives and progressives in a world where both of them are in fact working for the same corporate interests. Any African Head of state who is not treating his own people with respect, justice and humanity is a mere imperialist agent, whether he is backed by western conservatives or progressives. Consequently, it is the right of anybody who wants the true emancipation of African people to fight this imperialist tool. It is self-evident that about 80% of the woes are attributable to Western imperialists (conservative and progressive). However, we must also emphasize the fact that Western imperialists have at their disposal African subsidiaries that ashamedly act as small and medium sized imperialists. Mobutu Sese Seko had kept, and Angola’s despot, the so-called progressive José Eduardo dos Santos, is still keeping his own people as well as the

Cabinda people oppressed, with no dignity, no possibility of choosing another leader, no possibility of controlling the use of the country's oil, gold and diamonds revenues, no freedom of expression, nothing. In December 2012 Swiss banks have returned several dozens of millions of dollars to the Angolan State<sup>182</sup>. The money had been for many years blocked in Swiss banks, for having been discreetly deposited in private accounts of the so-called “progressive” Angolan leaders. The article, *inter alia*, reads: “State funds should not be deposited in accounts of government officials; this is theft, corruption, and has all the ugly names that tarnish the dignity of the State and the image of the Government.” Yet, millions of Angolan men and women are living below the poverty line in the rich country called Angola. In this connection, one cannot help being disgusted at how so many African kleptocrats and mass murderers, who are doing everything European imperialists did to Africans, are using vacuous anti-imperialist discourse as a convenient loincloth to cover their shameful crimes.

In the preceding pages, we said Nito Alves was killed due to the fact that he had discovered the MPLA was but a western imperialistic machine that has nothing to do with the Angolan people's social and political aspirations. The nationalist Nito Alves not only stood up against despotism, corruption, nepotism, embezzlement, racial prejudices, and intolerance within his own ruling

---

<sup>182</sup> «*Economistas exigem rigor na aplicação de 43 milhões de dólares devolvidos ao Estado angolano*» -(Economists demand harshness in the application of 43 million dollars returned to the Angolan State), by Manuel José, VOA; Related link: <http://www.voaportugues.com/content/angola-swiss-money/1572546.html>.

party (MPLA) but also denounced the infiltration and role of the CIA within the MPLA-party and government. Surprisingly, western progressives found themselves engaged in a vast program of anti-Angolan (nationalists) propaganda campaign meant to whitewash their favorite frontline tool in Africa, i.e. the MPLA, thus portraying all the opponents of the MPLA as mere gangs funded by various CIA and other Western intelligence circles. This was enough to determine African and African-American progressives' total indifference to what Alves stood up for and, regrettably, to his untimely and brutal disappearance. Can Africans and African-Americans, progressives and non-progressives, honestly say that we are doing enough to keep our loyal and frontline Black leaders safe from harm, irrespective of whether they are departed or alive? If we are sincere with ourselves, the answer is «No». We are not doing enough, and we will have to change. Evil is real, but so is God's power and love!

In an interview with the Portuguese newspaper «*O Diabo*» on 13 December 2005, Oswald Le Winter, a former CIA agent in Europe<sup>183</sup>, not only ensured his interviewer (*O Diabo*) that there are weapons of mass destruction in the Azores (Portugal) but also claimed that Mário Soares, the man who later became President of Portugal, was paid by the CIA for several years while in exile in Paris (France) during the 1970s. “He lived like a king in Paris and received money every month in order for him to be unfaithful to Portugal”, the paper reads. It is also known that, during the struggle for independence,

---

<sup>183</sup> «*Mário Soares também recebeu favores dos Americanos*»- (Mário Soares also received American favors), by Oswald Le Winter, in «*O Diabo*»; Related link: <http://pissarro.home.sapo.pt/mario-soares.htm>.

Agostinho Neto and the MPLA were receiving money from the American oil companies, particularly «Gulf Oil». For instance, at the time of the «Carnation Revolution» in Portugal on 25 April 1975, the MPLA leader, Agostinho Neto, was in Canada to get western financial support for his armed struggle<sup>184</sup>. Mr. Degroot's article published in July 1977 under the title «The Real Story of the Angola Coup Attempt» gives us a noteworthy review of “the reasonably good ties the MPLA had in Paris prior to the Spínola coup with the then exiled Portuguese Socialist (PSP) leader Mário Soares, a known Atlanticist agent.” Nevertheless, in the eyes of the MPLA advocates, all this is not enough to connect the MPLA to CIA and other Western intelligence as well. On page 62 the very same article, *inter alia*, says: “During the period leading to Angolan independence on Nov. 11, 1975, on through to the end of the Angolan war of liberation in early 1976, various CIA and other Western intelligence circles funded the anti-MPLA gangs heavily, and provided them arms<sup>185</sup>.” Why is there such a paranoid discrimination and persecution of the non-MPLA leaders alone, when we know all Angolan liberation movements got financial support and firearms from Western and Eastern powers? Angolan nationalists like Jonas Savimbi, Holden Roberto, or even Nito Alves, who were putting the interests of the Angolan people on the top of their respective agendas, had to be labeled as CIA and Western agents by means of progressive-led

---

<sup>184</sup> Agostinho Neto's meeting with Gulf Oil on 25 Abril 1975; Link: <http://pissarro.home.sapo.pt/memorias14.htm>;

<sup>185</sup> «The Real Story Of The Angola Coup Attempt», by Douglas Degroot, in 'Executive Intelligence Review', Exclusive/Africa, New Solidarity International Press Service, Washington, Vol. IV, No. 28, July 1977, pp. 60, 62.

outright campaigns on a worldwide scale in order, first, to discredit them completely in the eyes of Black peoples and, afterwards, to have them murdered with no global reaction at all. By the way, the Executive Intelligence Review (EIR) has Mr. Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. as its founder and contributing editor. The LaRouche organization is linked to the US Democratic Party. Some of us leaders of the Cabindan National Movement have had the occasion to meet with members of the German branch of the LaRouche Youth Movement in 2008 in Berlin. Among other things, we wanted to know LaRouche's point of view regarding the illegal occupation of Cabinda by Angola, despite the fact that we knew in advance LaRouche organization is a MPLA enduring advocate. Their clear-cut response was "we know about the legitimate right of the Cabinda people to regain their political sovereignty, ok? But we are of the opinion that the priority of all priorities of the world as a whole right now is the dismantling of the British Empire, which is the cause of the world's woe. After that, it will be easier to resolve problems like the one between Cabinda and Angola." Honestly, we could not have answered it better ourselves, knowing the Cabinda struggle is labeled in EIR as anti-MPLA gang ever since the 1970s. Now that the tyrannical, kleptocratic, and corrupt nature of the MPLA has become a fact that can no longer be inverted and distorted in full view of the world, it would be worth to know whether or not LaRouche and other progressive thinkers continue to come into view as MPLA advocates. There might be a temptation to believe that the LaRouche organization, as well as all western progressives, is wholeheartedly striving for an Africa modernized and at peace with itself, particularly when EIR dares to denounce the West in its

effort to hinder progress in Africa. However, questions arise as to whether or not LaRouche movement is an anti-West, just like Lumumba, Alves, Sankara and other Black leaders who have been labeled as racists and anti-West for saying the West was the cause of Africa's woe; and whether or not LaRouche movement is honestly dedicated and committed to the well-being of Africans on the Continent, inasmuch as it is an advocate of the MPLA-regime whose anti-progress of the Angolan and Cabinda peoples no longer needs to be demonstrated! It is not possible at all to be trusted as the voice in the fight against underdevelopment in Africa, while preying on African leaders who are likely to consider the well-being of their respective peoples as their core objectives. As a matter of fact, the Executive Intelligence Review (EIR) of 12 July 1977 entails a flagrant attack on both Cabinda and Angolan peoples' right to full political and economic sovereignty. The Cabinda people's rightful struggle for freedom is portrayed as an anti-MPLA gang pure and simple in there. Besides, Nito Alves, as well as FNLA and UNITA leaders, are fully crucified in there on charges of being racists and anti-MPLA forces created by Western intelligence networks. Though, that is neither justice nor peace-loving attitude! In this connection, one of the most saddening realities in the West is that when mainstream media gets caught in a «Lie» and outright propaganda of fabricated news, they rarely retract the slander/lie, correct and give full facts, nor do they apologize for misleading the public. Instead, the mainstream media builds on it and brushes it aside as if nothing has happened, in the hope that none of us paid attention.

For greed and imperialistic reasons, western left and right-wing parties have drawn African nations fully into

the wicked political culture of «Jesus or Barabbas?», weird culture in which the Europeans (right and left-wing parties) play both the malicious role of Pilate and of the chief priests and elders. Since they know African people's natural tendency is to shout asking "Jesus", the malevolent chief priests and elders manage to infiltrate the multitudes concerned so as to whisper in the ears of their future prey their devilish advice that they should ask "Barabbas" and destroy "Jesus". Thus the Pan-European Assembly is deliberately spreading everywhere in Africa leaders who have much in common with Barabbas. Whereas the latter believes in improvement through force, pillage, sword, blood, tears and, all summarized, is a murderer poisoned by the devil and ready for hell; Jesus instead is the melody of heaven, the sweetness of God's heart and, in other words, the Redeemer who believes in improvement through truth, justice, and love. They are encouraging the destruction of "Jesus" throughout Africa because they recognize themselves in "Barabbas", the murderer with love of self and of corruption. As the adage goes, «Like seeks Like».

In his interesting book «*La République des Mallettes*», the well-known French journalist Pierre Péan asserts that since the beginning of the 1990s there is in France a surprising conversion of the French elite, of both right and left-wing, to neo-liberalism where «money» has become, more than ever before, «king». "A large percentage of the establishment that yesterday served State institutions and had, pegged to the body, the sense of the common good has suddenly changed and has only one thing in mind: to help oneself. «Serving public interest has become nerd», says D. Lebègue, former senior official in the Treasury and

president of Transparency International. «The ethics of the great public servants of the time of The Glorious Thirty has broken down», adds Jean-F. Kesler, former Director Deputy of ENA<sup>186</sup>.” We might simply add that what is true of France is also true of other western countries. Though, in all this, western left-wing parties come into view as the ones undermining justice/peace in Africa by far more than the right-wing parties, inasmuch as the left-wing is long since known and respected as the main force representing the strong and reliable opposition to capitalist-imperialism and colonialism. Due to the growing corruptness of the political and moral values the left-wing is traditionally known for, we are seeing the resurgence of European imperialism. On page 110 of Péan’s book, there is criticism against the politicians of all sides, in particular against those of the left-wing considered to be a little too voracious, behaving regretfully as hungry wolves and unmannerly. The previous page of the same work points out the seriousness and extent of the cancer of corruption within the French establishment. The covert parties financing and the baksheeshes meant for the politicians, are inadvertently and increasingly bringing into fashion an absolute disregard for the core values articulated in the tools of the international law. In France, for instance, in order for both ruling and opposition parties to be getting such financing from Angola’s colonial regime, they have implicitly decided to delay/deny the so oppressed people of Cabinda justice.

---

<sup>186</sup> See: «*La République des Mallettes – Enquête sur la principauté française de non-droit*», by Pierre Péan, Fayard, Paris (2011), pp. 45-46; ENA: “*École Nationale d’Administration*”, or: “National School of Administration”.

## 1. The Genocide in Delaying/Denying Cabinda Justice

As the adage goes, justice delayed is justice denied. Most European newspapers from the 19th century all the way to the 20th show us a left-wing movement in a fascinating solidarity with African peoples under the colonial rule of the European imperialists. The catastrophic consequences of the WWI and WWII, which had resulted from the colonial disagreements and wars between the European nations involved ever since the early 17th century, granted the left-wing movement a much more remarkable moral authority in its fight for justice and fairness between the North and the South. Thus, in the 1950s and 1960s, given the littleness of the right-wing's moral authority particularly in Africa, the attainment of independence of the oppressed African nations became possible thanks to the left-wing movement's political input. Today, considering the frustrating outcomes of the European left-wing's struggle on behalf of the exploited African nations, we must acknowledge that the left-wing's decisions and actions were either based on greed/lies or on the ignorance of its intelligentsia. The fact is that the denial of justice with respect to the oppressed people of Cabinda sheds light over the imperialistic ambitions of the European left-wing itself. By the way, are not both left and right-wing mere «servants» of the same European corporate interests? This is disconcerting, and Africa must pull itself together as soon as possible and make use of its own intellect, if solely to survive in the upcoming century. In delaying/denying Cabindans justice, European left and

right-wing movements are sponsoring the ongoing Genocide in Africa.

To please Angola's dictator in exchange for covert parties financing, the French authorities agreed discreetly to muzzle the founder and leader<sup>187</sup> of the «Cabindan National Movement» then exiled in France. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, the stability and the political configuration of the whole international situation became very, very shaky, with the United States emerging as the sole superpower. This new international political chessboard took place less than four years after US President Ronald Reagan invited the Chief of UNITA Jonas Savimbi to the White House in January 1986, described Savimbi as a freedom fighter and assured the African guerrilla he wanted to be “very helpful” to his campaign to oust the Cuban-backed government in Angola. Even though Angola's so-called progressive President Dos Santos knew his opponent had no chance to become President of Angola as a result of his being portrayed as a racist and anti-West in the 1977 Executive Intelligence Review, Dos Santos and his western left and right-wing advisers decided to deprive Dr. Savimbi of his invaluable asset, i.e. all Cabindans militating within UNITA. For the record, adjacent to the coast of Cabinda (illegally occupied by Angola since 1975) are some of the largest offshore oil fields in the world, where western oil companies like Chevron, Total, Agip, Eni, and so forth deal with one another in a constant competition. So, there

---

<sup>187</sup> Bartolomeu Capita, the author of this very work, is the prevailing leader and one of the founding fathers of the «Cabindan National Movement» (*Movimento Nacional Cabinda* or *MNC*) in Kinshasa (DRC) in 1989.

is no question about the fact that, despite all the cosmetic support he got from certain European powers, Savimbi was unloved by all Western powers owing to his being nationalist and a man trained as a guerrilla fighter by Mao Tse-tung and other leaders of the Chinese revolution in the early 1960s. As long ago as 1976, following disclosure of so declared secret CIA assistance to UNITA, the US Congress adopted the Clark amendment (Arms Export Control Act of 1976) that barred US support to movements engaged in military or paramilitary operations in Angola. According to foreign affairs analyst Jane Hunter<sup>188</sup>, Israel stepped in as a proxy arms supplier for the United States after the Clark Amendment took effect. It was only repealed by the US Congress in July 1985. Curiously, while Savimbi was so quarantined, US firms in Angola were helping prolong the war by serving as a source of revenue for the Dos Santos' government. In fact, much of the hard currency earned by the Angolan government, with the help of these firms, particularly petroleum companies, was going toward military equipment and payment for Cuban troops and their support. In the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall, many conservatives in the US Congress favored open assistance to Dr. Savimbi while many liberals opposed any aid on the grounds that Reagan's "freedom fighter" was aligned with the White-ruled South African government. At the time, Dr. Savimbi's forces controlled one-third of Angola's territory and exercised political influence over about 60% of the country's 12 million people. On the other side was the "Marxist government" backed by more than thirty thousand Cuban troops and

---

<sup>188</sup>Jane Hunter is quoted in: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clark\\_Amendment](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clark_Amendment).

Soviet “aid” (aid = supply of arms in exchange for oil and diamond concession) totaling more than \$2 billions in less than ten years.

Parenthetically, we should point out that African and African-American intelligentsia have been ashamedly fooled by «White Supremacy», since they did not bother to check the facts as to who, Savimbi or Dos Santos, was right and in the path of truth, democracy, rule of law, and integral development in Angola. The famed Nelson Mandela, who won the Nobel Peace Prize for his leadership in ending apartheid in South Africa, turns out to be the Black leader who sincerely bothered to check the facts and ended up understanding Savimbi and the real causes of the increasing chaos, violence and misery in the Congo region. Without regard to western propaganda that portrayed Savimbi as a man formerly aligned with the Apartheid-regime in South Africa, Mandela was wise enough to dare meet with Dr. Savimbi in January 1997. Mandela advised Savimbi and Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos behind the scenes over and over again on how to form a reconciliation government after years of bitter antagonism. Unfortunately, all of us Cabindans, Angolans and Africans are constantly faced with a European remote-controlled Angolan government that is meant to be narrow-minded, stubborn, insensitive and blissfully ignorant, one that rejects any possibility of dialogue and cooperation through mutual respect. In order to decrease Mandela’s focus on Angola and brush aside his idea of a reconciliation government by Savimbi and Dos Santos, the chaos in the Congo (DRC) erupted in 1997. Henceforth, Angola’s President Dos Santos is showing off as one of the world’s foremost examples of kleptocracy and nepotism.

Let us now see where President Dos Santos is going to start in his task aimed at depriving his challenger Savimbi of all Cabindans and, afterward, how the French authorities are going to muzzle MNC founder and leader to the great benefit of the European Union and its Angolan puppet José Eduardo dos Santos. In September 1990, he dared to invite MNC leader for talks in the coastal town of Pointe-Noire in Congo-Brazzaville. The main topic of the discussions between Angolan senior officials and MNC delegation headed by B. Capita was so complex that the discussions went on for three days. “We believe that you are well placed to help us subtract the most prominent Cabindans from UNITA before the end of the upcoming year. We are ready to allocate US \$ 5 million to every Cabindan subtracted, and every member of your delegation here. As soon as you let us know you are ready to act, we are authorized to put the whole money at your disposal in a bank account in the following week. You just have to tell us where, in Portugal or Brazil. Please bear in mind that H.E. President José Eduardo dos Santos would be extremely grateful to you personally, apart from the money that you are entitled to. For instance, why not, President Dos Santos would make of you Governor of Cabinda for at least three or four years, which is sufficient time to enhance the greatness of your name as well as of your bank account anywhere. It is up to you. Regarding the Cabinda issue that we see is your main topic for this convention, the President (Dos Santos) exhorted us to be sincere with you in the following terms: ‘we know perfectly well that Cabinda is not an integral part of Angola, ok? That is one thing. The second aspect you should understand is that we live in a world that turns out to be a jungle, where the laws of the jungle determine everything. In such a world, it is the stronger telling the

weaker where to go and what to do or not to do. Just look around the world to see that Angola is not the unique country that has turned itself into a lion in order to survive. So does America, France, Israel, and so on and so forth. In fact, the concept of «might is right» has become the order of the day and it is not you who are going to change the world. We know that although the United States is our strategic partner it can at any time jeopardize our partnership, inasmuch as it is the most interested in Cabinda's oil fields. Hence, in case you suggest your oil to the United States at a determined price, then we will tell the Americans to have it at half the price you have suggested them just to break you down'." This, in short, was the complete offer the delegation of the Angolan government made to MNC leader in Pointe-Noire. So there was, properly speaking, no room for discussions on the Cabinda issue, i.e. the Cabinda people's right to recover our political sovereignty that was on the top of our agenda. When the ball was finally in our court, MNC leader took the floor: "we endlessly thank you for your amazing frankness with regard to our peaceful struggle for self-determination and for your staggering picture about how the world is no longer a place for small and feeble mammals. As for the Cabindans you want us to help you subtract from UNITA, we wonder if you would be kind enough to give us a reasonable amount of time to examine the pros and cons of the task and how to successfully perform it." They wanted an answer in less than three weeks. And then MNC leader and fellow-thinkers went back to Kinshasa, the capital of their country of asylum, Zaïre (now RDC). Since MNC refused to turn itself into an Angolan government's puppet, the mission was subsequently fulfilled by a Cabindan named José Maria Liberal Nuno, who has

succeeded in subtracting leading UNITA cadres like Dr. António (Tony) da Costa Fernandes and the Brigadier general Miguel Nzau Puna in February 1992. The two of them are Cabinda natives. A few years later, President Dos Santos murdered most of Cabindan figures, including family members of the MNC leader, who witnessed the talks in Pointe-Noire.

In January 1991, three months after the meeting in Pointe-Noire, MNC leader, along with the Head of UNLEC, Afonso Massanga, landed in the beautiful country of Luís Vaz de Camões, i.e. Portugal, with a view to a diplomatic tour of duty in various European countries. In an interview to the Portuguese newspaper “*O Diabo*”, published on 19 February 1991 under the title «*Sem resolver Cabinda não há paz em Angola*» (without resolving Cabinda there is no peace in Angola), among other things we talked about our proposal for dialogue with the Angolan government under the aegis of Portugal. A few days later, we were contacted by telephone for a private interview with a Portuguese young man Alípio Parreirão. In the following days the latter organized a meeting with the Chairman of the “*Forum Democrático Angolano*” (FDA) or “Angolan Democratic Forum”, Dr. Jorge Rebelo Pinto Chikoti, a former UNITA dissident in Canada. Jorge Chikoti, who was then carrying an unofficial invitation from President José Eduardo dos Santos to return to Angola in order to serve in the Angolan Government as Vice Minister of External Relations starting from 1992, not only wanted MNC to merge with FDA but wanted also its leader to join him in his trip to Angola and in his meeting with President Dos Santos. After consulting both NNC Central Committee and Political Bureau, we decided Chikoti’s proposal was not appropriate inasmuch as it was merely trying to suit

the interests of a single person at the expense of the interests of the entire Cabinda people. Of course Jorge Chikoti was made Vice Minister of External Relations in 1992 and, later, Angola's Minister of Foreign Affairs, whereas MNC leader is still representing the lawful and peaceful struggle of the Cabinda people, still advancing the cause of justice and peace in Cabinda, Angola, and Africa, and still convinced and claiming that «*Sem resolver Cabinda não há paz em Angola*». We gladly use this occasion to recall and infinitely thank the illustrious figures such as the Luso-Cabindan, the late Dr. José Pinheiro da Silva, and the Portuguese historian Dr. Mascarenhas Barreto for their invaluable input. Both of them have done a first-class job. They willingly put at our disposal, totally free of charge, priceless pieces of our glorious history that have been so hidden by the successive “colonial masters” in the rubble of the distant past. *Inter alia*, their historic pieces prove the Cabindan *Nomenklatura* and institutional representatives were using the Egyptian hieroglyphs at the time the Portuguese disembarked in that African land for the first time and all the way to the beginning in the early 17th century of the never ending wars between the European imperialistic powers, and wedding rings were used throughout the country as an ancient tradition<sup>189</sup>. Curiously, in most

---

<sup>189</sup> According to Lady MJ Santos (FB), “Wedding rings began in Ancient Egyptian times. The circle was used to symbolize a never ending cycle and the space it makes – as a gate way. In North America and the United Kingdom, it is customarily worn on the left hand ring finger. Similar traditions purportedly date to classical times, referring to the fourth finger of the left hand as containing the *vena amoris* or ‘vein of love’. This custom has its origins in an ancient Egyptian myth that the finger contained a vein leading directly to the heart, or it may simply be because the heart lies slightly to the left side of the body.” She added: “we were trendsetters!”

Cabindan languages so far the purport of the word «*Egypt*» stands for the meaning of the English word «*homesickness*».

A few months later, for compelling reasons to do so, MNC leader lodged an application for asylum in France and, thanks to the good-hearted attention of the then United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), H.E. Mrs. Sadako Ogata, Ph.D., and considering that he was already a mandate refugee, Paris painfully granted him refugee status shortly after. Taking all things into consideration, it was the beginning of a never ending persecution aimed at muzzling the peaceful and faithful defender of the right of the oppressed people of Cabinda to recover our political sovereignty. Needless to say, Angola's dictator made known to French authorities and all political parties that muzzling MNC leader was the highlighted priority amongst his priorities. This became a veritable chance of a lifetime for the malignant French politicians and businessmen. It was a give and take, with the French telling Angola's President "we muzzle for you MNC leader and you commit to buying weapons and military equipments from us". Both left and right-wing parties began to fight with one another over who really controls the goose that lays the golden egg, i.e. the Cabindan freedom fighter. The year 1993, which is when Angolagate scandal<sup>190</sup> began, is an

---

<sup>190</sup> ANGOLAGATE is the scandal that involved a ring of French government officials that were complicit in illegal arms trading in order to secure French oil interests with the Angolan government. The trading took place between 1993 and 2002. The scandal was picked up by the European media and was highly covered as it did involve several public and popular figures. It shows how deep-rooted are the systems that facilitate corruption in France.

unforgettable year inasmuch as it is also when MNC leader began to be seriously persecuted in France. On 5 March 1993 the Ambassador of Côte d'Ivoire to France H.E. Mr. Eugene AIDARA<sup>191</sup>, directed to the President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire H.E. Mr. Félix Houphouët-Boigny the request of MNC that Côte d'Ivoire do everything within its power, as a member of the UN Special Committee on Decolonization, to solve the legal-political difference between Cabinda and Angola. A couple of months after, the Advocate of the so oppressed people of Cabinda became the victim of a Machiavellian machination of the French political system. The fact of the matter is that on 4 June 1993, MNC leader was cynically accused of planning to lead a political action against the Government of Angola by creating an association that would have its head office the asylum facilities. MNC leader was summoned by the court bailiff C. & T. BONAN to appear at the hearing and before the President of the Tribunal de Grande Instance in Créteil (inner suburbs of Paris) located at *Rue Pasteur Vallery-Radot*, at 2:00 p.m. on 17 June 1993. Almost a year later, the situation of MNC leader in Paris was worsening day by day. Human Rights organizations such as the «*Collectif Anti-Raciste de FRESNES-LHAY LES ROSES*» have heard about the case and tried to help as they could.

In 1993, the year when began the wrestling match between left and right-wing parties aimed at controlling the goose that lays the golden egg, France was having a leftist President, i.e. François Mitterrand, who belonged to PS, the French Socialist Party. The opposition party,

---

<sup>191</sup> Letter of Ambassador AIDARA to the Governor Guy NAIRAY, Director of the Cabinet of the President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, Ref.: No. 199/SP/03-93/VALISE.

the rightist RPR<sup>192</sup>, for its part, was under the leadership of Mr. Jacques Chirac, then Mayor of Paris and natural candidate in the upcoming presidential elections to take place in 1995. The third actor interested was the PCF, the French Communist Party. At that time, MNC leader's residential address was «22, Avenue de Stalingrad, 94800 VILLEJUIF», a nice suburb of Paris of which the Mayor was Mr. Pierre-Yves COSNIER, a member of the Communist Party. The Communist and Socialist Parties tried to form a common front against the powerful RPR's political maneuvers and pressures to achieve its objectives. Let us remember that in the thirty six years after WWII the French political life had been mainly dominated by the right-wing which, hence, gained advantage of controlling nearly all African political networks through two particular figures, i.e. the Gaullists Jacques Foccart and Charles Pasqua. The right-wing started the fight through an intentional misuse of «*France Terre d'Asile*» (FTDA)<sup>193</sup>, whose head office is located in Paris. “Sir, following the interview you had with Mr. LAESER on 12 Nov. 1992, I can only confirm the decision that was taken. You are taken care of in C.P.H. since 02/09/91, that is to say, since more than 14 months.

---

<sup>192</sup> «RPR: *Rassemblement pour la République*» or English: “Rally for the Republic”, was a Gaullist and conservative political party in France. It was founded by Jacques Chirac in 1976 and presented itself as the heir of Gaullism. On 21 September 2002, the RPR was merged into Union for a Popular Movement (Union pour un Mouvement Populaire, UMP);

<sup>193</sup> «FTDA: *France Terre d'Asile*» or “France Land of Asylum”, is a French solidarity association whose principal purpose is support for asylum-seekers and the defense of the right of asylum in France. Its catchword says: Any man persecuted because of his activity in favor of freedom has right to asylum on the territory of the Republic.

resident, attitude that we cannot tolerate within the national machinery for shelter. Consequently, we can only confirm the decision to end taking care of and ask you to leave the Center under the indications of the Director, Mr. LAESER<sup>194</sup>.” It is true, as it is said, that “the oil war is an invisible war where all punches are allowed”! False accusations, intimidations, and devilish lies serve the purpose of paving the way towards an unfair and bloody businesses and plundering. As the concerted political attacks of the right-wing entities against the mandate refugee from Cabinda grew day by day, on 13 December 1993, the abovementioned Mayor of Villejuif, Mr. COSNIER, who was also Vice-President of the General Council of Val de Marne, took the benevolent decision to intercede with Mr. Le Taillandier de Gabory, then Prefect at the Prefecture of Val de Marne, on behalf of the peaceful MNC leader. The letter reads: “Mr. Prefect, I would like to draw your attention to the situation of the residents of the Temporary Accommodation Centre managed by PSTI and located at 22 avenue Stalingrad in Villejuif. Commitments had been made at a meeting on 19 August 1993 with your services, including individual follow-up of the residents the most in need by the social workers of the DASS. Some of these situations are dramatic: families without resources, lonely people left on their own. The formal notice to leave the residence of which they have been notified is not meant to allay their concerns. I therefore ask you to do the necessary so that social financial, housing, and administrative solutions can be found for each one.” To

---

<sup>194</sup> That is the content of the letter (Ref.: VP/SK/92/1506) directed on 16 November 1992 to Bartolomeu Capita by Mrs. Véronique THIEBAUT, Head of the Service Facility at France Terre Terre d’Asile.

this left-wing's benevolent attempt to remind France of its national motto (Liberty, Equality, Brotherhood), the heartless response of the right-wing was not long in coming. The fact of the matter is that, on 14 February 1994, the then sub-Prefect at *L'HAY-LES-ROSES*, Mr. Jean-Louis BLANCHOU, sent a threatening letter to the mandate refugee from Cabinda who happens to be a peaceful freedom fighter. In his letter we read: "Sir, I have the honor to bring to your attention the fact that the assistance of the Police Commissioner of the GENTILLY district has been requested by usher Ministry for the enforcement of a judicial decision of expulsion pronounced against you and becomes final. Thereby, I feel I must invite you to take the appropriate steps to vacate the premises, otherwise I would be obliged to allow that support of the public security forces be accorded to the Prosecutor usher to bind you, in accordance with the law, by the end of the winter period." So, on 15 April 1994, after a short investigation into the situation of MNC leader that had been carried out by the journalist Paula P. Gomes, the French written press "*Témoignage Chrétien*" had published a huge article entitled "Beyond Exile, the Hell". Unfortunately, all those who tried to help ended up silenced at once. France was displaying its old policy of reasons of State and the primacy of corporate interests.

While MNC leader, Bartolomeu Capita, was being muzzled through continual persecution to please Angola's Strongman, FLEC leader, Henriques Tiago Nzita, who has adopted hostage-taking and human rights abuses as his favorite manner to resist Angolan occupation, was not bothered at all, though in the same city of Paris where he lives since 1990 and from where he commands his self-

styled guerilla warfare. The difference between MNC and FLEC is that the former accepts in advance the obligations of peaceful settlement provided in the Charter of the United Nations, due to its firm belief that the Cabinda issue is a legal-political problem that falls within the competence of the United Nations; whereas the latter believes the issue is but a military problem that requires a military solution. MNC leader was also being forced to join FLEC as the only remaining way to stop being accused of intending to carry out political action against the Angolan government, and of many other Machiavellian lies. Having said that, we hope a word to the wise is sufficient as far as the trustworthiness of FLEC leader and his fight for the liberation of Cabinda are concerned. Mr. Tiago Nzita, a man in the hands of France since the early 1960s, is broadly portrayed as the fierce enemy of Angola's colonial power over Cabinda by western mainstream media and most human rights organizations, highlighting him as a valiant guerrilla. They thus brainwash and manipulate the poor people of Cabinda both in exile and inside de country by means of these outright lies that the world just accepts as truth. How come the so-called fierce enemy of Angola's tyrant living in Paris with most of his family members is not troubled at all, whereas the so less publicized MNC leader is being muzzled by the force made up of French State, political parties and business groups? That is a simple but powerful example of a long-lasting and deep-rooted mafia-type wheeling and dealing.

Bearing in mind its full control over FLEC ever since the 1970s, France has placed itself in a better position to continually frustrating the Cabinda people's legitimate hopes of achieving self-determination and independence,

and thus continually obtaining advantageous mining concessions from the Angolan colonial regime. To systematically prevent the subjugated people of Cabinda from obtaining the international recognition of our inalienable right to recover our political sovereignty, France habitually undermines the activities of all Cabindan independence movements that straightforwardly seek our declared aims, and persecutes the leaders of these movements. As you can see, even though France has ostensibly assumed the role of openly fostering movements for Cabinda independence, its actions have historically frustrated the aims of those movements and have promoted their internal fragmentation. But France cannot behave otherwise, as long as it lives off African French speaking countries by means of the well-known «Colonial Pact» that had been concocted by General De Gaulle.

By the end of the year 1994, MNC leader was obliged to move to Paris where an apartment was provided by the right-wing, the winner that seemingly emerged from the fight between Socialists, Communists and Conservatives. For how long is the apartment going to help? The French Presidential election in April and May 1995, from which Jacques Chirac emerged as the winner, did but add fuel to the fire. Henceforth, the fighting between left and right-wing parties aimed at controlling the Cabindan goose that lays the golden egg became a terribly violent rivalry within the right-wing itself, having on the one side the political faction of the victor Jacques Chirac and, on the other side, the faction of Chirac's long-time friend Edouard Balladur who suddenly became an arch-enemy. Since 1993, the Socialist French President, François Mitterrand, had been cohabiting with a conservative cabinet led by Mr. Balladur, a member of the Gaullist RPR. While Prime

Minister, Balladur had promised the leader of the RPR, Jacques Chirac, that he would not run for the presidency. Though, as polls showed him doing well and he had the support of several conservative politicians, he decided to run. As a result, those who had supported Balladur in the presidential election, for instance Nicolas Sarkozy, were ostracized from the new Chirac administration. As the fight between the two went on, MNC leader became much sought after and threatened at one and the same time. In view of the growing threats, MNC leader requested a meeting with the then US Ambassador to France, H.E. Mrs. Pamela Harriman, to acquaint her with the situation as well as with the need for a United States' action to end once and for all the illegal occupation of Cabinda by Angola. Shortly after, the US Ambassador entrusted the first Secretary, Mr. Roger J. Moran, to meet with MNC leader on her behalf. "Sir, I would like Washington to be aware of the fact that the extremely lucrative activities of US oil companies in Cabinda, the oil-rich country illegally occupied by Angola and whose natives at home and abroad are forced to live on less than US \$1 a day, is something we think does not beautify US international standing. I hope President Clinton is gladly going to consider the oppressed Cabinda people's rightful quest for justice, freedom, and integral development", Capita told Mr. Moran during the meeting. Three days later, MNC leader got from Angola's Ambassador to France, H.E. Dr. Assunção dos Anjos, a letter inviting him to go and have with the Angolan diplomat a meeting aimed at providing the Cabindan freedom fighter with a financial donation prodigious enough to live decently anywhere in the world. Capita declined, put copy of the letter at the disposal of the French Foreign Ministry and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and continued to claim that every Cabinda citizen should be entitled to

live as decently as the Ambassador of Angola wanted MNC leader alone to live. Some time later, one of the two right-wing factions decided to brick up the door of MNC leader's apartment in his absence, his belongings being left in bulk in front of the concrete door. Thus MNC leader had to live on the street in Paris, the glowing capital of the country widely portrayed as the birth place of human rights. Here is the distressing advice of a French social worker who privately contacted the so persecuted and detracted mandate refugee from the highly coveted oil country called Cabinda: "If you still value your life, your reputation, and your struggle for justice on behalf of the people you love so much, then I dare give you some money of my own and suggest very strongly that you leave France without further delay, as I fear the conflict between the right-wing factions is going to end up with dead bodies here and there on the sidewalks." The young lady was too disturbed to pay no attention to her recommendation. The very same day, MNC leader entered the United Kingdom. He tried in London to apply for resettlement in the country of the Queen Elizabeth II, but Ms. Isabel Marquez at the UNHCR bureau in London exhorted Capita to go back to France since the French authorities not only acknowledged there were problems but also assured her of his safety once back in France. A couple days later, Capita went back to Paris and nothing had improved. Instead, the situation continued to get worse, inasmuch as his persecutors managed to roughly confiscate all his few ownerships including his travel document for fear that he might once again leave the French soil. All human rights organizations suddenly appeared to be helpless in front of this homeless mandate refugee now deprived of his "papers" including his Convention Travel Document. Regardless of his homeless look, Capita knocked the

doors of different diplomatic missions in Paris (especially the Chinese, German, South Korean, Japanese, South African, Portuguese, Swedish, Italian, Indian, Holy See, etc.), to keep them posted about the connection between the persecution he is victim of and the «delaying/denying Cabinda justice», delaying/denying justice which, considering its dreadful consequences, is a self-evident genocide. A peace and justice-loving diplomat from an Asian country advised Capita to request President Chirac's assistance. "As for your refugee papers illegally confiscated, in case there is no response from the President of the French Republic after a couple of weeks, then you must immediately plan to apply for a diplomatic asylum somewhere; these guys will no longer stop seeking to destroy peoples of different races", the Asian diplomat added. Less than two weeks after a request had been dropped off at the Elysée Palace, MNC leader received a relatively positive answer from the French Presidency<sup>195</sup>, allowing thus the Cabindan freedom fighter regain his papers. Since the violence of the fighting<sup>196</sup>

---

<sup>195</sup> Social Service of the Presidency of the Republic's Letter/Ref.: L036395/L1598 MR/CB, Commission of 200798, of 27 July 1998, signed by Ms. Michèle REQUENA, and containing a check for 1,500 francs;

<sup>196</sup> Related Articles: «Political scandal brews over 11 Frenchmen killed in Pakistan», by Michael Cosgrove, dated 19 June 2009; «French Establishment Players Convicted over Arms», by Adam Sage, in *The Times* of 28 October 2009; «Ex-French minister links Chirac to arms scandal», by James Mackenzie and David Stamp, article dated 12 November 2009; The following links pertain to the articles above: <http://www.digitaljournal.com/article/274427>; <http://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/198-natural-resources/48371-french-establishment-players-convicted-over-arms-trade-to-angola-scandal.html>; <http://www.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idUSTRE5AB3JR20091112>.

between the two right-wing factions increased from day to day, the founder and faithful leader of the Cabindan National Movement (MNC) had no chance but to leave France. After spending years in Italy, and some other years in Germany, Capita is in Switzerland since 2008. Though, in all these countries the French continued to persecute the mandate refugee in question, making use of all their country's weight to prevent him from having right to even the most basic human rights. At the same time, they discreetly incite the arbitrary regime of Angola to offer these countries forest concessions or rights to minerals and oil so the Strongman Dos Santos can continue colonizing and looting Cabinda with their collusion. Did not Angola's tyrant pay a visit to Germany in February 2009? Is not there an «African Innovation Foundation» created in Switzerland in October 2009 by José Filomeno dos Santos, who happens to be the son of Angola's despot? The mandate refugee from the oil rich Cabinda, who is striving to regain Cabinda's political sovereignty confiscated by Angola since 1975, appears to be deprived of papers including a valid Convention Travel Document, and deprived of international protection and humanitarian assistance in Switzerland. Is it a mere coincidence? Did not France manipulate Geneva (UNHCR) with outright lies to hinder Capita from having international protection and administrative assistance in Switzerland<sup>197</sup> in 2006? We

---

<sup>197</sup> In UNHCR's Letter/Ref.: RGI 927055 directed to Bartolomeu Capita by Ms. Contessina Theis on 19 June 2006, France is quoted as saying that "after being recognized as a refugee in France, Mr. Capita also received French nationality in 1999 and that, under such circumstances, he was no longer a refugee under the mandate of UNHCR".

all hope that Ms. Contessina Theis, then UNHCR Liaison Office for Switzerland and Liechtenstein did not lose her UN post for being righteous and attempting to help the mandate refugee from Cabinda in accordance with the core values articulated in the tools of the international law. Now Professor Jean Ziegler should write a new book<sup>198</sup>, this time under the title: «*La Suisse et l'Union Européenne lavent plus blanc*»!

In Rome (Vatican), while shaking hands with His Holiness Pope Benedict XVI on 25 January 2006, MNC leader exhorted the Holy Father to help end the European Union-led genocide in delaying/denying Cabindans justice. “Your Holiness, the oppressed people of the occupied country called Cabinda expect from the Universal Church an impartial affection in order that we may also delight God’s Love for all peoples revealed in the person of Jesus Christ”, MNC leader told the Roman Pontiff. Pope Benedict XVI is another contemporary prominent figure to whom the freedom fighter from Cabinda respectfully directs the attention of his cherished people. The German Vicar of Christ deserves a beaming place on the collective memory of the people of Cabinda, inasmuch as his candid trust in God and rigid personal commitment to truth, justice, and peace makes a good shepherd of Him. In other words, the Holy Father is a reliable God’s man who gladly welcomes others’ needs and makes them His own. In this connection, MNC

---

<sup>198</sup> «*La Suisse Lave plus Blanc*», by Prof. Jean Ziegler, Édition: Seuil, 1990, is a must read, as it helps understand that the Swiss wealth is not solely based on watches, cheese, and chocolates. This priceless book shows *inter alia* that the anonymous banking system has turned itself into a big laundry machine.

leader has good reasons to believe that Pope Benedict XVI does spiritually side with the martyred people of Cabinda in our rightful quest for justice and peace. The fact of the matter is that the Pope's «Address to the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Holy See for the Traditional Exchange of New Year Greetings on 7 January 2008» highlights His caring and responsive attention concerning the pleas for help emanating from African regions: “The Catholic Church is not indifferent to the cries of pain that rise up from these regions. She makes her own the pleas for help made by refugees and displaced persons, and she pledges herself to foster reconciliation, justice and peace.”

## 2. Greed and Imperialistic Reasons as Determining Factors

The hugest and the most enduring Genocide ever under way in Africa since the 15th century to date, proves to be driven by deep-rooted greed and materialism in Europe. It is believed that harsh climatic conditions in Europe is the chief cause of the insatiable appetite to hoard material stuffs, rather than to get rid of (give) or just content oneself with a moderate satiety. So let us look at how the highest expression of greed in Europe determined the imperialistic appetites that are the root cause of the indescribable Genocide going on in Africa. Very often people say it all began with the Portuguese discoveries. However, the Portuguese discoveries and their future consequences such as the «Triangle Trade» and «Colonial rule over Africa» are but mere formulation of a single person or family's greed.

## 2.1. Portugal's Discoveries and the European Crises of the 14th Century

Portugal's Discoveries (conquests) in the XV century, which successively brought about the slave trade, slavery, and colonialism, had been preceded by the extremely devastating crisis of the XIV century characterized by the decline of the clerical feudalism and the end of the Middle Age in the Western Europe. Two major crises had afflicted Europe, i.e. the Black Death that killed about 75 millions of peoples, and the Great Famine of 1315-1322, which is viewed as the first of a series of large scale crises that struck Northern Europe early in the fourteenth century. From the Pyrenees to Russia and from Scotland to Italy it caused millions of deaths over an extended number of years and marks a clear end to an earlier period of growth and prosperity during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Starting with bad weather in spring 1315, universal crop failures lasted through 1316 until summer harvest in 1317; Europe did not fully recover until 1322. It was a period marked by extreme levels of crime, disease, mass death and even cannibalism and infanticide. It had consequences for Church, State, European society and future calamities to follow in the fourteenth century. Motivated by all these crises, and surely stimulated by the blessing of powerful European financial corporations and influential confessional groups, Portugal discovered the Congo mouth in the late 15th century. Did the Portuguese discoveries play a part in Europe's development, thus making the future of the Europeans brilliant? Of course, it did! The proof is that the Portuguese had nicknamed

the capital city of the Congo Empire “*Sao Salvador do Congo*”, i.e. «Saint Savior» of the Congo.

It is extremely important that we pay attention to the ways of thinking and mental structures in force in Europe at the time of the Portuguese Discoveries, in order to discern and firmly denounce Europe’s present-day culture that is on the way to making the re-enslavement of Black peoples possible. In this connection, Mr. Francisco José Calazans Falcon (PUC-Rio)’s Article under the title “*A Cultura Renascentista Portuguesa*” in “*Revista Semear I*” is of much backing. *Inter alia* it reads: “the relations of the Portuguese Discoveries with the Renaissance humanism show that even though the Discoveries and Renaissance are contemporaries, it is about two mental universes different from one another. The Renaissance, in association with Humanism, is a movement that embraces men of letters, thinkers and artists – intellectuals broadly speaking. On the contrary, Discoveries were undertakings of men related to maritime activities – navigators, explorers, and merchants. It’s about mental attitudes, and ethical and aesthetic values that have nothing in common.” Unfortunately, the mental attitudes and ethical and aesthetic values that are dominating Europe in this early 21<sup>st</sup> century are those of the navigators, explorers, and merchants, which in the past made the Slave Trade possible. Dissenting voices of thinkers, men and women of letters, and of artists are being silenced or even killed on account of their outstanding humanism.

## 2.2. European Bankers' Greed as root cause of Portugal's Discoveries

It is little talked about and thus less known that the indescribable crises that devastated the whole of Europe in the 14th century, whether we like it or not, are but the direct results of the extreme greed and other predatory practices of the Lombard bankers, such as the houses of *Bardi* and *Peruzzi*, who created the general financial-economic breakdown-crisis known as the Fourteenth-Century «New Dark Age». In other words we are saying that the ongoing fall of the financial-monetary system we face on a planetary scale, results, in the same way, from the outrageous greed of the present-day greatest swindlers, i.e. the investment bankers who are following the footsteps of the barbarous Lombard bankers operating in the highest ranks of both private financial affairs and governments all over the world. The Western system of lunatic, characterized by speculative investment banking, has created, as a dominant form of essentially predatory financier interest, an intrinsically corrupt system that is now global in its effects. According to Lyndon H. LaRouche Jr., the crisis that came into view in 2008 and is still affecting European nations is, from its outset in 1968-1981, a general, global breakdown-crisis of the present IMF financial-monetary system in progress<sup>199</sup>. In «West hindering progress in Africa», an interview with Press TV on 3 May 2012, Mr. Douglas Degroot did mention the imminent collapse of IMF system, saying:

---

<sup>199</sup> See: «ECHOES OF THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF BARDI: Wall Street's New Dark Age», by Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., September 22, 2008.

“They don’t want strong nation-states anywhere in the world. It’s like why do they attack Iran or why do they attack Syria! They don’t want any nation-states around once this IMF system collapses because those nations then would link up with other nations like Russia and China and make a new system, probably.” Let us once more be remembered that that Fourteenth-Century «New Dark Age» caused by the Lombard bankers’ greed brought about Famine, wiped out half of the parishes of Europe, reduced Europe’s population by about one-third during a period of approximately a generation, and determined the Maritime Discoveries that ended up with the Slave Trade and Colonialism. It turns out that the effects of the early Twenty-first-Century breakdown-crisis are proving to be the same as those of the Fourteenth-Century «New Dark Age».

The present-day global crisis, just like the Fourteenth-Century’s, is first and foremost a crisis that is once again putting Europeans and Africans in a direct mortal confrontation. Since the violent effects of their greed are likely to breed the desire for vengeance within the European nations, the controlling force behind the bankers’ treasonous swindles must necessarily do its best to contain and channel the European rabbles’ fury and frustration towards the “savage” and “godless” dark beings of Africa, who are unjustifiably sitting on the soil of the immense lands whose natural riches are God-given gift intended for the sole “civilized” White race, i.e. God’s own children. It is not by chance that ever since the end of the Cold War in 1989, there is in the West an increasing contempt for human rights as far as Black people are concerned. Most western governments are already programming the minds of their respective

nations in order for them to look at Black people as valueless creatures. In other words, they are being prepared to look at the European-led extensive looting and vandalism taking place in Africa soon as a natural, hence a blameless phenomenon. We are expecting to see, or perhaps to see once again, the fierce and unrelenting attacks on African countries by terrifying European naval and air-fleets. As we saw on the previous pages, the US public figure who is saying in his book that African-Americans should be thankful they were once enslaved is also having a curious point of view on immigration issue, both legal and illegal. He believes it will lead to planned wars or extermination, and that, even though now this seems to be barbaric and uncivilized, it will at some point become as necessary as eating and breathing. Since the very European Union that is increasingly closing its borders to immigrants from the South proves to be the one whose member countries are inciting their citizens to immigrate, some of them going now as far as to African countries like Angola, Mozambique, etc., the question arises as to « what to expect from this European immigration to Africa? ». In this connection, there are two relevant questions the late Dr. John Henrik Clarke once asked Black people: 1) «How did we become a dependent people from an independent people?»; 2) «Are we ready for the 21st Century?» A brainy and vigorous Black lady subsequently answered the questions with one unique suggestion: “if Blacks had Guns Slavery would have never existed!” However, all the signs indicate that Whites and Blacks are going to have another direct mortal confrontation in Africa in the not too distant future. It is the greedy habits embedded as “tradition” within the pan-European Assembly and its acquired culture, which are the most likely source of its impulses

for the destruction of other nations that necessarily ends up with self-destruction.

Today, at a moment when the European Union members' economy is reeling from crisis to crisis, Europe is once again managing to put Portugal at the vanguard in its efforts to meet all its difficult social and economic challenges. Our well-founded fear of being a people once more kidnapped, thrown into ships' holds, enslaved and traded for goods or money lies here. The chief lesson that we draw from the past of Portugal at the vanguard in the efforts of Europe to overcome a set of crises, is that we had excessive sacrifices on one side (Africa) and privileges on the other (Europe). Thus, considering the European Union's visible readiness to solve the economic problems of its members at any cost nowadays, and given the EU's diplomatic expertise and military power likely to help it reach its goals at the expense of the African nations, we cannot help inviting the European Union's political leaders to ultimately come down on the right side of human rights and international law with respect to Africa. We would like to see and work shoulder to shoulder with EU leaders who understand Africa, who can be of much help in making the European-African couple function as well as it is required for the welfare of both Black and White continents. Europe and Africa, the two are from different cultural poles. Hence, this should be the time to begin to trust each other through a genuine spirit of frankness and to work together without any complexes of any nature, since the relationship between Africa and Europe is vital to the future of the World. In any event, the most urgent challenge facing Black people all over the world is to prevent the European Union's disguised tyranny from repeating in

Africa the terror and savageness of which Black peoples had been victims from the 15th century up to now, regardless of the relative break that had imposed itself by means of the Cold War in the 20th century. The fact of the matter is that if Africans on the Continent alongside those in the Diaspora cannot rise to this challenge, then, at least up to the end of this millennium, the worth of a Black person in the eyes of the European nations will be 7 times less than during the «Triangle Trade». Let us note that Black people's incapacity to stand up to this challenge would be a serious blow to all Asian countries, particularly the emerging ones. It is well-known that in any country of the world people easily fall asleep. Malcolm X once remarked: "the greatest mistake of the movement has been trying to organize a sleeping people around specific goals. You have to wake the people up first; then you will get action".

### 3. Western Wars under way for a New Partition of Africa

From the 16th century up to the 20th, the African continent was a stage of extremely tragic, complicated and generally fabricated conflicts. Often, such conflicts aggravated every time there were new European imperialist powers coming into Africa. Portugal was the first to enter Africa and, as it appears, from the 15th century to the beginning of the 17th Portugal in Africa had way on without a single European contender. Afterwards, with the arrivals of the Spanish, Dutch, French, Belgian and British, the whole situation deteriorated bit by bit. The increasing demand in Europe

of the commodities traded at that time such as ivory, leopard skins, exotic birds, tobacco and medicinal plants, packets of various seeds, diamonds and gold, etc., turned the most important African trading centers, like Cabinda, where all these Westerners met into extremely attractive locations, until these locations became source of violent conflicts among the European powers concerned. Ultimately, they also turned into the most important centers of the «Slave Trade». We all know about the fierce armed conflict between the Netherlands and Portugal that took place from 1600 onwards; we know about the violent conflict between the Portuguese and the British in 1700 and 1723; and we also know about the so devastating wars between Portugal and France in 1784 and, later, in 1883. All these tragic conflicts took place in Cabinda alone, where the new comer countries were each one challenging Portugal's imperial right to be in control of the kingdoms of Cacongo, Ngoio and Loango, which subsequently merged to become Cabinda from 1885.

This political climate turned Cabinda into an everlasting battlefield of competing interests in which numerous foreign European players were involved. The political, cultural and social, and material consequences of this hostile environment created by the European imperialist countries aforementioned cannot be thoroughly measured. Let us just say that since then the whole people of Cabinda and of the surrounding countries live in a continual psychological, social and political instability and insecurity. According to natives oral accounts, millions of people died. Most of these deaths were due to starvation (famine) or diseases that resulted from the recurrent wars. Million people from the Cabinda (Ngoio, Cacongo, and

Loango) Court, Administration, and Army perished in vain, and millions more had become internally displaced or had sought asylum in distant neighboring kingdoms. Most of the main cities of the Cabinda Kingdom had been totally destroyed. Of course, thanks to those costly and often savage wars, which had turned Cabinda into one of the most important slave suppliers, the warlike European countries interested eventually became the most resplendent ones that we admire nowadays. This, unfortunately, makes European people believe that their brilliance depends on their aggressiveness towards peoples of other races. However, European nations must be remembered that these conflicts that were then seen as of a certain faraway African regions, eventually ended up with the «*Peninsular War*» (1807-1814), WWI and WWII.

### 3.1. Actual «Lies» and Wars for a New Partition of Africa

«The mobilization of Western military involvement in Mali – allegedly to combat “al-Qaeda” and other so-called jihadist groups – is the new pretext for a neo-colonialist “Scramble for Africa”», the columnist Finian Cunningham is stating in an article published on 4 November 2012. Among other things the article also reads:

«France’s President François Hollande let it slip when, on a recent tour, he said, “Africa is the continent of the future” – alluding to the vast natural wealth of the world’s largest landmass and the economic importance that it holds for Western powers. During the 19th Century, the

leading European powers – Britain, France, Belgium, Germany and Italy – raced to grab territories across the African continent in what was then called the “Scramble for Africa”. Millions of Africans were killed or starved as the European armies rivaled each other to loot the immense resources. Back then, the European powers justified their criminal conquest and theft with a “civilizing mission” – the notion that the white man was bringing morality and democracy to backward black people. Today, such racist attitudes cannot be stated publicly. Another pretext for the conquest of Africa has to be found, with this time around the United States joining the Europeans. (...) The motivation is the same as during the colonial-era “Scramble for Africa”. It is to dominate African countries in order to exploit their natural wealth – this time under the seemingly noble guise of helping Africans to combat terrorism. For one thing, West Africa is seen as one of the new untapped oil regions of the world. It also has immense mineral wealth, from precious metals, such as gold and silver, to the raw material for nuclear energy, uranium. One of the alleged reasons for France’s animated concern about the region is the fate of six nationals held hostage in Mali by militants. Four of these nationals are reported to be employees of the French nuclear energy company, Areva. That fact alludes to the natural wealth that the Western powers are seeking to exploit in the region. But for political and legal reasons the Western powers cannot just pile into Africa in a naked venture of plunder. And this is where the alleged “terror threat” becomes a convenient cover for what is otherwise naked imperialism<sup>200</sup>».

---

<sup>200</sup> See full Cunningham’s article: <http://www.veteransnewsnow.com/2012/11/04/wests-scramble-for-africa-terror-pretext-in-mali/>

The concept «*Africa is the continent of the future*», which France's President François Hollande is quoted as saying, does not have the same meaning for Europeans and Africans. When this concept was first coined by the covetous Lombard bankers who had previously plunged the whole of Europe into the breakdown-crisis known as the Fourteenth-Century «New Dark Age» abovementioned, it had simply meant that “Africa” was the solution for the economic and social issues the European nations faced at the time. Since Africa was then looked at and publicized as the source of wealth and glory for the European nations, a huge financing for the Portuguese maritime discoveries eventually got the green light. It is obvious that, today no less than yesterday, the concept «*Africa is the continent of the future*» has the same meaning for the Europeans, inasmuch as Africa did indeed fulfill the hopes and needs of the European imperialist nations. So, today no less than yesterday, this concept connotes a European-led terror in Africa to violently deprive Black peoples of our natural wealth and resources, of our livelihood activities and sources of income, of our happiness and prosperity, forcing thus our Black children to have an extremely hard life while granting European children the right to live in accordance with human dignity. Just like in the 15th and 19th centuries, the European leaders are once again showing their respective countries' deep-rooted and institutionalized racist attitudes. Well before the justice and peace-loving columnists like Cunningham in this early 21st century, there had been righteous men and women in Europe both in the 15th and 19th centuries who voiced their opposition against Europe's barbarous Africa policy. «*Velho do Restelo*» is a “fictional” character created by Luís Vaz de Camões in Canto IV (94-97) of

his work *Os Lusíadas*<sup>201</sup>. The *Velho do Restelo* symbolizes all those who had warned that Portugal's maritime undertaking mainly determined by an inveterate greed and the search for fame and notoriety had exceedingly disastrous consequences. In fact, he symbolizes the Conservatives, pessimists and reactionaries who did not believe in the success of the epic of the Portuguese discoveries and did not endorse it. Sadly, all *Velho do Restelo*'s warnings and criticism did not prevent avaricious interest groups to lead the European powers to the criminal conquest and theft whose psychological, physical, political, social, and economic effects Africans are still experiencing. Millions of Black women and children were killed or starved as the European armies rivaled each other to loot the immense resources; millions of innocent Black men and women were dumped into the sea like pieces of rubber; and millions others enslaved on the American continent. As we all know the European nations justified their satanic undertaking with a "civilizing mission". This concept was then publicized and understood in Europe that the White man was bringing morality and civilization to savage people, i.e. the Black people.

In the late 20th century "democracy and human rights", which has theoretically justified the European powers' evil policies in Africa, have proved to be as

---

<sup>201</sup> *Os Lusíadas* or "The Lusíadas" is a Portuguese epic poem by Luís Vaz de Camões. Written in Homeric fashion, the poem focuses mainly on a fantastical interpretation of the Portuguese voyages of discovery during the 15th and 16th centuries. The work is regarded as Portugal's national epic, much in the way as Virgil's Aeneid was for the Ancient Romans, as well as Homer's Iliad and Odyssey for the Ancient Greeks. It was first printed in 1572, a few years after the author returned from the Indies.

falsehood as the 15th and 19th centuries “civilizing mission”. Since outrageous «Lies» prove to be the real stamp of Europe’s cultural identity from the 15th century so far, Africans all over the world must grasp once and for all the evident fact that, as far as Africa is concerned, no longer will European powers contribute to the fulfillment of international order of justice and peace. In the 19th and in the early 20th century, courageous leftist men and women across Europe stood up for justice and freedom on behalf of all peoples around the world oppressed and exploited by the European imperialist powers. Those fearless European leftist men and women did indeed represent the future hopes and aspirations of the utterly abased peoples of the so-called «Third World», in particular Black people. Today, with the exception of particular personalities whose number is getting smaller all the time, European left-wing parties no longer dare to raise their voices in opposition and stand their ground in the face of the imperialist powers’ evil practices in Africa. There have been left-wing governments in all European countries whose imperialistic policies are in force since the 15th and 17th centuries. And yet, none of all these governments dared to lay the foundations of the so needed relationship between Europe and Africa based on genuine fairness and mutual respect. How come? Africans must realize that it is no longer in the interest of the European left-wing parties to stand out against the murderous practices of imperialists in Africa, for the mere reason that imperialist powers have managed to meet their challengers’ demands with an inexplicit condition – we agree to abide by your demands with regard to our fellow European citizens, provided that you (leftists) stop denouncing the way we (imperialists) conduct our business in Africa. Thankfully, some of the

British, French and German Newspapers pre and post-Berlin-Congo Conference Dr. Elfi Bendikat bravely brought us in her priceless book *«Imperialistische Interessenpolitik und Konfliktregelung 1884/85»* are of much assistance, inasmuch as they show evidence of the righteousness of the left-wing movements in the 19th century and help us perceive the serious threat such righteousness did represent to “Western eagles” who regarded and still regard Africa as a simple “carcass”. The following two articles of the year 1884 not only are exposing Western Capitalists’ «LIES» and the genocidal nature of their businesses in Africa, but also underscoring their respective countries’ being in need of a new moral compass on issues regarding Africa and its natives. Back then, in the eyes of the European left-wing parties, as the articles show, the interest of the working classes of Western Europe in the disgraceful exploitation of Africa is one with all the nations suffering under capitalist aggression. Leftists did in fact urge working classes of Western Europe to boldly champion the cause of the “poor savages”, against the commercial classes with their bibles and bayonets, so they could eventually shake the tyranny by which they themselves were bound at home.

«”We invite traders, merchants, and manufacturers from all parts of the world to bring their products and exchange them for the native products of this fertile land, where no custom’s tariff, no factory acts, or other obstructive regulations impede that full freedom of trade which is a necessity for the well-being of capitalist.” Such in brief was the speech delivered last week by Mr. Henry M. Stanley (77) before the “city fathers.” He was advertising the International Congo Association, a society of capitalists which has been formed without consideration of creed or

nationality to exploit the Congo territory. More capital is required, and hence H. M. Stanley's presence in the City of London. How the mouths of those present watered at the idea of the promised profits! Already the capitalist is at work, so some estimate could be formed of what results might be expected. Last year the imports into the Congo territory had been over a million Sterling, while two millions worth of commodities had been exported to Europe. Mr. Stanley did not explain how the balance of exports, amounting to over a million Sterling, had been paid for, so the natives are already being exploited at the rate of cent per cent! The capitalist, who is early in the field, gets no inadequate reward for his foresight. Capitalists, however, are nothing if not moral, they prefer having legal sanction to their robbery, so the messenger of good tidings went on to tell them of treaties made with native chieftains, and grants of land which had been obtained. Everything had been done with due regard to the requirements of commercial morality. But what treaty is possible between savages and a body of men armed with all the appliances of modern warfare, those who remember treaties with the Indians in North America, and Stanley's shameful murders on former expeditions, will fully understand. Mr. Samuel Morley expressed his entire satisfaction at what he had heard, but hoped that precautions would be taken to exclude drink which had so often destroyed savage communities. Drink renders men incapable of work. Another gentleman, owing perhaps to his good dinner, rather forgot his role. It is all very well to be philanthropic, he said, but business first; we are nothing if not commercial. And so with much congratulation it was agreed that the Congo should be exploited, and forthwith all the adulterations of Manchester and Birmingham are to be forced on these unhappy savages. Another race is to be

consigned to the destruction which has blotted out the native races of America, Australia, and other parts of Africa. The natives of the Congo will be reduced to a real if not a nominal slavery under the cruel pressure of capitalist production. What interests have the working classes of England in this disgraceful exploitation? The only result to them will be that they will be harder worked by their masters to produce goods for this new market, while their wages will remain as before, at subsistence point. The interest of the workers is one with all these nations suffering under capitalist aggression. Let them boldly champion the cause of these poor savages, against the commercial classes with their bibles and bayonets, and they will shake the tyranny by which they themselves are bound at home. Socialists, at any rate, as they have protested against the exploitation of India, the robbery of Egypt, and all oppression of native races, again raise their voices against this invasion of the Congo territory, this destruction of the happiness of thousands of human beings for the greed of a class» – *“Justice” of 27 September 1884*<sup>202</sup>».

«It is written that where the carcass is, there shall the eagles be gathered together. If we are to judge from certain flights and movements, Africa may at this moment be regarded as a “vile body”, on which an assembly of politic birds of prey are preparing to sit down and make a comfortable meal. From various quarters

---

<sup>202</sup> Mr. Bodley Frost's article «The Invasion of the Congo» published in the Socialist Newspaper “Justice” on 27 September 1884, that is on the eve of the 1884/85 Berlin Congo Conference, is reproduced in Dr. Elfi Bendikat's work «*Imperialistische Interessenpolitik und Konfliktregelung 1884/85*», Wissenschaftlicher Autoren-Verlag (WAV), Berlin 1985, pp. 172-174.

there have come intimations that there is another Conference in the wind, and that the opening up of the Congo and other West African streams to navigation is the object which, in this case, the assembled wisdom of Europe will endeavor to secure. But from sources that would be beyond all suspicion, were there genuine inspiration in proportion to the air of authority – that is, from the press of Paris, Berlin, and Vienna – we learn that there is much more in the Congo Conference than meets the eye. It is a sign and an outcome of the new and ardent national affection that has sprung up between France and Germany. It is the signal of the Republic's admission as a member of the political system that gravitates around the Empire. It is the first installment of revenge for Egypt, and the reproof valiant, if not the countercheck quarrelsome, to Earl Granville for his "incivility" at the London Conference. In a word, the agreement between M. Ferry and Prince Bismarck as to the basis of the colonizing and trading policy to be pursued on the West Coast of Africa was to be the beginning of the end of Britain's commercial greatness; the secret design of the eagles was not only to pick bare the bones of Africa, but to flesh their beaks in England's Colonial Empire. These were startling reports. They were also very silly and incredible reports, to any one acquainted with West African affairs, and the extent to which Great Britain's interest and prestige were likely to be affected by "commercial liberty" in that or any other region. But the people who set them afloat are no better burdened with information that they are with scruples, and some of them seemed to have believed, and took evident pleasure in the belief, that a Conference on the Congo would be a blow to this country that would redress the balance of international influence in Africa disturbed by our presence on the Nile.

«The publication of the dispatches in the French Yellow-book ought to go a long way in dispelling, so far as this country is concerned, the hopes and the fears formed on the preliminary rumors and comments regarding the Congo Conference. Into that part of the question which bears on the real objects of Prince Bismarck and the real interests of France, it may not be profitable to enter in any detail. The Chancellor's complacency towards the African enterprises of his neighbors across the Rhine has been amazing, to the point of being suspicious. He has done everything in his power to "oil the ways" by which France is to be launched into the center of Africa. He has humored M. Ferry to the top of his bent, which, at the present moment, appears to be the manufacture and expansion of a French Colonial Empire. The Prince has even been at pains to furnish his new friends with the encouragement of example. A German man-of-war, with an Imperial Commissioner on board, has been engaged for some months past snapping up here and there the unconsidered trifles of native territory on the West Coast which other maritime nations had overlooked. In the language of the Stock Exchange it was bulling the international market for African colonial territory; and the anxiety to annex and expand naturally spread all around. Great Britain and Portugal had concluded a treaty, under which there was to be on the one hand a de facto recognition of the territorial claims of the Portuguese on the Lower Congo, and on the other arrangements for keeping open the river for international commerce, and the fixing of a comparatively low scale of tariff charges. The treaty was to be conditional on the assent of the other European Powers; and Prince Bismarck lost no time in "putting down his foot on it". That was a proceeding which, in the circumstances, was pretty certain to be gratifying to the French. But the

Imperial Chancellor was prepared to go a good deal further. At interviews with Baron de Courcel at Varzin he congratulated the French Ambassador on the fresh creations of “neighborly relations” between the two countries arising out of their recent acts of occupation and annexation on the West African coast. The teachings of experience have been that the “neighborly relations” of two European Powers in a foreign and uncivilized region are apt to develop un-neighborly relations between them in Europe. But there can be no danger on that score between France and Germany so long as Prince Bismarck remains in his present humor. He has explained that “the extension of colonial possessions forms no part of Germany’s policy”, his only aim being “to secure to German commerce access to Africa at points heretofore independent of the dominion of other European Powers”. Should any of the German occupations already affected in these regions “interfere with the rights and the policy of France, it is not”, says the Prince, “our intention to maintain them”. Germany’s part, in short, is to offer “accommodation” to France in any African enterprise or adventure which M. Ferry may choose to undertake.

«Never in diplomacy was known a more tender and indulgent regard than Prince Bismarck has in this instance manifested, not only for the interests, but for the little vanities and susceptibilities of the French nation; he has gone beyond the Scriptural injunction, and done for his neighbor more than he would wish done for himself. So lavish have been the proofs of his goodwill that some people in Paris have begun to suspect that there may be a selfish or even hostile design hidden under it all; as *Le Temps* (Newspaper) remarks, “Germany has been getting too fond of us”. However that may be, there need be little hesitation in expressing hearty approval, in a general

sense, of the more important principles which Germany and France, after an interchange of views, have agreed it will be for their common interest to apply to African commerce, and which they propose to recommend to the other nations concerned therein. The first of those principles is to extend to the Congo and other West African streams not already under European control, arrangements for free navigation similar to those which have been put in force with such good results on the Danube and other "international" streams. It is explained that by "the regime of commercial liberty" is to be understood "free access for all flags and the interdiction of all monopoly or differential treatment". It would not exclude "taxes which might be levied as compensation for expenses advantageous to commerce". Interpreting these words in their plain sense, there seems no reason, so far as concerns the Congo, why this country should not frankly agree to the application of the principle of "international control" on that river. It is an arrangement not unattended by danger. But we have the fact that France has already established a footing on the upper waters; that in the same region the International Association, acting under the stimulus of Mr. Stanley's enterprising genius, has founded a kind of commercial State, with prospects of incalculable expansion; and that the Portuguese and others have put forward claims to the lower portion of the river. If all these present and prospective difficulties could be removed by an international arrangement, securing the future free navigation of this great stream to all flags, a great work would be done for African civilization, and also for British commerce. The object now sought is, in fact, that which Lord Granville had in view in negotiating the Congo Treaty with Portugal; his desire and his first proposal was to establish an International Board, on the

model of the Danubian Commission; and he accepted an Anglo-Portuguese Board and a modified tariff, not as the best arrangement, but as the best he could get. Why France and Germany should take the lead in establishing for the behalf of the black men of the Congo a “regime of commercial liberty” which they deny to their own subjects does not plainly appear; still harder is it to see how the expectations of the scribes of Paris and Vienna are to come to pass, and Britain’s commercial downfall date from the extension of Britain’s policy of free trade. This country may freely enter into the Conference, provided some explanations and guarantees can be obtained beforehand. As France proposes to exclude from “the application of the regime of commercial liberty her colonial establishments of the Gabon, Guinea, and of Senegal”, there will, of course, be no thought of an international interference with those parts of the West Coast that are under our control and protection, and which are, besides, already in the enjoyment of the regime in question. Practically, if not formally, the lower Niger is under British control; British enterprise explored the region and developed its resources; and its commerce is still almost wholly in the hands of British traders and protected by the British flag. There does not seem any reason why international control should be extended to the Niger, the free navigation of which is already amply guaranteed. Let the experiment be made with the Congo; and then we shall be able to judge how far, and with what prospects of success, the principle may be extended» – “*The Scotsman*” of 16 October 1884<sup>203</sup>.

---

<sup>203</sup> See: «*Imperialistische Interessenpolitik und Konflikte 1884/85*», Wissenschaftlicher Autoren-Verlag (WAV), by Dr. Elfi Bendikat, Berlin 1985, pp. 77-80.

The fact of the matter is that only in Europe leftists' struggle for a set of social rights in any country of the world where imperialists run businesses had been crowned with success. True organized system of state welfare provision was introduced in most European countries in the early 20th century, thanks to the political campaigns of the European leftists against the insatiable greed of the European imperialist powers across the globe. Thus came into being what we call «Social security», which refers to the action programs of government intended to promote the welfare of the population through assistance measures guaranteeing access to sufficient resources for food and shelter and to promote health and wellbeing for the whole population and potentially vulnerable segments such as children, the elderly, the sick and the unemployed. Since the European left-wing parties were the ones that stood up against Imperialism and Colonialism and for the same social rights on behalf of African peoples, the major African liberation movements could not help but embrace left-wing ideas. During the liberation struggles in Africa, both African leaders and their European left-wing partners led African people to believe that independent African countries would grant their respective peoples the same social rights as in “Europe”, which is not happening so far. Did the socialist President of France, in this instance François Mitterrand, invalidate the «Colonial Pact» that has been put in place by General de Gaulle, which we know is totally compromising African countries' economic development? So far as we know the brave socialist Mitterrand has done nothing. Is France's current left-wing President François Hollande going to

restore fairness in his country's relationship with Africa, so that countries like Mali can also have social security such as social insurance, retirement pensions, disability insurance, unemployment insurance, and basic security such as food, clothing, housing, education, money, and medical care, all this thanks to Mali's invaluable natural resources? Not only European left-wing parties have long since stopped denouncing imperialists' criminal practices in Africa but they have even become inveterate imperialistic actors themselves!

Is there a difference between the right-wing-led political and military interventions in Africa in the 19th century and the left-wing-led ones in the 21st? Unlike most European left-wing parties of the 19th century which considered the interests of the working classes of the West to be similar to those of all nations suffering under capitalist aggression, left-wing parties of the 21st century are considering the interests of their respective countries' working classes to be the same as those of the oppressive white imperialist society. In January 2013, the leftist President of France, François Hollande, decided to head a very strong military intervention in Mali, one of his country's former colonies in Africa. In the past, interventions of this kind were undertaken in the name of the sadly famous «civilizing mission» that ended up with a series of crimes against humanity, crimes which the «civilizing powers» remain unwilling to sanction so far. With regard to the French latest military intervention in Mali, R. Teichmann's article published on 18 January 2013 under the title «French Lies: The War on Mali is about Uranium, Gold, Petroleum, and Strategic Minerals», sheds light over the imperialistic

nature of the present-day European left-wing parties<sup>204</sup>. Has President François Hollande become one of those European commercial classes who, more than hundred years ago, wholeheartedly went to Africa in order to “civilize its savage dark beings” with their bibles and bayonets? We see no difference at all. Just like in the past, European imperialists are heading military interventions in Africa with reasons others than those displayed by their media outlets. How is President Hollande justifying his war in Mali, which, in the eyes of most awake observers, is just an effort to secure and prolong the plundering of that country’s natural resources? In an article published on 15 January 2013, France’s President F. Hollande is quoted as saying: “We will continue the deployment of forces on the ground and in the air. We have one goal. To ensure that when we leave, when we end our intervention, Mali is safe; has legitimate authorities, an electoral process and there are no more terrorists threatening its territory.” Does France really care for the “savage people” of Mali to the extent of sending its troops to die for them? If France cared for the “savage dark Beings” of its former colonies in Africa there would be in countries like Congo-Brazzaville and Gabon no living conditions lower than those of Paris thanks to these African countries’ natural resources, particularly oil. In this connection, Ms. Emira Woods, co-Director of Foreign Policy in Focus at the Institute for Policy Studies, is rightfully drawing international community’s attention

---

<sup>204</sup> «French Lies: The War on Mali is about Uranium, Gold, Petroleum, and Strategic Minerals», by R. Teichmann, published on 18 January 2013; Related link: <http://thesantosrepublic.com/2013/french-lies-the-war-on-mali-is-about-uranium-gold-petroleum-and-strategic-minerals/>

to the core of the root causes of such crises in Africa. In her pertinent interview with «Democracy Now» on 18 January 2013, among other things she said, we quote:

“So, I think, clearly, looking at the root causes of crises and trying to address concerns, particularly from people who are feeling marginalized, communities that have vast resources on their land but are suffering from complete economic isolation and political isolation – I think we have to address these root causes. We cannot meet extremists where they are, you know, through bombings and military attacks. We have to address issues of extremism, of militarism, of insurgencies, by looking at economic opportunities in places that are long marginalized, looking at political expressions for people who have long not had a voice. It cannot only be interests in sort of economic resources and military might to secure access to those resources. (...) You know, those who are opposed to the French, the longtime colonizers in the region, you know, have seized this as an opportunity to express their anti-French and anti-Western sentiments. Those who are concerned about issues of sovereignty and independence of the region are seizing this opportunity. But, you know, essentially, what happened in Mali began with the expression of people for greater self-determination. This did not have anything to do with al-Qaeda or al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. So, we cannot oversimplify. We have to look at the root causes of these crises and look to not, you know, only military interventions, but really long-term political measures, political negotiations, and actually looking at long-term issues that will bring peace, that will bring a rebuilding of a social fabric that’s been torn apart in the region in a

number of ways. And so, I think we have to begin to pay attention to those broader comprehensive measures<sup>205</sup>.”

### 3.2. European Conflicts in Africa cannot help leading to WWII

Since the 15th century up to now, the European imperialist powers have not ceased looking at the countries and peoples of the African continent as mere lands and “savage dark Beings” meant to be either occupied or controlled by a “civilized State”, i.e. Western European State. We must not hesitate to have recourse to Dr. Bendikat’s invaluable work once again in order for us to fully agree with the fact that the relationship between the European Union Member States with African States is regretfully governed by the culture of the pre-WWI international law, i.e. the worshiped and glorified racist and bloodthirsty culture. Talking about Europe’s continual military interventions in Africa, Jorge Silva, one of our lettered Facebook friends from Portugal justly said, we quote: “Westerners never learn from the mistakes made in the past”. This should be looked at as Westerners’ curse, nothing less than that. It is indisputable that the European conflicts in Africa lead inevitably to World Wars. Yet, while the following excerpts from Dr. Bendikat’s work give us a clear picture about the

---

<sup>205</sup> See: «Unintended Consequences of Military Intervention: Roots of Mali, Algeria Crisis Tied to Libya War» is Ms. Emira Woods’ interview with Amy Goodman & Juan González/Democracy Now, 18 January 2013; Related link: [http://www.democracynow.org/2013/1/18/unintended\\_consequences\\_of\\_military\\_intervention\\_roots](http://www.democracynow.org/2013/1/18/unintended_consequences_of_military_intervention_roots).

European social, political, military, and psychological atmosphere that antecede WWI and WWII, the European post-Cold War political and military undertakings in Africa, which connote radical disagreements likely to end up with a world war, are there to confirm that the European deep-rooted racist and egocentric nature cannot prevent the tragedy that is waiting to happen. To remove all possible causes of conflict in Africa, it is required that the rights of the “uncivilized peoples” of Africa and those of the “civilized States” involved be once and for all defined in the light of the post-WWII international law. Just like in the past, the European imperialist powers first trigger conflicts that creates disorder in African countries; afterwards, they turn to the world public opinion and say: “given the striking absence of any native rule, the whole trade of the region, as well as the measure of peace and order the region can enjoy must be the creation of the civilized State’s enterprise and public spirit.” Even though this comes into view as a self-made “green light” to subjugate the peoples of the countries concerned and to plunder their natural resources, the collision between this devilish effort and the prominence of universal human values cannot help having catastrophic results. And we should consider, on the top of that, the fact that every single European imperialist power is not at peace with itself and with fellow imperialists.

Ever since the eve of the “General Act of the Berlin Conference of 1884-85”, the whole people of the Congo basin live in a continual political instability and insecurity with millions of men and women slaughtered. History shows us clearly that the natives of the Congo basin are victims of unrest and wars every time that new powers come to contend for a place in the region. That is exactly

what has been happening since the first bloody conflicts between Portugal and fellow European nations in the early 17th century. Lessons learned from prior experiences permit us to claim that as long as Cabinda is under the colonial rule of no matter which country there will be neither political stability and security nor democratic order and integral development in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in the Republic of the Congo, in Angola, in Gabon as well as in Cabinda. Countries such as China, India, Iran, Brazil, Israel, Australia and Russia are in the region nowadays. So there must necessarily be some political and ideological frictions between the old players (imperialists) and the new challengers. And let us remark that protagonists of the 1955 Bandung Conference are profusely listed among the newcomers in the Congo region. Can the increasingly presence and role of China, India, Iran, and Russia in Africa be viewed with indifference by the pan-European Assembly? Not possible as long as Westerners' Egos remain stubborn to the extent of disregarding the truth according to which "Love conquers all". We see evidence of this in the Western countries' effort to curb the economic collapse of Europe by means of a military control of the African natives' natural wealth and resources, as seems to be the case in Libya, Mali, soon Algeria, and so on and so forth. The 1884/85 Berlin-Congo Conference is considered by the European columnists at the time as being "the first time that Europe has acted as the supreme political force in the world, and has claimed the right to distribute territories and peoples in her own interest and for the good of mankind". Yet, despite the effort of the Western imperialist powers to portray the «Conference of Berlin» to their respective nations as the expression of the full understanding among

them, it must be recognized that such understanding was quite simply delusive inasmuch as it did not prevent WWI and WWII. In our modest opinion, Western powers' current scramble for African raw materials cannot help leading into wars and confrontations between Westerners themselves, just like their scramble for the Congo Basin in the late 19th century did. Worse, Mr. Stanley continues to shine as an irreplaceable guru in the eyes of the Western politicians then and now! In this connection, the following excerpt from «The Daily News» of 19 September 1884 *inter alia* remarks: “Of all living men Mr. Stanley is of course the most qualified to speak with authority on the present condition and future prospects of the Congo Valley”.

«The Congo, its history, development, and future commercial prospects were the very interesting subjects on which Mr. Henry M. Stanley discoursed yesterday afternoon, at the Cannon-street Hotel, before a very large, a singularly enthusiastic, and important assembly convened under the auspices of the London Chamber of Commerce. Whatever the country may think of the views propounded by Mr. Stanley there can be no doubt whatever that they have produced a profound impression upon the headquarters of the world's commercial financial enterprise, the City of London. We have no doubt, however, that the famous explorer's general statement will find ready acceptance, not only in England, but wherever the ideas of free trade, liberty, and progress are appreciated. The unique enterprise upon which the International African Association – represented at yesterday's meeting by its most distinguished member – is engaged is the opening up, under certain conditions, of the richest and one of the most populous region of Africa

to the free trade of all nations. The conditions may be briefly described as providing for the exclusion of foreign intrigue and for the protection of the native communities concerned from such unscrupulous adventures as have caused the degradation and the ruin of the less civilized races throughout the world. As Mr. Stanley would say, no trader, no missionary, no sportsman, no traveller, should be permitted to pursue his avocations in the International territory, without, in the first place, furnishing the Association – or, as it will soon be, the State, with satisfactory guarantees as to his character and purposes. Of course, any one may at a glance anticipate any number of objections which might be started under this particular condition. In some of its details the program of the International Association may very possibly be open to criticism. This is only what may be said of the most perfect system of administration in the world.

«Of all living men Mr. Stanley is of course the most qualified to speak with authority on the present condition and future prospects of the Congo Valley. He is the first European who has fully explored that vast tract of country. His first acquaintance with it was made in the years 1874-77. Just before the end of his journey and his return to Europe several schemes for commercial enterprise in Inner Africa were being started. One of these was the International African Association, of which the king of the Belgians was president, and which in 1878 commissioned Mr. Stanley to return to the Congo and prosecute his researches. The general objects which this Association had in view were the suppression of the slave trade, and the free exchange of products between the Congo nations and the rest of the world. The natives had every confidence in the European Mission. Their chiefs

actively supported the new pioneer of civilization to whom they ceded – on behalf of the association whose representative he was – very extensive territorial rights. “We dispatched”, said Mr. Stanley, “agents along both banks of the river from Stanley Pool down to Nokki, and secured the Governorship and the right to say who should come into the land; the right to barter, to trade, to cultivate, to mine, and so forth, for the Association and its clients”. The result was the establishment of the Association’s authority up to a point, on the Congo River, more than 1,400 miles from the sea. The Association’s work has been maintained by the interest derived from a capital of half a million sterling, subscribed by merchants and others in England, France, Germany, Italy, America, and other countries. The lands ceded have been paid for. The chiefs draw regular stipends from the society, and one hundred of them have been pensioned. But it must be understood that the Association is not a trading company, like the old East India Company, for example. It is merely an international society, charging itself with the maintenance of domestic order in, and the foreign relations of, the vast territories which it has acquired. To the rest of the world it says, again to quote Mr. Stanley, “We invite you freely, come in and possess the land; come with your cottons and woolen stuffs... and trade freely, without fear of annoyance from customs and exactions... We will guarantee the peace between you, and all your agreements we shall see are religiously kept”. In other words this Association, though not representing any country in particular, but being composed of members from the principal nations of the world, claims to be a State. It has its State flag, which has been formally recognized by the American Republic and by France. A constitution for this unique State is in

course of formation. Police and other regulations are being elaborated, and in the course of a short time the “Congo Free State” may begin its career.

«The best proof of the success of this new experiment in State organization is the fact that the Congo trade has been quadrupled since the society began its work. But there are some obstacles yet to be overcome. We can scarcely feel sure that so backward a Government as that of Portugal, with which the English Cabinet have lately concluded a treaty on the navigation of the Congo, will refrain from putting unfair obstructions in the path of the new Association. We already know how on the strength of having discovered the Congo mouth just four hundred years ago the representatives of Portugal would claim almost the whole of the Congo Valley. The Portuguese never settled in the country. Their acquisitions in the interior were what Mr. Stanley calls “local” and private. And they have done absolutely nothing to develop the resources of those splendid lands. Their power, when not positively obstructive, is crumbling into decay. The Portuguese are no doubt Christians, but politically they are the Turks of the West. It is to be hoped, however, that the recent treaty may prove sufficient to protect European goods from transit dues and the other forms of suicidal extortion which have been prevalent in South Western Africa ever since the Portuguese landed there. The Portuguese possessions extend along the Congo River to a place called Nokki, upwards of a hundred miles from the mouth of the stream. It is along this section of the river – at the end of which the Association’s territories begin, and from which they stretch for upwards of one thousand three hundred miles – that the risk of commercial obstruction may be apprehended. In this

great tract, varying from twenty to four hundred miles in breadth, the International Association has, as yet, established only forty-three stations. In fact the Association appears to have reached the utmost limit to which it can proceed, without the help of a railway. The Congo River is navigable for large vessels throughout the first 110 miles of its course; then follows the cataract region, measuring 235 miles. It is proposed to turn it by a railway. From the upper terminus of this line, the Congo is navigable for 1,000 miles; but counting its affluent there are, from this same terminus, 3,000 miles of navigable river altogether.» – “The Daily News” of 19 September 1884<sup>206</sup>.

«The proposed Conference of the Powers interested in the commerce and colonization of West Africa has not yet advanced beyond the initiatory stages. The invitation of Germany has been favorably received by France and other Governments, but England has abstained from accepting it without further consideration and inquiry. The official dispatches published yesterday at Paris, in a Yellow Book, disclose the ostensible grounds of international action, and they are such as, within proper limits, may be unreservedly and cordially approved. In fact, if it were intended that the Conference, as it was at first assumed, would be called upon to deal principally with the questions arising out of the unsettled state of the regions bordering on the Congo, and to define the claims of Germany, France and other States to territorial rights

---

<sup>206</sup> See: *«Imperialistische Interessenpolitik und Konfliktregelung 1884/85»*, Wissenschaftlicher Autoren-Verlag (WAV), by Dr. Elfi Bendikat, Berlin 1985, pp. 170-172.

on various parts of the West African Coast, the principles indicated in the proposals of Prince Bismarck would meet with general acceptance. The preservation of equal rights and complete freedom of commerce for the traders of all nations was the object aimed at by the British Government in the abortive negotiations with Portugal for the settlement of the Congo question. Wherever the British flag flies trade is free to all comers; French or German merchants have the same advantages as Englishmen, neither less nor more, throughout all our African possessions. As much cannot be said for the dominions in that part of the world of any other European Power! France, in particular, is as exclusive in her commercial policy on the Senegal and the Gabon as in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. British commerce seeks only a fair field and no favor, and if an international compact be possible, securing those conditions in all parts of the African continent not yet occupied or controlled by any civilized State, we have no reason to dread the consequences or to shrink from an open competition – though not more open than that we freely concede to all under our undisputed rule – in which we are well able to hold our own. It must not be forgotten that when the Anglo-Portuguese treaty fell to the ground, the British Government immediately took steps to obtain the co-operation of the Powers in reviving that part of the abortive settlement which originally aimed at placing the navigation and commerce of the Congo under the control of an international commission. (...) It is necessary, however, to observe that the German proposals now embrace not only the Congo, but the Niger. That the two cases stand on the same level cannot be admitted. The diplomatic history of the Congo controversy shows that it was entirely owing to the intervention of England alone

that the pretensions of Portugal to sovereignty over the mouth and the banks of the Congo were prevented from growing into a strict monopoly which would have practically excluded the commerce of all other civilized Powers. (...) To place the Congo under an international commission would be a step in advance, when we take into account the uncertainty of the rights and the imperfections of the powers of the Portuguese Government, the competition among traders of different nations, the absence of any organized native rule, and the rivalry in the interior of Mr. Stanley's Association and M. De Brazza's adventures. To put the Niger under the same kind of control would be as clearly a step backwards. There would be, so far as we can see, no more excuse for it than for demanding international intervention to regulate freedom of trade at the Cape of Good Hope or in Natal. Although the country at the mouth of the Niger, as we have said, has not been formally annexed by England – and it is perhaps to be regretted that the step has been so long delayed – it is clear that the whole trade of that region, as well as the measure of peace and order it enjoys, is the creation of English enterprise and public spirit» – “The Times” of 15 October 1884<sup>207</sup>.

«We do not see why the English Government or people should take umbrage at Prince Bismarck's summons of a Congress, to settle the position of the European States on the Congo and the Niger. Those affairs want settling, and the action of Germany cannot be dictated either by enmity to England, or friendship to France. Prince Bismarck is looking out for German interests, as he

---

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., pp. 129-132.

always is, and as is his primary duty to do. He is not going to “annex” either the Congo or the Niger, or to plant colonies upon either river, or to do anything except secure right of access for his traders, and a share probably in the right of levying duties; and in securing those things he must also secure them for Great Britain. He is struggling to acquire trade advantages, and desires entrance to savage regions, where trade, though irregular, is profitable, but finds that England and France and Portugal have been beforehand with him. They possess all the available commanding spots except those upon the great West African river systems, which may be malarial and savage, but open up immense and hitherto unexplored territories. The French threaten to occupy much of the Congo, and do occupy much of the Niger system – for these are not merely rivers, but groups of rivers, hands, as it were, each ending in a wrist – and the Prince’s reflection is of this kind. Where the English are the Germans can go. The Germans trade on the Thames and the Hooghly as freely as on the Rhine, as freely as Englishmen do, and have nothing to complain of, except a certain want of prestige and place in native eyes. Where, however, the French go the Germans cannot go. They are shut out by preferential duties, and are, besides, treated with disrespect. It is better to place German rights beyond controversy, and the best way to do this will be to call a Congress, and place the two great rivers under an International Commission, which shall perform police duties, and levy the taxes needful for the protection of the rivers, and see that no State shuts out the rest of the world by exorbitant protective duties, and, in fact, be to the rivers what a paramount Power would be. Therefore Prince Bismarck, having great ascendancy in Paris, and being on intimate terms with Great Britain, calls a

Conference to sit in Berlin, and settle the government of the two rivers, and the formalities which shall indicate that a European Power has taken possession of any territory on their banks, the theory being evidently that in West Africa natives have no political rights.

«We see no reason to object. Prince Bismarck cannot propose to hand over the territories drained by the Congo and the Niger to France for, if he did, he would exclude German trade; and he cannot propose to annex them himself, for he would be outvoted by France and Britain; and what other proposals can do us any mischief? We do not want new territorial right on those rivers. Beyond a depot or two, where we may store produce and set up factories in safety, and afford asylum to our friends, we have no wish for territorial acquisitions. We have too much of West Africa already, too many places to guard, too many black kingdoms to control, too many “colonies”, – that is, petty dependencies – to protect, and retain under some sort of civilized order. What we wish for is a really free trade, quiet entrance to the great rivers and the ports on their banks without obstruction, without fighting, and without the payment of exceptional duties. Internationalization would secure us all these things so completely, that we venture to say, if this is as is rumored the scheme to be adopted, Great Britain will in five years possess all the profitable trade upon the Congo and the Niger. The International Commission would control piloting, lights, quarantine, and all the other matters which afford such excellent pretexts for taxation, would prevent piracy, would stop fighting within shore, and would, in fact, turn the two rivers, as a similar commission now turns the Danube into arms of the sea. We could wish nothing better for trade purposes; for even

if Germany, and France, and Italy, and Holland, and Portugal occupy territories and call them colonies, and make wild expeditions into the interior that, if the rivers are free, is all our gain. Nothing can be better for a maritime and trading people than the conquest of a savage state by a civilized one, for a new and safe market is opened at once, just as it was at Saigon. All that is necessary is free access, and this is precisely what internationalization secures, as Lord Granville perceived when he proposed to make the Portuguese Government, as a powerless Power, the International Commissioner of the Congo. That was exactly his proposition, defeated by the jealousy of the French, and it is not the least the worse because it has been taken up by a negotiator of whom the French are afraid. If, indeed, we possessed great territories on the banks our rights might be placed in question by the mere fact of Conference, though we hardly see how. But this is not the case, our furthest claims, and even these are not quite official, being based rather on our mercantile position in the Niger than on any territorial sovereignty.

«There is, indeed, one, and a serious objection to the internationalization scheme, but then it is also an objection to any scheme whatever. A Commission of that kind is very likely to break down, and leave the Powers concerned more jealous than they are. The Commissioners become punctilious, their work grows in their eyes, and they end by believing that the States they represent have no interest equal to those upon the river. Those States, again, because they are inattentive, make a point of supporting their Commissioners, and exchange notes, which in unfavourable circumstances become more and more hostile. It is known that this has

happened pretty frequently upon the Danube, and that the Commission has been kept together partly by British impartiality, Great Britain wanting nothing but a clear road, and partly by main force, that is, by the conviction of Russia and Austria that if the Commission broke down war would ultimately be unavoidable. An International Commission always quarrels, but, then, so do national Consuls with much more bitterness and zeal. The Commission has an umpire, Europe, and the Consuls have none, while the latter are anxious for a personal importance and visibility which the Commissioners know will not in any case fall to their lot. So long as Germany sits at the head there will be no wish for war; and if peace can be kept for twenty years interests will grow up of a kind which will make any commotion seem, both to the commercial and financial interests of the three States concerned, most inexpedient. The experiment is well worth trying, more especially at a moment when all French agents appear to think it their duty to quarrel with all English agents, and drive both peoples to the verge of exasperation. If we must quarrel, so be it; but let us at least have some more reasonable grounds than a fancy that, because all Europe agrees to perform police duties on the Congo and the Niger, therefore British trade with the countries drained by those rivers will suffer detriment. It will, on the contrary, so long as the scheme can be made to last, gain great advantages» – “The Economist” of 18 October 1884<sup>208</sup>.

«The West African Conference, convened at the proposal of Prince Bismarck, held its first sitting at Berlin on Saturday, when the representatives of fourteen States

---

<sup>208</sup> Elfi Bendikat, op. cit., pp. 132-134.

presented their credentials and disposed of other preliminary business. The room in which the meeting took place – the same that was occupied by the Conference of 1872 – was the dining hall of the Imperial Chancellor's residence. It is what may be called a "Pan-European" assembly, for England, Germany, France, Russia, Austria, Italy, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark, were all invited, as was also the Government of the United States of America. The nations interested in the locality by virtue of settlements, and those concerned in it as traders, thus offered to interchange opinions with the States not yet immediately affected. By means of this general consultation, it is hoped that the Conference will agree upon resolutions satisfactory to all parties, though that result must depend on the degree in which individual Powers press the rights they claim to have already established. There is no fear of England offering any impediment on this ground, because every position on which the British flag flies is open to the trade and enterprise of all nations alike. It is not the same with other States, for the sovereignty of Portugal has proved fatal to commerce wherever it has been established; while France deals with trade in its Colonies on purely selfish principles, and Germany is wedded to Protectionist ideas. The part of Africa which is to form the topic of deliberation consists of the mouth of the river Congo, and the track of inland country watered by that stream and its contributories. There are several claimants and jurisdiction over parts of this district. Portugal is one, France another, England a third, and Germany a fourth, while the African Association, promoted by the king of Belgium, is to be regarded as an amateur body, liable at any time to dissolve or disappear from the scene. Since

its possessions, in that case, might be acquired by France or some other Power, its position will, of course, come under the consideration of the Conference. There is one more party which deserves to be mentioned in connection with the proceeding, though its rights have not obtained recognition. We refer to the native owners of the territory, for which regulations are to be suggested and discussed. It is taken for granted that the inhabitants may be disposed of by treaty as if they were merely live stock or chattels. This, however, may not be a matter of any practical importance, provided the resolutions of the Conference are such as will secure for the native population the conditions most favorable to its interests and liberty.

«The Conference has grown out of the ineffectual attempt lately made by England and Portugal to come to an agreement as to the Congo territory. It was proposed by the treaty conditionally settled between these States that a wide range of authority should be conceded to Portugal. But loud protests were made against this kind of settlement on the ground that Portugal was not qualified for the exercise of such a jurisdiction, and Germany decidedly refused to sanction it. The treaty was consequently abandoned, and soon afterwards Prince Bismarck, proposed that the whole question should be referred to a council of nations. This is the reason why the Conference is being held at Berlin. The actual business of the consultation will be entered upon tomorrow, but, as it is arranged that the proceedings shall be kept secret, and the sittings will probably occupy a month or two, it will be some time before the public can become acquainted with what is taking place. Rumors and unauthorized disclosures will no doubt obtain

circulation from day to day, but those, perhaps, who pretend to know most will really know least about the affair. The plan projected by Lord Granville was to place the Congo, like the Danube, under an international commission, so that its passage might be kept free to the navigation of ships belonging to all countries, but the river is only navigable for large vessels up to Boma, and navigation becomes impossible fifty miles beyond, for then commences a chain of rocks and falls extending for two hundred miles. To approach the interior of the country, it is therefore necessary to have facilities provided far beyond the navigable reaches of the stream. Some contend that, for the purposes of commerce, it would be best to abandon the lower part of the river altogether, and to construct a railway from some station on the coast to the position where the line of rocks terminates and a continuous stream of smooth water commences. A mere declaration that the navigation of the opening length of the river should be free would consequently fail to meet the circumstances of the case, though it would form a material feature in any just arrangement. The first question of all to be considered is whether the Powers represented at the Conference will recognize the right of any nation to maintain its own laws on the course of the river or in the adjacent territory. If this right be conceded, we shall have Portugal domineering at one place, France at another, and other Powers elsewhere, so that the decision at which the Conference arrives will only be of partial application, unless the several ruling States agree to act on some rule which will secure the general interests.

«Understandings have already been arranged by some Powers, particularly by France and Germany, and no

doubt the views of England have been confidentially communicated to Prince Bismarck. As has happened on other like occasions, Italy has announced intentions of a most liberal character. According to the paper which represents the Foreign Office at Rome, the Italian delegates will demand free right of commerce and navigation on the seas and rivers of Africa for all nations, and will support the neutralization of the larger rivers, the abolition of slavery, and the creation of an international Commission for the accomplishment of these purposes. Nothing could be more suitable than the adoption of these proposals, but claims and jealousies of several nations will have to be dealt with before they can be carried. In an assembly so numerous as that at Berlin, it is scarcely to be hoped that the voting will be unanimous, but so many of the Powers are interested only in securing freedom of access to the interior of Africa that a large majority may be expected in favor of resolutions framed for the attainment of that object. Whether the Conference will extend the range of its deliberations beyond the territory watered by the Congo, we cannot say, but if it does, it will bring under consideration the position of England on the Niger, and that of France on the Senegal and on the Gabon. England has nothing to fear from an investigation, because her policy is to treat all nations as friends and welcome guests and to offer every encouragement to commerce; but France interposes restrictions for her supposed benefit wherever her rule prevails. Her position at Loango can scarcely fail to receive attention, unless it has, by preliminary agreement, been excluded from the scope of the consultation. Whatever it may decide, the holding of this Conference will be one of the most important events of the present century. It is based on

recognition of the right of all nations to a voice in the determination of questions affecting the possession and government of newly-discovered or newly-settled countries. Hitherto the rule has been that the first Power which affected a landing, or entered into some agreement with a native chief, claimed the territory as its own, and subjected it to its own regulation. This practice has worked fairly well on the whole, because England has acquired by far the largest portion of such dominion, and her laws have been such as to afford no other State cause of complaint. But the Congo district has fallen into several hands, and some of them act on principles which render it highly desirable that an influence such as that of the Conference shall be employed in inducing them either to surrender their rights or to give better consideration to the general interests of commerce and civilization» – “The Birmingham Daily Post” of 17 November 1884<sup>209</sup>.

«The English public, as a body, is not deeply interested in the Conference on the Congo. The majority of electors do not clearly know where the Congo is, have the most indefinite ideas of West Africa, and are not accustomed to consider the trade of that region seriously important. They do not see its products except in the shape of oil, and have never found wages dependent upon the profits of African trade. Even the better informed section of the public are a little surfeited with colonies, a little disgusted with all English enterprises in Africa, from the Egyptian Expedition, to the negotiations in Bechuanaland, and a little inclined to say that the Government must in Africa

---

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., pp. 157-160.

do as it likes and as it can. They watch the Congo affair more with an amused curiosity to see what Germany is about than with any more serious feeling, and leave the Government an unusual degree of liberty to act. Nevertheless, this Conference at Berlin, over which Prince Bismarck will preside, and which the Emperor of Germany will himself, it is said, honor with a visit, appears a striking incident. It may hereafter prove a point of departure in the history of colonization. The interests concerned are, in reality, considerable, the Congo being one of the great rivers of the world, and the regions drained by it large enough and fertile enough to form, under happier circumstances, the bases of great kingdoms. The contest between the European States, too, is very sharp, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom coming into direct, though not as yet, hostile contact, and the rest of Europe being deeply interested in the principles to be laid down, some of which may prove unexpectedly favorable to the minor States. Above all, it is the first occasion, so far as our reading serves, upon which "Europe", as an informal federation, has avowedly assumed a sort of authority over the uncivilized world, and has claimed a right, in the general interest of mankind, to dispose of States and territories not in the occupation of its component peoples. No doubt this was done once before when Europe through the mouth of the Pope, parceled out America, and, as we often forget, parceled it out in a way which has been effective for three hundred years, but then that great arrangement was made in the name of religion. This is the first that Europe has acted as the supreme political force in the world, and has claimed the right to distribute territories and peoples in her own interest and for the good of mankind. The happiness, and even the safety, not to mention the future

history, of millions of dark persons who never heard of Berlin will be affected by the Conference, which, under the form of trade regulations and rules for preventing piracy on the Congo, will, without dispatching a soldier or moving a ship, distribute great sovereignties by a decree against which, though only written on paper, there will be no possibility of human appeal. The Conference, besides providing for the police of the river Congo, will, it is believed, acknowledge certain national jurisdictions now formed, or to be formed, upon its banks, and in acknowledging those jurisdictions, it will practically make of the territories mentioned colonies, belonging to the States to which they are assigned. That is an immense work to be performed in that half-conscious way, and this all the more, because the distribution is nearly the last that can ever be so made. There may be one day a Conference about East Africa, indeed, it is probable that there will be, but Northern Africa is, formally or informally, assigned mainly to the French; South Africa is under British and French sovereignty, if we count Madagascar French, and with the delimitation of West Africa, there will be little of the world remaining to be occupied without war. Every inch of Europe has been carefully marked out, and belongs to recognized Powers; Asia is fully peopled, and able to defend itself more or less, if not altogether effectually; and the two Americas, though they offer territories which will not always belong to the feeble peoples that now inhabit or claim to inhabit them, are protected by the mighty Republic, which regards them all as a reversionary inheritance, and meanwhile watches them with a vigilance which no European Power, possibly not even coalesced Europe, would causelessly provoke.

«It is the English way – not by any means the worst way – to regard nothing as of first-rate importance, and to settle immense questions as if they were very small. There is reason to believe that many of the colonial arrangements embodied in the treaties of 1815-16, which have worked, on the whole, curiously well, were made by a sort of haphazard, the general idea of the Powers being, that as England had done great services, and was usually in possession of any colony under discussion, she was to keep any colony she liked, unless the Power aggrieved could persuade or bribe her to give it up. Lord Castlereagh did not know much about the subject, and took or left colonies according to most imperfect information, giving up Java, for example, the possession of which carried a claim to sovereignty over all the isles of the Far West, without ever reading Sir Stamford Raffles' arguments for the retention of the island. We may expect, therefore, some careless or even blundering arrangements at Berlin, but we trust that Lord Granville's agents will adhere to two principles with unswerving tenacity – even breaking up the Conference if they are departed from. One is that the Congo is to be an arm of the sea, patrolled and policed by Europe, and therefore, of course, taxed, as the Sound was for so many years, but accessible without restriction to all ships, and therefore, of course, to British trade. This is the English *sine qua non*, failing which Europe must be left to make her own arrangements unrecognized by Great Britain, and to see how long they will last. The other principle is that if any demarcation of territory is attempted – and we do not see how this is to be avoided – or if any principles are to be laid down as to future demarcations, they shall be distinct and unmistakable. We want very little on the Congo, nothing but a safe depot or two, but we know how

everything grows, and nothing could be worse for West Africa or for Europe than to leave to local Officials opportunities of quarrel, which they are sure to use. No one wants informal war all along the Congo, with Portugal pleading her weakness as an excuse for claiming everything, and France talking about her susceptibilities, and Germany sending out Professors with flags which nobody may touch, and England stubbornly determined that the wishes of the blacks, who are usually on her side, shall be sufficiently regarded. The settlement of South America was bad enough, but it would have been worse if all Europe had been engaged, and all boundaries had been left uncertain till they became important. Every national claim should be unmistakably defined, even if the negotiators have to use parallels of longitude and latitude as boundaries, or to disregard native rights which otherwise would be left untouched. It is useless to be scrupulous when one continent is to be distributed by another, with no rights except those based on superior intelligence and the general interest of the world, and nothing can be so bad for any natives as to find themselves in a *no-man's-land*, for which powerful nations are ready to contend. The Conference will have failed if any nation can say hereafter that its rights have been intruded upon, or if any nation can be proclaimed an intruder for its trading ships steam up any portion of the Congo. If Conferences of this kind are to be of any use, they must promulgate laws, and not confine themselves to half obscure hints to what their members deem expedient» – “The Economist” of 15 December 1884<sup>210</sup>.

---

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., pp. 154-157.

«The Plenipotentiaries at Berlin are to sign today the General Act which embodies the decisions of the Conference. The concert of Europe has been successfully applied to the settlement of African affairs, and a series of additions has been made to the body of international law. The precedent thus created and the results achieved are, in form at least, a valuable gain to the cause of peace, and create a perceptible increase of the existing restraints upon making war with a light heart. The General Act begins with recital of a number of estimable philanthropic motives. The contracting Powers have been induced to agree to the conclusions therein recorded by their desire “in the spirit of mutual harmony to create favorable conditions for the development of trade and civilization in certain regions of Africa, and to secure to all nations the advantages of free navigation on the two principal African rivers that flow into the Atlantic; further, with a view to prevent the misunderstanding and objections which might arise out of future annexations on the African coasts, and at the same time from anxiety to increase the moral and material welfare of the native races of that continent.” If the anxiety for the native races were only mentioned a little sooner the document would read like a declaration from the much-decried Manchester school, and the natural impression made by the whole proceeding would be that the Powers were fast progressing towards the adoption of the principles of Free Trade and international arbitration. Unfortunately the history of the Conference has shown too plainly that behind all these fair phrases, and behind the concert of Europe, a very different set of principles are at work. The ill-concealed motive has been in the main one of selfishness tempered by prudence. No doubt with the lapse of time the diplomatic history of the Conference

and the action of the various Powers will be forgotten, and the Acts will then be read as expressions of international comity and goodwill. But for the moment it may be worth noting that the hypocrisy which it is the Continental fashion to attribute to English statesmen is not without place in the great Council of Europe even when sitting under the auspices of the "honest broker" Prince Bismarck. The origin of the Conference has been attributed by cynical critics to Prince Bismarck's desire to pose as the diplomatic leader of Europe, and to parade in contrast to the isolated position of England his newly-formed intimacy with France. There may be an element of truth in this view; at any rate it may pretty safely be asserted that with the exception of England each of the Powers interested in Africa found its particular interest more important than the philanthropic motive recited in the Act whenever the two came into collision. It will be polite to begin with the presiding Power, Germany, which has no territories in any portion of the continent specifically dealt with by the Conference. The German interest in Africa is her own export trade, which chiefly consists in providing the natives with gin and firearms. The anxiety for the welfare of the natives moved other Powers to propose to forbid or to subject to duties the importation of these articles. The German interest of course prevailed, and the protection of the native against gin and of the European settler against armed natives remains a pious wish. France, the joint convener with Germany of the Conference, has a colony near the Congo mouth, which was about to receive a considerable extension to the mouth. The French colonial system is protective in favor of French goods. In this case the philanthropic point of view required that the free avenues to the free-trade region of the Congo basin should radiate

from Stanley Pool to points on the coast as far north and south as possible. But this again conflicted with the French interest, which was to have no free import or free transit in the French colony. Accordingly the free district on the coast found its northern limit at Sette Cama. As little French territory as possible was to come under the new regime. Similarly Portugal would hear nothing of freedom of trade on the lower Zambesi, though that river forms one of the principal entrances into the region declared free. In the case of England – perhaps it is permissible to say a good word for England at a time when the Continental press is exhausting the vocabularies of several languages with abuse of this country – there was no such conflict between professions and actions. Our whole system being one of free trade and the equal treatment of all nations, our representatives could give hearty support to the proposals under this head. The free navigation of the Congo and of the Niger was also in accord with English views, and as the Niger is practically an English river our Government could offer to make itself responsible for the regulation of its navigation. It was of course the interest of England that her administration of the Niger should not be interfered with, and this object was secured by the ability of our representative in the Commission. The rules about future annexations in Africa were proposed in a form which seemed to be aimed against the English forms of protectorate. But the English position was defended by our representatives, and defended with success. Whatever may prove to be the practical value to the world of the Act which is signed to-day, assuredly the share of the English Government and of its representatives in the Conference has been in the highest degree honorable in spirit and satisfactory in result. (...) When the Government

(British) in 1882 undertook to introduce order in Egypt they were supported, among the European Powers, by Prince Bismarck. The impression in this country at the time was not uncommon that Prince Bismarck believed that we were doing a good work, a work which would benefit mankind, and that we were by our position in India entitled to undertake that work alone» – “The Manchester Guardian” of 26 February 1885<sup>211</sup>.

### 3.2.1. Germany’s Quest for a Noteworthy Sphere of Influence in Africa

Chancellor Angela Merkel’s country is looking for a noteworthy sphere of influence in Africa and the world at large. Though, there are amongst the international community a number of States and other actors of international relations that support Germany’s approach on the one side, and those looking suspiciously at this approach on the other side. Is not Germany being once again ostracized by its fellow European powers regarding its post-WWII quest for a considerable sphere of influence in Africa? The above newspapers of the late 19th century brought to us by Dr. Bendikat not only shed light over the Western imperialistic antagonisms in the partition of Africa but also reveal how and for what reason had Germany been victim of ostracism in most of its attempts to acquire particular areas of influence in Africa. It turns out that such ostracism is the corollary of the «French-German enmity» which implies hostile

---

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., pp. 192-194.

relations and mutual revanchism between Germans and French people that arose in the 16th century and became popular with the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871. Despite all kinds of agreements and armistices between the two countries, their deep-rooted enmity did not end with the Franco-Prussian War inasmuch as it finally paved the way for the continuousness of hostility which was a leading cause of WWI (1914-1918). Most people believe the enmity was eventually overcome after WWII, when under the influence of the Cold War cordial French-German relations became the key to European integration. Though, as long as France and the European Union (in which Germany appears to be the economic giant) continue to live off Africa by means of the "Colonial Pact" put in place by General de Gaulle in the aftermath of WWII, Germany will incessantly be ostracized in Africa so as to hinder it from implementing policies likely to lead African nations to full political and economic sovereignty. A number of western think tanks maintain that, in order for France and Germany to fully overcome their ancestral enmity, the two must have a common enemy for at least a couple of centuries. Must France and Germany jointly carry out an imperialistic reconquest of Africa and jointly inflict on African countries the cruelest plundering so they can totally eradicate their hostility? The German people, unlike the French who can feel comfortable in keeping "uncivilized peoples" in a pitiless colonial yoke while fighting against the mortifying occupation of their own land, do not want to be collectively accountable for another serious crime of international concern. But if in Africa Germany undertakes to carry out policies more humanistic than those of the French and most Western powers, then the worst scenario is to be feared in Europe.

If Westerners were able to learn from past mistakes, Germany and France would come into view as the European Union Member States better placed to advance the cause of justice and peace and integral development in Africa. In the very early 19th century, Chancellor Angela Merkel's country had dared to put all sorts of firearms at the disposal of Black peoples so we could defend ourselves against our colonial masters. Germany showed its keenness to help Black people across the continent throw off the humanly disgraceful yoke under which the slave traders' descendants intend to retain us for eternity. The German attitude in behalf of the "savage dark Beings" of Africa shocked, saddened, angered and ashamed most Western "civilized States" and imperialist nations at one and the same time. In the above Manchester Guardian of 26 February 1885, on the close of the Berlin-Congo Conference, the complaints against Germany's interest in Africa are there in black and white: "(...) The German interest in Africa is her own export trade, which chiefly consists in providing the natives with gin and firearms. (...) The German interest of course prevailed, and the protection of the native against gin and of the European settler against armed natives remains a pious wish". Armed natives was/is something utterly unacceptable in the eyes of the European colonial masters. African natives armed by Germany prove to be what in fact explains why Germans are so antagonized in Western Europe. "*If Blacks had Guns Slavery would have never existed*", once said an African-American young lady. Here, it makes sense to hear once more US President John Adams' remarks inasmuch as they are likely to awaken African people from our undeniable and dishonorable political lethargy: "*There are two ways to enslave a nation. One is by the sword. The other is by*

*debt.*” Mighty countries disposed to arm African natives to the extent of making us able to obstruct our enslavement by any foreign nation, those are the countries sovereign African leaders ought to win and make trustworthy allies of them. For lack of courageous and politically brainy Black leaders, the foremost proponents of colonialism had eventually attracted Prince Bismarck’s beloved country and made a reliable ally of it, to the detriment of Africa and its children. As a result, Germans abstained from hearing Love’s call to serve the human family as a whole and, subsequently, their national State was maliciously turned into a war machine that had to be demolished and frustrated thanks to the forced enlistment of Black men and women into the armed forces of the Allied Powers. It is up to African scholars and States to make us well understood wherever there is genuine predisposition to provide African nations with the required means to keep us safe from the modern western slavers.

“Never, never Again!” is the current peremptory yelling of the confessional (Jewish), ethnical (Gipsies), and social (Homosexuals) groups whose fellow members had been victims of the Nazi policy. They are relentlessly doing the best they can so their horrific experiences in Nazi Germany may not happen again. Yet, there is not a single African leader brave enough to peremptorily shout “Never, never Again!” as far as the revolting experiences of Black people in the Triangle Trade and in Nazi Germany are concerned. For centuries, the entire humanity of Black people has had a deep wound inflicted on its tired body by impious Western powers that still want us to be regarded as mere “savage dark Beings”. As tragic and abominable as the Nazi wars in Europe prove

to be, the magnitude of the atrocities and scale of destructions and deaths pale in comparison to Africa's calamity during the Slave Trade that we all know lasted over five centuries. The Nazi regime's crimes have justly been condemned within the framework of the post-WWII international law according to which a subject of international law which commits an internationally wrongful act towards another is liable for reparations, whereas the Triangle Trade's crimes remain looked at with absolute indifference by the same world's leading powers. In other words, Western imperialist powers prove to be unwilling to adhere to the fiction of "rule of law" that they routinely preach. Accordingly, we share the understanding that Germany's quest for a noteworthy sphere of influence in Africa is a good thing, provided that Germans are willing to help African nations figure out what happened during the Triangle Trade and do everything we can to hinder it from ever happening again.

The following excerpt is clear enough to assert that Germany's present-day struggle for a considerable sphere of influence in Africa is likely to end up unleashing WWIII. On the eve of WWI, as the text shows, the strong opposition from other European imperialist powers has led Germany to frustration in efforts to obtain certain African locations. The Frenchman Pierre Renouvin is the author of the valuable work that gives us this striking extract in which Germany appears to be the prominent figure in the clash of colonial imperialisms, excerpt that we purposely keep in its original language, i.e. French.

*«Si les intérêts économiques n'ont qu'une place très secondaire dans les litiges continentaux, ils ont au*

*contraire un rôle actif, parfois décisif, dans le choc où se heurtent les impérialismes, en Méditerranée, en Asie, en Afrique. L'Allemagne, enfin, entre en scène, au printemps de 1884, lorsque Bismarck cède à la pression des intérêts économiques: elle s'établit d'abord, en avril 1884, sur la côte du sud-ouest africain, puis au Cameroun, enfin en Afrique orientale, au nord des établissements anglais. Voilà bien des occasions de controverses entre les puissances européennes! C'est seulement en Afrique centrale, dans les bassins du Congo, que les compétitions deviennent vraiment âpres. Cette zone est le domaine de l'Association internationale du Congo, fondée par le roi des Belges, Léopold II, homme d'État et homme d'affaires. Avec le concours de Stanley qui est entré à son service, l'Association a établie, entre 1879 et 1882, des postes dans toute la région comprise entre les Grands Lacs et le Stanley Pool; elle a donc une possession de fait. La question de l'accès de cet énorme territoire à l'océan Atlantique n'est pourtant pas réglée, car l'Association internationale se heurte à d'autres initiatives: la voie de l'Ogooué a été reconnue, dès 1882, par une expédition française, celle de Savorgnan de Brazza qui, en 1884, à son quatrième voyage, atteint le Stanley Pool; la voie du bas Congo risque d'être fermée elle aussi, car le Portugal, qui possède, au sud de l'embouchure du fleuve, l'Angola et au nord le Cabinda, prétend avoir des droits sur toute la côte et obtient, en février 1884, malgré les protestations de Léopold II, l'appui de la Grande-Bretagne<sup>212</sup>».*

---

<sup>212</sup> In «*Histoire des Relations Internationales, Tome VI: Le XIXe Siècle, 2ème Partie: De 1871 à 1914, l'Apogée de l'Europe, Chapter V – Le Choc des Impérialismes Coloniaux*», by Pierre Renouvin, Paris Hachette 1975, pp. 79, 90-91.

*«En Afrique noire, – qu'il s'agisse de l'Afrique occidentale et équatoriale française; des colonies anglaises de la Gambie, de la Sierra-Leone, de la Côte de l'Or, de la Nigéria, ou de l'Afrique orientale; des territoires allemands du Cameroun, du Togo et de l'Afrique orientale; du Congo, devenu colonie belge depuis 1908; des colonies portugaises du Cabinda, de l'Angola et du Mozambique, ou des petits territoires espagnols et hollandais de la Guinée, – les États colonisateurs ont eu pour but immédiat, au point de vue économique, de développer la production des denrées et des matières premières destinées à être exportées vers l'Europe. Pour atteindre ce résultat, ils ont établi une législation agraire, réglé le recrutement de la main-d'oeuvre, et l'organisation des exploitations agricoles, forestières ou minières<sup>213</sup>».*

*[Dans les rivalités coloniales entre les États européens, l'Afrique du Sud et l'Afrique du Nord avaient été, pendant vingt-cinq ans, les domaines géographiques où le heurt entre les impérialismes avait été le plus grave. L'apaisement est maintenant venu. Mais, depuis la fin de 1911, c'est l'Afrique centrale qui retient les regards. Les milieux coloniaux allemands reprennent un plan d'action qu'ils avaient déjà esquissé en 1898: une «redistribution» des territoires coloniaux en Afrique pour aboutir à la formation, aux dépens des États faibles, d'un vaste Empire colonial au profit du Reich. La presse allemande, et non pas seulement la presse pangermaniste, s'intéresse vivement à ces projets. C'est le sort des colonies portugaises et même celui du Congo belge qui*

---

<sup>213</sup> P. Renouvin, op. cit., p. 284.

*sont en question, dans l'esprit du gouvernement allemand: l'Angola, le Mozambique et le Cabinda, territoires immenses, dont la mise en valeur est médiocre, à cause des difficultés financières dans lesquelles se débat le gouvernement de Lisbonne; le Congo belge, «colonie trop vaste pour une métropole trop petite», qui se trouve, depuis l'accord franco-allemand du 4 novembre 1911, limitrophe, en deux points, des territoires acquis par l'Allemagne. Voilà où l'Empire allemand peut trouver sa «place au soleil». Par la force? Non, – du moins si les autres grandes puissances européennes qui ont en Afrique des intérêts importants acceptent ces perspectives. Or le gouvernement britannique avait, à l'automne de 1911, laissé entendre qu'il les accepterait. Après de longs marchandages, la négociation mène à la signature, le 20 octobre 1913, d'un accord secret. Ce traité répartit des zones d'influence respective: anglaise dans la partie méridionale du Mozambique, y compris l'embouchure du Zambèze, et dans la partie méridionale de l'Angola, sans atteindre pourtant la côte; allemande dans le nord du Mozambique, dans presque toute la zone côtière de l'Angola et, au nord de l'embouchure du Congo, dans le Cabinda. Influence économique? Sans doute; mais aussi politique, car un article prévoit que, si des «troubles locaux» menaçaient soit dans leur vie, soit dans leurs biens des sujets allemands ou anglais, ou «mettaient en péril» les colonies adjacentes, l'Allemagne et la Grande-Bretagne prendraient les mesures nécessaires pour protéger leurs intérêts. Là aussi, comme en Asie Mineure, les zones d'influence peuvent être des «parts futures». Les Allemands, note Sir Edward Grey, «souhaitent aussitôt que possible le partage des colonies portugaises. Moi aussi...». La diplomatie allemande voit dans ce*

*premier succès le présage à une solution favorable de la question du Congo belge. A la fin de 1913, elle envisage d'obtenir du gouvernement belge la concession, à une société allemande, de la construction d'une voie ferrée transafricaine en territoire congolais: «mainmise économique... en attendant qu'elle devienne politique», constate le ministre de France à Bruxelles. Le gouvernement belge s'inquiète, d'autant plus que l'Allemagne, si elle devenait maîtresse du nord de l'Angola et du Cabinda tiendrait les voies d'accès du territoire congolais à l'Océan. «L'indépendance effective du Congo belge deviendrait, du coup, bien précaire.» Mais ces deux projets se heurtent à une même résistance. Le gouvernement français s'inquiète de l'accord anglo-allemand d'octobre 1913, non seulement parce que la présence allemande en Cabinda mènerait à un «encerclement» de l'Afrique équatoriale française par les colonies allemandes, mais surtout parce que ce «rapprochement d'intérêts» entre l'Angleterre et l'Allemagne n'est pas en harmonie avec l'Entente cordiale franco-anglaise. Certes, la France pourrait s'associer au traité de partage et revendiquer son lot; mais elle affaiblirait sa «position morale», sans avoir chance d'obtenir, dit Paul Cambon, un avantage substantial. Mieux vaut donc protester auprès du gouvernement anglais: c'est chose faite en février 1914. Le cabinet britannique décide alors d'ajourner la ratification de l'accord anglo-allemand. Quant au Congo belge, en avril 1914, le secrétaire d'État allemand aux Affaires étrangères lance un «coup de sonde», dans un entretien avec l'ambassadeur de France: la Belgique, dit-il, est incapable «même financièrement» de faire face à ses tâches en Afrique australe; pourquoi l'Allemagne, la France et l'Angleterre n'envisageraient-elles donc pas*

*un programme d'action, sans en informer; bien entendu, le gouvernement de Bruxelles, «puisque c'est la Belgique qui paierait»? Après tout ne faut-il pas penser que «les grandes nations seront seules capables de supporter la concurrence mondiale, et, dans l'avenir, les petites doivent disparaître ou devenir leurs satellites»? Mais ce coup de sonde est vain, car l'ambassadeur de France réplique que, seule, la Belgique «pourrait provoquer une pareille conversation»: prudence nécessaire «dans des conjonctures qui pourraient mettre en conflit les grandes nations colonisatrices». La question du Mittelfrika «reste en suspens», écrit Sir Edward Grey. En fait, ce temps d'arrêt sera définitif, puisque la première guerre mondiale va survenir trois mois plus tard. L'épisode n'est pourtant pas sans intérêt parce qu'il montre le cabinet anglais disposé à «dériver» vers le continent africain les desseins d'expansion allemande<sup>214</sup>.]*

As the above extract shows, the new partition of Africa that Germany strived for in the very early 20th century focused fundamentally on the Belgian Congo and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique as well as the Portuguese protectorate, i.e. Cabinda. Apparently, France remains unwilling to stay out of Germans way across the African continent. Thus, we are of the opinion that Germany's unique way to succeed in Africa is to strive for justice and peace and integral development in pursuance of the core values enshrined in the tools of the post-WWII international law. Otherwise those who believe that the Franco-German enmity was everlastingly overcome after WWII and that French-German cordial relations are the key to European

---

<sup>214</sup> P. Renouvin, op. cit., pp. 288-290.

integration, will soon display their absolute disappointment. In our opinion, two major challenges face Germany in its actual quest for a noteworthy sphere of influence in Africa. On the one hand, its main European competitors only see imperialistic conquests in this search for realms of influence in Africa; from whence the so pronounced fear of having their colonial domains “stolen” by a Germany more and more powerful in Europe and in the world. On the other hand, most Africans on the Continent and in the Diaspora are distrustful of the Germans’ political moves towards conquering certain African locations; while a huge number of Africans are raising the question of whether Germany’s quest for a respectable space of influence in Africa would mean a Germany committed to peaceful development and win-win cooperation, a number of Africans are opposing Germans’ renewed passion for the Cabinda people’s continent as a result of a propaganda background they have been fed by their former colonial powers whose anti-Germany is in full view of the entire world.

Germans have the right to set foot on African soil, provided their government and business entities are indeed committed to act everywhere in Africa in accordance with the post-WWII international law that is in force everywhere in the West. Furthermore, in its efforts to reach its legitimate aims, Germany should not exclusively rely on its fellow European imperialist powers, for this would make a deeply suspicious and unreliable country of Germany in the eyes of most of us Black people. As the work of Mr. Renouvin shows, Germany is long since interested in African countries such as Cabinda, the Congo (DRC), Angola and

Mozambique. This particular interest has motivated its European competitors to do everything they can to completely frustrate such dream ever since the end of WWII. The fact of the matter is that the decolonization of the Portuguese overseas territories in 1975 was a process remote-controlled by France through corrupt Portuguese political figures. France is keen to obstruct Germany from conquering any of these African countries as part of its sphere of influence in Africa. So you can now understand why Cabinda is illegally occupied by Angola, why are high level French politicians involved in the sadly famous scandal called Angolagate, and why there is no lasting peace in the Congo Basin nowadays. In Africa, we suggest that Germany promote reliance on African civil societies, on African Diaspora, and on African cultural ambassadors.

On 13 April 2012, German Minister of State Cornelia Pieper expressed her concern about evolvments in Guinea-Bissau (Portuguese speaking) in the following terms: “I condemn the military coup in Guinea-Bissau in the strongest possible terms. The Federal Government regrets that this unconstitutional act of violence has put such a brutal end to the positive developments towards democracy in Guinea-Bissau. (...)” That simply meant that Germany was backing Portugal (CPLP) and Angola’s diplomacy that has appealed to the Security Council to make an effort toward the immediate restoring of constitutional order, and the reinstatement of Guinea Bissau’s legitimate Government. Prior to this political backing, on July 2011 the German government’s arms export policies came under further scrutiny after Mrs. Merkel offered to sell several patrol boats to Angola, whose sheer contempt for human rights and international

law is widely known. According to «*The Local*» of 14 July 2011, “arms deals with Saudi Arabia and Angola have sparked widespread outrage in Germany and highlighted the country’s emergence as the world’s third-largest weapons exporter.” Taking it all in all, Mrs. Merkel’s country is free to look for a sphere of influence in Africa and the world at large. Though, in its efforts to reach its legitimate aims, Berlin is trying to rely solely on Portugal and Angola’s military power. Hence, given the economic serious crisis Portugal is facing nowadays as well as Portugal’s 1975 blameworthy maneuvers that have permitted Angola’s belligerent occupation of Cabinda and all serious crimes it entails, e.g. the looting of Cabinda’s natural resources, mass killings, and the abject poverty in which Cabindans are forced to live; and since Angola is a country committed to frustrating the free functioning of democratic institutions in Africa (let’s think of Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa, South Africa, Ivory Coast, etc.), a number of us did wonder whether or not there is a secret deal between Portugal and Germany with respect to the Portuguese-speaking African countries. Was not Portugal trying to sell off Guinea-Bissau to the great benefit of Germany and the European Union in the same way that it sold off Cabinda to the great benefit of Angola, Portugal itself, and the European Union? Instead of having a powerful Germany relying on the criminal government of Angola for the conquest of a considerable sphere of influence in Africa, we would love the Germany of “Durban I” to be the UN member State that stands on behalf of the peoples and nations whose rights are violated, and pushes for the establishment of a more just and reasonable international political and economic order. May the pullout of the Angolan troops from Cabinda and the restitution to Cabinda of its political sovereignty figure

among the priorities of Germany and the United Nations in Africa! The extract<sup>215</sup> below is extremely interesting inasmuch as it proves that Europe is still haunted by prejudices with regard to Germans and, by inference, to Africans.

«The fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 was hailed in the West as a seminal moment in its “struggle” against Communism and sparked a wave of euphoria. But, it has now emerged, that behind those euphoric public pronouncements there were deep anxieties in most European capitals, especially in London and Paris. Indeed, neither Margaret Thatcher, the then British Prime Minister, nor French President François Mitterrand wanted the wall to come down as they feared that a unified Germany would be a threat to European security. Mrs. Thatcher was so concerned that two months before the fall of the wall she travelled to Moscow to plead with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to intervene and stop the break-up of East Germany. In Paris, meanwhile, Mr. Mitterrand was deploying Gallic humour to voice his concern saying: “I like Germany so much I would prefer to have two of them.” Even at the time, it was known that there was nervousness in Europe at the prospect of a united Germany (in her memoirs *The Downing Street Years* published in 1993 Mrs. Thatcher recalled her own reservations) but the extent of paranoia is revealed for the first time in confidential Kremlin documents extracts from which were published in *The Times* last week. (...)

---

<sup>215</sup> See: «How Margaret Thatcher pleaded with Gorbachev not to let the Berlin Wall fall out of London», by Hasan Suroor, in “*The Hindu*” of 15 Sept. 2009; Link: <http://www.hindu.com/2009/09/15/stories/2009091553501100.htm>.

The newspaper said they showed that at a luncheon meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in Moscow in September 1989, Mrs. Thatcher voiced her deep “concern” at the turmoil in East Germany and warned that a change in post-war borders would undermine European security. “We do not want a united Germany. This would lead to a change to postwar borders, and we cannot allow that because such a development would undermine the stability of the whole international situation and could endanger our security,” she told Mr. Gorbachev. (...) The Anglo-French anxieties are also highlighted in a separate set of documents published by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office showing that Mr. Mitterrand privately warned Mrs. Thatcher that a united Germany might “make even more ground than had Hitler.” The revelations have sparked a debate ahead of the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall with right-wing commentators rushing to justify Mrs. Thatcher’s stand. Historian Andrew Roberts, who is also a trustee of the Margaret Thatcher Archives Trust, says that her fears about a united Germany were prompted by concern that it would change the “balance of power” in Europe and, crucially, might affect Britain’s “special relationship” with America. She feared that a “strong Germany might replace Britain as America’s closest ally in Europe, a suspicion that had been inflamed by a speech of President Bush [senior] in May 1989, in which he had referred to Germany as America’s ‘partner in leadership.’” (...) She also had concerns about the effect of a bigger and stronger Germany on the European Union. She believed that a “powerful Chancellor Kohl would have a far louder voice in the counsels of Europe, where Thatcher was fighting a long rearguard action against closer European integration, something that was to trigger the party coup against her a year later,” Mr. Roberts recalled. Mrs.

Thatcher was so paranoid that in March 1990 – seven months before the formal merger of two “Germanys” – she called a meeting of British and German historians at Chequers to discuss German national characteristics that, according to a record of the meeting drawn up by her foreign policy advisor Sir Charles Powel, included “angst, aggressiveness, assertiveness, bullying, egotism, inferiority complexes and sentimentality.”»

With regard to the Mali crisis that sprung up a few months after Colonel Qaddafi of Libya was deposed and killed in October 2011, crisis with the alleged rise of “al-Qaeda” militant groups in former French colony and surrounding countries, the French leftist leader François Hollande appeared to be most vocal in calling for foreign military intervention saying: “The horrors can not be tolerated<sup>216</sup>”. The very Cunningham’s article also reads, we quote: «Earlier this year, the British-based foreign policy group Royal United Services Institute concluded that “al-Qaeda” was setting up new bases across Africa and that is where Western states should focus their “war on terror”». Yet, most experts in African affairs and observers across the globe believe that Western powers are grossly distorting the situation in Mali to suit their self-serving narrative for neo-colonial conquest. The argument of most of them is that “Mali’s undoubted political and social problems are rooted in the legacy of European colonialism” and that “these problems will only be exacerbated, if the country becomes a proxy war zone under American and European neo-colonialism”.

---

<sup>216</sup> See Cunningham’s valuable article: <http://www.veteransnewsnow.com/2012/11/04/wests-scramble-for-africa-terror-pretext-in-mali/>

Where does Berlin stand on the Mali crisis? According to *Deutsche Welle's* article of 16 January 2013, the German Government under the leadership of Mrs. Angela Merkel and the President of Côte d'Ivoire Mr. Alassane Ouattara announced concrete support to Mali. Among other things the article states that "Mrs. Merkel prefers to provide logistical help to the military of the States of the West African economic community, ECOWAS, than sending troops to Mali<sup>217</sup>." Since the vast majority of Black people at home and abroad contend that Western powers should not be intervening in the place of Africans, we are of the opinion that Dr. Merkel's political stance stands to reason. Her stance comes into view as one that is aimed at promoting the sovereignty of African countries with markedly democratic behavior, thus making them able to defend themselves. In our eyes, this political position, whether it is left-wing or right-wing's, is extremely advantageous and of great importance to Africans. In late January 2013, in Chile, where she was participating in the Summit between the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (Celac) and the European Union, German Chancellor Angela Merkel said she wanted a 'strategic partnership of equals' between the European Union and the States of Latin America and Caribbean. So let us hope Germany is courageous enough to perfect the present-day international law so that Western States can eventually rediscover the beauty of peace and treat African counterparts as equals for God's sake. "*A famous example from a period which knew an*

---

<sup>217</sup> In «*Governo Alemão anuncia apoio concreto ao Mali*» or "The German Government announces concrete support to Mali", by Guilherme Correia da Silva (Deutsche Welle), published on 16 January 2013.

*international order with the characteristics of a truly international law is the peace treaty concluded circa 1280 B.C. between the Egyptian Pharaoh, Rameses II, and Hattusilis II, the King of the Hittites<sup>218</sup>*. In every peace treaty, apart from the belligerents directly concerned, third parties were always included and they regularly stipulated a joint commitment to sanctions against the perpetrator of a breach of the peace.

We believe Germany's best way to conquer a lasting and noteworthy sphere of influence in Africa is to make every endeavor so that most Western imperialist powers can, for once in history, learn from past mistakes. The West has two choices, either to persevere as greedy imperialists, inhuman globalists and worshipers of consumerism inspired by pride and lack of repentance, and therefore repeat the murderous mistakes of history; or to abandon racial prejudice, autocracy, and embrace rights, thus promoting the consciousness that every nation that is not White/European has the right to exist on this planet and govern themselves. The West cannot help leading the world to recurrent disasters, unless Germans dare to stand up and promote justice by empowering African nations as much as possible so we can protect ourselves against invaders, murderers and Slave Traders. "Nothing can be so bad for any natives as to find themselves in a no-man's-land, for which powerful nations are ready to contend". It is obvious that a world in which international laws appear to be mocked and glossed over everyday by the very "civilized West",

---

<sup>218</sup> Hanspeter Neuhold, Peace Treaties: Historical Development, in: R. Bernhardt (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Volume III (1997), p. 938.

requires a Germany purposely prepared to be consistent in a foreign policy of peace, harmony, mutual prosperity and mutual trust. The settlement of African affairs by Western powers alone, with complete disregard for the existence and the well-being of African natives, is a flagrant injustice somewhere in Africa and, therefore, a self-evident threat to justice everywhere including Europe itself. The results of any partition of Africa to the great benefit of Western imperialist powers alone will never be a gain to the cause of peace. In the pre-WWI international law, Westerners are not taking into consideration the right of Black people to exist as part of the universal harmony. Unlike western corporate media of the 21st century that are but dangerous to world peace and security, certain European newspapers of the early 20th century dared to intervene with the prominent protagonists of the 1884/85 Berlin-Congo Conference on behalf of the African natives. *“There is one more party which deserves to be mentioned in connection with the proceeding, though its rights have not obtained recognition. We refer to the native owners of the territory, for which regulations are to be suggested and discussed. It is taken for granted that the inhabitants may be disposed of by treaty as if they were merely live stock or chattels.”* We must concede, though, that “if Blacks had Guns, Slavery would have never existed”.

In our opinion, Germany is better placed to help Western powers come down on the right side of human rights and international law. Since we all have noticed that there are people of other races on this planet and there is a thing called Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it is high time that we said “Africans have the right to exist”, and high time that we promoted respect

and harmony, which means honoring each of our differences, but well aware of the fact that we are all humans on this planet. That said, the final decision to dissipate the specter of WWII on the horizon rests with Berlin. Certain European imperialist States are doing all their best to restore the former Empire of the Congo and conquer it at the same time, just in order to prevent the Germans from realizing their former dream, i.e. to have Cabinda and the Congo (DRC) as part of their sphere of influence in Africa. This is one of the reasons of the illegal confiscation of Cabinda's political sovereignty by Angola, the root cause of the post-Cold War conflicts and mass killings in the Congo Basin, and is the ultimate objective of the ongoing political marriages between family members of influential Angolan, Congolese, and Gabonese politicians and businessmen. But the question is: why are Germans so feared by fellow Europeans who are belittling and playing god over Black people?

### 3.2.2. West likely to use Blacks as cannon fodder in Wars on Asians

The ongoing imperialistic re-conquest of African countries and the following re-enslavement of their respective natives represent a serious threat to Asians as a whole, particularly to countries like China, Japan, Russia, Indonesia and India. West's neo-colonialist scramble for Africa is but question of life or death for Asians. Either Asians side forthwith and resolutely with Africans in our legitimate struggle for the right to exist on this planet as human beings or Asians and Africans all perish together. «(...) *there will be little of the world*

*remaining to be occupied without war. Every inch of Europe has been carefully marked out, and belongs to recognized Powers; Asia is fully peopled, and able to defend itself more or less, if not altogether effectually; and the two Americas, though they offer territories which will not always belong to the feeble peoples that now inhabit or claim to inhabit them, are protected by the mighty Republic, which regards them all as a reversionary inheritance, and meanwhile watches them with a vigilance which no European Power, possibly not even coalesced Europe, would causelessly provoke<sup>219</sup>».*

Western imperialist powers are long since aware that, unlike Africa that is less peopled and quite fragmented, Asia is able to defend itself effectively. However, what binds Asians to Africans in all this is the fact that the 1955 Asian-African Conference also known as the Bandung Conference is, in the eyes of the Western colonial emperors, an unforgivable move on the part of the Asians, inasmuch as the Conference was meant to oppose colonialism or neo-colonialism by any imperialist nation. The fact remains that Germans will never be forgiven by their fellow European imperialist nations due to their “cruel and hateful act” that consisted in providing African natives with all sorts of firearms to help us defend ourselves against colonial occupation and slavery. We all know more or less about the pivotal role of Black people from Africa and America within the armies of the Allied Powers that eventually defeated the Nazi-Germany all over Europe. To frustrate Germany’s dream, Western imperialist powers used a large number of Blacks as cannon fodder in their vengeful campaign against the

---

<sup>219</sup> Dr. E. Bendikat, op. cit., (“The Economist” of 15 December 1884), pp. 154-157.

German people. None of all actors of the Bandung Conference will ever be forgiven by the Western “civilized States” whose device is «Might is Right»; neither China nor India and Russia! It’s noticeable that as soon as African countries are once again re-conquered by Western imperialist powers, the latter not only will bully Asian States but also launch bloody wars against their respective countries, wars in which Black men and women from across Africa and America will inevitably be forced to fight as mere cannon fodder. In this connection, the movie «Red-Tails» is of great worth!

The speeches relative to the dispute between Portugal and Indian Union on Goa in the 1950s, speeches delivered in 1954 and 1956 by Dr. António de Oliveira Salazar, then President of the Council of Ministers of the Portuguese Republic, appear to be of great relevance. Through the Memorandum of 27 February 1950, the Indian government has contacted Portugal to ask for the opening of negotiations with a view to the transfer of Goa under the Indian Union sovereignty. As a matter of interest, India obtained its independence on 15 August 1947. In Prof. Salazar’s speeches/reply to the authors of the abovementioned Memorandum, among other things we read, quote:

«Russia, which frightens the other Asian countries (that probably do not forget the colonialism pursued by Moscow throughout the Central Asia’s wide territories), volunteers to help peoples to free themselves and takes command of the fight against the capitalist imperialism, becoming the forced partner of those who would need this capitalism to be alive. Asia has always been the world of hermetic civilizations. Its peoples in most cases

consider as a violation of their own will the fact of opening the Asian continent to the large contacts with the Occident. Yet the ruling sectors have a European training: they think in the European style, they have imported the European institutions in most States, and these also are affiliated and contribute to the organizations with worldwide competence. The European locations in Asia are all but entirely demolished, – and all of a sudden the new States get ready to stir up a subversive movement throughout Africa, without discrimination, as if the conditions were the same in the various African regions and comparable to the ones of the Asian peoples who have obtained their independence. Since Bandoeng (Conference of 18-24 April 1955), the Indian Union has obviously become leader of the movement».

It is also worth drawing attention to the Memorandum of a 1955 Conversation between His Excellence Dr. Paulo Cunha, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Portugal, and the Honorable John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State, inasmuch as it unambiguously mentions the dependence of the European nations on African resources and Western insuperable fear of being expelled from the extremely rich black Continent both by Russians and Asians. In addition, it shows the good intentions of the US Department of State with regard to Africa, good intentions that we unfortunately never saw developing in practice. What in fact transpires from the text is the fact that Western nations look at Russians and Asians solely as colonial imperialist rivals in all their political stance and attitudes in relation to Africa's quest for real sovereignty and integral development. For that matter, we cannot help stressing the fact that the Secretary of State fully agreed with his Portuguese

counterpart's estimate of the dire effects on Western Europe of the loss of Africa. Among other things the Memorandum reads:

«He [Dr. Cunha] emphasized the position which Goa holds in the hearts of all Portuguese. Not only is it constitutionally inseparable from the homeland, but it is a part of the life-blood of the Portuguese people. He referred to the Portuguese presence in Goa for more than four centuries, to racial inter-marriage, and to the traditional bonds of culture and faith. However, the recent diatribes in India of Bulganin and Khrushchev, describing the Portuguese as “bloodsucking colonialists” have stirred up the matter again. This was unfortunate, he said, although it had the virtue of showing the world how the Soviet Union was joining forces with the Asiatics to throw out the Westerners. The device used by these forces was the issue of anti-colonialism and the Bandung conference demonstrated the nature of the conspiracy. More conferences would follow, with the Chinese, Indians, and other Asiatics joining with Africans to reduce the influence of the civilized Western world.

«The Secretary replied that one could not generalize about colonialism. One had to study particular areas and individual cases on their own merits. In general, he stated, he had always felt that dependent peoples should have the right to self-determination, and if they really wanted independence and were prepared to assume the attendant responsibilities, they should have it. He emphasized the importance of preparation since, if independence were premature, it merely meant that these areas might be too weak to resist outside subversive forces and would become victims of small groups of

Communist agitators. In this connection, the Secretary described the doctrine of Stalin and Lenin of making use of nationalism as a tool to detach dependent peoples from their sponsors and then to gobble them up.

«Dr. Cunha then expanded his statement about Goa with a forceful and eloquent presentation of the concern of the Portuguese Government over the alarming developments in Asia and Africa against the continued presence of the Western powers. He said that the Asians, aided and abetted by the Soviets, were exploiting the issue of colonialism to push the Western Europeans out of their overseas possessions. If they should be successful in Africa, Dr. Cunha said it would mean the gradual eclipse of Western Europe since the latter's very existence depends upon the resources of Africa and the continued control exercised by the Western European powers over this continent on their flank. He was sure that once the Europeans were expelled the Russians and Asiatics would eventually fight among themselves, but it would then be too late for Europe. The U.S. because of its geographic position would not feel the full effects as soon as Europe, but they would in the long run. He asserted that the Western bloc cannot afford at this time to be unduly governed by ideological considerations or to give any encouragement to nationalistic forces anywhere in the world, since it would mean playing into the hands of those propagandists of anti-colonialism who so ably serve the communist cause.

«The Foreign Minister declared with some warmth that the Western European powers should be proud of their colonies and willing to defend them. Portugal was certainly proud of Goa and would fight to retain it. The

Secretary expressed full agreement with Dr. Cunha's estimate of the dire effects on Western Europe of the loss of Africa, and agreed that in the next 25 years this would be a crucial area<sup>220</sup>.»

Just like Japan, India, and the Soviet Union, China is also of the world's leading powers with neither colonial past in Africa nor any involvement in the Black Holocaust (slave trade, slavery, colonialism, etc.). China happens also to be one of the prominent protagonists of the 1955 Afro-Asian Conference, which, as said above, expressly declared its opposition to both colonialism and neocolonialism not only by the European powers then in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, but also by the United States.

Thus, in view of the core values enshrined in the tools of the international law; particularly the UN General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, about the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; the proviso of Article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the provision of Article 35 of the Charter of the United Nations; and the fact that the right to react wherever the obligations prohibiting genocide, slavery, apartheid, aggression, the maintenance by force of colonial domination, and the massive pollution of the

---

<sup>220</sup> Conversation between Dr. Paulo Cunha, Portuguese Foreign Minister and the Honorable John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State, in «Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957, Volume XXVII, Western Europe and Canada, Document 148: Memorandum of a Conversation, Department of State, Washington, November 30, 1955»; Related link: <http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1955-57v27/d148>.

atmosphere or the seas appear to be violated is a right undoubtedly given to all subjects of international law; China, along with the Soviet Union and other protagonists of the Bandung Conference, dared to grant financial, political, and logistical support to African liberation movements in the 1960s and 70s. Since the Soviet Union appeared to be western powers' greatest challenger in Africa, NATO member States managed to steer Moscow into a trap. Ever since the early 1960s, most African liberation movements militarily and ideologically supported by the Soviet Union, e.g. Angola's, were artfully infiltrated by the West at the expense of both Africa and Moscow. History shows that the MPLA has never been a pro-Soviet organization<sup>221</sup>. As it was financially fed by capitalist corporations, it had to claim (falsely) to be a communist organization in order to gain acceptance among Pan-Africans and anti-colonialists across the globe. In fact, the double game the MPLA (Angola) has played as a freedom movement and is still playing as a ruling party was intended to help thwart the Soviet Union's influence in Africa. Since all internationally wrongful acts Angola has committed in Africa from 1963 to 1990 had necessarily to be viewed as Soviet-backed crimes, Africa's initial greater sense of affection for the Soviet Union has been drastically diminished. Among other things, the back cover of Michael Stuermer's pertinent book entitled "*Putin and*

---

<sup>221</sup> The work of Piero Gleijeses entitled «Havana's Policy in Africa, 1959-76: New Evidence from Cuban Archives» and the one of Dr. Odd Arne Westad entitled «Moscow and the Angolan Crisis: A New Pattern of Intervention» in "Cold War International History Project" (CWIHP Bulletin 8/9 Winter 1996/1997, pp. 24, 27), show that most African leaders and even USSR itself did not fully trust the MPLA leader, Dr. António Agostinho Neto.

*the Rise of Russia*” published in 2008 reads: « Russia has the potential to be a force of stability or a force of turmoil, but when it comes to global affairs, can she be persuaded to join the world order? Will yesterday’s revolutionary power become tomorrow’s stabilizer? » Just like the Soviet Union in the past, the Russian Federation is similarly under pressure to stop being a revolutionary power, to join the world order, and thus to become a force of stability. But what kind of world order is it about? Seemingly, it is about the one that has led Amnesty International to accuse the UN Security Council on Thursday (24 May 2012) of failing to show leadership in the face of global upheaval, putting economic interests ahead of human rights and international law.

Hence given China’s increasing thirst for Africa’s natural resources, it is unlikely that Beijing will continue to stand as a revolutionary power on behalf of African nations in our search for integral development. China must pull itself together and immediately come down on the right side of human rights and international law with respect to Africa! Anything else would lead Beijing to thoroughly and regrettably join the prevailing world order that put economic interests ahead of Rights. There is, for instance, a clear and compelling case for the regime of Dos Santos (Angola) to be referred to the International Criminal Court in The Hague for war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity. Yet, as western Human Rights organizations put it, “since Angola is China’s second most important source of oil and most important commercial partner in Africa, trade partners remain reluctant to even criticize the Angolan government, to protect their economic interests”. So China is being steered into a trap, one that is making it blossom as

scapegoat for the internationally wrongful acts in Africa of the European Union's imperialist States. Accordingly, we are of the opinion that in less than two decades this will indisputably awaken a strong anti-Chinese feeling among Africans on the Continent and in the Diaspora, thus leading Africans to stand against the Chinese interests and presence in Africa with the collusion of the European colonial emperors.

«China 'buying out' Africa: Top 5 destinations of Chinese money», is the title of Michail Vafeiadis' relevant article published on 1<sup>st</sup> March 2012 in "The Christian Science Monitor". The article says, among other things, we quote: « On a quest to secure raw materials and energy resources to support the exponential growth of its economy, China has become the fastest-growing investor in Africa. As of July 2010, China overtook the United States as the world's largest energy user, according to the International Energy Agency (IEA), and much of that energy comes from African countries such as Sudan and Angola. Critics argue that China undermines democracy, human rights, and transparency by signing business deals with authoritarian leaders. They also point to the "\$10 billion imbalance in China's favor in 2010" as a type of African re-colonization. But many African leaders welcome the unconditional Chinese largesse. (...) » The question is, if China is buying out Africa, who then is selling out Africa? Two extremely pertinent documents permit to verify that Africa's former colonial powers, with the EU fellow feeling, appear to be the ones selling out Africa for both political and economic reasons. It is about a must read book entitled «Commodities – Switzerland's Most Dangerous Business» published recently by Berne

Declaration (ED.); and Thierry Michel's Film entitled "Katanga Business". Let's remind ourselves that China and the Russian Federation are the sole Permanent members of the UN Security Council the West fear the most, as they happen to be the foremost nuclear powers likely to support African States demanding reparations for injustices suffered by African slaves and their descendants. There is real fear, for this would be enough to ruin the whole West! Therefore, China and Russia have got to be extremely cautious in order for them not to be set up for an ambush! Though, their cautiousness should just consist in getting rid of African autocrats, helping Black leaders who really strive for the happiness of all their nationals, and embracing Rights, i.e. human rights and international law.

African long-time dictators are already being used as mere instruments meant to undermine China's right-minded profile in the eyes of the large majority of Africans living in poverty at home and abroad. The Chinese have been very consistent in their foreign policy of peace and harmony, mutual respect and mutual trust so far. Most Africans who have had experience with their Elite are agreed that "if you have their trust and friendship, when they give you their word, they honor it". In other words, the Chinese are big fans of practicing noble virtues which the new leaders are managing to infuse in government. Whether it is true or not, the fact is that China is maliciously being portrayed/converted into a predatory entity for lack of adequately devoted and honest African leaders. Ever since the 1960s China is one of the chief allies of African freedom movements, particularly Angola's. It is likewise true that China is among the few powerful nations better placed to help

Africa recover lasting peace and help us make the type of progress that time demands. In addition to that, China happens to be Permanent Member of the UN Security Council on which the Charter of the United Nations confers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Thus African leaders should make every endeavor to fairly acquaint the Chinese government with African conflicts inherited from the colonial era, like the belligerent occupation of Cabinda by Angola orchestrated by those European imperialist States whose main fight post-WWII is to necessarily prevent Germany from acquiring a single sphere of influence in Africa. The other reality China should be aware and better informed about is the fact that most African Strongmen (tyrants) are Western citizens. Hence Western remote controlled puppets! We all know that the Chinese government is trying to treat its African counterparts as equals and is managing to place its cooperation with Africa in a win-win situation. Unfortunately, African dictators are showing total incapability to correspond to the Chinese openness, both morally and politically. A bit more than 70% of thousands of millions of US dollars African dictators borrow from China end up in Government members' personal bank accounts in the West. It is money lost for ever and to the great benefit of Western States alone! "Approximately \$8.5 billion worth of diamonds a year comes from African countries, enough to wipe out hunger in Africa", claims «Injustice Facts» on Twitter. So African despots are not only betraying the Chinese Government's goodwill but also Black people's confidence in their own leaders. We cannot help claiming that in the not so distant future, Asians as a whole and the millions of African people reduced to debasing poverty will be the biggest losers in

the actual wrestling match between Westerners and Chinese. While China strives to lead the world toward a win-win situation for all, its opponents remain deep-rooted in the belief that the world is justly divided into Winners and Losers. If Chinese are not to lose out in the future, they must show the rest of the world the way forward.

The Chinese government is being smoothly portrayed as the major provider and financier of the African destruction by African dictators. Corporate media that we all observe are in fact dangerous to peace and security, are already doing their malicious job aimed at preventing the special bond of traditional friendship between China and Black peoples from resuming. As we all know, well before the Portuguese Maritime Discoveries in the 15th century, there had been peaceful relationship between Blacks and Asians in a win-win situation. There is no need to refer to the abovementioned Camões' invaluable work «*Os Lusíadas*» to acknowledge that the Portuguese navigators did have recourse to Black navigators in order for Vasco da Gama to reach certain ports in Asia. The cordial and constructive atmosphere that existed between Africans and Asians prior to the European conquest of Africa from the 15th century shows that Africans and Asians are both naturally inclined to develop everlasting peaceful and win-win partnership. China is required to pay due attention to and carefully examine all African conflicts left in Africa by former colonial powers on purpose for later advantageous political outcomes. It is a requirement, to avoid being steered into a trap by China's merciless challengers. In this connection, we justly claim that the Chinese government and people who firmly supported

the Angolan people's just struggle for national liberation in pursuance of the UN General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, should carefully assess the consequences of Angola's internationally wrongful act in confiscating Cabinda's political sovereignty.

African people have been for several centuries frustrated politically and economically, and debased physically and psychologically. Therefore, African people are extremely vulnerable men and women, inasmuch as our frustration with centuries-longer history can at any time be used by European powers to make brave cannon fodders of us in their wars against the Asian people as a whole. That is why we believe that African dictators' lack of sensibility to present-day "winds of change" is a serious threat to world peace! Good governance, as well as peaceful and cyclical change of Heads of State in African countries, turns out to be a *sine qua non* for genuine partnership of mutual benefit for Africans and the World at large.

«No change without 'good governance'. This key concept applies not only to the governments of the producing countries, but also to the frequently symbiotic relationship between them and the commodity businesses. Oil and mining companies often profit as much as, and sometimes an even more than, governments of host countries and therefore share responsibility for the consequences of resource exploitation. / As regards mining, only a tiny proportion of the resource rents actually reaches the producing countries, which is why there is no money for economic and social development. Although more stays in the country in the case of oil, it rarely benefits the population, nor is it invested in future

development. Basically, a lack of transparency and democratic governance encourages governments and commodity companies to join forces, which has an even more serious impact on the inhabitants, especially those communities directly affected. Although commodity companies are mainly actors in the first distribution dimension, they also bear principal responsibility for the second. Firstly, they must offer the governments of their host countries a fair deal, then they must use their wide-ranging influence to exert pressure on governments on issues such as good governance and internal distribution. The means: no bribes, no deals with governments not legitimised by the people, and total transparency<sup>222</sup>».

There should not be deals with illegal and illegitimate governments in Africa, like Angola's colonial power over the oil rich Cabinda. Of course the unlawful occupation of Cabinda by Angola is a Western malicious work. However, the more China comes into view as the world leading power the more the Chinese government and people are being portrayed as the ones holding down Black people through our inveterate dictators. There is massive deforestation and destruction of crucial wildlife habitat in Cabinda and Africa at large. Though, due to its growing thirst for natural resources including wood and minerals profusely publicized in the West, China is being shown as the sole entity accountable to Africans and the World for such destruction. The European Union's malicious endeavor to maintain Cabinda under Angola's stubborn colonial power not only thwarts the establishment of a

---

<sup>222</sup> In «Commodities – Switzerland's Most Dangerous Business», by Berne Declaration (ED.), Edition d'en Bas, Lausanne, 2011; English version, Zurich 2012, pp. 359, 356.

legally constituted state and democratic order in Angola itself but also taints the Chinese moral and political authority in the eyes of Africans and all justice and peace-lovers throughout the world. The European Union has long since recommended Angola's despot to buy off the Chinese government and people with lies and mining concessions, in order to have China as a country predisposed to coerce the United Nations as a whole, particularly its Special Committee on Decolonization, into postponing Cabinda's attainment of independence. In motivating Angola to offer China valuable forest concessions or rights to minerals and crude oil, in return for huge amounts of money that usually end up financing presidential campaigns in Europe, the European crafty mentors of the Angolan dictatorship are hindering China from being looked at as the country and people that really push for the establishment of a more just and reasonable international political and economic order. European colonial Masters did everything in their power to thwart Germans from providing Africans with weapons that would help us oppose colonial subjugation. In the end, the Black peoples Germany wanted to free from European colonial yoke ended up as cannon fodders in the European imperialists' war of revenge on Germany. So either China and Russia and India decide to do everything they can to keep Africans safe and secure from re-enslavement and extermination, thus following in the footsteps of France, the United States of America and the United Kingdom who justly provided the State of Israel with all powerful weapons so it can effectively keep its citizens safe and secure from another genocide, or, in agreement with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., we perish together as fools.



## The MPLA Distinctive Nature

In view of Angola's illegitimate occupation of Cabinda ever since 1975 and the serious crimes of international concern that this very occupation entail, my voluntary readers and I must spare no effort in trying to perceive the MPLA distinctive nature. Let's keep the momentum in ascertaining whether Angola's ruling party (MPLA) can really contribute to the fulfillment of the United Nations ideal of universal peace. To succeed, we have got to examine and scrutinize the three MPLA historical stages from its beginning until now. We will finally end up concluding that in all stages, i.e. the independence war from 1961 to 1975, the civil war from 1975 to 2002, and the peace time from 2002 onwards, the MPLA is just a criminal gang.

### 1. The MPLA as Widely Known

The MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola; Portuguese: *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola*) is the political party that has been ruling Angola since the country's independence from Portugal in 1975. It fought against the Portuguese army in the Angolan War

of Independence of 1961-75, and ultimately defeated UNITA and the FNLA in the Angolan Civil War of 1975-2002. On December 1, 1956, in Portuguese Angola (during the “Estado Novo” regime) the Angolan Communist Party (PCA) merged with the Party of the United Struggle for Africans in Angola (PLUA) to form the People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola, with Viriato da Cruz, the President of the PCA, as Secretary General. A bit later, two other movements merged into MPLA, namely the Movement for the National Independence of Angola (MINA) and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Angola (FDLA).

Mário Pinto de Andrade (August 21, 1928 – August 26, 1990) was an Angolan poet and politician. He was born in Golungo-Alto, in Portuguese Angola, and studied philology at the University of Lisbon and sociology at the Sorbonne in Paris. While there, he became active in opposing Portuguese colonial rule of Angola, and wrote anti-colonial poetry. In 1955 he took part in the founding of the Angola Communist Party. In 1956 he was a founder member of the People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and was its President from 1960 to 1962. He clashed with his successor, Agostinho Neto, and in 1974 split with the MPLA, founding a new group called *Revolta Activa* (Active Revolt). Angola became independent on November 11, 1975, but Andrade continued to live in exile in Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Mozambique. He died in London.

According to “A Political and Economic Dictionary of Africa” (p. 26), Mário de Andrade is the first leader of the *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA – Popular Liberation Movement of Angola). The MPLA,

a successor to the oldest Angolan anti-colonial movement, the *Partido da Luta Unida dos Africanos de Angola* (Party of the United Struggle of the Africans of Angola), was considered to be dominated by the Mbundu people, who inhabit the area around the capital, Luanda, and by the views of urban intellectuals, mostly *assimilados* (Europeanized Africans granted Portuguese citizenship) and *mestiços* (people of mixed European and African descent), personified by De Andrade himself.

Lúcio Lara served as the General Secretary of the MPLA during the Angolan Civil War. Lara, a founding member of the MPLA, led the first MPLA members into Luanda on November 8, 1974. He swore in Agostinho Neto as the first president of the country. Lara taught math and physics before MPLA members elected him Secretary for Organizations and Cadres at the MPLA's first national conference in December 1962. The MPLA's core base includes the Mbundu ethnic group and the educated intelligentsia of the capital city, Luanda. The party formerly had links to European and Soviet Communist parties. It subsequently became a full-member of the Socialist International grouping of social democratic parties. The armed wing of MPLA was the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA). The FAPLA later became the national armed forces of the country. Major mass organizations of the MPLA-PT include the *Organização da Mulher Angolana* (Angolan Women's Organization), *União Nacional dos Trabalhadores Angolanos* (National Union of Angolan Workers), *Organização dos Pioneiros de Agostinho Neto* (Organization of Pioneers of Agostinho Neto), and the Juventude do MPLA (Youth of MPLA). In 1983 the

MPLA added *Partido do Trabalho* (Party of Labour) to its name, giving: MPLA-PT.

The Carnation Revolution in Lisbon, Portugal in 1974 established a military government that promptly ceased anti-independence fighting in Angola and agreed to hand over power to a coalition of three pro-independence Angolan movements. The coalition quickly broke down and the newly independent Angola broke into a state of civil war. South Africa intervened militarily in favour of the conservative FNLA and UNITA, and Zaire and the United States also heavily aided the two groups. Cuba deployed thousands of troops in 1975 to aid the MPLA, with the Soviet Union aiding both Cuba and the MPLA government during the war. Later the United States Congress barred further U.S. military involvement in the country, fearing another Vietnam-style quagmire.

Maintaining control over Luanda and the lucrative oil fields of the Atlantic coastline (Cabinda), the MPLA declared Angola's independence on November 11, 1975, the day the Portuguese abandoned the capital. Poet and freedom fighter Agostinho Neto became the first president upon independence, and he was succeeded by José Eduardo dos Santos in 1979. In 1977 the MPLA adopted Marxism-Leninism as the party ideology. After a violent internal conflict called Fractionism, it made it clear that it would follow the socialist, not the communist model. However, it maintained close ties with the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc, establishing socialist economic policies and a one-party state. Several thousand Cuban troops remained in the country to combat UNITA insurgents and bolster the regime's security. This led to civil war with UNITA, which received varying degrees

of support from the U.S. and South Africa in the 1980s. The war continued until 2002, when UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi was killed. The two parties promptly agreed to a ceasefire, and a plan was laid out for UNITA to demobilize and become a political party. During both the Portuguese Colonial War and the Angolan Civil War, the MPLA received military and humanitarian support primarily from the governments of Algeria, Bulgaria, East Germany, Cape Verde Islands, Czechoslovakia, the Congo, Cuba, Guinea-Bissau, Morocco, Mozambique, Nigeria, North Korea, the People's Republic of China, Romania, São Tomé and Príncipe, Somalia, the Soviet Union, Sudan, Tanzania, Vietnam, and Yugoslavia. While China did briefly support the MPLA, it actively supported the MPLA's enemies, the anti-Communist FNLA and later UNITA, during the war for independence and the civil war. The switch was the result of tensions between China and the Soviet Union for dominance of the communist bloc, which almost led to war.

## 2. MPLA Independence War and the Crucifixion of Viriato da Cruz

From 1963 onwards, bribery, blackmail, opportunism, greed, conspiracy, and kleptocracy prove to be the elements that make up the MPLA distinctive nature, which has become the MPLA regime's conventional department nationally and internationally. The prevailing Angola's President José Eduardo dos Santos and several other MPLA leaders, who are representing faithfully the disgusting MPLA typical nature nowadays, happen to figure among those young Angolans who were bold

enough to stand up against the measures of repression of the Portuguese colonial rule, by siding with then so exploited and humiliated Angolan men and women in their rightful quest for self-determination and independence ever since the 1960s. How to explain the fact that despite their personal past as freedom fighters, the MPLA leaders have become absolutely devoid of human feelings and scientific knowledge likely to help them recognize the legitimacy of the Cabinda people's struggle for freedom, and assist them in understanding the real meaning of the refusal of the people of Cabinda to give up our inalienable civil and political rights? And how can Angola, as a United Nations Member State and whose ruling party since the country's independence in 1975 is the MPLA, contribute to the fulfillment of the UN overriding assignment, which consists in promoting international order of justice and peace, when the very Angola is refusing to end once and for all its belligerent occupation of Cabinda? Those are, among several others, the main questions that put us on the path back to the origins of the MPLA in order to understand its both political "childhood" and "adolescence". In this connection, the valuable work of Ms. Dia Kasembe entitled "*Angola – 20 Ans the Guerre Civile*" is a welcome response to a real and vital need, since it sheds light over the fratricidal struggle between the MPLA leaders ever since the movement's coming into being. Thanks to Dia Kasembe's work, one ends up concluding that the clouds of bloody violence that are still hovering over the MPLA turn out to be an obstacle to its leaders' desire to help Angola and Africa make the type of progress that time demands.

«The first leaders of the MPLA are assimilated Half-breed and Blacks, writers for the most part. It is the case of Viriato da Cruz who, in 1948, is the presenter of the literary magazine *Mensagem* (Message). From then on a movement “*Vamos Descobrir Angola*” (Let’s discover Angola) is formed. Viriato da Cruz presents it as follows: “The movement was opposed to the excessive respect for western cultural values. It was inciting young people to ‘rediscover Angola’ from every angle and through an organized work. It was exhorting makers to produce for the people. It was calling for the expression of the popular interests and of the African authentic nature”. From then on form a lot of groups, of music clubs, theater and dance, cultural and athletic associations that are going to claim the Angolan personality. Ideas circulate and repression will not take long to beat down on this movement at first cultural before being political. Meantime, the culture went down to the level of the *muçequê* (suburb) in order to become a reality as literacy classes as well as pamphlets of political consciousness-raising. The Angolan society’s new order is thus that one: the assimilated youths refuse their privileged colonized status. They want more... In 1953 come into being the African Party of the United Fight (PLUA)<sup>223</sup> and in 1955 emerges the Movement for the National Independence of Angola (MINA)<sup>224</sup>. Their merger in 1956 gives the MPLA whose manifesto of foundation emphasizes “the only way for the liberation of the people of Angola: the revolutionary struggle”. Its leaders are Mário Pinto de Andrade and Viriato da Cruz, two Half-breeds. The

---

<sup>223</sup>Partido da Luta Unida dos Africanos;

<sup>224</sup> Movimento para a Independência Nacional de Angola.

movement is essentially urban. Soon the medical doctor Agostinho Neto (Black) and Lúcio Lara (White) are joining the direction of the MPLA. (...)» – In *Dia Kassembe*, pp. 63-64.

## 2.1. MPLA proves to be a Revisionist Clique

For self-interested reasons, the MPLA leaders remain obstinately unwilling to stop denying their party's true political roots. As the excerpt from *Dia Kassembe's* work explains it, at the starting point of the Angolan liberation movements, ever since the forties, we see first of all Viriato da Cruz, and then comes Mário Pinto de Andrade. These two figures are indeed the true founding fathers of the MPLA in 1956 and the first leaders of this movement with Mário Pinto de Andrade as President and Viriato da Cruz as Secretary General. The medical doctor Agostinho Neto and the mathematician Lúcio Lara went to join the direction of the MPLA afterwards. Not only the evolvement of the history of the MPLA brings out the opportunistic nature of Neto and Lara, but also highlights Neto's blind and boundless ambition, as well as Lara's subtle Machiavellian nature.

Viriato da Cruz had very early noticed Lúcio Lara's ingenious attempts to become the main leader of the MPLA. The excerpt below, from *Dia Kassembe's* work (page 64), gives us the privilege of verifying Viriato's awareness of Lara's political interests irreconcilable with the ones of most of the Angolan population. In addition, it shows us Da Cruz forewarning his White compatriot Lara.

«But Viriato da Cruz who knows his country for the reason that he had gone all over it as acting of sewing machine “Singer” and who will later, during the time of his exile, prove himself to be an excellent expert of Engel, Marx and Lenin’s written works, has privileged the colonial specificity rather than the economic characteristic: “Angola is an African land under the yoke of the Occident that is in its capitalist-imperialist stage”. So he writes: “Let’s not confound our struggle, Angola is a black African country where most of the population are Blacks. Power must be Black. The fight is first of all to free Angola from colonialism”».

By means of this written clear explanation made by Viriato da Cruz, the physicist and mathematician Lúcio Lara is from now on conscious that he is naturally prevented from dreaming to become president of the MPLA and, even less, to become president of Angola after its attainment of independence. Let’s not only remember that Lúcio Lara is a White man and Viriato da Cruz a Mestizo, but also the fact that within the Portuguese colonial system any person of mixed-race was considered to be a Black person. Thus began the bloody and never-ending fight within the MPLA, one symbolized by Viriato da Cruz on the one hand and Lúcio Lara on the other hand. In fact, it is a confrontation between a man (Da Cruz) with a clear religious and political beliefs and someone (Lara) without an explicit confessional and ideological tendencies. Lúcio Lara takes his unbreakable sword from the very explanation written by Viriato da Cruz, according to which “*Power must be Black*”. Accounts make believe that not only the genuine founding father of the MPLA was sincerely committed

to liberating the Black people of Angola from colonialism and imperialism, but he also identified himself as a Black person. Therefore, when Viriato underscored that “*Power must be Black*”, he was just telling Lara, the challenger of Mário Pinto de Andrade, the president of the MPLA at the time, that it was nonsense that a White man (Lara) seek for power in an African country where most of the population are Blacks. Even though Lara seemed to have renounced his intention of becoming president of the MPLA and subsequently president of Angola once free, he had never abdicated totally. He just decided to make every endeavor to become the “Guru” of the MPLA, as a liberation movement and as Angola’s ruling party, by subtly imposing a man or woman previously brainwashed by himself upon the presidency of the MPLA and, hence, upon the State of Angola.

Since Mário Pinto de Andrade and Viriato da Cruz, then president of the MPLA and the president’s mentor respectively, were both *Mestizo*, Lúcio Lara undertook to instigate the MPLA Black members to unobtrusively claim an authentic Black to be the president of the movement instead of a fake Black, i.e. a *Mestizo*. Thanks to Lúcio Lara’s subtle, yet aggressive political campaign, in December 1962 the medical doctor Agostinho Neto (Black) succeeds Mário Pinto de Andrade (Mestizo) as president of the MPLA. To the regime of the newly independent Congo-Kinshasa (now Democratic Republic of the Congo), where the direction of the MPLA has been installed since 1961, the succession by Neto to the presidency of the MPLA appeared to be a White putsch against Blacks. The Black Agostinho Neto, who was married to a White Portuguese lady and whose right hand man was Lara (White as well), is henceforth suspected

to be an imperialist powers' puppet through Lara. In November 1961, a serious armed clash had taken place between the MPLA fighters and the combatants of UPA (not yet combined with the Aliança dos Zombos to become FNLA). When GRAE came into being, of which Holden Roberto was the president, MPLA found itself increasingly isolated on the international stage. In January 1963, the Congolese regime sent police to search the MPLA headquarters. Meantime, within the MPLA itself, internal dissensions break out regarding the way to follow and alliances to negotiate. In July of the same year Viriato da Cruz, unfairly labeled as a radical, is expelled from the MPLA on indiscipline and personal ambition grounds. So was the physicist and mathematician Lúcio Lara proving to have the ruthlessness required to succeed in business. In September 1963, Agostinho Neto and Lúcio Lara were arrested on a charge of "holding forged papers"! Weapons have been confiscated. Shortly after the MPLA clinic was shut down. The MPLA business office has also been closed on the Congolese government's orders.

As soon as Neto became president of the MPLA in 1962, Lara's foremost and urgent goal was the eviction of Viriato da Cruz, the genuine founding father of the very MPLA, from his own organization, and subsequently his political and physical deaths. But on the other hand, to evict and eliminate politically and physically a man of Viriato's stature, Lúcio Lara and Agostinho Neto had to find a set of pretexts that could everlastingly leave them free from any blame either on the national arena or on the international stage. It is amazing to see how Viriato's own political convictions are going to be the source of Lara and Neto's so needed

pretense. In fact, ever since the fifties, both Neto and Lara knew perfectly Viriato's political and ideological positions, wholly, as Kassembe's invaluable work discloses them. Without a doubt, Lúcio Lara and Agostinho Neto knew that the first movement that had been founded by Viriato da Cruz in 1948 was called: "*Vamos Descobrir Angola*" (Let's discover Angola), and knew the way Da Cruz had presented it:

«The movement was opposed to the excessive respect for western cultural values. It was inciting young people to rediscover Angola from every angle and through an organized work. It was exhorting makers to produce for the people. It was calling for the expression of the popular interests and of the African authentic nature».

Both Neto and Lara also knew that the manifesto of foundation of the MPLA that had been created in 1956 by Viriato da Cruz and Mário Pinto de Andrade was emphasizing "the only way for the liberation of the people of Angola: the revolutionary struggle". Finally, they knew that Viriato da Cruz was an expert par excellence of Engel, Marx and Lenin's written works.

It turns out that when Lara and Neto held a meeting supposedly with the aim of identifying and deciding on the way to follow and alliances to negotiate, their evil-minded intention was to contradict Viriato da Cruz before the MPLA gathered members in order to induce the concerned members to consider Da Cruz, and whoever was taken to be in evident agreement with him, to be a dangerous extremist, instigator of internal dissensions, factional leader and, consequently, an enemy to shoot down. As a matter of fact, the MPLA internal dissensions

regarding the way to follow and alliances to negotiate that broke out in 1963 were absolutely fake dissensions, for the mere reason that they were previously planned both by Neto and his eternal “Guru”, Lúcio Lara. Hence, the ultimate goal of their plan (cunningness) was to justify in advance the future physical elimination of their political enemy Viriato Da Cruz, by aggressively labeling him as a factionalist in the eyes of all MPLA members and beyond.

Neto and Lara’s hidden homicidal intentions towards Viriato da Cruz was however obvious to the latter. Da Cruz was highly conscious that the following step of the MPLA new masters (or gangsters?) was to liquidate him physically. He knew that, after they have dared to usurp the leadership of his own liberation movement and now brutally expelled from it, Neto and Lara would neither have peace of mind nor calmly guide the MPLA if he was left alive. He knew that they had necessarily to shoot him down due to the fact that, if they did not, his presence would incessantly be disturbing their conscience, because of their dishonest nature and shameless behavior. As a result, instead of feeling sorry for oneself without the least of initiative, Viriato da Cruz got close to FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola), which was the MPLA public enemy number one at the time, if we consider the serious armed clashes between Neto’s MPLA and Holden Roberto’s FNLA that have been taking place intermittently. Few months later, Da Cruz took refuge in Algeria, then in France and at last, toward the end of the year 1966, in China. Nevertheless, as Kassembe’s work makes it obvious to all of us, for Neto and Lara’s MPLA a dissenter of Viriato’s height is a man to relentlessly pursue all over the world and

persecute until the opportunity to shoot him down appears. Yes, it is rare to find a prominent politician with few political enemies!

«...Here, we have to digress for a long time about the treatment subsequently inflicted by the MPLA on the dissident and honest militant of the African and Angolan cause that was Viriato da Cruz until the end of his life. (...) Da Cruz had become secretary general of the African-Asian Writers and Journalists' Union (pro-Chinese) whose headquarters was in Peking. This branch had split up from the mother-association (pro-Soviet) based in Cairo. (...) In October 1966, da Cruz will speak at Tien An-Men's tribune on the occasion of the 17<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Chinese Revolution alongside President Mao, Chou en Lai, (...) A Chinese delegation was going for the first time to Africa. Da Cruz was an integral part of the delegation, so as to "open the doors" of the African "progressive countries" whose leaders he knew pretty well: Sékou Touré in Guinea, N'Krumah in Ghana, Massamba-Débat in Congo-Brazzaville, Nyerere in Tanzania, etc... Peking wanted to make allies firstly against USSR (the social-imperialism) and afterwards against USA (the imperialism) » – In *Dia Kassembe's work*, pp. 66-67.

«But where the MPLA intervenes, it is in the pressure that it will systematically exercise on the fellow African countries that revolve around China in order to acquire inexpensive armaments and to have the benefit of free cooperation. At every visit of a fellow African delegation (Congo Brazzaville, Guinea, Tanzania, etc...), Da Cruz will see himself refused his request for a passport of complaisance to be able to leave China. They will

indirectly make him understand that he will get his passport on the condition that he reintegrates the MPLA, “unique Angolan liberation movement”. What, indignant, Da Cruz will categorically refuse. (...) France, which Da Cruz will call for a transit visa will turn a deaf ear to him and will afterwards respond in 1971 that he is since 1965 “*persona non grata*” on its soil. Also there, France-Portugal-China friendship will have been stronger. Da Cruz will pass away in Beijing in June 1973 aged 45, with the nerves worn-out by the perversity of the Chinese and the blackmail of the African progressive regimes obedient to the MPLA instructions. The Angolan political exiles of Peking, Whites, Hybrids and Blacks (belonging almost all to the MPLA) will all have been incapable to help Viriato da Cruz. Just as Mário de Andrade, the exile of Paris. Ever since its coming to power in 1975, the MPLA will cover up the memory of its founder! Da Cruz will be evoked only as “great Angolan poet” like Neto, Mário de Andrade, and others. No word on his disappearance, and before, on his tribulation, on his dissidence... His remains will only be repatriated in December 1990 and the Journal of Angola (organ of the MPLA regime) will dare to write in its editorial that one of the most important men of the history of... the Angolan literature – no allusion to his political role – passed away in Beijing in an obscure traffic accident (which is a cynical lie):

*“A notícia da morte de Viriato da Cruz, fez-se, no coração de cada um de nós jornalistas, poetas angolanos, o silêncio. Terminara o seu percurso de vida quem foi dos homens mais importantes da História da Literatura Angolana. Morreu em Pequim, atropelado em obscuro acidente de viação (...).”* Viriato da Cruz reposes

eventually in his homeland, at ‘Alto das Cruzes’ cemetery of Luanda» – In *Dia Kassembe’s*, pp. 68-70.

What turns out to be clear now is the fact that the MPLA has two different roots, morally and ideologically speaking. Whereas the first root is related to Viriato da Cruz, and which the present-day MPLA will everlastingly be denying for understandable reasons, the second one is related to Neto and Lara. The latter, which had motivated the two men to usurp the leadership of the MPLA, is discreetly but strongly supported by neo-colonialist powers from across the globe. This, despite its detrimental effect on the native population as it appears to be a major barrier to democracy in the country itself and to international order of justice and peace in the region. The moral and ideological roots of the MPLA designed and faithfully represented by Da Cruz stand in total contrast to those of the MPLA under the leadership of Agostinho Neto and his everlasting master Lúcio Lara.

The medical Dr. António Agostinho Neto had been chosen (seized), instructed, protected and helped to appropriate the leadership of the MPLA by the opponents of the progress of Africa through the mathematician and physicist Lara. So Neto had been chosen in order that the MPLA, once in power, could turn Angola into what it has been ever since the country’s independence from Portugal in 1975. The question is, why had Neto been chosen, instead of Mário Pinto de Andrade or even Viriato da Cruz? You cannot easily give an answer to this so relevant question. But you might try gathering the pieces of the puzzle. In the eyes of those (neo-colonialists) who were making every endeavor to topple over Salazar’s “colonial” regime over Angola, Agostinho

Neto was then the most recommended person for that kind of assignment. From Lúcio Lara and his disguised mentors' point of view, the Black Neto's academic level, religious belief, psychological profile (unbalanced) and marital status turned out to be four elements good enough to make a "God-given" leader of Agostinho Neto. In fact, the Black Neto was a medical doctor, scarce at the time, and a Protestant believer. Furthermore, Dr. Neto was married to a White Portuguese lady, namely Maria Eugénia da Silva and, later, Maria Eugénia Neto by marriage. The question arises as to whether or not it was a Lara's arranged marriage. Depending upon Acácio Barradas' controversial book "*Agostinho Neto: uma vida sem tréguas, 1922-1979*" (Agostinho Neto: a life without truce, 1922-1979), Lúcio Lara was the best man at Neto and Eugénia's wedding. As for the psychological personality, you have got to realize that Neto was an extremely frustrated Black *assimilado* (Europeanized African – alienated from the indigenous – granted Portuguese citizenship). In other words, Neto's psychological profile was characterized by an extremely disturbed state of of mind.

## 2.2. What disturbed Agostinho Neto's balance of mind!

Acácio Barradas' controversial book "*Agostinho Neto: uma vida sem tréguas, 1922-1979*" is, depending upon the author and promoters, the first extensive and participative biography of Agostinho Neto. The reaction of the Angolan "*Associação 27 de Maio*" to Barradas' work is an outcry with the following title: "O

*branqueamento em marcha*” – “the vindication in progress” – (<http://27maio.com/agostinho-neto-uma-vida-sem-treguas/>). In fact, Barradas’ work is nothing but a Machiavellian attempt to free A. Neto from any blame and, with immoderate political flatteries, erect him as the greatest Angolan ever. For instance, there is in the book a certain Arménio Ferreira’s account praising the precocious intelligence of the young Black named Agostinho Neto while at Salvador Correia high school in Angola, then under the Portuguese rule. According to the laudatory account of that White Portuguese, Neto was by far more intelligent than his White schoolmates. Not only this kind of praises and adulations by surrounding White friends accentuated Neto’s complex of superiority (*assimilado!*) over his fellow Black (Angolan) citizens, but also increased his psychological (mental) disturbance<sup>225</sup>. By maliciously creating around the leader (Neto) an extraordinary personality cult, Lúcio Lara became the real power behind Agostinho Neto by having a hold over him.

Even though Barradas’ work appears to be a work designed to politically immunize Neto, its upcoming excerpt (<http://rubelluspetrinus.com.sapo.pt/neto1.htm>) is an extremely relevant one, since it highlights Neto’s unhealthy psychological personality as well as the grounds of his inveterate hatred for “Mestizo”, the “Catholic Church” and “Cabinda” symbolized, in his disturbed mental mind, by a man who happens to be

---

<sup>225</sup> “Lenin never detached politics from psychology. He knew more than anyone that the political conduct of the militant, executive, and of the leader, could be determined constantly or casually by his character.” – Excerpt from Nito Alves’ 12<sup>th</sup> Thesis.

Mestizo, Roman Catholic and from Cabinda, in this instance Dr. José Pinheiro da Silva. Mr. Daco's book entitled "*Les Prodigieuses Victoires de la Psychologie Moderne*" gives an insight about the terribly damaging nature of a human being with a psychological lack of balance. It is stated over there that "balance" is the tool of the "human perfection", and that without balance there is nothing authentic that can be accomplished. Without it, it's impossible to reach the whole blissful feeling. Every lack of balance deprives the human being of his physiological and psychological entirety. As a result, the lack of balance separates him/her from his/her possible altruism. It is clear that any illness, any psychological anomaly separates the human being from himself/herself; that is to say from his/her capability to love, to do good and be thankful to his/her Creator.

Regardless of the high level of his academic education, the Neto that is emerging from the frustrating colonial environment turns out to be a man whose soul is full of injuries and the brain cluttered with colonial defects. With this pitiful intimate situation, in addition to the fact of being surrounded by friends who were but bandits and to whom he disclosed his entire intimacy, Dr. Agostinho Neto could not help destroying further his own country and people, as well as the African people as a whole. By expressing regret at the fact that Neto, the young Black Angolan man who was "by far more intelligent than his White schoolmates", was not given immediate access to higher studies by the Portuguese regime owing to his racial and religious affiliation, Neto's evil-minded White friends are trying to fool the Angolan people and the world that they themselves are, just like Neto, ferocious enemies of injustice everywhere, be it

racism, fascism, colonialism, imperialism, etc. What also emerges from the very excerpt is that Neto's personal devotion to the struggle for the triumph of freedom and justice on behalf of the Angolan people is not a genuine one. Ever since the time the Portuguese scholarship had been granted to Pinheiro da Silva instead of being given to him, Neto became fierce enemy of Pinheiro da Silva and of every single thing that the latter was affiliated to, i.e. Cabinda, the Roman Catholic Church, the Mestizo, and the colonial regime within which he subsequently assumed governmental responsibilities. As a result, setting aside the Mestizo who had been freed from the enemy lines in the name of Neto's Mestizo children, Neto's principal enemies have become MPLA's. By the way, Viriato da Cruz and Mário Pinto de Andrade, the genuine MPLA founding fathers were both Mestizo and Roman Catholic! With regard to Cabinda, the MPLA regime remains totally deaf to Cabinda people's legitimate requests concerning our inalienable right to recover our political sovereignty. As to the Roman Catholic Church, let us mention that through the Portuguese newspaper "Público" of 19 December 2000, «Frei Bento» reminded that in 1977 the President of Angola, Agostinho Neto, had declared: "Perhaps within 50 years there will not be any Church in Angola". So the MPLA government is a kind of priceless diamond in the hands of those subtly waging a war against Christianity, Catholicism in particular.

Again, Barradas's work essentially aimed at making an angel of Agostinho Neto in the eyes of the Angolan people and of the world is, as the very upcoming excerpt shows it and despite the author's wish, also an authentic mine of silent truths not less relevant in regard to Neto

and many other aspects. It transpires that Neto and his political mentors had tried to leave out the scholarship he had been awarded from a Portuguese institution, emphasizing just the one he got from the American Methodist Church. In this connection, the question arises as to whether or not Neto, his gurus, and his MPLA are « honest » persons and party respectively. Furthermore the excerpt gives proof of Viriato da Cruz' intellectual and political transcendence that is the envy of Neto and Lara's MPLA thus far. Barradas did unintentionally mention it: In 1957, Neto did "participate in the founding of the Anti-Colonialist Movement, of which the Guinean Amílcar Cabral was the driving force although the respective Manifesto would be authored by Viriato da Cruz". He also did mention what, in my eyes, gives Da Cruz a golden crown stuffed with diamonds, i.e. his "*Let's discover Angola*" that is a kind of "*return to the sources*", a "*rediscovery of the 'I' African*", which finally became the 'spirit' animating all prominent African intellectuals at the time and that would implant itself with the appellation of "*Negritude*". The question here is: how did Neto's White friends, like Lúcio Lara, who stood as Angolan nationalists, view and experience the political exhortation to the "*rediscovery of the 'I' African*", that was the "*Negritude*"?

One more question: did Lúcio Lara become the MPLA craftiest political strategist thanks to his "return to the black (African) sources"? When you globally consider the "fruits" of Dr. José Pinheiro da Silva's political commitment and compare them with Dr. António Agostinho Neto's, you cannot help concluding that Pinheiro da Silva is the « winner » of the psychological war without truce that Neto is still waging against him.

Whereas Pinheiro da Silva wins because he is a «warrior», Agostinho Neto loses for he was but a «soldier». One has to know that while warriors are born, shaped, molded and refined, soldiers are trained, made, used and disposed of. So the soldier Neto's disturbed balance of mind did not help at all. In this connection, let's quote the well-known Tibetan Dalai Lama: "*Under certain circumstances, you may need to take steps to counteract someone else's wrongdoing, but it's better to do so without anger. That will be more effective, because when your mind is overwhelmed by a disturbing emotion like anger, the action you take may not be appropriate.*" It is undeniable that the real «losers» in all of this are Neto, Lara, and their MPLA regime. They failed to win the competition, for the reason that they have proved to be «thieves par excellence» and, as a result, incapable to keep their promises to concretize the so cried "victory of the weak over the strong, the humiliated and offended over the proud and arrogant, not only in Angola but all over the world". They are the real losers, for the actual Angola's iron fist rule turns out to be worst than the Portuguese colonial and imperialist power whose injustice they pretended they voiced their indignation. The strong chaotic political, economic, and social situation the Angolan people are in since the country's independence in 1975, thanks to the MPLA regime's disgusting behavior emanating from Neto and Lara's doctrine, turn out to be a crime against the very "*sagrada esperança*" (sacred hope) that Neto had fed his people during the 14 years of his fight against the Portuguese colonial regime. In ordinary language, Neto and Lara did fool the Angolan people<sup>226</sup> as a whole. Consequently, they have got to be held accountable. Here is the excerpt from Barradas' work:

---

<sup>226</sup> "It is easier to fool people than to convince them that they have been fooled." – Mark Twain.

«With such a background, one would expect that, finished high school, and with high classification, Agostinho Neto had immediate access to higher studies. But there was no University in Angola, and its admission and frequency in the Metropolis (as Portugal was then referred to) was too expensive for the modest family resources. And the only possibility to circumvent such an obstacle would ultimately be shut down. At the time, the colonial Government had a scholarship annually assigned to student finalist of the high school with higher classification. António Agostinho Neto was a strong candidate, but came to compete with him another student from Cabinda, José Pinheiro da Silva. As Adriano Sebastião recalls it, there has been controversy between supporters of the two candidates, with the balance having bent to Pinheiro da Silva's side. The latter had the advantage of being *Mestizo* and Roman Catholic, while Agostinho Neto was Black and Protestant. In other words: religion and race had reasons that reason denies. It is nevertheless curious to note that the future involvement of the two rivals would accentuate their differences, because while Agostinho Neto became the revolutionary leader, Pinheiro da Silva was always a passionate defender of the colonial regime and, in the 1960s, happened to assume governmental responsibilities in Angola, as provincial Secretary of Education. After all, with 22 years old and ruined the hypothesis of scholarship in the immediate future, Agostinho Neto's solution was finding a job. Through a public competition, he joined the administrative framework of the health and hygiene services of Angola, being placed first in Malange and subsequently in Bié. Upon reaching Malange, he would be again confronted, now in a direct form, with racial prejudice. As later he recalled in a written document from

prison, he had been “refused entry to a lower category hotel, where usually white workers were accommodated, many of them illiterate”. The confrontation with this kind of humiliating situations, as well as the enslaving regime that in childhood he had witnessed with the cotton workers of Icolo and Bengo, or with the contract workers at the coffee plantations in the region of Dembos, in Piri, where his parents had been transferred in the meantime, aroused his consciousness to the harsh realities of colonialism which, in his mind, profiled early as an enemy to blow down. (...) But it is mainly in poetry that Agostinho Neto will find the most appropriate expression to voice his indignation at the injustice and pass on the “*sagrada esperança*” (sacred hope) for the victory of the weak over the strong, the humiliated and offended over the proud and arrogant who hold on colonial and imperialist power, not only in Portugal but all over the world. (...) Having never given up to climb the rope the higher possible, finally Agostinho Neto managed, three years after having started his career as a civil servant, to meet the conditions to study in the Metropolis. He did so, initially, with the savings he managed to achieve from his meager proceeds. Only two years later, according to Marga Holness, he will have been awarded a scholarship from the American Methodist Church. (...) This grant is invariably referred to as the only support he received. This is, though, a misunderstanding. In fact, Agostinho Neto received another scholarship (whose beginning we are unable to determine) that was granted by a Portuguese institution, the IASA – Institute for Social Assistance to Angola. Such grant, worth three thousand escudos (amount quite high for that time), however, stopped being picked up by Agostinho Neto at the Ministry of overseas territories, as a result of having been arrested and

pronounced upon “subversive activities” in the Criminal Court of Porto. Alerted by the PIDE to this fact, the IASA would suspend the awarding of the grant in 1955. Stepping back to the date on which he began graduate studies in the Metropolis, in 1947, you find Agostinho Neto at the University of Coimbra, where he matriculated in the Faculty of medicine. His social integration was immediate, and this contributed to the fact of being himself quickly familiarized with other students of African origin, although most of them were Whites and Mestizos. One of them, Lara, would be his companion until the end of life. (...) Meantime, he moves from Coimbra to Lisbon, where his political activity intensifies. And in March 1952 takes place his first arrest, for a period of three months. The crime he was accused of: “being in possession of subversive pamphlets”. (...) Among the regulars of the literary parlors of Aunt Andreza (Actor Valley street, 37, Lisbon) appeared, in addition to Agostinho Neto, other Angolans like Mário Pinto de Andrade, Lúcio Lara and Humberto Machado; the poets from São Tomé and Príncipe like Francisco José Tenreiro and Alda do Espírito Santo; the Guinean Amílcar Cabral and the Mozambican poet Noémia de Sousa. According to Mário Pinto de Andrade, all of them were animated by the spirit of “the return to the sources”, the rediscovery of the “I” African, the “re-Africanizing”. After all, this was the Lisbon’s replica of a universal African movement (led by Nicolás Guillén, Sédar Senghor, Aimé Césaire and others), that would implant itself with the appellation of “Negritude” (Blackness) and which would in Luanda find equivalence in the literary trend “Let’s discover Angola”. (...) Arrested again by PIDE in February 9, 1955, Agostinho Neto spent two and a half years in the cells of the Portuguese political police,

and then in the Prison of Aljube, in the city of Porto, only being released in June 12, 1957. (...) As soon as he walked out of jail, Agostinho Neto resumed the political contacts with his former companions in fight, in time to participate in the founding of MAC (Movimento Anti-Colonialista) – Anti-Colonialist Movement, of which the Guinean Amílcar Cabral was the driving force although the respective Manifesto would be authored by Viriato da Cruz, with amendments introduced by Mário Pinto de Andrade, and Lúcio Lara. (...) Paying him homage for such a decision, Edmundo Rocha writes: “after his rough medicine course, Agostinho Neto decides to invest his time in fighting the enemy’s citadel, the Crown’s Jewel of the Portuguese colonialism. He could have chosen the safe exile that would allow him to attend the African intellectual salons in Paris, as did for years Mário Pinto de Andrade, Viriato da Cruz, Lúcio Lara and other nationalists. But (...) takes up residence in Luanda at the end of 1959, as a doctor of the poor neighborhoods (...), six months after the wave of arrests of most African nationalists, White Angolans and Portuguese progressives, revealing in this attitude a great physical and moral courage, while knowing the tight surveillance exercised by PIDE over him.»

What is also evident is the fact that although Viriato da Cruz died in June 1973, he mystically continues to disturb the conscience of any heir of Neto and Lara’s MPLA. Thus, within the MPLA, any member who dares to show the smallest disagreement with Neto and Lara’s line of reasoning is automatically likened to a reappearance of the threatening Viriato’s evil spirit. MPLA leaders see Viriato’s ghost behind any member who dares to implicate Neto and Lara’s thinking

and methods. Once you are labeled by the MPLA as dissenter, you are necessarily someone carrying Viriato's devastating ghost and, hence, someone to kill at any cost. The speech of 12 June 1977 delivered by Dr. Agostinho Neto (then President of Angola) few days after the Nito Alves failed coup d'état against the same Neto in Mai 1977, shows obviously how much Viriato's phantom continues to pose a threat to MPLA leaders:

«Factionalism did not begin yesterday to exist. Nor last week! Factionalism exists ever since the MPLA foundation. We had to fight against various factionalist groups that have totally given themselves to imperialism nowadays. In 1962-1963, Viriato da Cruz conducted a factionalist wing, when we still were in exile in Congo Kinshasa».

So Neto and Lara's MPLA decided to make every endeavor to physically destroy Da Cruz and deny the fact that he is morally and politically the genuine MPLA founding father (root). Therefore, to be able to sincerely love Angola as a country and to promote true welfare on behalf of the Angolan people, Neto and Lara's MPLA must first of all work up the courage to fully rehabilitate Viriato da Cruz. There are already Angolan citizens who silently claim for this rehabilitation, as well as for the one of Mário Pinto de Andrade. The Angolan people's growing claim relating to the needed rehabilitation of Viriato da Cruz is given to us through ([http://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Viriato\\_Clemente\\_da\\_Cruz](http://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Viriato_Clemente_da_Cruz)):

«Viriato Clemente da Cruz, an Angolan poet and politician, was born in 1928 in Kikuvo (Porto Amboim), Angola and died in Beijing, China on 13 June 1973. He

is considered to be one of the most important Angolan poets of his time. (...) He took part in the fight to free Angola from Portuguese rulers. He was educated in Luanda, the capital of Angola, which was then ruled by Portugal. (...) Viriato da Cruz became secretary-general of the MPLA. After some time, he and others did not agree with some people in the group and this led to fighting in the streets of Leopoldville. Viriato da Cruz went to Beijing, China, in the 1960s because of the fighting in the MPLA. At first, the Chinese government welcomed him. He was well-known because he had helped create the MPLA. The Chinese wanted Viriato da Cruz to help them bring Maoist socialism to Africa. This was a big problem for Viriato and his family. His ideas were not the same as the Maoists. He thought that stronger countries can not bring a socialist revolution to other places. He was very brave and did not change his ideas. This was against the Chinese Maoist idea of world revolution. Viriato da Cruz wanted to leave China and return to Africa, but the Chinese government would not let him go and they were not good to him. This may be because he could have made trouble for their work in Africa. The last years of the life of Viriato da Cruz were unhappy and difficult. He was weak, without much food, and he died on 13 June 1973. His dead body was taken away in a military vehicle and his burial was without any ceremony. Some Angolan people think that this was shocking, because Viriato da Cruz worked hard for Angola and was one of the leaders of the liberation from Portugal».

### 2.3. MPLA as a Corrupt and Neo-Colonialists' Tool

The two excerpts (below), one from Holden Roberto's written answer dated 8<sup>th</sup> August 1962 to a Dr. Agostinho Neto's letter, and another from the Declaration of a MPLA guerrilla officer, i.e. Mr. Costa Sozinho da Fonseca, on the political and military situation made in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa) on 23 November 1965, make it clear to all of us that the MPLA "political sickness" had been ever since the 1960s diagnosed not only by Angolans belonging to opponent parties and to the very MPLA but also by various African leaders at the time.

« (...) As for the disorganization of the Angolan nationalism, which you refer to in your letter, there is no such a thing but in your imagination, based without a doubt on the disorder that presides the action of your party, the MPLA. Throwing people's mind into confusion, doing politics of systematic denigration, having the use of defamation, having the superiority complex and accepting corruption, there is what your politics proves to be. Politics of that nature, crowned with corruption, does not bear fruits because the underprivileged Angolan masses will eventually realize, one day, that behind the dialectics of the MPLA hides the neo-colonialism that a few wish to see implant in Angola so as to perpetuate the enslavement of our people. (...) I prefer to leave to the people and history the responsibility to decide between us someday in case you persist. The people, today in armed struggle, sovereign and ultimate master of Angola, within which, any cult of personality will be fought at all costs and ruthlessly, the people will never forget its past and will see on which side

does the real defense of its legitimate interests position itself.» – In *Dia Kassembe's*, pp. 233-234.

«Since the time Neto installed himself anti-democratically as head of the movement, the organization has changed completely. For me, it is not a part of the MPLA that is installed in Brazzaville, but a group following the uses and customs of Portuguese colonialists and which positions itself in the pay of the colonialists' interests. Militants of the MPLA-Neto, or better the Neto group neither enjoy the right to express themselves nor the right to criticism and self-criticism, nor the right to correspondence, as was the case for the MPLA led by Mário de Andrade, Viriato da Cruz and Matias Miguéis. For the MPLA militants, criticism, self-criticism and disagreement with certain principles or arbitraries give rise to threat or ill-treatments by means of the “*palmatória*” and the whip, or even imprisonment. Frankly, this is the way of the colonialists! They punish people with the “*palmatória*”! I think of comrade Casimiro from Cabinda. He has a broken arm as a consequence of the chastisement with the help of the “*palmatória*”. (...) These atrocities, we have condemned them at the international level while being carried out by the Portuguese colonial government.

«With regard to the military action inside, they have none, not even a strip of land occupied, unlike what they spread on this subject. They have no basis, no quarter, not even a command post inside and when they invite journalists to visit the so-called “maquis”, they bring them along into positions on Congolese territory in mountainous terrain and in the virgin forest, pretending that it is Angola. The war communiqués are false. The people of Cabinda have

no sympathy for Neto and his group. They have no people's support; it is a group cut off the masses and simply backed up by the outside. The comrades of whom they announce the death in combat are either shot for opposition to their collaborationist and pro-colonialist policy or, as they do not know the terrain, they enter Angola and are arrested over there by the villagers or, often, by the Portuguese. I doubt even about the death of comrade Moisés Cardoso de Matos who was a specialist in sabotage and of whom they say he was killed in battle. I doubt about it because he objected strongly to Neto's policy.

«I concede that they have a lot of war material provided first of all by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They have medicines, radios, fabrics, etc, etc. But they keep all of this. This is the evidence that they do not want to wage war against the Portuguese colonial domination in Angola. This attitude of non-violence and the document presented by Dr. Eduardo Santos have convinced me. The Neto group is fighting to overthrow Holden (who, at least, puts up a certain fight against colonialism), to have the exclusive control over the nationalist movement, or better, to make themselves the head of the nationalist movement with a view to negotiating with the Portuguese Government.

«I assert all this as an eyewitness of the events and actions, as militant of our movement since 1961, as a revolutionary soldier, as a former responsible for the armaments and ammunitions, as Commander of zone since November 6, 1963, as a simple, but faithful servant of the Angolan cause, as an adversary of a false independence to Angola and as an individual who is

persuaded that his fate is tied to the destiny and the transformation of the Angolan people.

«I publish this document to denounce the mistaken, anti-popular, anti-democratic and collaborationist policy of the group Neto, policy that is not intended to defend the interests of the Angolan people, but, rather, those of an Angolan stratum. I appeal to all militants, to all sympathizers and, in particular, to the commanders and soldiers tied to the group Neto so that they repudiate its policy, that they withdraw their trust from the group, as well as from any other individual whose policy and character would be similar, in order to physically bind themselves to the people of the Interior and to act within, transmitting their knowledge in the revolutionary field.

«Militant comrades of the MPLA and people of Angola, as regards the split in the MPLA, comrades Matias Miguéis and Viriato da Cruz are right.

«Finally, I declare that these revelations may be reproduced and translated without modification and only bind me personally. I do this because I feel a sense of responsibility towards the people of Angola and for the reason that my moral sense drives me to denounce the policy directed against the interests of an entire people who, for four years, have been fighting for their freedom, the improvement of their living conditions and for their inner peace. (Signed by Mr. Costa Sozinho da Fonseca)  
» – In *DIA Kasembe*'s, pp. 235-237.

Setting aside the Angolans' (Holden Roberto, Costa Sozinho da Fonseca, and Dr. Hugo José Azancot) political diagnosis with respect to MPLA conspiratorial

nature, we are now having Che Guevarra's regarding the very MPLA ambiguous independence struggle. Interviewed by Dr. Hugo Azancot de Menezes in the capital of Ghana (Accra) in 1964, Ernesto Che Guevara criticized harshly the methods of the MPLA. The relevant statements of Dr. Hugo José Azancot de Menezes, which we transcribe here, were extracted from the following website: ([http://www.angonoticias.com/full\\_head\\_lines.php?i=5485](http://www.angonoticias.com/full_head_lines.php?i=5485)):

«(...) Che Guevara has just arrived from Congo-Brazzaville. He had visited the bases of the MPLA in Cabinda (in reality, in the bordering region Congo-Brazzaville/Cabinda). I asked him for his impressions of the visit. Che was not a diplomat, rather a guerrilla fighter, and went straight to the question: "MPLA has at its disposal exceptional fighting conditions. I really wish that, during the guerrilla in Cuba, we had something comparable. Yet these conditions are not being properly seized, exploited... MPLA does not fight, does not seek after the enemy, does not attack... The enemy must be sought out, must be chastised, and should be pursued, even in the bathroom. Agostinho Neto is using armed struggle only as a mere instrument of political pressure." I handed over part of the conversation to Agostinho Neto. He did not react. Likewise to Lúcio Lara, who replied: "Cubans talk too much". But, Che was telling the truth. For several years, in my quality as responsible for medical assistance facilities of the MPLA 2nd political-military region (Cabinda), I was witness of that at every step. And so, as a reaction to this and other identical situations, would arise within the movement, before April 1974, the Active Revolt. (...)».

In fact, throwing people's mind into confusion, doing politics of systematic denigration, having the use of defamation and the superiority complex, and accepting corruption, turn out to be the main social and political defects the sadly famous "*assimilados*" inherit from the colonial system, whose policy was: "divide and rule". Divide and rule means to keep control over people by making them disagree with and fight each other, therefore not giving them the chance to unite and oppose you together. In the course of the colonial period, the colonizer Portuguese had carried out the famous "policy of divide and rule" by means of "suggestions" intended to confuse people's mind. For instance, talking with an educated Mbundu men or women, the colonizer suggested: "you Mbundu people seem to be by far more intelligent than the Bacongo people, as you assimilate faster than your fellow Bacongo." Consequently, the Mbundu cannot help exerting the very "policy of divide and rule" by means of recurrent "autosuggestions" unless one manages to recover from one's sub-consciousness, restoring henceforth one's psychological balance. Autosuggestions can be understood as an automatic rehearsal of the confusing accounts someone's mind had previously been fed on. The self-evident Neto's earlier lack of psychological balance is the foremost factor that predisposed both Neto himself and his MPLA to become absolutely a corrupt man and political party, as well as neo-colonialists and imperialists' tools.

Acácio Barradas did, for sure, come to the conclusion that the man (Agostinho Neto) he was endeavoring to "wash" was just an "un-washable" person. His abovementioned work gives us a PIDE report on the reasons that had caused the arrest in 1961 of Dr.

Agostinho Neto while in exile in the Cape Verde islands. According to the report, Neto tried to make use of forgery for political propaganda. The forgery with the aid of which Neto tried to throw people's mind into confusion was a photograph he was provided with by his wife Maria Eugénia Neto. The photograph was displaying a group of White military with the head of a Black man pushed through the top of a skewer. Where did Neto's White spouse get the photograph from? Another question arises as to whether or not the photograph was handed to her by PIDE itself for political reasons. But then the question is: were Neto, his wife and/or Lúcio Lara agents of the very PIDE? Since we can take for granted that the use of forgery, denigration, defamation, and corruption to perplex people's mind is something that characterizes the MPLA ever since Neto overthrew its first leader, i.e. Viriato da Cruz; we can likewise take for granted that, in the early 1960s, PIDE agents had successfully infiltrated into the MPLA. *"The Portuguese overseas police (PIDE, Polícia Internacional de Defesa de Estado) infiltrated the nationalist movements but most PIDE repression was directed at the urban MPLA. By 1960, waves of arrests and jail sentences had so devastated the MPLA that it was unable to lead an armed revolution from within the cities. With most of its leaders in jail and incapable of transcending its urban origins, the remaining elite, mostly mestiços, fled in February 1960 to Conakry, Guinea. The rank and file, mostly blacks, fled to the bush<sup>227</sup>".*

---

<sup>227</sup> Gregory Michael Saunders, *The Foreign Policy of Angola under Agostinho Neto* (Master's Thesis) 1983, pp. 13-14.

## 2.4. Analyzing Che, Hugo, Sozinho and Holden's remarks

In the light of Che, Dr. Hugo, Costa Sozinho, and Holden's remarks, it is obvious that Neto and Lara's MPLA is but a corrupt political "body" intended to work on behalf of imperialist powers by endeavoring to establish neo-colonialism in Angola and, from Angola, to spread it all over Africa South of the Sahara. Therefore, the independence struggle of Neto and Lara's MPLA was not a struggle of Blacks for Black Angolans, but a struggle of Europeans (having Neto just as a figurehead) for the triumph of the white supremacist cause in Angola. Let us remember that the arrival of Neto and Lara in the MPLA in 1962 had occasioned clashes between the two latter and the founding fathers of the very MPLA, i.e. Mário Pinto de Andrade and Viriato da Cruz. In the eyes and ears of Lúcio Lara, who seems to stand unobtrusively as a defender of Europe's values, Viriato's political and ideological leanings appeared to be a serious threat to white supremacist cause. As mentioned on previous pages, Viriato da Cruz did honestly present his "*Vamos Descobrir Angola*" as follows: "*The movement was opposed to the excessive respect for western cultural values. It was inciting young people to 'rediscover Angola' from every angle and through an organized work. It was exhorting makers to produce for the people. It was calling for the expression of the popular interests and of the African authentic nature*". Furthermore, in the 1956 MPLA manifesto of foundation, Da Cruz did not hide his conviction: "*the only way for the liberation of the people of Angola: the revolutionary struggle*". Finally, depending upon Dia Kassembe's serviceable

work, Viriato da Cruz who proved himself to be an excellent expert of Engel, Marx and Lenin's written works, privileged the colonial specificity rather than the economic characteristic: "*Angola is an African land under the yoke of the Occident that is in its capitalist-imperialist stage*". So he writes: "*Let's not confound our struggle, Angola is a black African country where most of the population are Blacks. Power must be Black. The fight is first of all to free Angola from colonialism*". The founding father of the MPLA, the Angolan *Mestizo* Viriato da Cruz, had to be immediately kept out from his own liberation movement, forced into exile, and subsequently killed on account of his political views and pronouncements: "*Power must be Black. The fight is first of all to free Angola from colonialism*".

Two years before his successful putsch against the first leaders of the MPLA, Lúcio Lara had witnessed the political adventure of a fellow Portuguese white supremacist, i.e. the military officer and politician Henrique Galvão's. In fact, "on 23 January 1961, Mr. Galvão led the hijacking of Portuguese passenger ship Santa Maria en route from Curaçao to Havana, Cuba. The terrorist operation was successful as anti-regime propaganda but killed one officer (3rd Pilot Nascimento Costa) and wounded several others in the process of taking complete command over the ship. Galvão would later claim that his intentions were to sail to the Overseas Province of Angola to set up in Luanda a renegade Portuguese Government in opposition to Salazar. The journey of the hijacked Santa Maria was eventually cut short due to a troubled engine and problems with the 900 captives on the ship, and Galvão released the passengers in negotiation with Brazilian officials in exchange for

political asylum in Brazil.” On the Report of the Secretary-General of the OAU (Organization of African Unity) of 30 August 1969 (Addis-Ababa), Portugal appears to be resolute to maintain its colonial system in Africa with the help of the former regime of South Africa and NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). In 1967, the first elements of direct intervention of South Africans in Angola are discovered: young South African conscripts fighting in the ranks of the Portuguese army are captured by the MPLA<sup>228</sup>.

In March 1956 Prof. Dr. António de Oliveira Salazar had delivered a speech entitled: “Goa and the Indian Union: the Portuguese view”, whose following excerpt emphasizes somehow his pride as a White supremacist, and shows his criticism over Russia’s commitment to help peoples free themselves and to take command of the fight against the capitalist imperialism. In addition, the Salazar’s very speech implies that the overseas’ peoples were not civilized (Occidentalized) enough to take part in the business world largely dominated by the Westerners, and to rule themselves their countries reasonably well. Thus, for the reason that both Henrique Galvão and Dr. Salazar can be viewed as White supremacists, the question is, how much influence did they exert upon Lúcio Lara as White supremacists? Just like Salazar, Agostinho Neto’s mentor, i.e. Lúcio Lara, has proved himself to be a man with both a deep antipathy for Marxism-Leninism and an enormous sympathy for capitalist imperialism. No need to ask

---

<sup>228</sup> See «Angola: 20 Ans de Guerre Civile», by Dia Kassembe, L’Harmattan, Paris 1995, p. 73.

questions as to what happened to all MPLA members who have declared themselves to stand for Marxism-Leninism and against capitalist imperialism. Nor do you need to ask why were hundreds of thousands of Angolan men and women killed before and after the killing of Da Cruz and Nito Alves.

«Behind the Indian Union's designs, there is as backdrop the Asian position in relation to Europe, question that will soon spread to the African continent. A reaction, of nationalistic inspiration, but having an effect throughout the whole Asian continent, seen as a whole united, has come to light, became widespread and is putting an end to a historic period of time during which the Asia's businesses have been ran by Europe. The goal to reach is the independence of the peoples and their constitution as States free from all European interference; the feeling that inspires this doing is the aversion to the abolished colonial regime and by extension to the White man who symbolizes it. The East does not only include societies or States made up exclusively of Asian people: it also includes the societies, of European root or grounding, which constitute Australia, New Zealand, Philippines, to mention just the foremost ones, for Goa should also have here its place. Russia, which frightens the other Asian countries (that probably do not forget the colonialism pursued by Moscow throughout the Central Asia's wide territories), volunteers to help peoples to free themselves and takes command of the fight against the capitalist imperialism, becoming the forced partner of those who would need this capitalism to be alive. Asia has always been the world of hermetic civilizations. Its peoples in most cases consider as a violation of their own will the fact of opening the Asian continent to the large contacts

with the Occident. Yet the ruling sectors have a European training: they think in the European style, they have imported the European institutions in most States, and these also are affiliated and contribute to the organizations with worldwide competence. The European locations in Asia are all but entirely demolished, – and all of a sudden the new States get ready to stir up a subversive movement throughout Africa, without discrimination, as if the conditions were the same in the various African regions and comparable to the ones of the Asian peoples who have obtained their independence. Since Bandoeng (Conference of 18-24 April 1955), the Indian Union has obviously become leader of the movement».

Taking it all in all Che Guevarra, Dr. Hugo José Azincot, Costa Sozinho, and Holden Roberto's remarks make up an accurate picture of the MPLA distinctive nature. What is surprising here is the fact that they have precisely described the present-day MPLA fifty-one years earlier. Apart from unmasking MPLA policy that mainly consisted and still consists in throwing people's mind into confusion, doing politics of systematic denigration, having the use of defamation, having the superiority complex, and accepting corruption, Holden's letter to Dr. Agostinho Neto involves likewise a serious warning to Neto and Lara: *“politics of that nature, crowned with corruption, does not bear fruits because the ill-fated Angolan masses will eventually realize, one day, that behind the dialectics of the MPLA hides the neo-colonialism that a few wish to see implant in Angola so as to perpetuate the enslavement of our people. (...) The people, today in armed struggle, sovereign and ultimate*

*master of Angola, within which, any cult of personality will be fought at all costs and ruthlessly, the people will never forget its past and will see on which side does the real defense of its legitimate interests position itself."*

Ultimately, Holden Roberto refers the political disagreement to history and calls for his people's assistance and intervention: "*I prefer to leave to the people and history the responsibility to decide someday between us in case you persist.*" Thirty-eight years after Angola's attainment of independence, MPLA politics is still crowned with corruption. Questions arise as to when is the people of Angola going to realize that behind the dialectics of the MPLA hides the neo-colonialism; as to when is the Angolan people going to set itself as the sovereign and ultimate master of Angola; and as to when is the people of Angola going to decide between Neto and Holden (who represents the real defense of the Angolan people's interests)?

### 3. Angola's Civil War and the Crucifixion of Nito Alves

Before Angola rediscovers its own way towards genuine national reconciliation, true and long-lasting peace, and authentic integral development, it is absolutely necessary that Angolan people in general and Angolan intelligentsia in particular figure out the MPLA main characteristics. Any patient quest for the purpose of discovering Neto and Lara's MPLA political, psychological and ideological nature leads to the consciousness that the MPLA subtle and true vocation is to be instrument through which foreign political and

economic entities perpetuate the enslavement of the Angolan people. For this single reason, Neto and Lara's MPLA main mission is to systematically eliminate any Angolan who tries to faithfully devote himself/herself to seeking the political and psychological balance of each Angolan citizen, accordingly the well-being of the Angolan people as a whole. When you look at the way Neto and Lara imposed themselves as main leaders of the MPLA; when you realize the sad and extremely revolting fate of the MPLA true founding fathers; when you notice the thinking and the political prospect of the various MPLA members who had been killed by Neto and Lúcio Lara ever since the 1960s; and when you calmly look at the wide killing off that had followed the alleged Nito Alves' factionalism and attempted coup of 27 May 1977, you become convinced forever that Neto and Lara's MPLA is nothing but a «political gang» whose ideology's name is opportunism<sup>229</sup>, and whose unique way to stay in power consists in making use of terrorist methods.

The Cabindan National Movement (MNC) has long since been drawing the attention of the international community as a whole to the pitiful fact that Angola, this very African country that had been helped by OAU and UN member states to free itself from the Portuguese colonial yoke, had promptly been converted into a mercenary entity in charge of «terrorizing» the people of Cabinda, so that powerful countries and related Business Groups can cynically continue to deprive Cabindans of

---

<sup>229</sup> Opportunism is the practice of using situations unfairly to gain advantage for yourself without thinking about how your actions will affect other people.

our political sovereignty and thus continue to loot our natural wealth and resources without the slightest regard for the United Nations General Assembly resolution 1803 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, concerning the permanent sovereignty over natural resources. Furthermore, the international legal community is well aware that the preamble of the UN General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 claims that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international economic co-operation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples and militates against the United Nations ideal of universal peace. In spite of that, the MPLA government has implicitly been given green light to freely perform its terrorism in the course of the last thirty-eight years. On Cabinda soil, Angola's crimes of international concern are under way ever since 1975! Human rights abuses against unarmed civilians, including extrajudicial executions, arbitrary arrests and detention, torture and other mistreatment, sexual violence, and the denial of civilians' freedom of movement have been taking place with complete impunity. Angola's Army (FAA) has been repeatedly, openly and long since carrying out intensified military or armed attacks on Cabindan refugee camps and settlements in the neighboring countries. In Cabinda, while measures of repression and military operations against defenseless civilians (particularly against human rights defenders) have become everyday happenings, returnees (refugees) continue to be subjected to murder, military or armed attacks, sexual violence, separation of families, forced military recruitment, violations of or threats to their personal security and other fundamental rights. How can you explain the international community's indifference with regard to the MPLA government's noticeable

terrorism for more than three decades? In our opinion, at the Cabindan National Movement, international law is very badly trapped by the Western greatest democracies' dependence on oil and various other raw materials from developing countries and Non-Self-Governing Territories like Cabinda.

With respect to the MPLA government widely known criminal nature (terrorist), the United States of America is trying to do something that should have been done before now. The then «Angolan deputy president Fernando da Piedade Dias dos Santos (known as “*Nandó*”) was recently prohibited from entering the United States of America after his name was listed as an individual linked to companies (Arosfran, Golfrate and Afribelg) funding international terrorism. On 19 October 2011 *Nandó* was prevented from disembarking at New York where he was to represent President Dos Santos at the 66th session of the UN General Assembly. Immigration officials said *Nandó* has business deals with Lebanese companies accused of funding Hezbollah<sup>230</sup>». In “*Families Ties in Dictatorships best looters of their countries wealth*”<sup>231</sup>, there is an Angolan politician named Fernando da Piedade Dias dos Santos *Nandó*<sup>232</sup>.

<sup>230</sup> [http://web.com.na/forums/namibia/politics/44038?pvview=threaded](http://web.com.na/forums/namibia/politics/44038?pvview=threaded;);

<sup>231</sup> <http://hellogambia.com/family-ties-in-dictatorships-best-looters-of-their-countries-wealth/>;

<sup>232</sup> Fernando da Piedade D. dos Santos, born on 5 March 1950, was Vice-President of Angola, 2010-2011. He was the Prime Minister of Angola from 2002 to 2008 and President of the National Assembly of Angola from 2008 to 2010. In February 2010, he was appointed as Vice-President of Angola. *Nandó* is related to President José Eduardo dos Santos by blood (cousin), also a son of immigrants from São Tomé and Príncipe. He obtained a BA in Law in 2009 at

In a letter-request directed on 4 November 2011 to the President of the Swiss Confederation, in this instance H.E. Mrs. Micheline Calmy-Rey, the Cabindan National Movement has justly emphasized two main aspects. First, that President Dos Santos' brutal dictatorship which has been in power for 34 years has in several instances, on the national and international stages, a lot more to answer for than the one of the deposed Libyan tyrant, i.e. Colonel Qaddafi; secondly, that Angola's internationally wrongful acts in Cabinda entail the most serious crimes of international concern as referred to in the Rome Statute and which, as a result, fall within the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court (ICC). So apart from the civil war (1975-2002), the never-ending civil unrest and civil rights abuses, Neto and Lara's MPLA, which is Dos Santos' as well, has countless international crimes and terrorist acts to answer for. Thanks to Alves Bernardo Baptista (better known as Nito Alves) we can learn a bit more about Lúcio Lara's opportunistic nature that has become MPLA's.

But who is Nito Alves to give us a believable explanation regarding the MPLA opportunistic nature? Nito Alves was born on 23 July 1945 in Piri, Angola. He

---

Agostinho Neto University. In 1971, Nandó joined the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Following Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975 he began a career in the People's Police Corps of Angola, becoming a division head in 1978. In 1981 he moved to the Ministry of the Interior, becoming Deputy Minister in 1984. The following year he was elected as a member of the MPLA-Workers' Party congress and given the rank of colonel in the Angolan military. He later became a member of the People's Assembly, beginning a succession of appointments to government ministerial posts. After serving as Interior Minister, Nandó was appointed as Prime Minister in November 2002 and took office on 6 December 2002.

became a MPLA member and guerilla ever since October 1966. In 1974, through election, he became member of the Central Committee of the MPLA. He served as the Interior Minister of Angola from independence, November 1975, until President Neto abolished the position in October 1976. A hard-line member of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, Nito Alves is best known for his alleged failed coup d'état against Neto. Alves was a convinced Marxist-Leninist and favored stronger relations with the Soviet Union. He represented the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola at the 25<sup>th</sup> Soviet Communist Party Congress in February 1977. On 21 May the MPLA expelled him from the Central Committee. The alleged failed coup on 27 May 1977 was followed by a purge which killed thousands as the MPLA held a witch hunt against factionalism, many innocents were murdered. So Nito was a better placed person to know the MPLA main characteristics.

Nito Alves is the man who has dared to publicly denounce the opportunistic nature of his own MPLA under the leadership of Neto and Lara, through his famous «13 TESES EM MINHA DEFESA» (13 Thesis on my behalf) published in 1976. As for Lúcio Lara's opportunistic nature, we dare to extract from Nito Alves' fifth thesis the following passage: “*porque o oportunismo consiste precisamente na falta de princípios mais ou menos definidos e firmes*” (because opportunism consists accurately in the lack of principles more or less defined and firm). What means “lack of principles more or less defined and firm” as far as Lúcio Lara, then secretary of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA, is concerned? A few months after the Carnation

Revolution in Portugal on 25 April 1974, Nito Alves has begun to notice the true nature of Lúcio Lara. He became more and more convinced that Lara was just an opportunistic man within the MPLA, which he was using according to his own interests and the needs of his hidden foreign masters. An opportunistic person is a man or woman who has neither defined and firm moral principles nor confessional belief, nor political ideology. That is exactly what Nito Alves had managed to understand and explain. He ultimately understood the real grounds of the internal crisis within the MPLA, as he highlights it at the beginning of and along his 5th thesis.

«As we will farther get to speak about the content of the fundamental contradiction within the front, the genuine cause of the internal crisis within the MPLA, the true and basic responsible of this situation is, in the presence of our people, in the face of our revolution, the anti-Sovietism of which the prevailing Administrative Secretary of the Political Bureau, Lúcio Lara, is authentic “leader”. Like in other revolutionary processes, also in Angola and within the MPLA has formed and consolidates day after day a strong and dangerous counter-revolutionary alliance between the forces of social-democracy and the Maoists. It is indeed known the Administrative Secretary of the Political Bureau’s apologia for the “exceptional behavior” – according to his language – of the Chinese in Africa and his disapproval of the Soviet comrades’ behavior, in relation to whom he keeps up, in all conscience, a deep hateful sentiment. “The Chinese are simpler and the Soviets are ostentatious”, he told me, for the first time, in Brazzaville, in August 1974. (...) Considering that the

Administrative Secretary of the Political Bureau's subtlety would lead him to deny that statement, we must demonstrate his anti-Sovietism with another fact. Thus, in October of this year (1976), addressing students, our militants who had just arrived from the School of the Party in the Soviet Union, he said, categorically, with reference to a question that had been submitted by one of the students: "These Soviets have the habit of meddling in our affairs. However, comrades, MPLA is neither pro-Soviet, nor pro-Cuban, nor pro-Chinese, but a national organization with an ideology of its own. Be warned-if because we, the MPLA, had to throw out of the then Steering Committee a buddy – Paiva – because he had the annoying habit of being "pro-Soviet"».

« (...) We can assert with certainty that there is indeed an ideological movement headed by the Administrative Secretary of the Political Bureau within the MPLA and whose content is essentially anti-Soviet ».

« (...) Though the Administrative Secretary is good at disguising his anti-Soviet background and is, in spite of that, forced into shouting whoops of delight at the Soviet Union and Cuba, and forced into giving from time to time appearance of an anti-Maoist. He combines the efficient qualities of a prestidigitator tempered through the time ».

« (...) Today we all know and more than ever – some sooner others later – that social democracy on all continents have a common denominator with the Maoists and Maoism: its profound hatred for the Soviet Union, its atrocious anti-Sovietism. Anti-Sovietism is a very much diffused variant of anti-communism ».

With the assistance of Lara<sup>233</sup> Pawson's priceless 18 pages Article entitled "The 27 May in Angola: a view from below", published, in "*Revista Relações Internacionais Nº 14*" of June 2007, by "*Instituto Português de Relações Internacionais*" of the "*Universidade Nova de Lisboa*"; as well as with the aid of Nito Alves' 12<sup>th</sup> Thesis entitled: "The Final Conclusion", we are enabled to shed more light over the MPLA distinctive nature, whose damaging consequences on the Angolan, African and the people of the entire world no longer need to be demonstrated nowadays. Nito Alves 1976 "Final Conclusion" on the real and objective causes of his difference with Neto and Lara's MPLA in philosophical, ideological, organizational and historical fields, and on the MPLA double standards of discipline, is a valuable piece of document that puts the MPLA face to face with its perfidious and extremely criminal nature. From Viriato da Cruz and Holden Roberto in the early 1960s, during the independence war, to Nito Alves in the 1970s, in the post-colonial period, one can see that there have been several brainy Angolan leaders who dared to denounce Neto and Lara's MPLA ideological duplicity. Thus, the question is: how could the MPLA with such a palpable political duplicity impose itself on a national and worldwide scale up till now? We will return to this topic a little later. The MPLA is a tool in the imperialistic rivalry between France and Germany!

Throughout his 13 thesis, Nito Alves is scientifically demonstrating that the main goal of Lúcio Lara's abnormal

---

<sup>233</sup> Lara Pawson, who had collected some testimonies on the "27 May 1977" in Angola, is a British journalist and has worked as BBC World Service correspondent in Luanda (Angola). Lara Pawson is by no means related to Lúcio Lara.

role within the MPLA is the continual abasement of the Angolan people in particular, and of the African people as a whole. Theoretically, the MPLA is a Marxist-Leninist (Communist) and an anti-imperialist party; though, in practice, it sides with the very imperialists in their war without truce against Marxism-Leninism. While Nito Alves endeavors to unmask the MPLA that Lúcio Lara defines as being neither pro-Soviet, nor pro-Cuban, nor pro-Chinese, but a national organization with an ideology of its own, Lara Pawson's work awakens our consciousness to several hidden aspects regarding the MPLA distinctive nature. She does so through her interviews with Angolan citizens and resulting observations according to which many questions about the 27 May 1977 remain unasked, let alone unanswered<sup>234</sup>. Ms. Pawson ends her paper with the following relevant remark: « This essay has only touched on the day itself, and has not explored many other crucial issues, such as the extent of Soviet support for Nito, the depth of Cuban involvement, the possible business interests that added fuel to the fire of the Nitistas and 'Netistas', the possibility of CIA involvement, the number of people who were killed after the 27 de Maio and so on. Many people – Angolans and otherwise – have advised me against this research, arguing that it is 'still too early' for the truth of the 27 de Maio to come out. I disagree. »

Ever since its coming into being in 1989, the «Cabindan National Movement» has been relentlessly alerting the international community that the MPLA government is but a mercenary entity in charge of depriving

---

<sup>234</sup>See « The 27 May in Angola: a view from below », by Lara Pawson, Lisbon 2007, p. 17.

Cabindans of our political sovereignty by means of an obvious terrorist policy so that certain western and eastern oil companies can endlessly pillage the Cabinda people's natural wealth and resources. Although Lara Pawson's work – «The 27 May in Angola: a view from below» – is not characterizing the MPLA government as a terrorist one, it is still worth to be mentioned here for two relevant reasons. First, the work sheds enough light over the MPLA government's disproportionate use of force when it deals with any peaceful demonstration, be it held by the smallest group of peoples; secondly, Lara's work allows people to conclude that the MPLA government does not only carry out frightening policies towards the people of the occupied territory of Cabinda, but also does so to have a hold on its own people of Angola. Depending upon the work in question, a demonstration held in Luanda on 24 February 1999 by, at most, thirty or forty people ended with ten people swiftly arrested by heavily armed police. It states further that “within an hour of starting, the protest was over”. As the author (Ms. Pawson) stood quite alone in the small grassy square where the protest took place, she wondered “how such a small act of dissent could possibly have provoked such an outstanding reaction”, and was also “surprised that no other journalists had turned up to report on the event<sup>235</sup>”. The following connected excerpt, apart from showing how much the Angolan common people, even journalists, are terrorized by the MPLA government's systematic violence, permits to guess the frustrating level of the international community's complicity.

---

<sup>235</sup> «The 27 May in Angola: a view from below», by Lara Pawson, Lisbon 2007, pp. 1-2.

«In the days that followed, some colleagues in the Angolan media brushed off my questions about their absence, saying the protests had been too small to bother with, or that the PDPA were just making a publicity stunt. A few admitted that they had feared being arrested. And then one slightly older journalist told me something remarkable: “The last time there was a protest in this country, they didn’t just arrest everyone – they killed the protestors and carried on killing for weeks after. Ever since then, people here have been very afraid.” “When was this?” I asked. “Nineteen seventy-seven,” he said, “and they killed thousands.” This was my introduction to the 27 May. At that moment, it seemed incredible that an event which took place more than twenty years before could remain so firmly embedded in the collective conscience. More amazing, I thought, was the fact that such a significant period in the country’s recent history had been kept so well-hidden: I had never even heard about it. Back then, I was no expert on Angola’s modern history but I had read a few books by British and North American academics and journalists focusing on the period since independence. Why had they not mentioned the Nito Alves uprising, and the thousands who were killed?<sup>236</sup>»

### 3.1. MPLA: A National Organization with an Ideology of its own!

Through the “Final Conclusion” of his 13 Thesis, Nito Alves is describing the root causes of his difference

---

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

with Neto and Lara's MPLA in philosophical, ideological, organizational and historical fields, and simultaneously characterizing the MPLA presented by Lúcio Lara (then Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee) as a national organization with an ideology of its own. Nito Alves goes as far as saying, we quote: "our judgments about the MPLA are only rigorously true when we focus on the essential and distinct characteristics of each phase and step of our revolutionary process, in accordance with strategic and tactical maneuvers. Outside this scientific methodology and technique, our judgments are and will be false, (...)". According to Alves' 12th thesis, Neto and Lara's MPLA is characterized by its inbred denial of scientific methodology, opportunism, embezzlement, conspiring, as well as by the evil temperamental background of the two men, and so on. In this connection, here is Alves' pertinent question and observations:

«How would not there be troubles and contradictions among ourselves if we start from different methodological basis (some acting according to truth and science and others according to superstitions and prejudices)? To add to this evil, is the character of each one of us, with own temperamental background, which makes sometimes much harder the collective work, the revolutionary collegiality, etc. Besides, if we continue at this pace and style, some will tend to cheat others permanently and, (...) to a certain degree of incapacity, of brutality or wickedness of character, some fellow leaders in the Central Committee will tend to send to the gallows, firing squad or prison other comrades, militants or senior executives who are truly revolutionaries, just because they transcend at individual level from the political and ideological point of

view on a daily basis. The inner feeling of frustration, the awareness that each one has of oneself in the matter of frustrations can oblige one, under certain specific conditions, to blindly and brutally take one's anger out on one's "victims". (...) I have got to declare in front of our people that our history suggests, with all these painful cases, a phase of real repression. That fallacy (false reasoning) serves however, besides it works as an instrument of action in the hands of the political police, to suppress militants, intimidate the broad working masses, disrupting revolutionists, in a word sabotaging the revolution that is thus stabbed treacherously from the inside. Now in the MPLA and in the State apparatus of the RPA<sup>237</sup> (Popular Republic of Angola), you realize on a daily basis the pernicious action of a Secretary of the Political Bureau and a direction of DISA<sup>238</sup> which, incapable of scientific research, maim facts, misrepresent events, violate the objectivity; (...) To succeed in their undeclared intents, they lay hands on the only weapon they possess: personal attack, intrigue, slander and defamation, disinformation, campaigns of mass intoxication impregnated with all toxins of counter-revolution.»

What is the MPLA own ideology according to Lúcio Lara? Depending upon all the witnesses we have so far, we cannot help concluding that Lúcio Lara's fundamental (secret!) mission ever since he entered the MPLA in the early 1960s consisted in stabbing treacherously the movement from the inside. We know the Portuguese overseas police (PIDE – Polícia Internacional de Defesa

---

<sup>237</sup> República Popular de Angola, in Portuguese;

<sup>238</sup> Direcção de Informação e Segurança de Angola – (Angolan Directorate of Information and Security).

de Estado) infiltrated<sup>239</sup> the nationalist movements, including the MPLA, ever since the 1960s. The question is: was not Lara the PIDE infiltrated agent within the MPLA? The highest boss of PIDE, the authoritarian Dr. António de Oliveira Salazar, had the Soviet Union and its communism as his fierce enemies<sup>240</sup>. Hence another question arises: “is Lúcio Lara’s both anti-Soviet (anti-Communism) and pro-Maoism that are the core of Alves’s 13 Thesis a mere coincidence with Salazar’s radical aversion to the Soviet Union and associated ideology”? In no case does it seem to be a mere coincidence! To stab the MPLA from the inside, PIDE infiltrated men or women had to deprive the nationalist movement of its “prime mover”, i.e. its ideology and, consequently, all resolute representatives of the very ideology. Let’s remember that well before Nito Alves in the 1970s, Lara had deprived the MPLA of its founding father Viriato da Cruz in the 1960s, not only for the reason that Da Cruz knew and loved his country pretty well but also and mostly for the reason that he proved

---

<sup>239</sup> Gregory Michael Saunders, *The Foreign Policy of Angola under Agostinho Neto* (Master’s Thesis) 1983, pp. 13-14;

<sup>240</sup> Excerpts from the Autobiography of Dr. António de Oliveira Salazar: “My regime has always been anti-communist”; “We reject the candidacy of Rui Luís Gomes, the Communist.”; “I do not accept wage demands and much less strikes, this is the work of Communists.”; “I hate Russia and the Communists, but I also don’t like the Americans.”; “To covet the goods of a fellow man is a temptation suggested by the Communists.”; “In 1958 I ordered raise in salary for public officials, but at the same time I upgraded the hunt for Communists, the sculptor Dias Coelho was shot down on the street as a rabid dog and PIDE shattered almost completely the clandestine apparatus of the lese homeland.”; “To relieve the pressure on Angola, I support the Catanguese secession from the ex-Belgian Congo and got the Communist Lumumba convicted.”; The full text is provided by: <http://www.vidaslusofonas.pt/salazar.htm>

himself to be an excellent expert of Engel, Marx and Lenin's written works. In addition, we should not forget that Viriato da Cruz was killed in China, after several years of imposed hardship.

We cannot help agreeing with Nito Alves! Anyone can verify and come inevitably to the conclusion that ever since Agostinho Neto and his mentor Lúcio Lara usurped the leadership of the MPLA, there is a continual ideological power struggle within the movement. While presenting the MPLA as the anti-imperialist front and proclaiming the Socialist option and Marxism-Leninism as its guide, the confusing contrast between words and deeds is, among other things, what valiant Nito Alves tried to fight against and what most Angolans are still witnessing. In this connection, there is no way for a conscious African man or woman not to be disgusted at how the Angolan kleptocrats (government characterized by rampant greed and corruption) and mass murderers, who are doing everything the imperialists did to Africans, are using vacuous anti-imperialist discourse as a convenient loincloth to cover their shameful crimes. Let's mention that what the then Administrative Secretary of the political Bureau of the Central Committee Lúcio Lara calls MPLA own ideology, is something that appears to be in fact an ideology exclusively in favor of policies that permit a continual exploitation and impoverishment of the aboriginal peoples by inveterate and opportunist bourgeois from across the globe. Today, MPLA's Angola proves to be exactly what had been foretold in the 1960s by prominent political figures such as Holden Roberto, Matias Miguéis, Che Guevarra, Hugo José Azincot and Costa Sozinho, and predicted in the 1970s by the

memorable Angolan revolutionary Alves Bernardo Baptista, better known as Nito Alves.

Almost 40 years after the country gained independence from Portugal in 1975, most Angolans complain justly that the pace of social development is slow and even worse than the one of the Portuguese colonial rule once. From the beginning of the civil war in 1975 up to its end in 2002, the MPLA regime used the war as the scapegoat for everything. Since the war ended, people started to ask questions. Angola is one of Africa's leading oil producers nowadays and happens to be one of USA and China's main suppliers of crude oil. In spite of that, Angola is surprisingly one of the world's poorest countries. Most people still live on less than US \$1 a day, and myriad Angolans rely on foreign food aid. Much of the oil wealth Angola draws its power from lies in Cabinda, where a decades-long rightful struggle for self-determination and independence simmers ever since the Angolan army occupied that extremely rich and coveted country in 1975. The ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has sent thousands of troops to subdue the political demands in the Cabindan territory, which, though, has no border with Angola. The MPLA savage ideology, which entails absolute discrimination of scientific methodology, is but an impediment to a peaceful solution for the « Cabinda issue » in particular, and for international conflicts in general. Let's remind that as a freedom movement and as a future ruling party, the MPLA had been accused of corruption, profiteering, and of neo-colonialism by the FNLA founding father Holden Roberto in the early 1960s. Fifty years later, the MPLA perverted nature has become totally naked in the eyes of those who still have eyes and

use them advisedly. Hence we can assuredly affirm that “Roberto was fully right”.

The history of the post-colonial Angola has been one of civil war and high level corruption entailing all imaginable sorts of criminality. The war, that was the government’s scapegoat for everything during more than two decades, had an economic as well as a political side. In fact, fighting was fuelled by the country’s vast mineral wealth, with eastern and western supporters of all sides taking advantage of the anarchy to plunder natural resources. Officially, the Soviet Union and its satellites including Cuba supported the then “Marxist” MPLA, while the United States and most of its western allies comprising the White-ruled South Africa backed UNITA as a bulwark against Soviet influence in Africa. While the war that ravaged the country; that caused thousands of refugees who fled the fighting or the MPLA repression; and that claimed an estimated two million lives either as a direct result of fighting or because of disease and malnutrition went on, the marathon to outrageous enrichment of the Angolan oligarchy including the President himself and his family went on likewise. The connection between the civil war and the illicit diamond trade – or “blood diamonds” – only became a source of international concern in the 1990s. Though in 1977 it was widely known among the MPLA militants and middle ranking that, barely the country gained independence from Portugal in 1975, senior members of the MPLA (including the President of the People’s Republic of Angola Agostinho Neto, defense minister Iko Carreira, secretary of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee Lúcio Lara, the head of the Information and Security services DISA, Ludy Kissassunda, and his

deputy Henriques Santos Onambwe) had turned into shameless diamond traffickers and got involved in various dirty businesses inconsistent with both the Angolan people's moral values and Marxism-Leninism. Júlio, a young FAPLA<sup>241</sup> who stood for the 9<sup>th</sup> Brigade Motorized Infantry and witnessed the alleged Nito Alves attempted coup d'état on May 27, 1977, clears up as follows: "Look, it was like this. We, in the military, we knew that these guys were diamond traffickers. Things had to change. We couldn't let it go one like this. We had to get rid of these guys at the top<sup>242</sup>."

On the top of the root causes of the Nito Alves uprising, among which: the disappearing diamonds; the lack of food for the army and the people; the fact that neither Lúcio Lara nor Ika Carreira were genuine Angolans (both were claimed to be from Portugal); and the fact that the two outsiders were using Neto as a black figurehead (intoxicating him with alcohol in order to get him sign important documents when he was drunk); Júlio mentions another very bizarre deal made by senior members of the MPLA: "There was this problem with an oil contract as well. In 1976, there were these secret accords in which Lara, Carreira and Neto signed up to an oil deal with the Americans without the Central Committee knowing about it. We were supposed to be Marxists! And we signed an agreement with the Americans! I mean, how can this be<sup>243</sup>?" With respect to

---

<sup>241</sup> Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola (then Angolan Army);

<sup>242</sup> The 27 May in Angola: a view from below, by Lara Pawson, Lisbon 2007, p. 12;

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

this particular case, which proves to be strange enough to shed light over the MPLA political duplicity, it is worth to mention Lara Pawson and Acácio Barradas' pertinent comments respectively. Ms. Pawson made the following comment: «Júlio was amazed when I told him that, according to Chevron, the Malongo oil complex in Cabinda continues to be protected by a thick border of landmines laid by the Cubans in the 1970s. Notably, the relationship between the MPLA and Gulf Oil didn't only upset Angolan Marxists. Similar tensions existed beyond Angola's borders, with New Right groups in America and members of the US administration trying to force Gulf Oil to abandon its oil operations in Cabinda. The US group, the Heritage Foundation, alleged that Gulf was paying the MPLA US \$5 million a day in royalties, money they claim was being used to pay the Soviet Union and Cuba for arms<sup>244</sup>. See George Wright, *The Destruction of a Nation: United States' Policy Toward Angola since 1945*, Pluto Press, London, 1997. Also John Stockwell, *In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story*, WW Norton, New York, 1978 »; Mr. Barradas' comment reads: « The (1974) military coup in Portugal took place while Agostinho Neto was in Canada, in search of Western support for the MPLA and to keep up contacts with the American based Cabinda Gulf Oil Company. Later, we would see the unthinkable to evolve: Cuban military protecting American oil installations from Angolan rebels financed and armed by the United States and China<sup>245</sup> ».

---

<sup>244</sup> The 27 May in Angola: a view from below, by Lara Pawson, Lisbon 2007, Footnote XXV, p. 18;

<sup>245</sup> In "Agostinho Neto: Uma Vida Sem Tréguas: 1922-1979", Acácio Barradas, Lisboa 2005; (translated by Capita, Bartolomeu ); <http://rubelluspetrinus.com.sapo.pt/neto1.htm>.

It is incontestable that well before Angola gained its independence from Portugal in 1975, Neto and Lara's MPLA had been financed by American oil companies, among other Western backers. That is the evidence, if not the proof, that the MPLA used the money it got from the West to buy weapons from the Soviet Union, and used the Marxism-Leninism just as a tool to mask its deliberate collusion with "the French and German reactionaries and the whole imperialist mafia<sup>246</sup>". Unfortunately, for lack of impartial and meticulous research into the MPLA as a social, political and historical phenomenon, and for lack of "African Think Tanks" interested and committed to sponsoring Black scholars for such an undertaking, throughout Africa and the world as a whole, countless leftist leaders and militants still believe the MPLA regime is a Marxist-Leninist inspired and believe Agostinho Neto and Dos Santos' Angola is a leftist "Front Line State" acting for the magnificent freedom of the African countries and peoples. Indeed, the 1977 address of the then President of the MPLA and of the People's Republic of Angola, Dr. Agostinho Neto, is so flattering and so "convincing" that it impedes the «intellect» of a huge number of fanatic leftists across the globe from attempting to look over the tableau that is long since portraying the MPLA collusion with those who, according to Agostinho Neto himself, "think that they can establish neo-colonialism in every African country".

---

<sup>246</sup> Excerpt from the "Speech delivered by Comrade Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA and of the People's Republic of Angola, at the opening session of the 29th meeting of the OAU Coordinating Commission for the Liberation of Africa, Luanda, 14 June 1977".

« (...) The colonialists are very busy setting up commissions, working groups and other bodies to try to reconcile some of the interests of the future leaders of the dominated countries with those of the multinational monopoly groups. Above all, they think that they can establish neo-colonialism in every African country. Happily, Angola has not fallen into their scheme, nor could it. And I refer to this aspect of the question only to say that there is no need to fear the colonialists or their lackeys. (...) And in our view, it is essential to increase support for the liberation struggle of the people of South Africa immediately. Because the people of that fellow nation are among those who have most deeply suffered the humiliation caused by social, political and class segregation. It is they who have most felt in their flesh the fascist fury. (...) They suffered aggression by the racists who are still resisting in order to maintain their supremacy in each country of southern Africa. Angola will not speak at this Conference in the name of the Front Line. It will, however, speak as a Front Line State. It affirms that our support for the countries of Southern Africa is not merely in phrases, but in concrete acts which will show our solidarity with the peoples of the other countries<sup>247</sup>. »

Considering the social, political, economic, and psychological situation in which we see Angola is nowadays; situation in which the Angolan government turns out to be a colonial power over the fellow African nation of Cabinda; situation in which Angola, one of

---

<sup>247</sup> Agostinho Neto's address at the opening session of the 29th meeting of the OAU Coordinating Commission for the Liberation of Africa, Luanda, 14 June 1977".

Africa's leading oil producers, is also one of the world's poorest countries; situation in which Angola's crude oil, gold, hard-wood, and diamond revenues are being squandered by senior leaders of the MPLA through mismanagement and corruption<sup>248</sup>; situation in which, by confiscating Cabinda's political sovereignty on behalf of the imperialist entities involved in the looting of the local natural wealth and resources, Angola is endangering its national independence; situation in which Angola is called possibly the worst emergency to unfold in Africa in recent decades; situation in which the country and its people and resources turn out to be private properties of the long-time dictator José Eduardo dos Santos and family; three relevant questions arise: (1) Are not the interests of the current Angolan leaders long since reconciled with those of the multinational monopoly groups? (2) Has not Angola fallen into the scheme of those whose endeavor on a daily basis is to establish neo-colonialism in every African country? (3) Did not the senior leaders of the MPLA themselves become the lackeys of the colonialists?

«WESTERN countries have slowed aid assistance to Angola, where around three million people need urgent help, over concerns about \$1bn in “missing” government oil revenue. (...) Western companies pay generous taxes and fees to the state oil company, Sonangol, and large amounts go missing in what has been called the “Bermuda triangle” between Sonangol, the treasury and the Futungo. Many believe that the money is controlled by the ‘Futungo’, a circle of friends and officials that

---

<sup>248</sup> BBC, 19 July 2011; <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13036732>.

surrounds the long-time President, Eduardo dos Santos. (...) But diplomats, donors and aid workers say there is a long way to go before they are convinced that President Dos Santos's government is committed to putting oil money into the Angolan people, and not its own pockets<sup>249</sup>.»

«(Washington, DC) – The government of Angola should promptly provide a full public accounting for US\$32 billion in missing government funds thought to be linked to the state oil company, Human Rights Watch said today. A December 2011 report by the International Monetary Fund revealed that the government funds were spent or transferred from 2007 through 2010 without being properly documented in the budget. The sum is equivalent to one-quarter of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GPD). "Angola's government has taken credit for improving transparency over its oil revenues and auditing the state oil company," said Arvind Ganesan, business and human rights director at Human Rights Watch. "But the disappearance of \$32 billion raises serious questions about its efforts and underscores the need for public accountability." Human Rights Watch has identified a previous major gap in funds, in which more than \$4 billion in oil revenues from 1997 through 2002 disappeared, pointing to mismanagement and suspected corruption. [The very article is displaying a picture with Children picking through rubbish dumped beside a Sonangol (Angolan state oil company) complex]. (...) "Tens of billions of dollars could be used

---

<sup>249</sup> See «\$2bn in oil cash as Angola starves», news.scotsman.com, published on Sunday 4 August 2002.

for the benefit of the Angolan people – instead the government can't account for them”, Ganesan said. “Angolans deserve a full public explanation for where those billions went<sup>250</sup>.”»

In his priceless article of 11 August 2011 titled « Family Ties in Dictatorships best looters of their countries' wealth », in which Angola is at the top of the list, the UK based Human Rights Activist Bamba Mass states: « You don't have to draw up a family tree for a dictator – often their entire government, as well as other officials and key industries are run by their families and Tribesmen/women. Sometimes this leads to dynastic succession, as in the case of Gnassingbé Eyadéma and his son Faure (Gnassingbé), Omar Bongo and his son Ali Ondimba, Laurent Désiré Kabila and son Joseph Kabila and others are trying to follow suit. Take a look at some of the First Families of Africa, and see the trend for yourself: Angola: The Dos Santos –Van-Dúnem Family; José Eduardo dos Santos (President of Angola, 1979 – today); Fernando da Piedade Dias dos Santos ‘Nandó’ (cousin of José Eduardo dos Santos; Vice-President of Angola, 2010–today; Speaker of the National Assembly 2008-2010; Prime Minister 2002-2008); Isabel dos Santos (daughter of José Eduardo dos Santos; investor; owner of key mobile phone operator and bank, richest woman in Angola); Cândido Pereira dos Santos Van-Dúnem (cousin of the president and Kopelipa and Jose Vieira Dias Van-Dunem; Defence Minister); José Vieira Dias Van-Dúnem (cousin of Kopelipa; Health Minister);

---

<sup>250</sup> « Angola: Explain Missing Government Funds », Human Rights Watch, published on 20 December 2011.

Gen. Manuel Hélder Vieira Dias ‘Kopelipa’ (Minister of State and Chief of the Military Bureau of the President); Carlos Alberto Lopes (Finance Minister, brother-in-law of the president); Luzia Inglês Van-Dúnem (Secretary-General of OMA, the women’s mass movement of the ruling party MPLA); Afonso Van-Dúnem M’Binda (Husband of Luzia Inglês Van-Dúnem; Minister of External Relations 1985–1988); Fernando José de França Dias Van-Dúnem (cousin of Kopelipa; Prime Minister 1991-1992; 1996-1999); Pedro de Castro Van Dúnem, 1942-1997 (Minister of External Relations of Angola 1989–1992; Minister of Public Works and Urban Affairs 1992–1997)<sup>251</sup> ».

It turns out that the very soul of the MPLA (Lúcio Lara’s) own ideology, unmasked by Nito Alves in 1977, is greed par excellence. Ever since the independence in 1975, Angola is being ruled by a corporation called MPLA, whose only reason to exist is to make money by any means. “That is not an acceptable way to run the country”, Nito Alves had justly claimed! As it appears, despite its extremely criminal nature successively denounced in time by respected political figures from within its own ranks, the MPLA is incredibly guaranteed to be having an unfaltering protective support from powerful « Secret Societies » to which its main leaders belong. This nasty support dates back to the early 1960s and explains how the MPLA could, with such a palpable political duplicity, impose itself on a national as well as on a worldwide scale up till now. It’s no longer a secret

---

<sup>251</sup> Related link: <http://www.kingbamba2.blogspot.com/2011/08/family-ties-in-dictatorships-best.html>

that most prominent African leaders belong to certain Europe based « Secret Societies », where each of them has sworn loyalty first and foremost to the «Brotherhood». This means that, if the member has a certain position in secular society (let's say President of some country), his first loyalty is to the «Brotherhood» and second to his duty as President. Hence he has in fact double loyalties and whatever the «Brotherhood» decides for him to do, he has to obey, even if it goes against the survival of his country and its citizens! Depending upon the core values of those « Secret Societies », such a «Brother» in good standing should always be protected and cared for, as long as he is useful to the Society and follows its rules. Provided that he fails or does not keep the secrets, he will be made a horrible example of (sometimes even killed). In exchange for selling his soul to the “Devil”, the reward is power and money. One can now speculate in how come that the senior leaders of the MPLA, who are squandering billions of US dollars every single year, who are spreading their empires of corruption to the four corners of the earth, and forcing most of their fellow citizens to eke out a precarious existence on less than \$1 a day, are still having the international community in collusion with them! The question is: where is the concern for the common good on national and international stages? This is why I am trying my best to stick to the facts and let my good-hearted readers come to their own conclusions while still putting forth my own analysis for everyone's perusal.

(Is it the Pasqua clan and François Antona in particular, who, for the sake of efficiency, advise him to enter the “Grande Loge Nationale de France” (GLNF – French Masonic Grand Lodge), as if the Mason apron was part

of the toolbox required to successfully play the role one his assigned to, especially in Africa? I believe so. (...) To « work » in Africa, the GLNF is indeed a good gateway. « In Africa more than elsewhere, wrote the *Express* in 2008, the saga of the “Frères Trois Points” (Masonic Brotherhood) got itself a fertile soil, so much its codes and its customs echo the magic of the rites of passage or of the sacred wood, and the ancestral strength of the clan. The desire to gain access to this secular shrine of the White elite, afterwards the desire to establish with the former colonial European mainland channels kept from laymen, discrete vehicles of influences, made the rest. Beyond the fables, a fact: on the continent, a dozen heads of State of the French-speaking area “received light” ». Most of the African heads of State and very many decision makers in Africa, be them African or French, are part of, but also a number of great cops, of journalists, military and businessmen.)<sup>252</sup>

Since the eviction of Viriato da Cruz and Father Mário Pinto de Andrade from the MPLA, the Party is run through the «iron fist» of a handful senior leaders who are but opportunists<sup>253</sup>, careerists<sup>254</sup>, demagogues<sup>255</sup>,

---

<sup>252</sup> See « La République des malles – Enquête sur la principauté française de non-droit », Pierre Péan, Fayard 2011, pp. 330-331;

<sup>253</sup> Opportunist: one that is opportunistic or practices opportunism; Opportunism is the conscious policy and practice of taking selfish advantage of circumstances, with little regard for principles;

<sup>254</sup> Political careerist: one that views politics as a career *per se*; Careerist lives on nothing but his political duties and demonstrates great skill in the intrigues of politics;

<sup>255</sup> Demagogue: a leader who makes use of popular prejudices and false claims and promises in order to gain power.

arrivistes<sup>256</sup> and, in a word, by prominent wheeler-dealers<sup>257</sup>. Thirty-seven years after the publication by Nito Alves of his famous 13 Thesis, in which the author unmasks his fellow leaders within the MPLA who were shamelessly turning the MPLA government into an organization of wheeler-dealers, Angola has become, in the eyes of impartial observers, a country that “provides the perfect mix of oil wealth, poverty and corruption”<sup>258</sup>.

A number of observers cannot stand to see that the senior leaders of the MPLA, the very people who had been bold enough to successfully challenge the Portuguese colonial regime for more than a decade, now contribute with such a cynicism to the plundering of their own country's natural wealth and resources, as well as to the very frustrating impoverishment of their own people. They also cannot stand thinking that those leaders have lost the sense of purpose and direction, thus coming into view both overconfident and embroiled down in their self-interests. In other words, it is hard to believe that the native Angolan leaders have lost the idealism that perhaps was once their body and soul. How then to explain the fact that those freedom fighters who had been prayed for, cared about, and ultimately welcomed by the Angolan people as their liberators in 1975 be, afterwards, exclusively acting as mere instruments of certain western and eastern imperialistic appetites? According to my late father, Isaac Bartolomeu, who had tasted the bitterness

---

<sup>256</sup> Arriviste: a person who has recently attained high position or great power but not general acceptance or respect;

<sup>257</sup> Wheeler-dealer: one who advances one's own interests by canny, aggressive, or unscrupulous behavior;

<sup>258</sup> See «Nobody does it worse»; [www.newstatesman.com](http://www.newstatesman.com); by William Gumede, published on 26 June 2006.

of the MPLA prisons in 1977, “a man or woman, who frees a captive people from one prison and locks them up in another, is just a prison guard, not a Liberator.” « The study of causal connections is the primary mission of knowledge. To explain any phenomenon is necessary to find the respective cause. In its study and understanding of the world, science observes the phenomena profoundly: starts from the superficial aspect of events to their close and immediate causes, from these to other more distant, general, but at the same time more essential.»<sup>259</sup> But all things considered, the related causes must be sought in the historic national liberation struggle as well as in Lúcio Lara’s psychological personality and political conceptions.

On previous pages we read that the MPLA (Lúcio Lara’s) own ideology, unmasked by Nito Alves in 1977, is greed par excellence! Addressing the issue of socialist countries attitude towards the MPLA during the first national liberation war before the MPLA policymakers and provincial commissioners of DISA on 29 December 1976, the then Administrative Secretary of the Political Bureau Lúcio Lara is reported to have said, we quote: « actually all politics is a commercial action.<sup>260</sup> » Hence, as a man who dares to reduce all political action to business, the Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA proves to be absolutely devoid of any concern for the common good! In other

---

<sup>259</sup> In his 12<sup>th</sup> Thesis, Nito Alves quotes OTTO v. KUUSINEM and Others...

<sup>260</sup> Account given by Nito Alves in the 12<sup>th</sup> of his « 13 Thesis in my defense », 1977; Again, Nito Alves, as a MPLA freedom fighter and a man who served as the Interior Minister of Angola from independence, 11 November 1975, until President Agostinho Neto abolished the position in October 1976, was a politician up to date.

words, Lúcio Lara, who has managed to impose himself as the real « guru » of the MPLA ever since 1963, is in fact a « wheeler-dealer born ». With such a man as mentor of the Angolan ruling party since the independence in 1975, Angola cannot help being a country given over to plunder/chaos.

### 3.2. The Roots of Lúcio Lara and the MPLA own Ideology

Since Lúcio Lara is a « wheeler-dealer born », and since the MPLA own ideology proves to come from the very Lúcio Lara, we cannot help concluding that the MPLA is but a precious tool in the hands of opportunist men and women from within and outside Angola. Again, opportunism is the conscious policy and practice of taking advantage of circumstances with little regard for principles! It is indisputable that ever since Neto and Lara got rid of Viriato da Cruz and Father Pinto de Andrade, whose concern for the common good was above all else, the MPLA and Angola are ruled by people with absolutely no regard for principles and who are trying hard to just advance their own private interests by canny, aggressive or unscrupulous behavior. Although most Western academics and journalists are still not free enough to bring the MPLA regime's criminal nature to the attention of international public forums on justice, good-governance, peace and security, we still have reliable eyewitness accounts of Angola's atrocities and mass murders, which characterize the MPLA own ideology somehow.

« Angola is run by criminals<sup>261</sup> ». « True to their Stalinist roots, the MPLA methodically bought or co-opted its political opposition, and whom it could not buy, it killed<sup>262</sup> ». « Opposition groups are not tolerated by the Government, as former Interior Minister Nito Alves made clear. He explained that, dissidents would, if possible, be “re-educated”, “but the intransigent ones, the most hard-headed, the most obstinate, will have to be eliminated<sup>263</sup>.” » « Anti-imperialist struggle merits our support. What does not merit our support is “national-liberation” struggle which is based in Western concepts, a Western vision of history, and Western priorities. A true anti-imperialist struggle involves opposition not only to socio-economic and political oppression, but also to the subtly-related techniques of cultural and ideological oppression. National-liberation movements generally are blind to this, seeking only to replace personnel and programs, while retaining the imperialists’ institutions and values. It is up to revolutionaries to criticize such movements, rather than endorse their confusions and hypocrisies. Inasmuch as “national-liberation” is promoted most energetically by people who have had sustained contact with Western culture, values and institutions, it can be seen as the final, most subtle, stage of imperialism. (...) There is no doubt that, for the oppressed millions of the underdeveloped countries, anti-imperialist struggle is a necessity and merits our support.

---

<sup>261</sup> Bob Geldof, songwriter and organizer of Live Aid, had said at the Conference on sustainable development in Lisbon on 6 May 2008;

<sup>262</sup> See « Jonas Savimbi, America’s Abandoned Ally », by Margaret Hemenway and Martin James; <http://jonas-savimbi.com/4.html>;

<sup>263</sup> Black Flag, September 1976, p. 3.

This struggle may well have an armed dimension, though there are other areas of resistance to be explored. (The “glamour” of the “heroic guerilla” is a particularly unpleasant aspect of left mythology, a demonstration of the persistent machismo which plays a significant role in this mythology.) What must be avoided is for these struggles always to be led and defined by urban intellectual elements. Their participation may be crucial, but if they are taking the initiatives all the time, then the struggle will become centralized and elitist, and its ultimate “victory” will herald in a new form of tyranny<sup>264</sup>». «The MPLA and Mr. Jose Eduardo dos Santos, bare direct responsibility for the destruction of the country and the de facto desegregation of all the State institutions. Moreover, Mr. Jose Eduardo dos Santos is directly accountable for the promotion of incompetence, embezzlement and corruption as political and social values<sup>265</sup>». «”How much you want (in cash) to stop writing and talking about Cabinda”, “You must stop writing and talking about the situation in Cabinda, or your physical integrity may be affected.” “Money is not a problem! Also the rest is not a problem either!”<sup>266</sup>»

The MPLA mentor, Lúcio Lara, is the strongman who represents, embodies and diffuses the political evilness of the MPLA. That is to take for granted! But

---

<sup>264</sup> In « National liberation and state power – An anarchist critique of the MPLA in Angola », by Martin Spence, c. 1980; <http://libcom.org/library/national-liberation-state-power-anarchist-critique-mpla-angola>;

<sup>265</sup> See « The Lipstick of Dictatorship », by Rafael Marques (prominent Angolan journalist), *Agora*, 3 July 1999;

<sup>266</sup> An address of a MPLA special to the Portuguese journalist, Orlando Castro, reported on 9 December 2010.

whom or where did Lúcio Lara draw his political and ideological concepts from? Here, once again, Angola's former Interior Minister Nito Alves appears to be better placed to give us an insight into the roots of Lúcio Lara and, consequently, the MPLA's own ideology. Here is Nito Alves' statement with respect to whom and where did Lara draw his political and ideological concepts that are ever since martyring the Angolan and African peoples at once:

« It is easy to conclude that what is happening is one of the moments of ideological struggle within the anti-imperialist front that is the MPLA, once proclaimed the Socialist option and Marxism-Leninism as our guide. The difference between words and deeds, when we talk about working class hegemony! How does this materialize in Angola, in the light of our various constraints? What we see is the expense of the work of training and organizing the working class, in favor of a salvage policy of inveterate and opportunist petty bourgeois. We see a commitment which in x years, would give us an eclectic Party, where social democracy and Maoists would have the ascendant, and you can guess the consequences likely to come from that: the anti-Soviet is dominating very cleverly. For this option, our alliance with the Socialist camp worldwide, in particular with the Soviet Union is mere matter of tactic and not of global strategy of the world revolutionary movement. (...) It is about the struggle between conservative and revolutionary trends within the front. It is the attempt of decadent and conservative forces to replace the masses, the fear of the latter. To make an accurate idea of this ideological struggle, and by way of illustration, I present some specific cases. Speaking to the magazine *Afrique-Asie*,

in special number of November 11 (1976), the Administrative Secretary of the Political Bureau says there clearly and explicitly that there is a “cohabitation of classes” within the MPLA, lest we descend to details that a critique on the subject would meet in the overall analysis of that interview. What is this “cohabitation of classes”? What theory is this and what is its scientific content? What are the sources of this ideology? The Administrative Secretary of the Political Bureau should indicate them. Apparently, this revisionist theory appears to us as something new within the general framework of ideological constructions of modern revisionism. In fact, the theory of “cohabitation of classes” is synonymous with the old theory of the petty bourgeois socialism of the Frenchman Proudhon, the theory of “class collaboration”. In Marxist-Leninist philosophy there is no difference of ideological content between “cohabitation” and “collaboration”, they are synonyms literally speaking<sup>267</sup>. »

Depending upon the excerpt above there is an understanding that it was from France, from the Frenchman « Pierre-Joseph Proudhon », that Mr. Lara had drawn the poisonous ideology which he successfully turned into MPLA's. Most Encyclopedias define « class collaboration » as a principle of social organization based upon the belief that the division of society into a hierarchy of social classes is a positive and essential aspect of civilization. However, we must take into account three kinds of class collaboration in the socioeconomic systems,

---

<sup>267</sup> Nito Alves' 12<sup>th</sup> Thesis « Conclusão Final: b) No Plano Ideológico e Organizativo », Angola 1977. Author's translation.

i.e. the class collaboration under capitalism, the class collaboration under socialism, and the one under fascism.

In the light of the mournful occurrences in Angola since the country's independence from Portugal in 1975, we can firmly declare that what Lúcio Lara has been advocating as MPLA own ideology appears to be the class collaboration under fascism. In the words of Benito Mussolini, fascism "affirms the irremediable, fruitful and beneficent inequality of men<sup>268</sup>." Given this premise, fascists conclude that the preservation of social hierarchy is in the interest of all classes, and therefore all classes should collaborate in its defense. Both the lower and the higher classes should accept their roles and perform their respective duties. In fascist thought, the principle of class collaboration is combined with strong nationalism. The political stability and the economic prosperity of the nation are seen as the ultimate purpose of collaboration between classes.

As there is a communist rejection of class collaboration, one could not expect a convinced communist of Nito Alves stature to endorse Lara's nasty ideology. Whereas the doctrine of class struggle urges the lower classes to overthrow the ruling class and the existing social order for the purpose of establishing equality, the doctrine of class collaboration urges them to freely accept inequality as part of the natural state of things and preserve the social order. Furthermore it holds that the State alone reconciles class antagonisms in society, and that the strife which gives rise to Communism can be harmonized. Most

---

<sup>268</sup> « The Doctrine of Fascism »: *Enciclopedia Italiana*; Rome: Istituto Giovanni Treccani, 1932.

Marxists use the term «class collaboration» as a pejorative term describing working class organizations that do not pursue class struggle.

After all, the so-called MPLA own ideology imported from Proudhon's «boutique» in France is but a demonic combination of corruption, immorality, and abuse of power intended to devastate Angola and, through the latter, the African continent as a whole. Since there are prominent political figures and business men and women on a worldwide scale who view Nito Alves' political approach as a racist one, it is worth to expose those liars and co-responsible for the ongoing deterioration of human values in Angola as well as in Cabinda, by taking into account the fact that corruption, immorality, and abuse of power at the highest level of the MPLA government is the root-cause of Alves' hard-line stance against dishonesty in 1977. Now that we all see what Angola and its citizens have been turned into by Lara's imported ideology, let us pay attention to what Alves had said in his 12<sup>th</sup> Thesis: « I shall give, by way of example, one more typical case of abuse of power, of the most abominable arrogance of the Administrative Secretary of the Political Bureau. Meeting with the activist buddies of the workers' Sector in order to signal the cessation of their duties he stated categorically: “the initiative of your removal from the workers' Sector lies with me (Lara) and only after that I will communicate to the Political Bureau; tell that to whom you will.” This makes me think that the Administrative Secretary of the Political Bureau assumes that the MPLA is a commercial House where he, as dire and cruel Manager, can whenever “throw any employee out” at will!» In this connection, we cannot help quoting some excerpts from

a text written by Martin Spence around 1980 outlining a critique of the MPLA, and national liberation struggles in general. We have the merit of mentioning Spence's valuable work, for it pleads somehow on behalf of Nito Alves unjustly demonized inside and outside Angola respectively by the MPLA and the latter's associates that are but deep-rooted swindlers.

«In my case, I am writing as an anarchist who, while welcoming struggles against imperialism in the Third World, feels that the authoritarian character of many national-liberation movements should give us cause for reflection. (...) Some movements arise from the masses and consistently embody their aspirations, while others are created and maintained by elites. Into which category does MPLA fall? (...) The individuals who initiated these developments were mostly urban blacks and mulattoes of the assimilado class, radical members of a tiny, privileged elite. (...) Power was being centralised, control over the movement firmly collected into a few hands, and this central core was making sure that it could reproduce its own power. Policy making bodies were set up from the centre, appointed from the centre, and even the "self-criticism" movement was an initiative by the leadership. The question is, why did this process of centralisation occur? Was it inevitable, and was it justified? (...) Class issues are dropped in favour of a populist-nationalist appeal, in which a call is made for "a united front of all the anti-imperialist forces of Angola, regardless of colour, social position, religion or individual political tendencies". What was it to be: socialism or nationalism?<sup>269</sup>»

---

<sup>269</sup> Martin Spence, *op. cit.*.

France and its precious citizen « Pierre-Joseph Proudhon » turn out to be the real root of the MPLA own ideology, which can be called « Proudhonism ». That said, we must try to know Proudhon and try to grasp his political ideas and goals in order to conclude whether or not his ideals had been faithfully used by Lúcio Lara and the latter's followers. Furthermore, in view of numerous subtle facts that bear witness of France's political friendliness<sup>270</sup> towards the MPLA since the 1960s up till now, it is similarly worth trying to know whether or not France had intentionally used Proudhon's ideas to make a tool of Lúcio Lara for its un-confessed political aims in Africa. Thus, we have got to collect the most plausible factors that should have forced France to make a puppet of the White Angolan Lúcio Lara, by managing to inculcate in him a French-born ideology, i.e. «Proudhonism».

### 3.3. Factors likely to have led France to make a tool of Lúcio Lara

By the time of the wave of African political demands and struggles for self-determination and independence, that is in the aftermath of the World War II, French politics appear indeed to be largely dominated by the political stance and views of a single prominent figure, i.e. General De Gaulle, born Charles André Joseph Marie de Gaulle. We are talking about the time that goes from the 1950s through the 1970s. At the time, all of France

---

<sup>270</sup> See the Chapter « What is Left of the United Nations Nowadays».

was scarcely rising again from the grave fragmentation and enormous amount of suffering that had been caused by the outbreak of the World War II, particularly the occupation of France by Nazi Germany. De Gaulle, who is known as the most senior French officer to reject the June 1940 armistice to Nazi Germany right from the outset<sup>271</sup>, escaped to Britain where he gave a very famous radio address, broadcast by the BBC on 18 June 1940, exhorting the entire French people not to be demoralized and to continue to resist the occupation of France and work against all of the collaborationist Vichy regime, which had signed an armistice with Nazi Germany<sup>272</sup>. It was also in Britain where he organized the Free French Forces with exiled French officers. What leaps out from all this is the « evil » that had severely affected De Gaulle's psychological personality, i.e. humiliation and impotence. Whereas the occupation of his motherland made him both feel humiliated and sense France's vulnerability and un-preparedness, the exile in Britain and his dependence upon the Allies' backing to recover France's political sovereignty made him feel small and impotent. « All De Gaulle had was an office in London, Churchill's backing and hope<sup>273</sup> ». Hence, De Gaulle's effrontery and will to power, and his authoritarian behavior while in exile, and after the War, are but «defense mechanisms» according to psychologists, or manners in which we behave or think in certain ways to better protect or defend ourselves<sup>274</sup>. De Gaulle's unpleasant

---

<sup>271</sup> « Six Armies in Normandy: From D-Day to the Liberation of Paris », John Keegan, New York: Penguin Books, 1994, p. 296;

<sup>272</sup> « Allies at War », by Simon Berthon, Harper Collins, London 2001, p. 21;

<sup>273</sup> Simon Berthon, op. cit.;

<sup>274</sup> In « The Allies at War », updated 2011, Simon Berthon discusses the uneasy relationship that existed between the Western leaders of the Allied forces (Churchill, De Gaulle, Roosevelt) in World War II.

conduct can also be seen as «compensation mechanisms» or behavior that develops either consciously or unconsciously to offset a real or imagined deficiency, as in personality or physical ability. There are a number of definitions of «will to power»! But given De Gaulle's ugly political legacy, particularly with respect to Africa, his will to power has to do with the psychological definition that contemplates it as an attempt to dominate over others in order to compensate or make up for the humiliation he formerly went or was going through at the time.

After the war the patriotic De Gaulle and his supporters held the view known as Gaullism that France should continue to see itself as a major power and, therefore, should not rely on other nations – like the United States – for its national security and prosperity. To carry out his «Politics of Grandeur» often criticized for, De Gaulle oversaw the development of French nuclear weapons<sup>275</sup> and promoted a foreign policy independent of US and British influence. Even though France played a key role during the early days of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), providing a large military contingent, in 1958 De Gaulle took the view that NATO was too dominated by the United States and the United Kingdom. He demanded political parity with Britain and America in the organization. As this was not forthcoming, in March 1959 France, citing the need for it to maintain its own independent military strategy, withdrew its Mediterranean fleet from NATO, and a few months later De Gaulle demanded the removal of all US nuclear weapons from the French soil.

---

<sup>275</sup> From those years onwards, nuclear weapons are seen as a national status symbol and a way of maintaining international prestige with a place at the “Top Table” of the United Nations.

In 1964 General de Gaulle visited the Soviet Union, where he hoped to establish France as an alternative influence in the Cold War. Although the Soviet statesman Alexei Kosygin made a return visit to France, the Russians did not acknowledge France as a superpower. Haunted by the sad memories of 1940, De Gaulle wanted France to remain the master of the decisions affecting it. He also declared that all foreign military forces had to leave French territory and gave them one year to redeploy. This latter decision was disgustingly received in the United States, prompting Dean Rusk, the US Secretary of State to ask De Gaulle if the cemeteries containing the 50,000 American dead from the two world wars were also to be removed. De Gaulle was fully convinced that a strong and independent France could act as a balancing force between the United States and the Soviet Union, a policy seen by his critics, particularly in Britain and the US, as little more than posturing and opportunism. In January 1964, France established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, the first step towards formal recognition.

To help the French people overcome the horrors of war – dead and wounded civilians, inferiority complex, the destruction of property, mass exodus, and the loss of a huge number of precious fellow citizens he was forced to execute after being accused of fraternizing with the enemy, i.e. the Nazi Regime, De Gaulle had to inspire his nation to restore its «cohesion» by reinventing a particular greatness of France. According to psychologists, people who suffer from inferiority complex usually try to compensate for their feelings of inferiority by making achievements. They always have the need to achieve in order to compensate for their inferiority. That is the reason why you should not be surprised when you know that a

great number of achievers who changed the world suffered from inferiority complex. Some people try to compensate in a different direction by acting superior, believing that they are omnipotent or even godlike. That is called superiority complex. The most notable cause behind feeling inferior is some event that happened somewhere in your past that made or still make you think that you are inadequate (unequal) or not worthy. Confronted by his British and American counterparts, i.e. Churchill and Roosevelt, De Gaulle was totally devastated by inferiority complex. Apart from the humiliating occupation of France by the Nazi Germany, the distant memory of the Battle of Waterloo (18 June 1815) at which the French Emperor Napoleon was defeated by the British Arthur Wellesley, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Wellington, and Napoleon's solitary confinement in Saint Helena, where he died in 1821, without omitting the French capitulation to the Germans in 1870 and De Gaulle's personal long periods of solitary confinement while captive during the World War I, have to be likewise taken into consideration as causes behind De Gaulle's inferiority complex. Quite obviously, De Gaulle's feeling inferior is the root cause not only of the uneasy relationship that existed between the Western leaders of the Allied forces in World War II<sup>276</sup>, but also of the subsequent imperialist conquests that implicate extremely inhuman ways of maintaining or even extending colonial dominance over powerless countries and peoples across the globe, particularly in Africa<sup>277</sup>.

---

<sup>276</sup> Simon Berthon, op. cit;

<sup>277</sup> In his valuable work « Le Franc CFA et l'Euro contre l'Afrique », Professor Nicolas Agbohohou PhD (political economy), denounces the criminal financial system and the Nazi inspired fake currency (CFA) printed in France (Clermont Ferrand) that France (De Gaulle) since the 1960s forces her ex-colonies in Africa to scarcely survive with; Related link (in French, sorry!): <http://youtu.be/O4whO1ovkdY>.

The abovementioned uneasy relationship that existed between General de Gaulle and his Allies, i.e. the British and the United States, gives priceless pictures that permit to claim that De Gaulle was an unfortunate leader inasmuch as he had an extremely unbalanced self-esteem. Thus, we cannot help calling into question De Gaulle's education, for the reason that «education» means not only transmission of knowledge and feelings, but also and above all transmission of strength and balance. In other words, education is a love's role and as all of us probably know, genuine love is the one that gives in a constant way. And to give in a constant way means to recognize oneself as a trustee of intangible or material assets. To recognize ourselves as such implicates to be psychologically strong. But then again no true strength is possible without balance. "When there is no balance, we fall into the pseudo-love that receives and takes all the time, never being able to give". In fact, balance is the tool of the human perfection. Without balance there is nothing authentic that can be accomplished. Without it, it's impossible to reach the whole blissful feeling. Every lack of balance deprives the human being of his physiological and psychological entirety. Accordingly, the lack of balance separates the human being from his/her possible altruism. Any illness, any psychological anomaly separates the human being from himself/herself; that is to say from his/her capability to love, to do good and be thankful to his/her Creator.

In dealings with his British ally and the United States, de Gaulle insisted at all times on retaining full freedom of action on behalf of France and he was constantly on the verge of being cut off by the Allies. This very patriotic De Gaulle is afterwards going to establish

himself as the author of the mechanism of monetary repression which is the first cause of persistent poverty, permanent humiliation, and underdevelopment in Africa, particularly in French former African colonies<sup>278</sup>. De Gaulle should have heard the blessed Tibetan Dalai Lama: « In an increasingly interdependent world our own welfare and happiness depend on many other people. Other human beings have a right to peace and happiness that is equal to our own; therefore we have a responsibility to help those in need. Many of our world's problems and conflicts arise because we have lost sight of the basic humanity that binds us all together as a human family.» While in exile under the cares of Winston Churchill, De Gaulle harbored a suspicion of the British in particular, believing that they were surreptitiously seeking to steal France's colonial possessions in the Levant. Mrs. Churchill, Clementine, who admired de Gaulle, once admonished him, "General, you must not hate your friends more than you hate your enemies." De Gaulle himself stated famously, "France has no friends, only interests<sup>279</sup>." The situation was indeed complex, and de Gaulle's mistrust of both British and U.S. intentions with respect to France was mirrored by a mistrust of the Free French among the U.S. political leadership, who for a long time refused to recognize de Gaulle as the

---

<sup>278</sup> Each African President who refused to fellow the "contracts" has been assassinated or kicked out of power ("coup"). The first one was Olympio from Togo. Since 1950, France assassinated 23 African presidents. In 30 years, the capital flight from the African countries since their independence has exceeded 400 billion of \$ (US), that is double the external debt of the continent; claims Prof. Nicolas Agbohohou, *op. cit.*;

<sup>279</sup> In « The Travellers' Dictionary of Quotation: Who Said What, About Where? », Peter Yapp, London: Routledge Kegan & Paul, ed. (April 1983), p. 143.

representative of France. In the years to come, the hostile dependent wartime relationship of de Gaulle and his future political peers re-enacted the historical national and colonial rivalry and lasting enmity between the French and English and foreshadowed the extremely deep distrust of France for post-war Anglo-American partnerships. «If you can't trust anybody, that means, you must be deceiving others. It is not a question of others. It is a question of you. You must be deceiving, and if you are deceiving, how can you trust? You can trust only if you allow others to trust you. It is better to be deceived than to deceive, because if you deceive, you lose the greatest treasure of your life: you lose the capacity to trust. And let me repeat: the capacity to trust is the greatest treasure of life, because without it neither love is possible, nor prayer is possible, nor God is possible. (Source: Osho Book "The Dhammapada, Vol. 4") ».

Was there enough «love» in De Gaulle's soul and heart to qualify for a just and peaceful mission on a worldwide scale? « Paris outraged, Paris broken, Paris martyred, but Paris liberated! By herself, liberated by her people, with the help of the whole of France! We will not rest until we march, as we must, into enemy territory as conquerors. France has a right to be in the first line among the great nations who are going to organize the peace and the life of the world. She has a right to be heard in all four corners of the world. France is a great world power. She knows it and will act so that others may know it<sup>280</sup>. » Charles de Gaulle was raised in a family of devout

---

<sup>280</sup> De Gaulle's characteristically Franco-centric speech delivered in the great hall of the Hotel de Ville while greeted by a jubilant crowd, a few days after France recovered its political sovereignty from the Nazi Germany.

Roman Catholics who were nationalist and traditionalist, but also quite progressive<sup>281</sup>. Therefore it is an oversight on the part of General Charles de Gaulle inasmuch as he failed to duly acknowledge the «sacrifice» of hundreds of thousands of Black men and women who had been forced to involve themselves in the bloody liberation of France from the Nazi Germany, and the economic and political chaos into which he maliciously decided to plunge millions of Black men and women across the African continent to exclusively favor the French prosperity. Inasmuch as he is indeed the root of the abject poverty that affect most African nations, particularly the French speaking ones, De Gaulle was not a nice person. He was too self-centered, too authoritarian, too conservative, and too anti-American<sup>282</sup>. When the British premier Winston Churchill was making his first visit to France since the liberation in 1944, De Gaulle had given strict instructions that there should be no excessive displays of public affection towards Churchill and no official awards without his prior agreement. Thus, when crowds irresistibly cheered Churchill during a parade down the Elysée, De Gaulle was heard to remark, “Fouls and cretins! Look at the rabble cheering the old bandit<sup>283</sup>”. And he had previously called Churchill a “gangster<sup>284</sup>”! The relationship between De Gaulle and

---

<sup>281</sup> « Fondation Charles de Gaulle – La Genèse 1890-1940: une famille du Nord »; Link: <http://www.charles-de-gaulle.org/pages/l-homme/dossiers-thematiques/1890-1940-la-genese/jeunesse-et-formation/analyses/une-famille-du-nord.php>;

<sup>282</sup> « How Civil War Was Avoided in France », Mattei Dogan, in *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 5 No. 3, 1984, pp. 245-277;

<sup>283</sup> In « De Gaulle », by Alexander Werth, 1965;

<sup>284</sup> In « D-Day, Liberation of Normandy », by Anthony Beevor, 2009.

Churchill was as terrible as it was with Roosevelt, Truman, and still is with African nations. In January 1945 Churchill told a colleague that he believed that De Gaulle was “a great danger to peace and for Great Britain. After five years of experience, I am convinced that he is the worst enemy of France in her troubles... he is one of the greatest dangers to European peace... I am sure that in the long run no understanding will be reached with General de Gaulle<sup>285</sup>”.

More than sixty years later Churchill remains incontestably right as for his conviction that De Gaulle was a great danger to peace and that he was the worst enemy of France in her troubles. In spite of Winston Churchill’s frustration at De Gaulle’s patriotic egocentricity, the British “gangster” also wrote of his immense admiration for the French General during the early days of his British exile. Even though their relationship later became strained, Churchill tried to explain the reasons for de Gaulle’s behavior in the second volume of his history of World War II; « He felt it was essential to his position before the French people that he should maintain a proud and haughty demeanor towards “perfidious Albion”, although in exile, dependent upon our protection and dwelling in our midst. He had to be rude to the British to prove to French eyes that he was not a British puppet. He certainly carried out this policy with perseverance ». The very De Gaulle who had strong suspicion that the British were surreptitiously seeking to steel France’s colonial possessions, and who was making every endeavor to not appear as a British puppet in the

---

<sup>285</sup> In « The General Charles de Gaulle & The France He Saved », by Jonathan Fenby, 2010.

eyes of the French people, is the very Frenchman who is going to make puppets of African leaders by assassinating those trying to stand for the wellness of their respective nations, and the very French leader who is going to do his utmost to steel Portugal's colonial possessions one way or another. How come...?

Not only De Gaulle laid the foundations of a Nazi inspired criminal financial mechanism in the African French speaking countries, mechanism which consists in swindling 65% to 80% of these countries' foreign currency reserves<sup>286</sup>, but also laid the foundations of the now deepening and widening corruption within the French *establishment* itself. « Where do these impressive piles of banknotes which irrigate the occult system come from? States, firstly, that can without international control have at their disposal banknotes in any currency. Since independence, African States are the main suppliers of cashes to politicians, political parties and to very many actors of what is today called *Françafrique*<sup>287</sup>. » With respect to the occult financing of the French political class nowadays, here is the amazing watchword of the former President of the French Republic François Mitterrand to Mr. Loïk Le Floch-Prigent, then CEO of the powerful French oil company Elf-Aquitaine: « Make the system work as De Gaulle had wanted it<sup>288</sup>. » How

---

<sup>286</sup> The whole book of Prof. Nicolas Agbohoun, « Le Franc CFA et l'Euro contre l'Afrique », is about the criminal mechanism in question and the French owned fake currency (Franc CFA) imposed upon the African countries concerned.

<sup>287</sup> « La République des mallettes – Enquête sur la principauté française de non-droit », Pierre Péan, Fayard 2011, pp. 113-114 – author's translation (AT);

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116 – (AT).

had he wanted it? Dos Santos' Angola, whose internationally wrongful acts in Cabinda entail the most serious crimes of international concern as referred to in the Rome Statute and which, as a result, fall within the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court (ICC), not only is long since frustrating the free functioning of democratic institutions across the African continent, but also perverting the French judicial system by means of bribes and blackmails. Is not France one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council on which the United Nations Charter confers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security? General de Gaulle's claim, "France has no «friends», only interests" is just another way of saying "France has no «moral values», only interests". Moral values are the standards of good and evil, which govern an individual's behavior and choices! « In the first months of 2009, Alexandre Djouhri allegedly received 50 million US dollars (or Euros, depending on the version) to buy a judgment of acquittal<sup>289</sup>. »

It is a pitiful business indeed! «De Gaulle refused to allow any British participation in the victory parade in Paris. However, among the vehicles that took part was an ambulance from the Hadfield-Spears Ambulance Unit, staffed by French Doctors and British nurses. One of the nurses was Mary Spears, who had set up the unit and had worked almost continuously since the Battle of France with Free French forces in the Middle East, North Africa and Italy. Mary's husband was General Edward Spears, the British liaison to the Free French who had personally

---

<sup>289</sup> Ibid., p. 402.

spirited de Gaulle to safety in Britain in 1940. When de Gaulle saw the Union flags and Tricolors side by side on the ambulance, and heard French soldiers cheering, “Voilà Spears! Vive Spears!” he ordered that the unit be closed down immediately and its British staff sent home. A number of French troops returned their medals in protest and Mary wrote: “it is a pitiful business when a great man suddenly becomes small<sup>290</sup>.”» Yes, De Gaulle’s guiding principle – “France has no friends, only interests” – makes a very small man of him.

As he preached that France should continue to see itself as a major power and should not rely on other nations – like the US – for its national security and prosperity, and since he was afraid of seeing France’s colonial possessions to be stolen by his British “gangster” friend, De Gaulle committed himself to creating puppet regimes in African French speaking countries and even beyond, at all costs, so as to mercilessly loot these countries’ natural wealth and resources and thus ensure France’s actual political realm and economic prosperity. « If we have no peace, it is because we have forgotten that we belong to each other<sup>291</sup>. » As we are trying to know whether or not De Gaulle did make a tool of Lúcio Lara, i.e. the MPLA, it is worth to mention again his rousing speech to the crowd from the Hotel de Ville on 25 August 1944 – «We will not rest until we march, as we must, into enemy territory as conquerors. France has

---

<sup>290</sup> In « The Day the War Ended », by Sir Winston Churchill’s Official Biographer Martin Gilbert, London (Imperial War Museum), 1995;

<sup>291</sup> Saint Mother Teresa of Calcuta quotes.

a right to be in the first line among the great nations who are going to organize the peace and the life of the world. She has a right to be heard in all four corners of the world. France is a great world power. She knows it and will act so that others may know it.» The following excerpt is clear enough to believe that France had been secretly instructing Lúcio Lara (MPLA) ever since the 1950s, inasmuch as it shows Portugal's African colonies as enemy territories in the eyes of De Gaulle. The excerpt displays the most credible reason for France to make every endeavor in order to steel Portugal's both Protectorate (Cabinda) and colonial possession (Angola).

Here is: «Far from the center of the city was the “Catholic Mission”, the best instrument of colonization, with some religious rather unconvincing. The local small-middle class lived here without fear and without worries because – it was said – the native here was harmless. Apartheid was practiced very openly and shocked nobody, not even the natives of the place! Among Whites, there were also Germans, of “Aryan race”, though holding a Portuguese identity card... Were they coming from the defeated Nazi Germany? Did they arrive well before 1945? Or was it an “overflow” of Germans born and raised in the Southwest African, South of Angola, former German colony given by the Society of Nations, subsequently by the United Nations to the South African Union (which later became “South Africa”). These men, with Teutonic way of talking were neither settlers nor agronomists, nor physicians, nor Catholic missionaries or Protestant Pastors, nor especially merchants! That means they were not cause for concern in the eyes of the Portuguese! We remember

that Salazar claimed to be neutral and that Portugal had not taken part in any of the two World Wars. And yet, he had a strange way to practice neutrality: it did not prevent the fascist solidarity which had ended up, for example, turning Calulo certainly into this refuge for Nazi officers in the aftermath of the German defeat. Already in the middle of the war, Salazar knew how to put Angola at the service of the Reich. In 1943, at Muxima, between Luanda and Catete, a vaccine was experienced on young Blacks from 3 to 15 years old. The younger died and the older ended up with mental disorders which, on occasion, drove them to suicide. Elder Jao, who was acting as paramedical agent, had tried to prevent people from submitting to the experimentation. He was persecuted and forced into hiding until March 15, 1961. Another story also shows that the said “Germans of Calulo” were not mere tourists! (...) Afterwards, in 1945, the Germans arrived. They did not speak Portuguese. One day, here in front of me, they shot somebody down, like this! They did not like Black people!<sup>292</sup> »

Does today's French nation really share the great pride its countryman De Gaulle had felt in his achievements, such as the countless murders and overthrows of honest African leaders to impose puppets, the imposition ever since the 1950s of a fake currency upon African French speaking countries, and the millions of Black men and women still being killed nowadays and impoverished by his inhuman system?

---

<sup>292</sup> Dia Kassembe, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

### 3.4. Who is « Proudhon » Whose Evil Ideas Reign over Angola?

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865) was a French politician, philosopher, and economist. He was a member of the French Parliament and the first person to call himself an “anarchist”. As a matter of fact, he is still considered among the most influential theorists and organizers of anarchism. After the «Third French Revolution» (1848), which ended the Orleans monarchy and led to the creation of the «French Second Republic», he began to call himself a federalist. In his first major work « What is Property? », published in 1840, one can find the seeds of his revolutionary ideas. Many of his ideas on authority, morality, and property disturbed the essay judges at the Academy, and Proudhon was only awarded the bronze medal (something in which he took pride, because he felt that this was an indicator that his writing made elite academics uncomfortable)<sup>293</sup>. In « What is Property? », he defined anarchy as “the absence of a master, of a sovereign”, and in «The General Idea of the Revolution» (1851) he suggested very strongly a “society without authority”. The latter portrays a vision of an ideal society where frontiers are taken down, nation states abolished, and where there is no central authority or law of government, except for power residing in communes, and local associations, governed by contractual law. Proudhon, among other things, asserts:

---

<sup>293</sup> « Pierre-Joseph Proudhon: His Life and Work », by George Woodcock, Schocken Books (1972), pp. 39-42.

To be GOVERNED is to be watched, inspected, spied upon, directed, law-driven, numbered, regulated, enrolled, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, checked, estimated, valued, censured, commanded, by creatures who have neither the right nor the wisdom nor the virtue to do so. To be GOVERNED is to be at every operation, at every transaction noted, registered, counted, taxed, stamped, measured, numbered, assessed, licensed, authorized, admonished, prevented, forbidden, reformed, corrected, punished. It is, under pretext of public utility, and in the name of the general interest, to be placed under contribution, drilled, fleeced, exploited, monopolized, extorted from, squeezed, hoaxed, robbed; then, at the slightest resistance, the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, vilified, harassed, hunted down, abused, clubbed, disarmed, bound, choked, imprisoned, judged, condemned, shot, deported, sacrificed, sold, betrayed; and to crown all, mocked, ridiculed, derided, outraged, dishonored. That is government; that is its justice; that is its morality<sup>294</sup>.

Capital... in the political field is analogous to “government”... The economic idea of capitalism, the politics of government or of authority, and the theological idea of the Church are three identical ideas, linked in various ways. To attack one of them is equivalent to attacking all of them... What capital does to labor, and the State to liberty, the Church does to the spirit. This trinity of absolutism is as baneful in practice

---

<sup>294</sup> « “What Is Government?”, in: *General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century* », by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, translated by John Beverly Robinson, Freedom Press, London (1923), pp. 293-294.

as it is in philosophy. The most effective means for oppressing the people would be simultaneously to enslave its body, its will and its reason<sup>295</sup>.

In Paris, where he settled in 1847 and became a Freemason<sup>296</sup>, he was becoming celebrated as a leader of innovation. Yet, in addition to being considered a founding father of anarchism, he has also been considered by some to be a forerunner of fascism<sup>297</sup>. Proudhon has also rejected Christianity altogether. Some contemporary scholars contend that it was Proudhon's book "What is Property?" that convinced the young Karl Marx that private property should simply be abolished. Even though Marx regarded Proudhon's work as a scientific manifesto of the French proletariat, he, however, disagreed totally with Proudhon's anarchism and published vicious criticisms of Proudhon. Marx wrote « The Poverty of Philosophy » as a refutation of Proudhon's « The Philosophy of Poverty ». The point we should make here is that "France" did indeed use some ideas of Proudhon as means to discourage Angolan Marxists, inasmuch as Proudhon's theories have the strength to easily prompt people to rebel against a targeted government. Given that Proudhon was older than Marx, we have reasons to believe the law of primogeniture has been maliciously used to predispose young Marxists within the MPLA to Proudhonism. And let us not forget that Lúcio Lara studied in France in the late 1950s and that he

---

<sup>295</sup> « "*Les Confessions d'un Révolutionnaire*" – ("The Confessions of a Revolutionary") », by P.-J. Proudhon, Garnier, Paris (1851), p.271;

<sup>296</sup> « The Un-Marxian Socialist: A Study of Proudhon », by Henri du Bac, Sheed and Ward, New York (1848), p. 9;

<sup>297</sup> Frederic Bastiat: A Man Alone, by George Charles Roche III, Hillsdale College Press (1977), p. 152;

had been fed with the very confusing theories of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the French politician and philosopher.

#### 4. Angola and the Nakedness of the MPLA devilish Nature

Most Angolans think the brutal nature of the MPLA has become totally naked since Angola's bloody civil war ended in the aftermath of the murder in 2002 of Jonas Savimbi, the founding father of UNITA. They are absolutely wrong! In view of the well-informed work of Mrs. Dia Kassembe<sup>298</sup>, we are allowed to aver that the nakedness of the MPLA-regime became absolute with the social and psychological climate in which Dr. Agostinho Neto found himself in 1978 within his own MPLA. Let us call a spade a spade: Comrade Agostinho Neto, then President of the MPLA and of the People's Republic of Angola, became a factionalist in the eyes of the real boss of the MPLA, his long-time guru Lúcio Lara. The career of Lara within the MPLA is somehow very strange, inasmuch as he eventually succeeded in having the MPLA he desired from the very beginning, a desire first frustrated by Viriato da Cruz, Matias Miguéis, Alves Bernardo Baptista (Nito Alves) and all other Angolan nationalists unjustly accused of being factionalists and brutally murdered afterwards. After President Neto was questioned by his mother<sup>299</sup> as to what

---

<sup>298</sup> «Angola: 20 Ans de Guerre Civile», by Dia Kassembe, L'Harmattan, Paris 1995, pp. 150-151;

<sup>299</sup> Dia Kassembe, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

good the progressive suffering of the Angolan people in an independent Angola was doing him, all of a sudden Lúcio Lara's figure head recovered his consciousness. Straight after that, during a rally at Viana in 1978, Neto loudly declared, we quote: "We are no longer going to be dictated our destiny. The Angolan people are mature enough to make their own decisions<sup>300</sup>!" Neto has thus signed his own death warrant, as he wanted to get rid of his long-time guru with merciless orders. A bit further on Neto announced his intention to dismiss the Cubans so as to replace them with a joint-Commission Portugal-Angola-France. This additional mistake by President Neto was in fact the last straw, on the understanding that Cubans in Angola and Cabinda were by far serving France more than the Soviet Union, a very strange reality Neto presumably ignored and of which we believe only Lúcio Lara had some knowledge. All of a sudden, within the MPLA, Neto found himself lonely; all members of the Political Bureau and Central Committee distanced themselves from him all at once. In fact, his long-time comrades-in-arms and his closest assistants and advisers deserted him to such an extent that at the last meeting of the Central Committee he convened he was greeted without warmth and no-one did applaud his brief speech. That is when Neto understood he had no longer allies within the MPLA. It was too late, though! Brainwashed, manipulated and excessively sweet-talked ever since the 1960s by those opportunists who made a puppet of him, he blindly acquiesced in the elimination of the best Angolan and African nationalists who were both foresighted and critics such as Viriato da Cruz, Matias

---

<sup>300</sup> Ibid., p. 150.

Miguéis, Nito Alves, Marien Ngouabi, and so on and so forth. Badly advised by his ruthless mentors, President Neto unthinkingly destroyed the pillars of his own construction and, as expected, eventually found himself buried under the rubble. Seemingly, Lúcio Lara is the sole senior MPLA leader to survive the successive skirmishes within the MPLA. Did President Neto infringe the rules of a particular brotherhood?

All things considered, the MPLA, as a liberation movement and a ruling party under the full guidance of Neto and Lara and, subsequently, Dos Santos, is a terrorist machine intended to make easier the re-conquest of Africa and the re-enslavement of its Black peoples by Western European imperialist powers. The fact of the matter is that, within the MPLA, revolutionary intellectuals who strived for a sovereign Angola and had a genuine inclination to care for the material life of the Angolan people, regrettably, found themselves accused of being splitters, factionalists, black racists, and, to make them look evil in the eyes of all Africans and thus put them to death, maliciously accused of being CIA agents meant to keep African countries controllable. Within the MPLA, however, there is still a room left for particular intellectuals, i.e. the conformists and fearful ones, who rightly or wrongly believe that to stand up against the MPLA is to stand up against White supremacists all over the World! The deceitful leaders of the MPLA always spoke in the name of the masses, but in fact not only do they keep away from the masses, but also abuse the good faith of the very masses, despise them totally and prove to be incapable of living with them. On 12 July 1977, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of MPLA issued in Luanda a 29 page document analyzing the

actual origins and development of the coup attempt of 27 May and making known how the popular forces were rallied to defeat the factionalists. Among other things the document reads, we quote:

«In this way we shall move forward to strengthen People's Power, entirely in the service of the masses and not at the service of a few opportunists. The struggle against the last redoubts of the coup-makers, servile lackeys of all the imperialists, will be strengthened further by the contribution of each militant to the solution of present problems of supplies, production and organization and discipline at work. Each worker should understand he must give of his best so that increases in production will come to benefit the whole people, whose sacrifices during the two Wars of Liberation justify their hopes in gathering the fruits of independence. We shall apply Revolutionary Democratic Dictatorship, to finish with saboteurs, parasites and speculators once and for all. Let us fight all opportunists and especially those petty bourgeois who think that because the splitters were defeated the time is ripe to throw themselves into the search for privileged positions.»

The fact is that the real few opportunists, the real servile lackeys of the imperialists, the real saboteurs, parasites and speculators, and the real petty bourgeois who throw themselves into the search for privileged positions were not those men and women maliciously accused of being involved in the alleged coup attempt of 27 May. For the record, the fabricated 27 May was followed by a purge which killed hundreds of thousands as the MPLA held a witch hunt against factionalism; all of those murdered were innocents. The real opportunists

and servile lackeys of the imperialists, the MPLA leaders who killed all those innocents, knew they were going to be evicted from their positions by the revolutionary intellectuals due to their corrupt and tyrannical nature; so they pre-empted it by accusing the said intellectuals of factionalism and motivating a witch hunt against the faithful representatives of the profound interests of the Angolan people. Is not the killing of hundreds of thousands of genuine Angolan patriots, just to maintain in power a band of swindlers who does not care about the living conditions of the Angolan people (peasants, working class, patriotic artists and intellectuals) an insult to the collective memory? The MPLA-regime is the height of injustice; it is absolutely ridiculous and horrific inasmuch as its performance falls far short of Salazar's, which we all know was not a corrupt one. In the Salazar regime members of the administrative staff were drastically forbidden to exercise commercial activities simultaneously, just to preserve the State against the curse called corruption.

All things considered, the double-faced nature of the MPLA-leaders has foreign sources, and we jump to this conclusion bearing in mind the difference between Neto's 1978 declaration: "We are no longer going to be dictated our destiny. The Angolan people are mature enough to make their own decisions!" and the speech the very same President Neto delivered at the opening session of the 29th meeting of the OAU Coordinating Commission for the Liberation of Africa, which took place in Luanda on 14 June 1977. The speech *inter alia* reads:

«For the first time a meeting of the Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa is about to begin

in Angola. All those present can imagine our happiness and joy, the joy of the Angolan people, whose liberation struggle now opens new prospects of action for the whole of the African continent. And this victory, as we have affirmed on various occasions, was not the victory of the Angolan people alone, but the fight of the peoples already independent who were with us at every moment of the struggle.

«It is the victory of the people who are advancing towards progress. It is also the victory of the peoples of Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe and, outside our continent, of the people of East Timor, with whom we fought together against the common enemy, Portuguese colonialism. It is also the victory of the peoples who are not yet free from colonialism, such as the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The dynamism of all has brought this new phase of dignity and freedom which we desire for every African. The meeting in Luanda of the Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa is of fundamental significance. More than ever, we can today understand the importance of the political and economic bases at our disposal. Now more than ever, we can today see the real possibilities of our continent, so long as we ourselves control the means and natural resources that are within our reach. Here in Angola, we view the evolution of the revolutionary process from a certain standpoint. That is that Angola is first and foremost a part of Africa. We are Africans. But when we broaden that analytical view, we also arrive at the conclusion that Africans are a part of humanity. (...) Above all, we cannot fail to understand the world of today. The great capitals of Europe were built on the

blood, sweat and patient labor of millions of exploited beings of our continent, among others. And among those others are the native peoples of America and Asia. As we understand it, therefore, we are part of a universal process of development whose pattern, since the era of colonial exploitation, has been that of drawing the maximum benefits from situations of domination and exploitation of some by others.

«Here in Angola, we were enslaved, as in many other African countries. And the slaves participated in the building of many States in distant continents, especially in America. There was a period when we could distinguish at least two opposing classes – the masters and the slaves. There was no social or economic consideration for the latter. Slaves were purely and simply instruments of labor. (...) The principal element is not and never has been the skin color or the social background of individuals. The principal element is the opposition between exploiters and dominators and the exploited and dominated. The contradiction is between those who own the means and those who produce material goods. We therefore rejoice in Angola on reaching the level of awareness, when the worker, the peasant, the official who were yesterday subject to exploitation can now realize their importance in the phase of independence, their importance in the struggle for independence and their fundamental role in building a just social system in which no men will be exploited by others.

«(...) It is necessary, before all else, to defend the interests of the people; first and foremost, the interests of the classes which were most exploited during the

period of domination. There is no cause for fear. The people will support just measures, as they are the ones who suffered the toils of colonialism. I do not want in any way to preempt the guidance from the Liberation Committee, which helped us so generously during our national liberation struggle. I do, however, want in the name of the Angolan people to express the view that armed struggle should not be scanted in any area still occupied by the enemy. Only through armed struggle is it possible to defeat the oppressive forces in the world. It is not through negotiations, through conferences or councils, that the peoples will decide their own future. Because there is a conflict of interests, a class struggle created now by imperialism and by the desire of one social group on its own to dominate all the others. (...)

«Angola will not speak at this Conference in the name of the Front Line. It will, however, speak as a Front Line State. It affirms that our support for the countries of Southern Africa is not merely in phrases, but in concrete acts which will show our solidarity with the peoples of the other countries. We must emerge from this meeting with decisions. Which ones? The comrades who are still fighting for independence and freedom need arms, training camps and food. They need uniforms, boots, caps and knives. They need blankets, knapsacks and tents. And if we as independent Africans understand this problem of liberation philosophically, what can we do from the practical point of view? We are going to help! Angola at least is politically prepared to give material assistance, even at the cost of sacrifices for its people. Every African country has internal forces capable of maintaining revolutionary changes. However, this change must be speeded up, because there are human

beings enslaved, and because it is our duty to work for the magnificent freedom that we already enjoy. I hope that the conclusion reached at this meeting will genuinely contribute to the advance of the liberation struggle in Africa, that is: in weapons, in land and air transport, in foodstuffs, programmed in the budgets and plans of every African country. In this way, we shall be worthy of ourselves.»

So how could the continued existence of Angola serve as the basis for liberating the rest of Africa, when the same Angola, long since portrayed as a «Front Line State», is confiscating the political sovereignty of a fellow African nation, i.e. Cabinda? Furthermore, when are the Angolan people going to stop being dictated their destiny? As to the nakedness of Neto, Lara and Dos Santos' MPLA distinctive nature, as long as the MPLA is the ruling party Angolans and Africans will always be having sickening occurrences involving Angolan senior officials and President Dos Santos' close family members. General Bento Kangamba, a MPLA leader and figure close to President José Eduardo dos Santos, is involved in the robbery of close to 3 million Euros (about US \$4 million) seized by the French police on 14 June 2013, according to the French newspaper *La Provence*. Depending upon Maka Angola, Angola's vice-President, Manuel Vicente, is accumulating State functions with private jobs in foreign companies since the vice-President of the Republic of Angola is also Director of China Sonangol International Holding Company. The giant China Sonangol, with headquarters in Hong Kong, is part of a global network of companies that perform commercial activities including the extraction of oil in Cabinda and Angola. Though, the accumulation of

functions “is a great violation of the Constitution”, stresses the Angolan Human Rights Defender Rafael Marques.

## **Psychological Reparation as a Sine Qua Non for Cabinda and Africa**

In view of the unbearable suffering of the Cabinda people as well as the appalling situation to which hundreds of millions of men and women are relegated in Africa, any human being inhabited by the greatest noble virtues, i.e. compassion and generosity (love), cannot help wondering what must be done in order to reverse the situation for better both in Cabinda and Africa at large. Since it is obvious that “Western Europe’s very existence depends on the resources of Africa and the continued control exercised by the Western European powers over the African continent”, it becomes extremely clear that there must be a «Plan» likely to reconcile the dependence of the European Union’s very existence on African resources and the right of African children to live prosperous lives thanks to their respective countries’ raw materials. Furthermore, for the reason that the relationship between African countries and Western Europe is, since the 15th century thus far, a power struggle in which Africans are subjugated owing to our military powerlessness, specific powers within the United Nations must be committed to providing African States with the mightiest military means aimed at preventing the re-conquest of African countries and the re-enslavement of their respective Black men and women. The last

element has to do with the «security» factor inasmuch as security is what any human being or nation looks for above all. Yet, we are of the opinion that even though military security is a must, it is still without the expected effectiveness as long as the people as a whole are devoid of a fitting inner security. In this connection, we are of the belief that African nations must recover our physical and psychological balance, which we consider to be the humus of our inner security. Western European powers are required to repair the psychological and political damages caused to Black people, inasmuch as they are liable for. Daco was not wrong! “Balance is the tool of the human perfection. Without balance there is nothing authentic that can be accomplished. Without it, it is impossible to reach the whole blissful feeling. Every lack of balance deprives the human being of his physiological and psychological wholeness. As a result, the lack of balance separates him/her from his/her possible altruism. Any illness, any psychological anomaly separates the human being from oneself<sup>301</sup>; that is to say from his/her capability to love, to do good and be thankful to his/her Creator.”

The psychological reparation is meant to enable Africans free ourselves from the upsetting colonial defects, more particularly the inferiority complex, the feeling of impotence, and the frustration, which result from Western Europeans’ search after a solution to their suffering, i.e. their jealousy and feeling of impotence

---

<sup>301</sup> See «*Les Prodigieuses Victoires de la Psychologie Moderne*» – “The Prodigious Victories of the Modern Psychology”, by Pierre Daco, Collection Marabout, Les Editions GERARD & C<sup>o</sup>, Verviers (Belgique), 1960, pp. 11-12.

dating back to 14th century. So the psychological reparation in behalf of Africans turns out to be a tool powerful enough to permit Europeans and Africans recover our respective psychological balance, i.e. our well-balanced self-esteem. Once our well-balanced self-esteem is restored, it is then up to both African and European leaders to make sure that such self-esteem never declines. The fact is that as long as Africans and Europeans remain devoid of a well-balanced self-esteem, there can be no genuine peace, nor fair partnership between African States and European's. There cannot be as long as the leaders of both sides are held prisoners by the colonial defects, which have in fact replaced the psychological balance within them. As a result, such leaders cannot be able to lead their nations as good shepherds do but as mere mercenaries. Despotism, corruption, kleptocracy, nepotism, anti-rule of law and racial discrimination are among the elements that characterize the country whose leader is destitute of a well-balanced self-esteem, in Europe as much as in Africa. Though, the psychological balance or lack of it depends upon «education». And let us not take it lightly! *Education* has got to be the starting point, if well-balanced self-esteem is to be restored within every African and European citizen. What is also unmistakable is that a successful education depends on an appropriate environment, healthy diet and, above all, on efficient educators. This tells us that leaders, parents and educators in Europe and in Africa are first of all required to be men and women with a well-balanced self-esteem, as education means transmission of knowledge and feelings. Hence, if a leader, a parent or an educator is carrying defective feelings, the latter cannot help being passed on to his/her nation, posterity, and pupils respectively. “The

ability to think among the dominant educated populations of trans-Atlantic civilization today has fallen, thus, far below that of four decades ago”, remarks Lyndon LaRouche<sup>302</sup> who, in the same work, is still wondering and observing as follows:

«Why has the present-day, modern world, fallen prey to a kind of general social disease last seen by Europe in the depths of feudalism, in the “New Dark Age” of more than seven-and-a-half centuries ago? ...the swindlers of “Wall Street” have not abandoned their determination to steal and swindle for private advantage at public and perhaps also public expense. (...) As the justly celebrated Albert Einstein emphasized the fact of the matter, the most crucial issue of economic policy-shaping now, is modern European science’s needed typification of the underlying, essential difference between man and ape».

In fact, it is the education given by people with faulty feelings that has destroyed the ability of the most highly educated, among others, to think clearly, even to learn skills which were relatively commonplace in former days. The modern world, particularly Africa, is victim of the Western Europe’s unbalanced self-esteem. Wars, vandalism, illegal occupation of others’ countries, decimation of particular aboriginals in order to plunder their respective natural wealth and resources, triangle trade, slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism, as well as swindle turn out to be mere results of a defective education. An ideal education is that in which there is a

---

<sup>302</sup> See: «ECHOES OF THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF BARDI: Wall Street’s New Dark Age», by Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., September 22, 2008.

genuine transmission of strength and balance, since it leads the human being towards the certainty of his/her own worth. A well-balanced education activates within the human being the feeling of being backed up and aided, but not of being dominated or treated as a «thing». Education is accordingly proving to be a love's role. And let us not forget that genuine love is the one that gives in a constant way; that to give in a constant way means to recognize oneself as a trustee of intangible or material assets; and that to acknowledge oneself as such suggests that one is psychologically strong. Yet, no true strength is possible without balance. "When there is no balance, we fall into the pseudo-love that receives and takes all the time, never being able to give<sup>303</sup>."

"In case you get lost along the way, the most recommended thing to do is to go back to the crossroads", according to Cabindan saying! The crossroads is the first encounter ("meeting point") between Europeans and Africans. There, at that crossroads, we find ourselves poised between two different cultures or worlds. That is where we can discern the individual path of each of the two (Europeans and Africans) and where we can perceive the psychological, political, and economic facts likely to shed light over the then weakness (indigence) of the Europeans as well as the strength (opulence) of the Africans. It is at the crossroads that our intellects are called to settle for a while in order to apprehend what would be today Europe and Africa's individual development, and to be acquainted with the unbalanced self-esteem of the Europeans (as a people in need) that

---

<sup>303</sup> Pierre Daco, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

led to the «Slave Trade», which, according to John Perkins, “was arguably the most horrific and destructive act by men against men in a long history of human brutality<sup>304</sup>.” Just as in international and in every particular society, the major articulations of the political dynamic have always as starting point a conflict of interests, which necessarily prompt the political actors to mobilize resources and form alliances, and to conceptualize strategies that are most likely to lead to an ultimate triumph. In every society, the political dynamic is a perpetual process of actions and reactions that lead to negotiations or confrontations punctuated with defeat or victory. Unlike Asians whose societies appear to be hermetically sealed thanks to their culture, which is protective enough to uninterruptedly arouse people’s suspicions of foreigners, Africans ended up as Slaves at home and abroad because the frontiers of our societies are easily crossed owing to our culture, which is not at all protective as it lessens people’s wariness of aliens. However, before Africans are required to stop being easily convinced, i.e. naïve, we must regain our once well-balanced self-esteem that we consider to be a kind of psychological reparation. Within the framework of Cabinda, for instance, the role of African Americans, the Portuguese, and Christianity in the process of our psychological reparation is of the utmost importance as it enables Black people around the globe to recover our lost dignity.

---

<sup>304</sup> See «The Secret History of the American Empire – Economic Hit Men, Jackals, and the Truth About Global Corruption», by John Perkins, Ebury Publishing, USA 2007, p. 265.

## 1. Reparation as Integration into African Society and Psychology

As long as all of us remain without a well-balanced self-esteem, and as long as the collective unconscious of both the Slave Masters (colonizers) and the Enslaved (colonized) people is not free from the colonial defects, it will be extremely difficult for Black people to enjoy a lasting peace and an authentic integral development, i.e. well-being of society. Psychological reparation not only is meant to enable us recover our individual psychological balance, but also facilitate our return to «One Africa» by means of an integration into African society and psychology. Though, such integration requires first of all that Africans on the Continent and those in the Diaspora acquire a well grounded and unshakeable «belief» as starting point. We suggest that the work aimed at making African integration into society and psychology possible be summed up by the words from a section of the declaration of the 5th Pan-African Congress (1945), which among other things reads: “We believe the success of Afro-Americans is bound up with the emancipation of all African peoples and also other dependent peoples and labouring classes everywhere.” Since Africa is the cradle of humanity; since the destiny of African-Americans is bound up with the fate of all African peoples the world over; since President Obama guarantees that the United States is still the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth, and claims that what is required of Americans is a new era of responsibility, i.e. a recognition on the part of every American that they have duties to themselves, their nation, and the world; and since we are of the opinion that Africa’s future is up to Africans and African-

Americans as Europe's is up to European and European-Americans; we cannot help pointing out some of the decisive elements – African consciousness, solidarity, identity, purpose and commitment – needed in order that African-Americans can eventually play their crucial role in the struggle for the triumph of justice, peace, respect for human rights, and an integral development all over the African continent meant to enable native African children to live prosperous lives thanks to their respective countries' natural wealth and resources.

We are well aware of the fact that Western European imperialist powers are long since used to overreacting whenever Africans attempt to embrace concepts and practices likely to help us recover our human dignity, our well-balanced self-esteem, and our political sovereignty. In Western European countries, self-portrayed as civilized and democratic states, there is still much risk involved in extolling the virtues of an African integration into African society and psychology. As soon as a Black man or woman begins awakening fellow Blacks to «African consciousness, solidarity, identity, purpose and commitment», thus exhorting us to willingly learn our African culture and history; and to take pride in our Blackness, such Black man or woman is at once portrayed by Westerners as leader of a “black racist faction”. Mr. Degroot's «*The Real Story of the Angola Coup Attempt*» in «Executive Intelligence Review» of July 1977 is the work from which we draw the perfect example of how Black leaders who try to free their respective peoples from the European political, economic, cultural and psychological yoke first end up labelled maliciously as CIA-created racists and subsequently murdered. Angola gives us an illustrative example. The nationalist Nito Alves

who stood up against corruption, dictatorship and kleptocracy within the MPLA, was first accused of attacking the leadership for allowing whites, mulattos and assimilated (educated) Africans in leadership positions; of calling for more positions to be given to “authentic Africans”; and of attempting to reduce the MPLA and the Angolan government to some variant of “Pan-African Socialism”. Degroot’s work also reads: “The common thread running through Alves, Holden Roberto, Savimbi, and Chipenda is an avowed racism, in the guise of trying to attain a pure pan-African ideal, an authentic, untainted African regime<sup>305</sup>.” Almost forty years after Alves was murdered owing to his so-called avowed racism, the Angolan natives have become poorer than they were during the colonial era. In fact, the Angolan people have become victim of the kleptocratic MPLA leadership, i.e. the very same leadership praised for its anti-racism and beautifully portrayed by Mr. Degroot as the acknowledged cornerstone of the “frontline” states. Is not it obvious that the plundering being inflicted on Angola and Cabinda through the so-called anti-racist MPLA leadership is what the critics and executioners of the trustworthy Angolan leaders of Alves’ stature had as essential objective? More and more Africans on the Continent as well as in the Diaspora are wondering: “why is it always a problem for African people to want to know our own culture and history? In the West, all we are taught about African history and culture is only what humiliate us. Nothing of our great history outside of slavery is taught in the European school

---

<sup>305</sup> See: «The Real Story Of The Angola Coup Attempt», by Douglas Degroot, in ‘Executive Intelligence Review’, Exclusive/Africa, New Solidarity International Press Service, Washington, Vol. IV, No. 28, July 1977, pp. 58, 63, 66.

system. That is ok though; that is not racism! Furthermore, Black people are always being portrayed negatively and downright backward in western mass media. Yet the regrettable thing is that when people ignore the truth, the inveracity displayed becomes their supreme truth.”

There are two foremost factors that help us explain why Western Europeans are keen that reliable nationalist Black leaders should stand falsely accused of racism or anything likely to justify their subsequent assassination, i.e. the psychological and the political factors. Both the false accusations and unjustified murders are senseless acts of violence that we condemn in the strongest terms and we believe should shock the conscience of people of all creeds and races. The psychological factor has to do with the fact that both African peoples and former colonial nations need to regain our respective psychological balance by doing the best we can to free ourselves from all discomforting colonial defects. The chief defects that haunt both the colonizers and colonized peoples respectively are: «*guilt*» and «*voicelessness*». In psychology, as well as in common language “guilt” is an affective state in which one experiences conflict at having done something that one believes one should not have done (or conversely, having not done something one believes one should have done). It gives rise to a feeling which does not go away easily, driven by conscience. “Voicelessness” is being deprived of voice (say) in the management or control of affairs. Though, if we take a good look at the two defects, we come to the conclusion that both are (potential) sources of all sorts of atrocities. Thus our task and duty is to seek for the balance of the esteem the people of both sides have for ourselves, and make sure that this self-esteem never declines. For its part, the political factor has

to do with the conflict of interests between Western Europeans and Africans. Let us not lose sight of the fact that “Western Europe’s very existence depends on the resources of Africa and the continued control exercised by the Western European powers over the African continent”! In other words, we are called to be conscious of the non-stop violent “Cold War” for survival between Westerners and Africans, “Cold War” in which the contestants are supposed to use resources and strategies so their interests can prevail. We must concede that the destruction of Black leaders who were or are good shepherds in African people’s eyes and the triumph in Africa of those leaders who are but mercenaries in the Western Europeans’ pay, are the proof that Africans have been employing inappropriate resources and strategies. Whether Western Europeans are praising or defaming Black leaders, Africans should remain uninterested in as it is a politically motivated standpoint that is in no way of great assistance to African people. On the other hand, Africans have got to develop the natural skill meant to discern the Black leaders whose struggle is aimed at allowing African children to live prosperous lives, and to protect such leaders at all costs particularly when they become targets of Western media.

“We must make our choice or others, less sympathetic, will make that choice for us. There is no giving up. There is hope”, claims Wangarai Maathai. In fact, Africans should not become politically discouraged or de-motivated for fear of being labelled as racists by our challengers in the West, inasmuch as it is our task and duty to do the best we can to hinder Westerners from believing they have a right to play god to others and from considering Black people as mere savages to both trade

and enslave ruthlessly. It stands to reason that the malicious effort of the European Union's imperialist powers to keep Africa as their eternal backyard has weakened African Union (AU) from the inside to such a degree that it cannot even dare to find some space in its busy schedules to reflect and act on the actual difference between Cabinda and Angola. Even a country like South Africa, whose nation has waged a protracted and costly struggle among other things to assert the primacy of the rule of law and to establish a law-governed society founded on respect for justice in all its forms, is blackmailed into silence to such an extent that its prevailing leaders are no longer disposed to understand why Cabindans are attempting to liberate ourselves from Angola's arbitrary rule. Europeans have perverted AU to such an extent that it has absolutely lost the courage to defend the interests of independent countries and help to pursue those of still-colonized ones, and lost the power to have a say in world affairs to prevent its members from being controlled once more by outside powers. We must look ahead to the future now! This simply means that we must strive for the right of African children to live prosperous lives thanks to their countries natural wealth and resources. Though, to do so, we must prove our opponents in Western Europe that our political standpoint is deserved as we have to protect ourselves from being once again kidnapped, thrown into ships' holds, enslaved and traded for goods or money.

A spirited discussion around Israel's Interior Minister Eli Yishai's order to police and cities across the country to shut down businesses owned by African refugees took place through Facebook in November

2012. Under-titled «Israel has declared war on Africans in Israel», the related article among other things reads:

«Yishai wants police and cities to close all businesses owned by refugees, including business owned by the few African refugees who have been granted official refugee status by the government. “We have no other way to make a living. This is pure racism...some people, if denied the possibility to work for a living, will turn to crime,” Sudanese refugee restaurant owner told Yediot Achranot. (...) Israel does not provide African refugees with financial, housing or food assistance, and has refused to honestly process refugees’ applications for official refugee status, turning down almost every African refugee who has applied, even though many, if not most, absolutely qualify for official status under international treaties Israel signed. Without legal refugee status, refugees can’t legally work in Israel or own and operate businesses there. (...) “The migrants are a danger to the future and identity of the state of Israel. I’m glad to see that the attorney general supports my decision... I have nothing against the migrants; I am guided by what’s best for the State of Israel,” Yishai reportedly said in reference to the thousands of African refugees held in artificial limbo by Yishai’s policies<sup>306</sup>.»

«African refugees in Israel face violence, discrimination and an uncertain future. Tensions came to a head in Tel Aviv this April with a Molotov cocktail attack on African

---

<sup>306</sup> See «Let Them Eat Sand: Israel Moves to Close African Owned Businesses», published on 7 November 2012; Related link: <http://www.africanglobe.net/africa/eat-sand-israel-moves-close-african-owned-businesses/>.

homes and a crèche. In a country where refugees are seen as ‘infiltrators’ and a ‘cancer’, Isayas is a refugee attempting to change the situation on the ground<sup>307</sup>.»

Most contributors agreed that, in artificially creating such a situation to make refugees suffer so much that they voluntarily leave Israel, the highest leaders of Israel are showing proof of a racist behavior. Bearing in mind the core values articulated in the tools of the international law, human rights in particular, we cannot help endorsing the perspective of the contributors concerned. However, a close look at what the Jewish people in Europe went through in the course of the last five centuries or even more help us view the political stance of Israel’s chief leaders regarding “foreigners” with much understanding. Just like in Africa, there is in Israel a well-grounded fear of being once more humiliated, debased, and murdered en masse. Just as Israel’s, African leaders cannot morally be accused of being racists for viewing particular aliens with suspicion since, you never know, such migrants or infiltrators can be instruments of the evil-minded nations whose chief purpose is to annihilate our existence on earth. In this connection, Mr. Degroot should perhaps concede that the Angolan N. Alves should not have been portrayed as leader of a “black racist faction” in case there is evidence that he did make political comments comparable to those of Israel’s Interior Minister Eli Yishai. We are trying to find out whether or not Nito Alves, as Angola’s Interior Minister, did say: “The European migrants within the MPLA-leadership are a danger to the future and identity of the state of Angola.”

---

<sup>307</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YeCKW2UY5kQ&feature=share>.

And, subsequently: “I have nothing against the European migrants; I am guided by what is best for the State of Angola.” Yet, Alves was unjustly accused of racism and killed for that! But when you look at the abject poverty to which the MPLA-leadership is relegating the vast majority of the Angolan people, you end up concluding that Israel’s Interior Minister’s concern is not determined by a racist attitude but by a self-evident danger. Concerning the denial of international protection and humanitarian assistance to asylum seekers and even to mandate refugees, Israel is nothing but a speck of dust in front of the EU member countries. Well before Israel, i.e. since the collapse of the Soviet Union, European states have artificially created profoundly inhuman situations to make African refugees suffer to such a degree that we voluntarily leave their countries. As they do so in order to avoid being outnumbered by migrants and eventually enslaved by the latter, we wonder whether Europeans are racists.

Taking into consideration all abovementioned, in no way should our integration into African society and psychology be accused of racism by fair-minded people who are well aware of what Black men and women are experiencing since the 15th century thus far. As the saying goes, “courage is doing the right thing even when the majority is against you”. Black leaders must courageously stand up with an agenda for a genuine African liberation as well as for an enduring reconciliation between Europeans and Africans, having in mind the fact that justice precedes reconciliation. The acceptance of such an agenda by the European citizens depends on our ability to make them apprehend its absolute relevance. This requires resources as well as strategies, and, above

all, the sense of common purpose. If the majority of White people do not have a clue of what really was happening to Blacks on those ships, on those markets, and on those plantations during Slavery, it is because we (Blacks) are not doing what we should be doing; related pictures and stories should be collected as much as possible; expositions of these pictures should then be organized in every city of all countries throughout the world, with Black scholars explaining their historical meaning to attendees! Publicity/denunciation with respect to Slavery appears to be far below the level required in order for it to spark off a sympathetic reaction from the European civil society.

Pursuant to international criminal law, a subject of international law which commits an internationally wrongful act towards another is liable for reparations – *restitutio in integrum*<sup>308</sup>. But since there is no legal precedent with regard to all internationally wrongful acts towards African States and nations in the course of the last five centuries, nothing prevents history (evil) from repeating itself. Black leaders and followers should all learn from the Ibexes (wild goats) their astonishing survival abilities, if we actually value our dignity and life in history, and if we are willing to restore our once political sovereignty, our once covetable economic opulence, and our once transcendent spirituality. Ibexes move up and down the precipitous cliffs with ease, and their agility in such a hostile environment plays a big part

---

<sup>308</sup> See: Rüdiger Wolfrum, Reparation for Internationally wrongful Acts, in: R. Bernhardt (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Volume IV (2000), p. 177.

in predator avoidance. Our Black leaders are required to be as brainy as far-sighted so as to move up and down the precipitous cliffs (of history) with ease, since our agility in the hostile environment, which the world proves to be, is meant to play a big part in the perpetuation of our existence on earth and in universal history. African leaders of the 1960s managed to show what Martin Meredith's book<sup>309</sup> refers to as "Africa's growing international ambitions". It also reads: "The OAU was launched with many high ideals and a hotchpotch of aims, including the liberation of Southern Africa from white minority rule, but also the hope that it would provide Africa with a powerful independent voice in world affairs." Among their international ambitions, the liberation of Cabinda (the 39th black State in the OAU's list) is unmistakable.

## 2. The Role of Communication in our Psychological Reparation

The more Africans on the Continent and those in the Diaspora communicate the more our integration into African society and psychology becomes a monolithic reality; the more our self-esteem becomes well-balanced and the more our psychological reparation becomes a vital tool to make this world a better place for the human family as a whole. We have got to communicate much

---

<sup>309</sup> See «The State of Africa – A History of Fifty Years of Independence», Martin Meredith, Simon & Schuster 2005, London, p. 143.

more, for it is the most appropriate way to make people realize the root cause of the problems ravaging the African Continent, and come to know how to act boldly and collectively on behalf of justice and prosperity at home and abroad. For instance, most Africans, African-Americans, or even world citizens have never heard of the tiny Cabinda in southern Africa. This oil-rich country is victim of the biggest robbery ever, and victim of the most serious crimes of international concern as referred to in the Rome Statute, and which, as a result, fall within the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court. Politically speaking, Cabinda is likewise victim of the lasting imperialistic rivalry between France and Germany. Angola's dictator and occupier of Cabinda, José Eduardo dos Santos, is disbursing millions and millions of US dollars on a daily basis to bribe European governments and international institutions to do the best they can to discourage those Cabindans who wholeheartedly seek Cabinda's self-determination and independence. The proof is that CTD (Convention Travel Documents), freedom of movement and the most basic human rights for the said Cabindans, mostly mandate refugees, are no longer guaranteed. Due to the fact that people are unaware of the situation, openly declared proponents of justice and peace on a worldwide scale just watch and let it happen. "The world is a dangerous place to live in; not because of those who do evil, but because of those who watch it and let it happen", claims Albert Einstein.

Our psychological reparation is partially determined by our awareness of Africa's might and opulence during the pre-European era. So the more our awareness of our extremely enviable past; the more we communicate our

findings or scientific knowledge to our fellow brothers and sisters the more our political awareness becomes sharp and the more our distinctiveness and togetherness become a reality increasingly attractive and respected by aliens. Most of the present-day African and European young generations ignore that the Maritime Discoveries of Portugal in the XV century, which ended up in the Slave Trade, Slavery, and Colonialism, had been preceded by a terribly devastating crisis (famine) in XIV century's Europe. Besides, they are not acquainted with the fact that the Portuguese discoveries, i.e. Africa's opulence, did come to Europe's rescue. The proof is that the famous capital city of the Congo Empire, *Mbanza-Kongo*, was nicknamed "*São Salvador do Congo*", i.e. Saint Savior of the Congo, by the Portuguese. Black peoples' unsuspecting, deep-rooted welcoming and open-minded nature are nothing but absolute naivety in the eyes of Western Europeans. Both the Congo Empire's leadership and Cabinda's did not perceive that and, as a result, we ended up betrayed and enslaved by people we blindly had faith in. We finally came to realize that the «Re-conquest of Africa» and the «Re-enslavement of Black Peoples» by the pan-European Assembly is the ultimate objective of Western European States and respective agents. Since we are living in a staggering world where more and more people find comfort in deception and where to come into consciousness of the truth is a burden, communication is the most appropriate tool that we have to use in order to protect our beloved ones against the increasingly deceiving world.

As soon as an African on the Continent believes that his/her emancipation is bound up with the success of African-Americans; and, conversely, as soon as an

African-American believes that his/her achievement is bound up with the emancipation of all Africans on the Continent, we become effortlessly conscious of the enormous challenges of our moment in history and predisposed to deliberately play a meaningful role in the struggle for the triumph of justice, peace, and prosperity on behalf of African children all over the world. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah did care to exemplify such interdependence as follows: “Our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa”. To make our cohesion workable, Africans and African-Americans have got to do all we can to be expressing ourselves with one voice, particularly with reference to critical issues meant to promote or likely to obstruct the emancipation of African peoples across the globe. Since «Justice for Africans on the Continent and in the Diaspora» is the body and soul of Black people’s dream, Africans in the Diaspora have got to be in line with those on the Continent as for the signification of: slavery, slave trade, colonialism, imperialism, dictatorship, racial discrimination, self-determination, sovereignty, democracy, freedom of expression, solidarity with oppressed peoples, respect for human rights, integral development, and so on and so forth. In a word, what is required for a successful cohesion is that the exchange within the community that embraces Africans on the Continent and those in the Diaspora be governed by one and only genuine African political philosophy. Given the world’s leading powers-led substitution of the “International Law” by the devilish principle of “Might is Right”, which is making people view the United Nations’ main actions as promoting particular agendas, a true African political philosophy has got to be Black people’s own study of such topics as

Liberty, Justice, Property, Rights, Law, and the enforcement of a legal code by authority, i.e. what they are, why they are needed, what makes a government legitimate, what rights and freedoms it should protect and why, what form it should take and why, what the law is, and what duties citizens owe to a legitimate government, and when it may be legitimately overthrown. In other words, to possess an authentic African political philosophy is to have our own general view, or specific ethic, political belief or attitude, about politics.

It is very important that as Africans, at all levels, we communicate much more, in order that the opinion or verdict of African-Americans, as to what kind of Africa we want to portray to the world, be consistent with the view of Africans on the Continent. However, a productive communication requires that Africans be adequately free from ideological fixed ideas so that our own general standpoint about politics can finally take shape. We all agree, for instance, that, since we have suffered so much and are still suffering from «imperialism», we must do everything we can to combat such evil. Curiously, the more we fight the evil in question the more it seems unbeatable. How come? The fact of the matter is that most African-Americans and Africans' conception and criticism of «imperialism» are totally divorced from political reality, particularly since the end of the Cold War. Western European imperialists have ever since the 1950s made big changes in their political nature, whereas African peace-warriors who claim to be anti-imperialists find it difficult to make changes in our political concepts as well as in our civic behavior. Imperialists are no longer conservatives and Whites alone as they use to be. Instead, they have acquired the adroitness to turn themselves into

both Blacks and progressives, inasmuch as their main concern is to further their capitalistic benefits using camouflages (progressive or/and black) in particular geopolitical environments. We cannot help claiming that all these changes imperialists made in their nature, changes that we know are still imperceptible to most of us, has created a gap between philosophers and politicians among the anti-imperialist warriors. The United States, for instance, is giving us an eloquent example of the gap between African American philosophers represented by Dr. Cornel West on the one hand and African American politicians personalized by President Barack Obama on the other. Yet both are leftists. On this matter our Facebook friend B. Playthell comes with the following acceptable observation, we quote: “Philosophers dream of ideal worlds and politicians must manage the world as it is. Hence the philosophers can concern themselves with imagining things as they ought to be, while politicians must struggle to make things work out and avoid disaster in the world they inherited.” In fact, given the abovementioned changes made by Western imperialists, anti-imperialist warriors are required to be not only philosophers (dreamers) but also politicians (creators) at the same time. Today’s politician, particularly when s/he is an incumbent President of a country, is someone aware of the fact that Western imperialists, and their capital, have become the god of all existing ideologies.

We are of the opinion that African and African-American progressives who have got fixation (*idée fixe* or obsession) about the concept of “imperialism” are in no position to help Africans and Africa make the type of progress that time demands. An *idée fixe* is a preoccupation of mind held so firmly as to resist any attempt to modify

(change) it, a fixation, psychologists say. That helps us explain certain Africans and African-Americans' both the misjudgment of the change President Obama stands for and the resistance to the very change. Progressives' obsession with reference to imperialism consists in portraying the United States as the world foremost, if not unique imperialist entity and, accordingly, in systematically considering any US foreign policy to be motivated by imperialistic appetites. African-American Progressives' readiness to put up opposition against President Obama's strong commitment to promoting change in Africa, leads to the upsetting conclusion that Africans and African-Americans have discordant opinions as to what Africa needs and conflicting perspectives as to what it should look like. Furthermore, such obsession and readiness appear to be morally and politically an extremely divisive phenomenon between Africans on the Continent and African-Americans. Let us be remembered that even though the United States is a superpower its imperialistic appetites are not easily satisfied, particularly in Africa where Washington is competing with Western European imperialist powers that have a colonial advantage over the USA. And let us not forget that the United States happens to be a "White House"; White-Americans are as Europeans as White-Europeans. Hence, with regard to Africa where the conflict of interests between Africans and Western Europeans is endless, we are called to have in mind the fact that between a tearful face of a little White baby and a tearful face of a little Black baby the United States' choice as to who it must comfort is self-evident. That is exactly the aspect the Conversation (November 1955) between Dr. Paulo Cunha, Portuguese Foreign Minister, and the Honorable John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State, is highlighting. Black progressives' struggle against

“imperialism” from the 1950s through the 1960s has unexpectedly become Africans and African-Americans’ *idée fixe* to the extent that many of us even ignore what sort of “imperialism” are we referring to when we talk about imperialism. Hence an appropriate work is required to help our brothers and sisters overcome the universal phenomenon of resistance to change, and eventually permit them regain an actual and impartial general view about world politics, international relations as well as international law.

For too long, it has been acceptable to let African dictators kill, rob, exploit and enslave their fellow citizens as well as other African peoples, while being quick to condemn these actions when they are being carried out by “imperialists”, i.e. non-Africans, often Westerners. That is not how we should see things. If you are an African Head of state and you are not treating your own people with respect, justice and humanity, you are “imperialist” and it is the right of anybody who wants the true emancipation of African people to fight you. We know very well that about 90% of the woes in Africa are attributable to Western European imperialists. But amongst these imperialists are many Africans. We believe the time has come to ask not only foreigners to respect the lives and dignity of Black people, but also African leaders as well. Whoever does not do that deserves nothing but contempt. Dictatorships have failed to bring stability and prosperity to Africa; and there is no such thing as a benevolent dictator. African leaders like José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola are as brutal and nasty as they come. Dos Santos, for instance, is responsible for millions of dead people all over Africa through his illegal military interventions in countries like Cabinda,

Democratic Republic of the Congo, Congo-Brazzaville, Ivory Coast, Guinea Bissau, and so on. An African Union (AU) that relies on such mass murderers cannot serve the interests of African peoples. Despite most African dictators' anti-imperialist discourse that obviously flatters obsessed Black Progressives, those despots are every bit as bad as Western European imperialists. In our modest opinion, when that happens, people would welcome anybody, including other "imperialists" to try to get rid of such criminal leaders. We have come to the conclusion that African self-styled progressive leaders who more often criticize "imperialists" (Westerners) in public are those who use the very Western imperialists' dining table the most on the sly. Hence, we are disgusted at how so many African mass murderers and kleptocrats like Angola's, who are doing everything Western European imperialists did to Africans for centuries and centuries, are using vacuous anti-imperialist discourse as a convenient loincloth to hide their shocking crimes.

Angola's belligerent occupation of Cabinda in 1975 was first seen by world's leading powers as a serious threat to global stability. But as soon as the very same world's leading powers got a real stranglehold on Cabinda's diamonds and oil fields, they suddenly ceased viewing Angola as a rogue state and stopped considering Angola's military occupation of Cabinda and following maintenance by force of colonial domination as a threat to global stability. Yet Angola's foreign policy, which entails the most serious crimes of international concern, is still the major contributing factor to the political insecurity and instability in Southern Africa and beyond. That goes down in history as a convincing example of the cynicism of the so-called civilized and democratic

States. To the latter, the suffering of others is but a laughing matter. Why then should they grieve over the huge loss of lives and poverty caused respectively by the savageness of Angola's occupying forces and the plundering inflicted on Cabinda? Thus, world's leading powers' growing contempt for "International Law" and "Human Rights" is without doubt what really threatens global stability, inasmuch as such contempt appears to be in line with Western imperialists' worrisome principle of "Might is Right". Between 1975 and 1990, in Cabinda, western oil companies involved in oil exploration and exploitation have been under the protection of Fidel Castro's rapid reaction force. From 1990 onwards, the oil companies concerned are protected by Cuba's landmines in exchange for US currency, or even oil concessions in Cabinda. This happens while Fidel Castro exhibits himself to the rest of the world as a perfect example of a progressive revolutionary. Angola's President José Eduardo dos Santos is likewise known and praised worldwide as supreme commander of the country that defines itself as the trench steady of the progressive revolution in Africa. How come Castro and Dos Santos dare to turn themselves into mercenary entities in charge of terrorizing the Cabinda people and obstructing Cabinda's attainment of independence so that Western and Eastern corporate States can freely loot that tiny country's natural wealth and resources at the expense of the natives? Thus far western civilized and democratic States say nothing about the illegally occupied Cabinda, country whose oil production is about to reach two million barrels a day (apart from its diamonds, uranium, gold, hard-wood, iron, and so forth) and whose eight hundred thousand natives are constrained to live on less than US \$1 per day. As we strive for our psychological

reparation, we are required to realize that, at this point in time, Portugal and Angola are just acting as instruments for the «re-conquest of Africa» and the «re-enslavement of African peoples» by the European Union.

### 3. Black People's Specific Nature as a Psychological Phenomenon

Black people's consciousness and affirmation of our specific nature, i.e. humanly, culturally, and politically, is a psychological phenomenon whose role in our cohesion and psychological reparation turns out to be vital. Intercommunication happens to be the means by which a national community or any human group acquires a distinctive nature. It must nonetheless be pointed out that the nature of a human group is usually determined by its organization's level, its function and its constant assertiveness. The way of the existing interaction between its «members» and the one of the distribution of their role, as well as the way in which the «*group situation*» is experienced, i.e. the «*to be together*», must similarly be taken into account. Basically, it is the presence of structural, functional and psychological dimensions that shape a human group's distinctive nature. Hence communication has to be a tool meant to embrace all Black men and women who survived to Slavery and Colonialism, because it is difficult for “outsiders” to catch on to the sense of a “collective process” of any society or human group if they remain completely not involved in. Admittedly, the factors of interrelationship cannot acquire a collective

sense except inside a political structure (organization) which overtops the game of the interactions and implies, at a level more or less conscious, «one purpose», «one reference frame», and «common experiences». It is vital that we emphasize here the fact that a nation as such is nothing but a human group whose members exist psychologically some for the others, and find themselves happily in an intrinsic situation of interdependence and interaction. Likewise, it is worth to raise awareness that within any nation or human group grows, often, a system of tensions sometimes positive, sometimes negative corresponding to the game of tendencies and resistances. Bearing this in mind, African leaders must remind themselves on a daily basis that to lead any human group consists in a series of operations aimed at solving the tensions in question and thus restoring the appropriate balance.

Africa became vulnerable to neocolonialism and its people are vulnerable to re-enslavement due to the peripheral involvement of African-Americans in the African nations' collective process in the 1960s and 1970s on the one hand and, of course, the opportunistic involvement of Western European imperialists' agents under the cover of progressives on the other hand. Therefore, Africans and African-Americans should hear from one another a lot more often. It is well known that numerous Africans and African-Americans are incoherent in our attitude toward our own community's struggle for both the well-being of each individual member and the continual existence of the community itself. In this connection, the assignment of the leaders is to minimize the ambiguous integrity of identified incoherent members,

and to urge them to reintegrate the community and enjoy their authentic membership. Leaders must not lose sight of the fact that every group phenomenon is related to a particular evolution which involves a «kind of life» and a «specific strength». Thus, whatever the member's incoherence may have been, leaders as well as the entire community are required to show a continual understanding and a sympathetic attitude towards such member. In addition, we must bear in mind the fact that the real worth of every single member of our community is not the one determined and displayed by aliens, particularly those aliens whose "error" of judgment has caused the most shocking crimes ever against the people we happen to be, and for centuries and centuries. We must accordingly do our best so that every member may behave and shine as representative of the Black community's psychological and political cohesion. The group's cohesion must be our essential objective, since cohesion is the whole field of the forces that have the effect of keeping together the members of a community and putting up resistance to the forces of disintegration. That being said, to resist valiantly the forces of disintegration, we have got to rely upon the cohesion factors which are divided into the following categories: 1) the factors of socio-affective nature, which give the community its *attractiveness* and comprise the «*motivations*», «*emotions*», and «*common values*». Otherwise said, the socio-affective factors include the attractiveness of the «*common aim*», «*collective action*», and the beauty of the «*sense of belonging to the community*»; 2) the factors of socio-operative and functional nature, which relate to the typical organization of the community and enable the very group (at least partially) to meet its requirements and pursue its goals.

Furthermore, the socio-operative and functional factors comprehend the «*distribution and articulation of the roles*»; the «*conduct of the community*», and the «*kind of leadership*»<sup>310</sup>.

Leader is the right person for particular situation! We are of the opinion that people should neither accept a self-styled charismatic leader, who is seen as infallible and almost sacred, nor a traditional leader, authoritarian and paternalistic all at once. African peoples deserve democratic leaders whose authority has to be established on consultative and rational basis, i.e. the cooperative type of leadership that must consist in including the members of the community in every decision-making (about the ends and resources), at least during its preparation and application. That is the sort of leadership that we advocate for Africa and for the community that embraces Africans on the Continent and those in the Diaspora. Leaders, as well as fellow members, have got to be constantly conscious that the impact or success of an outstanding leader is always linked to the compatibility between the chase of his personal needs, the demands of his fellows, the requirements of the collective action, and the whole social context. This simply means that the individual competence (personal ascendancy) and the adaptability of the leader are of utmost importance. The right person for specific situation is the one who is well aware that the leading role is a command system required by/for the smooth functioning

---

<sup>310</sup> See “*Le leadership comme fonction*”, in «*La Dynamique des Groupes*» (“*Leadership as function*”, in «*The Dynamics of Groups*», by Jean Maisonneuve, Presses Universitaires de France, 1995, p. 60.

of the community. The right person is someone who can clearly indicate the objective (task to accomplish or problem to solve), for he/she is capable of lucid analysis. Consequently, he/she is capable of presenting the stages of the task or the dimensions of the problem by bringing out a working agenda; capable of highlighting the role of every one in partnership with the one of the others; capable of securing and controlling the articulation of those roles or functions along the way; capable of taking stock of the global situation at each stage; capable of assessing the evolution of the levels of individual and collective satisfaction or dissatisfaction; and, in case of conflict or anxiety, capable of localizing their source and making their way out easier.

«Governance» is an «art», and as such «it refuses whichever improvisation». Just like any «art», governance requires always «training» and contact with a «tradition». Training and close touch with a tradition are intended to permit the one who govern to acquire complete mastery over his art and to procure the ability to express oneself with absolute easiness. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that a research for this purpose into the last ten years of the Portuguese colonial reign, or even into Cabinda's governing system back in the pre-European era, would have given Angola's ruling party an enviable skill in governing "their" country. Just as Angola's, African freedom fighters of the 1960s did not even attempt to look into Africa's own art of governing back before Western Europeans set foot on Africa in order to engender the so required distinctive self-management culture and competence. Instead of doing that, African leaders have preferred to import from far distant the way to govern their country. As a result, most independent African countries

appear to be governed by means of improvisations and methods quite simply incompatible with the international realities as well as the domestic's. Again, balance is the tool of the human perfection! That is what each one of us should have as absolute conviction from the outset. For without balance there is nothing authentic that can be accomplished. Without it, it is impossible to reach the whole blissful feeling. Every lack of balance deprives the human being of his/her physiological and psychological entirety. It is also worth listening to Robert Collier, we quote: "Your chances of success in any undertaking can always be measured by your belief in yourself."

#### 4. The Granting of African Citizenship to African-Americans

From a political, psychological, economic, and cultural perspective, «Dual Citizenship» is an extremely advantageous tool for Africa and Black peoples across the globe. Our deep rooted belief is that «Dual Citizenship» for African-Americans is an imperative if we sincerely want to ameliorate the social, cultural, political, and financial image of Africans on the Continent and those in the Diaspora. Politically, African citizenship to African-Americans appears to be an instrument powerful enough to successfully enhance the deference for African countries' territorial integrity and national sovereignty on a worldwide scale. In our eyes, citizenship of that kind is an "added value" to the political strength of both African and African-American citizens, and would be to the great benefit of the survivors from Slavery and Colonialism that present-day Black people happen to be. Psychologically

speaking, it helps considerably the peoples of the African countries concerned regain within ourselves the needed well-balanced self-esteem. African-Americans have to be viewed as trustees of both intangible and material assets. Their know-how and the energy of the powerful country they belong to and which they incarnate to a large extent are intangible assets, whereas their relative financial power is a material asset. The fact of having African-Americans as our fellow citizens not only makes Africans on the Continent sense an inner pride blooming from this new and so empowering « WE » but also has a part in both side's psychological reparation. From an economic point of view African citizenship to African-Americans is a wonderful tool likely to make greater the respect for African States' national interests, by voicing faithful African leaders' quest for fair trade with their respective countries' business partners and by siding with the large majority of Africans in our struggle for integral development. African-Americans inclined to make all sorts of investments cannot help being seen as men and women who add value to Africa. It must nonetheless be pointed out that nothing can work as long as African top leaders are not free from whatever political enslavement. From a cultural point of view African citizenship to African-Americans is an asset for Black people on the Continent as well as in the Diaspora. African-Americans' lifestyle in all cultural fields would positively and effortlessly set itself up as a benchmark for the entire African people. It gives a beautiful picture in which Black peoples look at their own Black brothers and sisters as references (perfect example) in several instances. This proves to be the sounder way to make greater Black peoples' self-confidence both individually and collectively. Self-confidence is everything! In fact «Dual Citizenship», as a civic connection between

Africans and African-Americans, is a tool of great assistance to Africans all over the world and of great resistance to Black people's fierce enemies. May His Holiness Dalai Lama find in each of us an attentive ear as he says: "Our prime purpose in this life is to help others; And if you can't help them, at least don't hurt them."

As an extremely advantageous instrument for Africa and Black peoples across the globe, African citizenship to African-Americans cannot necessarily be a good thing for those willing to loot Africa's natural wealth and resources forever, as well as for those acting in pursuance of Napoleon Bonaparte's evil resolve to block for ever the march of the Blacks in the world. It goes without saying that, in order for «Dual Citizenship» to work perfectly and ultimately be a successful achievement, it has to be of great benefit to both Africa and the United States. As soon it is regarded by US decision-makers as a «US Strategic Interest», not only it will obtain US approval (perhaps an implicit approval at the beginning to handle carefully its European allies) but also get its backing. Hence African-Americans have got to be fond of America and Africa all at once. In other words, they are required to show full and well-balanced exercise of their two citizenships, making every endeavor to satisfy both sides equally. Though, there is a set of geopolitical and socioeconomic factors that plead for a US commitment in favor of the «Dual Citizenship» plan. The United States is the most powerful nation on earth so far. Yet, at this moment in history, America would love Africans and African-Americans' help to safeguard its international standing from being challenged by China and its foremost allies. Accordingly, it is in the interest of the United States to commit itself to a fair partnership

and a genuine friendship with Black Africa if Washington still attaches great value to America's international might and brilliance. It is undeniable that the United States is a nation involved in the Slavery of which Blacks have been victims for centuries, right? Yet, although we must keep the memory alive to preserve the generations to come, we have got to be aware that in politics there are neither friends nor enemies that last forever but interests. Hence we must be able to identify and take America's outstretched hand for the sake of Africa, America, and the world at large. It is a fact that America's abhorrence of colonial exploitation through the Charter of the United Nations is a hand held out to all of us Africans and African-Americans.

If Washington did not champion the cause of decolonization to the last consequence, in our opinion, is due to both the fact that Western European imperialist powers found in President Obama's country an unduly attentive ear and the fact that African leaders were not prescient enough to convince America that it is in its own interest to side with Africans in our struggle for justice, peace, and integral development. The United Nations, which owes its existence particularly to the United States and which General De Gaulle had called the pejorative "*le Machin*" ("the thingamajig"), has played an essential role in the liberation of African countries from Western European colonial yoke. All UN related resolutions define Colonialism as an internationally wrongful act in the same way as Apartheid, Genocide, and so on. Bearing all that in mind, we cannot help claiming that it would be fruitless to be too self-centered, too authoritarian, too conservative, and too anti-America. There must be balance between our rational and emotional sides.

The Frenchman Pierre Péan's valuable work<sup>311</sup> entails an illustrative example of the fact that «Dual Citizenship» can be double-edged, i.e. a good and bad thing all at once. In European Union countries, more and more politicians see in «Dual Citizenship» a serious threat to their respective national cohesion. For our part, we are of the belief that fertile African citizenship to African-Americans has to be African nations and governments' initiative. The initiative is required to be in line with an African-American profound awareness of its global worth and willingness to act accordingly. It is true that African citizenship has necessarily to be African States' offer, and similarly true that if they do not make such an offer it cannot simply take place. Everywhere the granting of nationality is an exclusive competence of national States. As far as African-Americans are concerned we must concede, prior to anything else, that «Dual Citizenship» is an extremely sensitive issue for both African countries (governments) and the United States of America. What needs to be understood is the fact that the European former colonial masters have turned most African countries into their private domains since independence. So despite the sovereign appearance of those national States, their respective leaders are but mere puppets. We meant to say that most African leaders are neither free nor effective decision-makers. Even the most banal of their decisions requires the approval of their masters. In a word, the partnership between African and European leaders is achieved by means of submission and obedience instead of an open dialogue or debate about what needs to be done or changed. Hence,

---

<sup>311</sup> «*La République des Mallettes – Enquête sur la principauté française de non-droit*», by Pierre Péan, Fayard, Paris 2011.

in the eyes of those European powers committed to keeping African countries as their private domains, African citizenship to African-Americans cannot help being viewed as a threat to their interests. Furthermore, a hypothetical explicit approval by the United States would not only lead the Europeans to view such citizenship as a US imperialistic tool but also foment division between Africans and African-Americans. Europeans would make use of the Liberia case (in which African-Americans governed the country with disdain for the natives) to thwart the plan. This does not mean that we should give up, quite the opposite. By being well aware of the abovementioned aspects we cement our conviction that we can triumph in the face of adversity.

The most appropriate starting point for such a wonderful and priceless project appears to be African political parties in opposition and, to a more limited extent, liberation movements like the «Cabindan National Movement». It also depends on how much motivated African-Americans are as far as African citizenship and African integral development are concerned. Regarding Cabinda, we have long since displayed our readiness to welcome in our ranks all African-Americans willing to do so. We believe that to begin with a liberating country, in this instance Cabinda, would be an extremely inspiring sample to other African countries if we can carefully and passionately carry out the plan. Given the smallness of Cabinda's territory and demography, and given the enormousness of its natural resources – oil, gold, diamonds, uranium, phosphate, manganese, iron, hardwood, and so on, Cabinda has the potential for a quick integral development and instantly come into view as a trend setter in Africa. In fact, the «Cabindan National

Movement» is making every endeavor to put an end to Angola's belligerent occupation of Cabinda and ensuing maintenance by force of colonial domination since 1975. We are doing so in pursuance of the UN General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, concerning the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as the UN General Assembly resolution 1807 (XVII) of 14 December 1962. Since the movement is committed to contributing to the fulfillment of international order of justice and peace, we accept in advance the obligations of peaceful settlement provided in the Charter of the United Nations. Our foreign policy, as soon as Cabinda recovers its political sovereignty, is aimed at minimizing conflicts by means of a political and economic interdependence. Not only the granting of Cabinda citizenship to African-Americans is enshrined in the movement's strategic policy, but also the assigning of ten per cent of each Cabindan natural resource to the very African-Americans intended to lessen the suffering of Black peoples in the Diaspora. In the final analysis, African citizenship to African-Americans must be viewed as a «Change» – a new social, political, psychological, and economic interaction between Africans on the Continent and those in the Diaspora. Our success depends upon the way to bring in the change, i.e. «information» and «participation» respectively offered or absent. Let us keep in mind, for ever and ever, that we are trustees of intangible as well as material assets and remain always aware that genuine love is the one that gives in a constant way. But we should not solely keep thinking without acting!

## 5. The Role of Christianity in our Psychological Reparation

Christianity was the good news the Portuguese (Europeans) endeavored to spread across the African continent ever since the XV century, just like Democracy is the good news the very same Westerners are endeavoring to propagate in Africa in the aftermath of the Cold War. Though, neither the former good news did prevent the Black Holocaust nor the latter seems to care about Africa's well-being. As a result, more and more Africans on the Continent and in the Diaspora are daily coming to the frustrating conclusion that Westerners' Christianity and Democracy in Africa are mere instruments of domination, instead of instruments of real liberation. We all know that Christianity is at the very foundation of the European integral development, and we also know that Democracy has played a vital role in the decrease of the European violent internal conflicts, and an essential role in the dismantling of dictatorships on the European Continent. Nevertheless, for more than a half millennium, Christianity has proved to be either unwilling or simply unable to place herself at what we would consider to be the foundation of the African countries' integral development. How come? Does the 1955 Portuguese Foreign Minister Paulo Cunha's avowal suffice to explain the abovementioned Christianity's unwillingness or incapability? Dr. Cunha avowed that "The very existence of Western Europe depends on the resources of Africa and the continued control exercised by the Western European powers over this continent<sup>312</sup>."

There is something very, very strange regarding Cabinda, the African country and people sold off by Portugal to Angola and the European Union. Considering the legitimate right to self-determination and independence of the Cabinda people who are since 1975 being cruelly subjugated, abused, robbed, imprisoned, exiled, and murdered as a people and a nation by the Angolan occupying forces, the Cabindan native Roman Catholic bishop (then head of the Diocese of Cabinda), i.e. Dom Paulino Fernandes Madeca, tried to stand as a good-shepherd and to protest against Angola's silenced brutalities, arrests, and massacres. Due to his tireless commitment to justice and peace, to his inflexible refusal to betray his people so oppressed, and due to the fact that neither Portugal nor the Vatican and the U.N. and U.S. did pay due attention to his protests, our cherished Bishop was murdered on 9 January 2008 by President Dos Santos' regime. After the murder of Mgr. Madeca, the Angolan autocrat is trying hard to create out of nothing a pretext likely to justify the long since planned assassination of three prominent Cabindan aboriginal Priests who are outspoken critics of Angola's human rights violation in Cabinda, i.e. Dr. Raul Tati, Dr. Jorge Casimiro Congo, and Dr. Alexandre Pambo. Curiously, the three Cabindan clergymen have been excommunicated by the Roman Catholic Church by means of the papal decree of 16 April 2011, apparently on account of their nerve to protest

---

<sup>312</sup> Conversation between Dr. Paulo Cunha, Portuguese Foreign Minister and the Honorable John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State, in «Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957, Volume XXVII, Western Europe and Canada, Document 148: Memorandum of a Conversation, Department of State, Washington, November 30, 1955».

vehemently, during their homilies, against the brutalities and assassinations being carried out by the Angolan occupying forces in Cabinda.

We are of the opinion that the Church defended by the aforementioned Cabindan clergymen is the very same Church defended by the Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo of East Timor, who was consecrated a Bishop in 1988. Within only 5 months of his assuming office, he protested vehemently, in a sermon in the cathedral, against the brutalities of the Kraras massacre and condemned all human rights violation by the Indonesian occupying forces. In February 1989 he wrote to the President of Portugal, to the Pope, and to the UN Secretary-General, calling for a United Nations referendum on the future of East Timor and for international backing for the East Timorese, who were 'dying as a people and a nation'. Bishop Belo also dared to give sanctuary in his own home to youths escaping the Santa Cruz massacre (1991), and endeavored to expose the numbers of victims killed. His work on behalf of the East Timorese and in pursuit of justice, peace and reconciliation were internationally recognized when, along with José Ramos-Horta, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in December 1996. How come the clergymen of East Timor are allowed to put the Church in the service of the oppressed people at the very same time when the Cabindan clergymen appear to be kept from doing so?

Though the evidence of Cabinda's legal and political sovereignties is exhaustively given by a Portuguese native Roman Catholic Priest, Father Joaquim Martins, C.S. SP., in his invaluable book «*CABINDAS: História, Crenças, Usos e Costumes*» already quoted in this work.

“We are almost tempted to state that the Country of Cabinda, the lands of the Ancient Kingdoms of Kakongo and Ngoio, for its laws and moral principles, its institutions, for its beauty and richness of natural resources, is a small branch of EDEN”, the Portuguese priest’s explanation in English reads. The question arises as to what must we consider unorthodox; whether Father Martins’ work that is in line with the Cabinda people’s political claims or the work of those clergymen in Angola and beyond intended to prevent Cabindans from recovering our political sovereignty! Ever since the XIX century, France (*known as Fille aînée de l’Eglise*) is the European country the most committed to wiping out the existence of Cabinda as a country and a people. Is there any French and other World’s leading powers’ influence on the Holy See’s policy with regard to Cabinda? What is sure is that the European prominent political and religious figures the most involved in the “game” that does not help Cabinda are from the powerful countries whose oil companies based in Cabinda own the following shares: the society CABGOC (Cabinda Gulf Oil Company), a subsidiary of Chevron Corporation, with 39.2%; the Angolan society *Sonangol* (Sociedade Nacional de Combustíveis de Angola) with 41%; the French group Total with 10% since 1992; and the Italian group ENI with 9.8%. What is also sure is that the Holy See initiated permanent diplomatic relations with the colonial regime of Angola on 8 July 1997. At the time the French Archbishop (now Cardinal) Jean-Louis Tauran was Holy See’s Secretary for Relations with States (1990-2003), with Cardinal Angelo Sodano as Secretary of State (1990-2006). On 11 February 2005, that is sixty days before he passed away on 2 April 2005, Pope John Paul II appointed the Angolan aboriginal Bishop Filomeno do

Nascimento Vieira Dias as head of the so coveted Diocese of Cabinda, at the expense of the native clergymen and the entire people of Cabinda.

In an interview with «Lusa» on 7 February 2012, Angola's former prime-minister, Marcolino Moco, accused the Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos of manipulating the Roman Catholic clergymen to consolidate his political power. On 20 April 2012, responding to the listeners of the program «*Angola Fala Só*» of «Voice of America», the former Roman Catholic Priest and former vicar general of the Diocese of Cabinda, i.e. Dr. Raul Tati, claimed that “the hierarchy of the Catholic Church is being used by the Angolan government as an instrument of domination instead of instrument of liberation”. Dr. Mário Soares, the Portuguese political figure who is the architect of Angola's belligerent occupation of Cabinda that is being blessed by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, was raised as a Roman Catholic, even though he identifies himself as pure laic, agnostic and atheist. And what about the well raised Catholic General de Gaulle, the Frenchman who created in 1945 the Nazi currency (CFA Franc) that hurts African economies to date and benefits the colonial master, i.e. France? After all, the current revolting situation of the Cabinda people seems to be part of a self-evident anti-Black People policy, i.e. a subtle endeavor to maintain underdevelopment and the Black Holocaust in Sub-Saharan Africa, which toys with the evil principle of «*Might is Right*» enshrined in «*The Protocols of the Meetings of the Learned Elders of Zion*».

«Africa is the most thoroughly abused and the least understood region on the planet today. (...) In many

countries the colonial masters of the past, the European elites, have simply been replaced by native African elites. They follow patterns established by their predecessors and openly collaborate with foreign executives who wantonly ravage the land and its people. (...) Since Africa is the least understood continent, it is also the one most easily ignored and therefore vulnerable to plunder. (U.S. ignorance about Africa is ingrained in our educational systems, including the mainstream media. It is calculated. Because we do not know, we do not care. Because we do not care, these countries are open territory for mistreatment, even more than those that fall within our radar. (...) Most Americans simply don't care. Even African Americans! (...) And you know what's one of the worst aspects of this? The agencies that are supposed to be the good guys are part of the game. I'm not just talking about the World Bank either. The deception includes some of the nonprofits, the NGOs. (...) Are the concepts of aid and development simply tools in the arsenal of the West, wielded not for the sake of charity but for the sake of control?<sup>313</sup>»

We fully agree with John Perkins' relevant observation according to which NGOs are a stake in keeping Africa poor. Thus, questions arise as to whether Christianity is likewise a stake in keeping the people of sub-Saharan Africa poor, and whether its concepts of justice, peace, aid and development are similarly mere tools in the arsenal of the Western European powers,

---

<sup>313</sup> In the «The Secret History of the American Empire – Economic Hit Men, Jackals, and the Truth About Global Corruption», by John Perkins, Ebury Publishing, USA 2007, e-Book pp. 265-267.

wielded not for the sake of charity but for the sake of control. It is in the name of Christianity that the people of Cabinda renewed faith in Portugal and signed with the latter the famous protectorate Treaty of Simulambuco in 1885. Less than a century later the Portuguese dared to betray Cabinda and its people to the great benefit of the European Union through Angola. Yet “the Brussels EU is portraying itself to the world as a shining example of a 21st century democracy.” It is this self-righteous attitude that is the block to make this world a better place for children of all races and creeds. In this regard, Archbishop Desmond Tutu’s observation is fair: “We are supposed to proclaim the God of love, but we have been guilty as Christians of sowing hatred and suspicion; we commend the one whom we call the Prince of Peace, and yet as Christians we have fought more wars than we care to remember. We have claimed to be a fellowship of compassion and caring and sharing, but as Christians we often sanctify sociopolitical systems that belie this, where the rich grow ever richer and the poor grow ever poorer, where we seem to sanctify a furious competitiveness, ruthless as can only be appropriate to the jungle<sup>314</sup>.”

As for the regrettable incomprehension between the Cabindan native clergymen on the one hand and the Angolan Bishop’s Conference, and by extension the Vatican on the other hand, we must first of all accept that Angola’s illegal occupation of Cabinda since 1975 is the only cause of such afflicting situation. Secondly, one has got to be all at once a brain and heart in order to be able

---

<sup>314</sup> In «God is Not a Christian: And Other Provocations», by Archbishop Dr. Desmond Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize, South Africa, Kindle Edition, 2011.

to assess the facts fairly and eventually be able to understand and love the Cabindan Priests involved. At last, we are called to acknowledge the fact that every human being is suffering from something; that is his very condition. Consequently, every suffering man or woman proves to be in a continual search of the most convenient solution to his/her suffering by means of all utensils at his/her disposal. From 1975 onwards the Cabinda people are suffering from an international collusion under the guise of Angola aimed at plundering our natural wealth and resources, more particularly oil. Angola's president José Eduardo dos Santos knows that the only way for his party (MPLA) to everlastingly stay in power is to retain Cabinda as part of Angola by whatever indecent ways or violent means. Thus, in order to pressure Western governments to maintain his dictatorship's life, the Angolan president is not only used to alienating Cabinda's oil to the great benefit of certain French and American oil companies but also used to perverting world's most powerful countries and institutions, including Permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council, by means of bribes and blackmails. And to keep this business deal safe and keep Western powers' international standing uninjured, President Dos Santos' brutal dictatorship is forced to do everything in its power to neutralize our self-determination and independence claims on a worldwide scale. Angola's long-time dictator, one whose style – brutal treatment of prisoners and notorious massacre of political dissidents – is unprecedented, has never allowed foreign journalists into the occupied territory of Cabinda<sup>315</sup> in order to prevent any disclosure of his terrible violations of

---

<sup>315</sup> Cabinda is by some measures one of the world's largest reserves of oil and natural gas.

human rights. Apart from the use of the whole power of his armed forces, including artillery, air forces and foreign mercenaries to crush our legitimate struggle for freedom, his human rights abuses against unarmed civilians includes: instances of terrifying tortures and mistreatment of detainees; incommunicado and prolonged detention; arbitrary arrests and detention; denial of due process and fair trial; denial of civilians' freedom of movement; sexual violence; extrajudicial executions; restrictions on freedom of speech, press, assembly, and association; harassment and imprisonment of the native clergy; and military or armed attacks on Cabindan refugee camps and settlements in the neighboring countries.

Before we try to see whether or not the standpoint of the Cabindan native clergy is the most appropriate one, let us bear in mind that President Dos Santos' regime fights any Cabindan citizen, clergyman or layman, who dare either to urge the whole people of Cabinda to resist Angolan occupation or to denounce the abovementioned violation of human rights. So given the illegitimacy and illegality of the Angolan political power over Cabinda, as well as all the crimes against humanity of which the people of Cabinda have been victim, the Cabindan priests' only way of proving to their compatriots that they are not acting in collusion with the corrupting MPLA government is to be urging their fellow citizens resist Angolan occupation and to be decrying the Angolan shocking atrocities. From this perspective, we contend that the Cabindan Priests are absolutely right. In this connection, we should be remembered that when Rome was militarily occupied by Napoleon, Roman priests such as Gaspare del Bufalo, Francesco Gambini and so many others, admonished strongly their compatriots resist

French occupation. Remarkably, father Gambini died among his fellow prisoners praying, forgiving, and exhorting his people to resist. Just like Napoleon in former days, Angola's President Dos Santos does everything in his power to keep the whole local Catholic Church far away from whatever national political issue. In the 1990s, for instance, the then president of the Angolan Bishop's Conference, His Lordship Zacarias Camuanho, dared exhort President Dos Santos to solve the problem of Cabinda once and for all. Yet, to this day, the Angolan tyrant remains totally deaf to His Lordship's plea. Whatever their race or nationality may be, true disciples of Christ cannot remain indifferent to the crimes the peaceful people of Cabinda are victim of thus far. An African or European man/woman who really wants the progress and happiness of all African children cannot connive with the Angolan dictatorship, whose essential policy consists in maintaining its colonial power over Cabinda, killing its people and pillaging its natural resources. In the name of the truth, he/she connives neither for fortune nor for fame, inasmuch as the independence of Cabinda enables Angola and both the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Congo-Brazzaville to regain their political security and stability, which are prior conditions for the establishment of a legally constituted state and democratic order. In the final analysis, the Roman Catholic Church as a whole is required to display an impartial affection in order that we, oppressed people of Cabinda, may eventually delight God's love for all people revealed in the person of Jesus Christ.

The role of Christianity in our psychological reparation is indeed crucial, and more and more Black scholars on the Continent as well as in the Diaspora raise

their voice to claim apology for Slavery and reparations. Although it is still a politicized issue in Europe, there is hope.

«The Church of England should contemplate paying reparations for its historical role in the slave trade, the Archbishop of Canterbury said today. Dr. Rowan Williams said Anglicans needed to acknowledge that they belonged to an institution partly shaped “by terrible things that our forebears did”. He said the church had to “work at” the question of reparations, but added that the issue was complex and it was unclear who should receive such payments. The church, which owned slaves on its Caribbean plantations, did not free them until 1833 – 26 years after the abolition of the slave trade in the British Empire. Britain’s government paid the church significant compensation for the loss of its slave labour, and Dr. Williams said passing on that reparation should now be considered. The church’s missionary arm, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Foreign Parts, owned the Codrington plantation in Barbados, where slaves had the word society branded on their chests with red-hot irons. The Bishop of Exeter and three business colleagues were paid nearly £13,000 to compensate them for the loss of 665 slaves in 1833. Dr. Williams told BBC Radio 4’s Trade Roots programme organisations that received compensation in the 1830s were still “living off the historical legacy” of slavery. However, he added: “While it sounds simple to say ... we should pass on the reparation that was received, exactly to whom?” “Exactly where does it go? And exactly how does it differ from the various ways in which we try to interact now with the effects of that in terms of aid and development and so forth? “So I haven’t got a quick solution to that. I think

we need to be asking the question and working at it. That, I think, we're beginning to do<sup>316</sup>.”»

«At the outset, it must be stated quite equivocally that the order for the global apology for the European enslavement of Afrikans is as follows: The Roman Catholic Pope of Rome, first; second, the governments of Spain and Portugal; in third place are the governments of Britain, France and the Netherlands; in fourth place is the government of the United States. Indeed, since 8 January 1455, when Pope Nicholas V authorized the Portuguese “to subject to servitude all infidel peoples”, no Pope of the Roman Catholic Church has apologized for the European enslavement of Afrikan people. In April 2006, the Church of England voted “to apologize to the descendants of victims of the slave trade” and in March 2007, considered paying reparations. (...) On 25 March 2007, bicentenary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, then Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain publicly stated that slavery was “a crime against humanity” and offered “deep sorrow” for British involvement but no apology. In May 2007, the then Pope of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope Benedict XVI condemned “the genocide of the Jews” during the Jewish Holocaust when six to eight million Jews were killed by a European named Adolf Hitler in the 1930s. However, as of this writing, Pope Benedict XVI has not condemned the genocide of the Afrikans during the Afrikan Holocaust when one hundred to one hundred and fifty million Afrikans were

---

<sup>316</sup> «The Church of England should contemplate paying reparations for its historical role in the slave trade», by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Rowan Williams, published by [guardian.co.uk](http://guardian.co.uk) on Monday 26 March 2007; related link: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2007/mar/26/religion.race>.

killed by disparate Europeans between 1517 and 1834. In August 2007, the Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone, apologized for his city's role in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. He acknowledged that London was "tainted" by it. On 29 July 2008, the U.S. House of Representatives issued "an unprecedented apology to Black Americans for the institution of slavery and the subsequent Jim Crow laws that for years discriminated against Blacks as second-class citizens in American society." And on 18 June 2009, the U.S. Senate passed a resolution apologizing for "slavery and segregation of Afrikan-Americans."

«In the case of reparations, one finds that the European slave traders have received reparations while their employees (slaves) have received no reparations, to date. Indeed, in the 1825 "agreement", the French government forced Haiti to pay France 90 million francs or US\$21.7b in exchange for "liberty". This was, in fact, reparations/compensation "payable to mainly French planters who had lost their property in the revolution" (slave revolt) of 1st January 1804. And when the British government abolished slavery on 1st August 1834, the Abolition Act provided "a free gift" – not a loan – of 20 million pounds or US\$91.2m "to compensate the slave-owners for the loss of their slaves." Truth Be Told: The total amount of compensation/reparations, that is, unpaid wages, that are owed to Afrikans who worked on European plantations in this slavery/capitalist business have been estimated to be US\$770 trillion plus interest. (...) However, the sad geo-political reality is that as a result of the successful European global policy of Divide and Rule, the descendants of these unpaid Afrikan workers (slaves) will never receive compensation/reparations because there are

neo-colonial governments in Afrika and the Caribbean who are against the payment of reparations. Finally, it is to be hoped that newly-elected Pope Francis 1 from Argentina (Third World) – 13 March 2013 – would recognize the compelling and dire need for the Roman Catholic Church per his Papal Bull to apologize for the European enslavement of Afrikan people (the “MAAFA”) – an episode that has been aptly/correctly described as “a crime against humanity” and “the greatest single crime in the world committed against a people.” Let the historical record also recall that it was the then Pope Nicholas V, who on 8 January 1455 per his Papal Bull titled “Romanus Pontifex”, authorized the Portuguese (European) “to subject to servitude all infidel peoples<sup>317</sup>.”»

In the not too distant future, both in Cabinda and in Angola, the combination of action and inaction by the local Church will be looked at as instrumental in enabling the mass atrocities committed by the Angolan bloodthirsty dictatorship since 1975 up till now. All those better placed Cabindan and Angolan Clerics who remain in absolute silence while the repression is being carried out cannot help being viewed as playing by default a central role. His Lordship Paulino Fernandes Madeca (+) as well as his faithful Priests, namely Dr. Raul Tati, Dr. Jorge Casimiro Congo and Dr. Alexandre Pambo, did not refrain from public criticism of Angola’s dictatorship and

---

<sup>317</sup> «Apology for Slavery and Reparations», by Dr. Kwame Nantambu (K.N.), published on 15 February 2013 and updated on 13 March 2013; Dr. K.N. is Professor Emeritus at Kent State University, USA, and part-time lecturer at Cipriani College of Labour and Co-operative Studies; <http://www.trinicenter.com/kwame/2013/1502.htm>.

colonial power over Cabinda for the Cabindan native

Bishop knew that it is the combination of endorsement and either strategic or willful indifference of the clergy that creates the proper conditions for the state killings. Seemingly, there are close ideological and political links between the Angolan Church (Christianity) and the kleptocratic, corrupt and murderous regime in force both in Angola and in the occupied oil-rich territory of Cabinda. In the future, African secular and religious scholars will certainly shed light over the current passivity of the Angolan clergy regarding Angola's serious crimes of international concern in Cabinda and we are of the opinion that the outcomes or findings will further blemish the Christianity's international standing.

## 6. Epilogue: our expectations in writing this book

By way of conclusion we try to summarize our expectations in writing this book as follows: since Cabinda is a sovereign State in international law and Angola's belligerent occupation of Cabinda and consequent maintenance by force of colonial domination is an internationally wrongful act; since Angola's colonial rule over Cabinda involves the most serious crimes of international concern as referred to in the Rome Statute, and which, as a result, fall within the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court (ICC); since the appropriate solution to the problem of the Cabindan refugees and asylum seekers is, without a doubt, the restitution to Cabinda of its political sovereignty; and since Angola's endeavor to prevent the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Kinshasa) from siding with Cabindans, in our legitimate

struggle for self-determination and independence, thwarts the free functioning of democratic institutions in the entire region, we expect from the United Nations a fair and prompt action aimed at helping the Cabinda people obtain justice.

Inasmuch as the subsidiary of Chevron Corporation, i.e. the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company Ltd. (CABGOC), is fully involved in Cabinda's oil/gas exploration and production since the late 1950s; for the reason that Chevron is a US business group that endorses the priceless «Global Sullivan Principles»; inasmuch as the Angolan dictator draws his political strength from the Cabinda people's natural resources, particularly oil, which he loots without the least regard for the UN General Assembly resolution 1803 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, concerning the permanent sovereignty over natural wealth and resources; and for the reason that the United States is still the most powerful nation on Earth and all at once the nation most inclined to champion democracy and human rights all over the world, we expect from both Washington and Chevron a fair-minded endeavour aimed at putting an end to Angola's flagrant violation of international law in occupying Cabinda, subjugating its natives, and plundering its wealth with total impunity.

Since the State of Portugal has yet to fulfill its international legal and moral obligations to respect Cabinda as a political entity with the right to self-determination and independence; given that the criminal confiscation of Cabinda's political sovereignty by Angola is the direct implication of the long-standing imperialistic rivalry between France and Germany; and for the reason that the very existence Western Europe depends on the resources of Africa and the continued control exercised

by the Western European powers over this continent; we are expecting from the European Union a clear support for Portugal aimed at enabling the latter to openly champion the Cabinda people's right to independence; we are expecting from the European Union and the United States a clear endorsement of the fact that Germany has the right to have a noteworthy sphere of influence in Cabinda and elsewhere in Africa, provided the German government and business bodies are willing to promote integral development in Africa through fair business and cooperation; and we are expecting from Western European nations the acknowledgement of the need for a plan fair enough to reconcile the dependence of Western Europe's existence on African commodities and the right of African children to live prosperous lives thanks to their respective countries' natural wealth and resources.

Since the evil principle of «Might is Right» proves to have determined the conquest of Africa by European imperialist nations and the enslavement of its dark skinned natives; since the ultimate goal of the Russian Federation as a global player is a multilateral framework that brings within its sights all practices that are in compliance with the sense of international responsibility sharing; and for the reason that «Security» is unquestionably what any nation or human being looks for above all; as it is self-evident that if Blacks had powerful guns and allies of the Soviet Union's stature Slavery would have never existed; we expect from the African Union (AU) the courage to demand the commitment of specific powers in providing African States with the appropriate military means aimed at crushing any attempt to re-conquer African countries in order to re-enslave their respective Black peoples; we expect from the African Union an endeavor to be impartial

and brave enough to defend the interests of independent African countries, to help pursue those of still-colonized ones, and to provide itself with a powerful independent voice in world affairs; we finally expect from the African Union the acknowledgement of the role African citizenship to African Americans would play in preventing its members from being controlled once more by outside powers and, all at once, in promoting integral development in African countries.

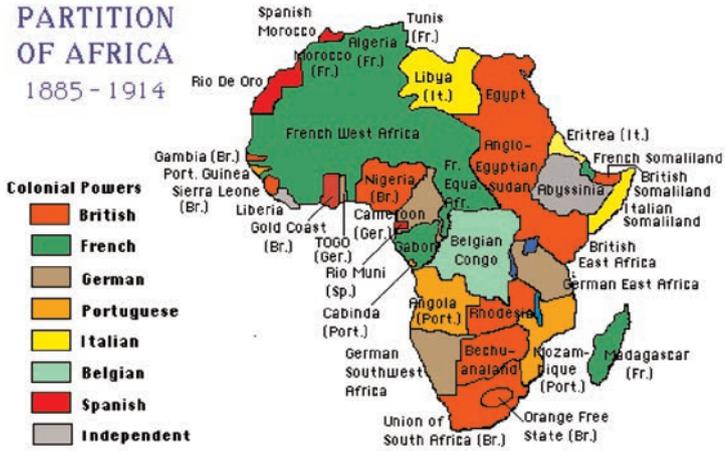
"Black lives matter, too. The international mass media talks about the mass murder that took place last month (August 2013) through the use of chemical weapons in eastern Ghouta, on the outskirts of Damascus (Syria). In the name of justice and freedom, leading Western powers are gathering together behind President Obama's proposed military action against the Syrian government under President Bashar al-Assad. Yet, apart from the fact that the international community ignores purposely the brutal killing spree going on in Cabinda since 1975, there is in Western mass media close to nothing about Angola's serious crimes of international concern in Cabinda. Since Angola is providing most permanent members of the UN Security Council with the oil stolen from the Non-Self-Governing Territory of Cabinda, no military action against Angola has been proposed so far. We are of the opinion that the five chief Members of the UN Security Council should individually and collectively protect norms and principles of international law, instead of protecting illegitimate and kleptocratic regimes like Angola's. Yes, Black lives in Cabinda should matter, too!" – Dalai Lama

Nos abaixo assignados principes  
e governadores dos povos de Cabinda  
da sabendo que na Europa se trata  
de resolver em conferencia de em-  
baixadores de diferentes potên-  
cias questões que directamente  
dizem respeito aos territorios da  
Costa Occidental d'África e por con-  
sequente do destino de seus povos  
aproveitamos a estada n'esta per-  
ta da Comta Portuguezã "Praieira  
de Portugal" apim de em nosso  
nome e no dos povos, que gover-  
namos, pedimos ao seu emman-  
dante, como de ley abo do gree-  
suo de Sua Magestade Si delia  
Dima, para fahermos e conco-  
rdar nos n'um tratado pelo qual  
fiquemos sob o protectorado de  
Portugal tornando nos de facto  
subditos da Coroa Portugueza  
como ja o eramos por costume,  
habito e relações d'amizade  
E por tanto sendo da nossa in-  
terad, liure e plena vontade que  
de futuro entre nos, nos d'eminis  
da Coroa Portugueza, pedimos ao  
seu emman- dante da lo-  
reta Portugueza para acceder  
aos nossos desejos e dos povos que  
governamos d'intermittendo, d'ac-  
bunde em nossa solemnidade se pu-  
de assignar o tratado que nos co-  
doque sob o portucau da Bandei-  
ra de Portugal — Escrito

Text of the 1885 Cabinda people's petition for a Protectorate  
Treaty with Portugal

Source: Cabinda: História, Crenças, Usos e Costumes, by Fr. J. Martins

# PARTITION OF AFRICA 1885 - 1914



The distinction of Cabinda from Angola in 19th century is a self-evident fact.

Source: [www.geschichteinchronologie.ch/afrika/kol/N3-2004\\_Bismarck-1884...25\\_08\\_2007](http://www.geschichteinchronologie.ch/afrika/kol/N3-2004_Bismarck-1884...25_08_2007)



Memorial of the Protectorate Treaty of Simulambuco



The Cabindan Church:  
The Queen of the World

CONSTITUTION  
of  
PORTUGAL<sup>1</sup>

April 11, 1933, as amended 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1945,  
1951 and 1959

PART I

ON THE FUNDAMENTAL GUARANTEES

CHAPTER I — ON THE PORTUGUESE NATION

*Art. 1.* The territory of Portugal is that which at present belongs to it and comprises:

(I) in Europe: the mainland and the archipelagoes of Madeira and the Azores;

(II) in West Africa: the Cape Verde archipelago, Guinea, S. Tomé and Príncipe and their dependencies, S. João Baptista de Ajudá, Cabinda and Angola;

(III) in East Africa: Mozambique;

(IV) in Asia: the State of India and Macau and their respective dependencies.

(V) in Oceania: Timor and its dependencies.

*Sole. §.* The nation does not renounce the rights which it has or may hereafter acquire over any other territory.

*Art. 2.* The State shall not in any way alienate part of the national territory or the sovereign rights it exercises over it, except in so far as concerns the rectification of frontiers when approved by the National Assembly.

§ 1. No part of national territory may be acquired by the Government or public legal entity of a foreign country, except for the installation of diplomatic or consular representation where there is reciprocity in favor of the Portuguese State.

§ 2. In the Overseas Territories the acquisition by a foreign Government

<sup>1</sup> *Political Constitution of the Portuguese Republic*. S.N. 1, Lisbon, 1957. Supplied, together with 1959 amendments, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in December 1965. Ed.

The distinction of Cabinda from Angola in the Portuguese Constitution of 1933-1976

Source: Mr. Amos J. Peaslee's «Constitutions of Nations» put at the disposal of the United Nations



The distinction of Cabinda from Angola in the 20th century is a self-evident fact.

Source: Mr. Amos J. Peaslee's «Constitutions of Nations» – United Nations' Documents

Nations Unies

QUATRIEME COMMISSION, 1392e

A S S E M B L E E

SEANCE

G E N E R A L E

Mardi 20 novembre 1962

DIX-SEPTIEME SESSION

A 15 h 25

Documents officiels

N E W Y O R K

SOMMAIRE

Page

Point 54 de l'ordre du jour:

Non-observation par le Gouvernement portugais du Chapitre XI de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la résolution 1542 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale: rapport du Comité spécial pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal (suite)  
Audition de pétitionnaires..... 435

Président: M. Guillermo FLORES AVENDAÑO  
(Guatemala)

POINT 54 DE L'ORDRE DU JOUR

Non-observation par le Gouvernement portugais du Chapitre XI de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la résolution 1542 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale: rapport du Comité pour les territoires administrés par le Portugal (A/5160)(suite)

AUDITION DE PETITIONNAIRES (suite)

Sur l'invitation du Président, M. Luis Ranque Franque, représentant du Mouvement pour la libération de l'esclave de Cabinda (MELIC), prend place à la table de la Commission.

Hearing of the petitioner from Cabinda, Mr. Ranque Franque, at the United Nations in 1962

Source: UNESCO – United Nations' Archives



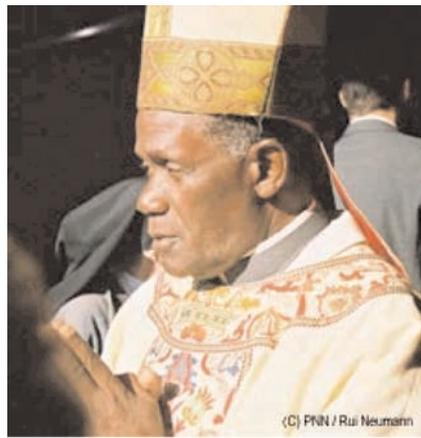


No common history, no common culture, no common border between Cabinda and Angola



The plundering of the Cabindan natural wealth and resources





Angola's Genocide in Cabinda since 1975 - photos: ibinda.com, PNN/Rui Neumann



## Bibliography

Agbohoun, Nicolas: *Le Franc CFA et l'Euro Contre l'Afrique*. Paris 1999;

Ageron, C-R.: *France coloniale ou parti colonial?* Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1978;

Anthony T., Paul; Niedzwiecki, Aleksandra; Rath, Matthias: *The Nazi Roots of the 'Brussels EU', What you always wanted to know about the 'Brussels EU' – But no one dared to tell you*. Dr. Rath Health Foundation (Germany) 2010;

Bendikat, Elfi: *Imperialistische Interessenpolitik und Konfliktregelung 1884/85*. Berlin 1985;

Brownly, Ian: *Principles of Public International Law*. Oxford 1966;

Brierly, J. I.: *The Law of Nations*. Oxford 1963;

Barreto, Mascarenhas: *Breve Monografia sobre Cabinda*. Lisbon 1991;

Berthon, Simon: *Allies at War*. London 2001; *The Allies at War*, updated 2011;

- Beevor, Anthony: *D-Day, Liberation of Normandy*. 2009;
- Barreto, Mascarenhas: *Brief Monograph on Cabinda* (Manuscript). Lisboa 1991;
- Barradas, Acácio: *Agostinho Neto: uma vida sem tréguas, 1922-1979*. Lisboa 2005;
- Chafer, Tony: *French African Policy: Towards Change*. Oxford University Press 1992;
- Charnay, Jean-Paul: *Critique de la Stratégie*. L'Herne (Paris) 1990;
- Claval, Paul: *Géopolitique et Géostratégie: La Pensée Politique, l'Espace et le Territoire au XXe Siècle*. Nathan (Paris) 1994;
- Cunha, Paulo: *Portugal y el Tratado del Atlántico Norte: Dos Discursos Pronunciados en la Sesión de Apertura del Consejo del Atlántico Norte en Lisboa; y en el Tercer Aniversario del Pacto del Atlántico*. Santiago 1952;
- Chipman, J.: *French Power in Africa*. Blackwell, Oxford 1989;
- Daco, Pierre: *Les Prodigieuses Victoires de la Psychologie Moderne*. Belgique 1960;
- Declaration (ED.), Berne: *Commodities – Switzerland's Most Dangerous Business*. Zurich 2012;

- De Castro, Augusto: *A Crise Internacional e a Política Externa Portuguesa*. Lisboa 1949;
- DeConde, Alexander: *Encyclopaedia of American Foreign Policy*, Volume 1 – USA 2002;
- De Santa Maria, Fr. António: *Relatio Missionis Congis*. Lisboa 1712;
- De Visscher, Charles: *Théories et Réalités en Droit International Public*. Paris 1970;
- Donati, Donato: *Stato e Territorio*. Roma 1924;
- Darlington Butler, Smedley: *War is a Racket*. Round Table Press (USA) 1935;
- De Almeida Matos, José: *O Congo Português e as suas Riquezas*. Lisboa, 1924;
- Dogan, Mattei: *How Civil War Was Avoided in France*. International Political Science Review, Vol. 5 No. 3, 1984;
- De Oliveira Salazar, António: *Goa and the Indian Union, Legal Aspects*. Lisbon, 1946; *Le Portugal et la Crise Européenne*. Lisboa 1946; *Les Intérêts de la Nation*. Lisbonne 1946; *Mon Témoignage*. Lisboa 1949; *Pour la Compréhension de notre Politique*. Lisbonne 1950; *Au seuil de l'année Politique*. Lisbonne 1951; *Conditions d'une politique nationale indépendante*. Lisbonne 1951; *Armature économique et cohésion morale*. Lisbonne 1952;

*Goa and the Indian Union: the Portuguese view.*  
Lisbon 1956;

Du Bac, Henri: *The Un-Marxian Socialist: A Study of Proudhon.* New York 1848;

De Matos e Silva, João: *Contribuição para o Estudo da Região de Cabinda.* Lisboa 1904;

Fauchille, T.I.: *Traité de Droit International Public.*  
Paris 1925;

Ferrero, Guglielmo: *The Reconstruction of Europe.*  
New York 1941;

Fenby, Jonathan: *The General Charles de Gaulle & The France He Saved.* 2010;

Gnamankou, Dieudonné: *Abraham Hanibal. L'Aïeul noir de Pouchkine.* Paris 1998;

Gilbert, Martin: *The Day the War Ended.* London 1995;

Griffith, Paddy: *A History of the Peninsular War: Modern Studies of the War in Spain and Portugal, 1808-14* v. 9. Greenhill Books 1999;

Jèze, Gaston: *Etude Théorique et Pratique sur l'Occupation.* Paris 1896;

Kassembe, Dia: *Angola: 20 Ans de Guerre Civile.*  
Paris 1995;

Klemen, Mathias-C.: *The Indian policy of Portugal in the Amazon region, 1614-1693*. Washington 1954;

Keegan, John: *Six Armies in Normandy: From D-Day to the Liberation of Paris*. New York 1994;

Kreditbank, Hamburger: *Die Portugiesischen Provinzen in Afrika: Angola, Mozambique, Kap Verdische Inseln, Port. Guinea, S. Tomé und Príncipe; Wirtschaftlicher Lagebericht*. Hamburg 1953;

LaRouche Jr., Lyndon: *Echoes of the Fall of the House of Bardi: Wall Street's New Dark Age*. Executive Intelligence Review, USA 2008;

Lauterpacht, H.: *Private Law Sources and Analogies of International Law*. Archon Books 1970;

Lea, David: *A Political Chronology of Africa*. London (First Edition) 2001;

Michael Saunders, Gregory: *The Foreign Policy of Angola under Agostinho Neto*. USA 1983;

Meredith, Martin: *The State of Africa – A History of Fifty Years of Independence*. London 2005;

Marek, K.: *Identity and Continuity of States in Public International Law*. Geneva 1968;

Martins, Joaquim: *CABINDAS: História, Crenças, Usos e Costumes*. Lisboa 1960 (c.);

- Maisonneuve, Jean: *La Dynamique des Groupes*. Presses Universitaires de France, (Paris) 1995;
- M. Gallois, Pierre: *Géopolitique. Les voies de la Puissance*. Plon (Paris) 1960;
- Mercier, R.: *Le Travail Obligatoire dans les Colonies Africaines*. Paris 1933;
- Péan, Pierre: *La République des Mallettes – Enquête sur la principauté française de Non-Droit*. Paris 2011;
- P. Hoffmann, Erik; J. Fleron Jr., Frederic: *The Conduct of Soviet Foreign Policy*. USA 1980;
- Perkins, John: *The Secret History of the American Empire – Economic Hit Men, Jackals, and the Truth About Global Corruption*. USA 2007;
- Peres, Damião: *Le Portugal dans l'Histoire de la Civilisation*. Lisbonne, 1949;
- Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph: *General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century, (What is Government?)*. Translated by John Beverly Robinson, London 1923; also: *Les Confessions d'un Révolutionnaire*. Paris 1851;
- Renouvin, Pierre: *Histoire des Relations Internationales, Tome VI, 2eme Partie – De 1871 à 1914*. Paris 1953;
- Ramos Coelho de Sá, Francisco: *O Enclave de Cabinda*. Lisboa, 1924;

- Ratzel, Friedrich: *Géographie Politique*. Genève (Editions Régionales Européennes) 1988;
- Stockwell, John: *In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story*. New York 1978;
- Schwarzenberger, G.: *The Fundamental Principles of International Law*. Hague 1955;
- Sellström, Tor: *Liberation in Southern Africa – Regional and Swedish Voices: Interviews from Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, the Frontline and Sweden*; Uppsala 2002;
- Stuermer, Michael: *Putin and the Rise of Russia*. Phoenix (London) 2009;
- Seddon, David: *A Political and Economic Dictionary of Africa*. Routledge (First Edition) 2005;
- Schreiber, Emile: *Le Portugal de Salazar*. Paris 1954;
- Tutu, Archbishop Desmond: *God is Not a Christian: And Other Provocations*. South Africa 2011;
- UNESCO: *General History of Africa – IV – Africa from the twelfth to the sixteenth century*. Paris 1984;
- Van Kleffens, E. N.: *Sovereignty in International Law*. Hague 1953;

Von Paczensky, Gert: *Verbrechen im Namen Christi – Mission und Kolonialismus*. Orbis Verlag Publizistik (Germany) 1991;

Wright, George: *The Destruction of a Nation: United States' Policy Toward Angola since 1945*. London 1997;

Weiss, Ruth; Mayer, Hans; Martin, Antony: *Afrika den Europäern!: Von der Berliner Kongo-Konferenz 1884 ins Afrika der neuen Kolonisation*. Germany 1984;

Werth, Alexander: *De Gaulle*. 1965;

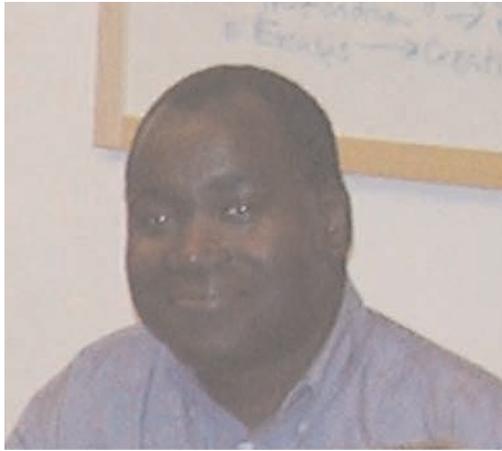
Woodcock, George: *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon: His Life and Work*. Schocken Books 1972;

Youlou, Fulbert: *J'accuse la Chine*. Table Ronde (Paris) 1966;

Yapp, Peter: *The Travellers' Dictionary of Quotation: Who Said What, About Where?* London 1983;

Ziegler, Jean: *Vive le Pouvoir! ou les délices de la raison d'État*. Paris 1985; and: *La Suisse Lave plus Blanc*. Seuil (Paris) 1990; also: *La Haine de l'Occident*. Albin Michel (Paris) 2008;

## Note about the Author



Bartolomeu Capita was born in 1962 in Cabinda, then Portuguese protectorate (1885-1976). He is a refugee under the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Bartolomeu Capita studied international law as well as military engineering. Within the Cabindan military struggle represented by FLEC<sup>318</sup>, he was second-secretary of the 1st zone of the 4th military region then under the command of General José Mantando Brás. Under the

---

<sup>318</sup> FLEC (Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda).

guidance of the Cabindan Roman Catholic priest, Father Sérgio (+), Capita was archivist at the presidency of FLEC then located in the city of Lukula (DRC, then Zaire). In Kinshasa as well as in Paris, he privately met and discussed the «Cabinda issue» at length with FLEC's President, in this instance H.E. Mr. Luís Ranque Franque.

At the invitation of then representative of UNITA in Kinshasa (Zaire, now DRC) in the early 1980s, in this instance Dr. Abel Chivukuvuku, one of Angola's main opposition leaders nowadays, Capita met with UNITA's founding father and President at the time, i.e. Dr. Jonas Savimbi, in Jamba and Bembua. After a military and political training, he headed the military personnel of UNITA's detachment in Cabinda. He subsequently became member of UNITA's representation in Kinshasa, where the file on «Cabinda issue» has been handed over to him. While carrying out his duties, a financial assistance has been periodically given to a number of Cabindan families in their respective refugee camps and settlements, and many respected intellectuals from Cabinda did meet with UNITA's most prominent figures.

In 1989, after his departure from UNITA, together with a number of refugees from Cabinda, most of them students in Kinshasa (DRC) at the time, he established the Cabindan National Movement (MNC)<sup>319</sup>. Whereas the founding principle of his Movement is to be the freedom movement that combines legitimacy, integrity, and the genuine desire to pursue its declared aims, its prime goal is to recover Cabinda's political sovereignty and subsequently put the country back on the track

---

<sup>319</sup> In Portuguese: Movimento Nacional Cabinda (MNC).

towards integral development. Regardless of the fact that Angola's President Dos Santos has murdered some of his relatives and has sowed dissension within his family to force him give up his people's legitimate struggle, he remains committed to contributing to the fulfillment of international order of justice and peace, all the more so as he accepts in advance the obligations of peaceful settlement provided in the Charter of the United Nations. For the time being, he is the Head of MNC, which is acting as partial subject of international law.

By Bartolomeu Capita





