

and imprisoned on May 21. According to the London *Financial Times* of May 30, "Alves, an uncompromising hardliner...had insisted that the whites be denied Angolan citizenship and that the government be purged of whites." The London *Daily Telegraph* added the next day that the plotters, despite their supposedly "strong pro-Moscow leanings...were basically Black Power racists who resent the presence of the Cubans...They wanted Neto to foreswear his reliance on Cubans, White Portuguese Communists and Mulattoes and establish an authentically African regime."

The rebels freed Alves and van Dunem from prison, also released imprisoned members of FNLA, UNITA, FLEC and convicted European mercenaries, all used against the MPLA during the independence struggle. Neto later commented that their release demonstrated that Alves was a "creature of imperialism."

Angolan troops hurried to the presidential palace only to find no attack had been mounted against it. The troops were then sent to take the radio station, which proved to be a relatively simple task, despite some initial resistance, because most of those occupying the station had been duped into thinking they were doing something that was in support of Neto. Neto himself later commented on the manner in which many of the participants in the affair had been led into the operation by its leaders, only to be abandoned by them, letting the dupes hold the bag.

The initial period of chaos and confusion, accompanied by shooting and shell fire, provided time for the rebels to kidnap six leaders of the MPLA. The bodies of the MPLA leaders were later found burned and dismembered, a practice reminiscent of the bestial FNLA actions during the Angolan war.

The loss of such key cadre is a tough blow to the Angolan government. As a result of the particularly backward Portuguese colonial experience, 98 percent of the Angolan population is illiterate. President Neto has

admitted that it is not possible to have an Angolan diplomatic corps because of the lack of qualified personnel. "I wouldn't have enough educated people left to be ministers," he said. Because of the monstrous nature of these murders, "This time we can not waste time with prosecutions because there is no reason to when they behave in such an obvious form of fascism," Neto said. He announced that revolutionary justice will be carried out: "Those who killed MPLA leaders must pay for their actions."

When Neto announced the purge and imprisonment of Alves and van Dunem on May 21 before 8,000 MPLA cadre, he also warned about a possible aggression against the country from Zaire. Two days before there had been attacks at several border points. In addition on May 16 a squadron of helicopters from Namibia attacked the Angolan locality of Santa Clara in Cuene province. In the same period forces from Zaire attacked the populations of Nakto and Beira in Labinda province in northern Angola. Neto pointed out that the coup attempt complemented these attacks.

Neto linked Alves to Portuguese extremists in a June 1st speech, and has declared the Angolan government's intention to root out the remnants of the Alves networks in Angola that hook up with these international networks. *Le Monde* on June 1, reported that Neto stated among the arrests made "some elements of the political commissary of FAPLA (Armed Forces of Angola), as well have been arrested in Luanda. We can say that in the next days other elements will be arrested for having participated actively in this divisive (fractionalist) activity. These elements have constituted a political leadership and an operational command. They also mobilized certain provincial commissaries.

"A serious combat against fractionalism is necessary. In each neighborhood, in each city, we are going to search out the fractionalists and we will carry out justice."

Italian CP Exposes Coup Plotters

The May 29 London Sunday Times published a front page article on the planned "Cobra 77" four-prong invasion of Angola, purporting to expose the international connections of the operation. The paper attempted to link the operation to Gaullist circles in France, as well as to unspecified circles in the West German government.

The Sunday Times also claimed that large sections of the Angolan population were disaffected from the government. This judgment was in part based on incidents that occurred during the war two years ago. Pravda of May 31, referring to the Times article, noted that the Times is well known for spreading false information.

The Italian Communist Party daily Unita, on May 31, published the following exposé of "Cobra 77" revealing the European connections of the networks involved and how they operate.

The Sunday Times revealed Sunday that the operation "Cobra 77" against Angola, denounced Feb. 26 by President Neto and planned for September to October of

this year, was prepared with the collaboration of the French Secret Services (SDECE) and those of the West Germans (BND).

Our readers have already been able to document, through these columns, the provocations plotted against independent Angola set up in Europe. Today we are able to furnish the particulars on the French-German involvement, and on the participation of the Black International in the provocations against Angola.

...We are able to note the address of the Senegalese office where the plans for aggression are in preparation: 58 Rue Carnot, Dakar...In fact, this African affiliate of the Americans is one of the largest centers of provocation operations collaborating with the French Secret Services, which lately has been committed to the operation of safeguarding the Mobutu regime, to the attack on the republic of Benin, and the attack on the Angolan province of Cabinda. We are dealing here with the same organization that we have identified in this column before as under the leadership of the ex-De Gaulle agent Foccart,

whose pseudonym is Monsieur Charles.

The Paris office of this organization heads up, among others, FLEC (the so-called Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda), which, according to the same Sunday Times article has an important role in the "Cobra 77" plan...A meeting in Belgium in mid-January between Zaire dictator Mobutu and Monsieur Charles was the cause of the firing of the FLEC director Luiz Ballu and of Presidential advisor Bisegimana Rwema, and their replacement with more loyal men like Jean de Costa, former French official, whom the Sunday Times now denounces as an SDECE agent, and like Nimy Mayikika Ngimbi, new Presidential advisor to Mobutu. Since then, the activity of the FLEC is, or was until recently, directed by Col. Prevost of the SDECE. It has intensified; arms supplying has increased overwhelmingly, as has military activity in the Cabinda province. The latest act of this escalation, one of the stages of the "Cobra 77" operation, was the establishment of a so-called government in exile in Paris, with the consent of the French government, which even so has relations with Angola.

The other organization with an important role in "Cobra 77" is Savimbi's UNITA, supported by South Africa (whose government has armed and furnished it with nuclear technology from Paris and Bonn despite the UN embargo). UNITA has its main offices in Paris and Monaco, and Strauss' Bavarian fiefdom.

In the French capital UNITA has a large office whose employees enjoy diplomatic covers as "friends of France" from countries like Zaire and Tunisia, and whose director is a high-ranking official. He is in fact Vice Foreign Minister of the organization, John Kakumba, whose diplomatic cover is furnished by the Ivory Coast of Felix Houbouet-Boigny, one of the African countries most dependent on Paris.

We have had the opportunity of speaking with some of these Paris circles behind all the provocations against independent Africa.

— Who helps Savimbi against independent Angola?

"South Africa, naturally, knows everything. There is also support from certain French circles, like societies and banks with investments in Angola. In Germany, important aid comes from Strauss' party, but Savimbi has other friends in London, Lisbon, etc."

— And in Italy?

"I have no information on his relations with Italian circles, but in any case, there is an Italian whose name I don't remember who may have connections between Savimbi's base in Namibia and Kipenda's apartment in Kinshasa." (Kipenda is a secessionist ex-director of the MPLA who today is protected by Mobutu.)

...The Angolan government, however, is informed on the relations between the Italian right and Savimbi, publishing at the beginning of this year in the Angolan and South African press a rather exact article. "The Aginter agency is one of the most active and best organized centers of neo-fascism in Europe supporting UNITA with money gathered from the former colonies of the Angolan zone. There are close contacts between Savimbi and Stefano delle Chiade, an Italian neo-fascist who is vice-director of Aginter, founded in 1963 with the support of PIDE."

Neto Exposed 'Cobra 77' In February

This article appeared in the May 31 Unita under the headline, "Neto's Denunciation."

Last Feb. 26, the President of the People's Republic of Angola first denounced the existence of the Cobra 77 plan. After having listed the 18 bases arranged by the Zaire government for aggression against Angola, President Neto continued thus: "We have received information which says that Operation Cobra 77 is in preparation, and will be realized by elements we know well; the puppets of the FNLA, FLEC, besides mercenaries. This operation directed against Angola is foreseen for September to October of this year...I don't want to name all the names. I will content myself with noting those who take part in the so-called 'three major states'..."

Among the forces of "Cobra 77" is the Black International, (with the Italian section in the forefront) which by the end of 1976 had defined its primary objectives at the Congress in Barcelona: 1) Opposition to the growth of left forces in Southern Europe; 2) Work to ruin the relations of determinist forces in Africa after the revolutionary victories of Angola, Guinea Bissau, and Mozambique."

The Alves Faction: What Is It?

Nito Alves adopted an extreme African nationalist posture, and had been progressively moving away from President Neto ever since independence in 1975. He is described by the U.S. State Department as one of the few "African Africans" on the MPLA Central Committee. Holding secret meetings and setting up clandestine networks, Alves appealed mainly to urban lumpen elements, playing on current difficulties — food and clothing storages, principally. A few weeks prior to the coup attempt, the Alves faction launched a pamphleteering crusade accusing the government and MPLA leadership of "bourgeois" tendencies and "elitism." And the night before the coup attempt, MPLA General Secretary Lucio Lara read a statement from the party's 10-man Politburo accusing Alves of leading a secret committee within the party and of "developing extremely secret methods for taking over power."

Neto has openly condemned Alves for leading a "black racist faction." Alves advocated an all-black administration and expulsion of whites from the country, attacking Neto for the inclusion of mulattoes and whites in the MPLA and the government. The Alves faction criticizes Neto for speaking only European languages, and not being able to speak any of the local African dialects. Alves told the lumpens he was organizing that now that the Portuguese had left, they were being "colonized by the mulattoes."

Alves also attacked Neto for economic dealings with the West, such as Angolan arrangements for Gulf Oil Company to produce oil in Cabinda province. Oil production has again regained the prewar production level of 135,000 barrels per day, and Gulf has agreed to further exploration this year in order to expand production. Alves calls for the elimination of all economic ties with the West, and dealings only with the Soviet Union. Since he blames the economic problems of the struggling Angolan economy on its ties with the West, Alves has

been called by some an "ultra-pro-Soviet."

Alves's current stance is only the latest of his opportunistic shifts. He has no more trouble swinging to the right, than he does in using his pro-Soviet or supernationalist postures. In a June 1 speech Neto charged that Alves had connections with Portuguese extremists, and that it was with their aid that he pulled off the coup attempt. And just a year ago the Washington Post described Alves as "wanting to keep Angola out of the East bloc."