

RESEARCH ARTICLE		Parties and factors of the civil war in Angola
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Abstract This study explores the civil war in Angola, focusing on internal factors from a peripheral perspective. The conflict initially emerged as a legacy issue, rooted in deep-seated disparities that fueled tensions among factions within the Angolan national movement even before the country achieved independence. These tensions escalated significantly after independence, evolving into a full-scale civil war driven by a combination of internal and external factors. The research posits that the origins of the war lie in Angola's pre-independence history, particularly in ethnic and tribal divisions, as well as colonial and other enduring legacies. After independence, the conflict persisted as a struggle for political control and access to economic resources. Understanding the historical roots of the conflict is essential to identifying the challenges that have hindered lasting peace. The study concludes that tribalism has been and continues to be a major barrier to national unity in Angola and across the African continent.		
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1- Introduction:

This research sheds light on the political situation and developments that Angola witnessed from the beginning of the civil war (1975) until its end in 2002, which was considered one of the longest and most complex armed conflicts in Africa. The war began immediately after Angola's independence from Portugal, and was the result of a conflict between the different political factions that were competing for control of the country after the end of Portuguese colonialism, as the conflict was between three main factions involved in the conflict:

- The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA): Led by Augustino Neto, this movement was supported by the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc countries.
- UNITA: Led by Jonas Savimbi, it received support from the United States and South Africa.
- The National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA): Led by Roberto Holden and supported by China at a certain time.

The conflict is driven by power struggles and ideological differences between different factions, as well as international tensions during the Cold War.

Periods of civil war conflict in Angola were sporadic, with periods of intense conflict punctuated by periods of temporary calm. This conflict has also resulted in much suffering and destruction, and has had profound effects on the country and its population.

Study problem:

Many political analysts consider the events of the civil war in Angola as a watershed between two chapters of the political development of the African continent, in which the continent entered from the scope of confrontation against European colonialism to the stage of civil wars and conflicts between countries, similar to Angola, in which the civil war is characterized by the most violent and longest civil war in the modern and contemporary history of Africa. Where the problem of the research revolved around a fundamental question: What are the reasons that led to the outbreak and continuation of the Angolan civil war? What are the warring political parties and what is the nature of the conflict between them?

Limits of the study:

This study focuses in terms of geographical framework on the region of southern Africa in general and the State of Angola in particular, where this region witnessed major historical events in the late twentieth century made it attract attention locally, regionally and globally, as this region is historically characterized by a close interconnection between the episodes of issues of the people of the region, starting with European colonialism through the liberation struggle and developments and crises after independence of civil and international wars, but chronologically, the limits of the study extend from the date of Angola's independence to the date of the end of the war Cold 2002-1975).

Research Objectives: The research aims to:

- Highlighting a very sensitive stage in Angola's modern and contemporary history.
- Highlighting the political situation and developments witnessed by the young state of Angola since its independence until the end of the Cold War.
- Research on the history of the longest civil war on the African continent.
- Shedding light on foreign intervention in the Angolan civil war and how it contributed to fueling the conflict and the continuation of the war.

2- Parties of the civil war conflict in Angola:

There are many forces that contributed to the conflict and war in Angola, but it is possible to distinguish between some of the main forces that represent the parties to this conflict and that war, the nature of the conflict and the paths of war between them can be clarified as follows:

2.1 The conflict of political forces in Angola:

Angola is divided into three major ethnic groups, constituting 80 % of its population, and the main movements in the country represented this ethnic division most clearly and became the conflict triumvirate in the Angolan war, and these parties can be referred to as follows (Labib, National Liberation Movement in Africa, 1996).

First: Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA):

The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (M.P.L.A) was founded on December 10, 1956, a movement with a Marxist-Leninist orientation, and it is the first liberation movement in Angola (Bakai, 2017) from members of the Angolan Communist Party, which is an extension of the Portuguese Communist Party, where this movement was able from the beginning to attract a number of intellectuals with progressive ideas, and it was forced to change its headquarters several times, as it moved its headquarters from Luanda to Conakry after being expelled by the Portuguese authorities in March 1959, but it was not soon there. For a long time, it had to change its headquarters again to Kinshasa and then to Brazzaville, where it settled there, and Augustino Neto was appointed as its president in 1962, and with this appointment the movement became dependent in its composition on his tribe "Kimbundo", which represents 25% of the total population of Angola, especially in Luanda, and this increased the importance of the movement, especially since the tribe "Kimbundo" is located in central Angola (Michael Walfers, 1983).

The Cold War between the eastern and western camps is one of the factors that greatly influenced the reference and ideology adopted by the liberation movement in Angola. The MPLA adopted a clear socialist reference, which is evident through the parties from which it was formed, which were left-leaning (El Fawal, 1983), and to emphasize his communist orientation, Augustino Neto, President of the Popular Movement and President of the Republic,

changed the name of his movement in December 1977 to "MPLA - Labour Party". - (George Edwaed, 2005) Neto also embarked on restructuring the party's social and administrative system in order to strengthen its grip on matters and ensure the continuity of its totalitarian system.

The movement's political program focused on fighting "imperialism", "declassization", state ownership of the means of production, as well as the "nationalization of land and factories" (Jacqueline AKalley, 1997) these slogans were similar to those raised by the Communists before the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

It is clear that the MPLA has embraced the Marxist communist doctrine from the very beginning of its founding and has established strong relations with communist organizations and socialist parties both within and outside the African continent. The movement relied on the idea that the conflict in Angola is not just a conflict between three warring armies, but a conflict between the people's forces represented by the movement and other military forces represented by opposition movements. From this standpoint, the movement established the Popular Resistance Forces and various labor, student and women's organizations, which gained them wide popular support and reflected positively on their military formation. However, the movement suffered from multiple internal divisions. (Labib S., 1996)

From the beginning of its founding, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (Mbla) issued leaflets outlining its objectives and policies. It can be considered the first political movement in Angola to present a specific practical program, calling on the Angolan people in its first statement to rally around the movement and organize themselves, urging them to fight on all fronts for the elimination of imperialism and Portuguese occupation, and the achievement of Angola's independence.

The movement sought to form a national coalition government that adopted a democratic approach, which included all forces opposed to Portuguese colonialism. The movement paid particular attention to the social and cultural aspect, and focused on educational activities to eradicate illiteracy and reduce its proportions among Angolan citizens. In its beginnings, the movement consisted of educated nationalist elements of mulattoes (the mixed ones) who were angry with the Portuguese authorities. As the movement developed, it was joined by all groups and segments of Angolan society, including workers, employees, merchants and agricultural workers, and peasants from eastern and central Angola. Thus, the movement has become a united national front that includes all segments of Angolan society regardless of their social, ethnic or religious status. (Rib, 2002) .

At the beginning of the sixties, the movement developed an integrated political program that reflected the demands of the social forces in the country. The focus in its programs and media was on independence. The minimum program of the popular movement stated the need to "eliminate Portuguese domination and all remnants of colonialism and imperialism by all available means," and stressed "the common struggle with all Angolan national forces in a broad popular movement with the aim of seizing power by the Angolan people and establishing a democratic republican system based on full independence." The movement also sought to declare independence for Angola Immediate, and the establishment of a republican system that promotes equality among citizens, with a focus on human rights and the rights of the working class, including limiting working hours to eight hours.

Initially, the movement relied on peaceful resistance through political action. In June 1960, the movement called on the Portuguese government to renounce armed violence and recognized the right of the Angolan people to self-determination. The Movement also proposed the convening of a national conference bringing together representatives of national movements in Angola with representatives of the Lisbon government before the end of 1960 to consult on the Angolan question. But the Portuguese authorities responded by launching a campaign of arrests against the movement's members and leaders, including the movement's president, Augustino. Neto". However, the movement continued its activity from exile in Conakry (Guinea) and then moved to Léopoldville. Therefore, due to the intransigence of the Portuguese authorities, the movement resorted to armed combat in February 1961, launching several attacks on Portuguese military forces in Luanda and its suburbs, targeting troop positions and attacking prisons to release political prisoners (Al-Qarai, 1970).

Between 1962 and 1964, the movement faced major challenges that almost killed it, due to pressure from the Congolese governments in Kinshasa, as well as the OAU's recognition in 1963 of the exile government headed by Holden Roberto, which dealt a major blow to the movement and affected its external calculations. This led to the closure by the Government of the Congo (Kinshasa) of the movement's headquarters and offices in Leopoldville, which further exacerbated the suffering of the movement and led to its split in 1963. However, after the Some African governments, in contact with the OAU to clarify the movement's position, sent a nine-member fact-finding

committee in November 1964. Based on the Commission's report, the OAU recognized the SPLM as an organization for the liberation of Angola, decided to provide it with annual financial assistance and withdraw its recognition of the exile government. The movement then started its activities from its bases in Brazzaville, focusing on the territory of Cabinda and fighting Portuguese forces. (Al-Qarai, Movement for Armed Liberation in Angola, 1970)

Second: National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA)

The movement began in 1954 as an ethno-tribal organization aimed at reviving the old kingdom of Congo. Gradually, this movement turned into armed resistance against Portuguese occupation starting in 1961. Since its founding, the movement has been led by Holden Roberto, who is known as one of Kinshasa's most prominent businessmen and son-in-law of former Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko. Therefore, it was natural for the Front to base its headquarters in the Algerian capital, Kinshasa. Holden Roberto also formed a government-in-exile and sought to attract personalities prominent from other tribes to join his government, but he was unsuccessful. (Rib, Angolan Civil War, 2002)

The human composition of the National Front consists mainly of the inhabitants of the Great Kimungo tribe, which lies in northern Angola and accounts for 25% of the total population. This tribe includes the Bakonjo, who are distributed between Congo (Kinshasa) and Angola, and who were a mainstay of Roberto Holden and relied heavily on them. The National Front represented the western trend among the Angolan liberation movements, forming one of two fronts that expressed the Westernization in these movements. Thanks to its composition, the National Front is representative of the wealthier groups that it is linked to foreign capital and Western interests in the region.

The presence of Bakonjo and Angolan refugees in Congo (Kinshasa) and their activities from outside Angola have weakened the PPF base and reinforced the feeling that it is merely an extension of Kinshasa's influence in Angola. From the outset, the Front received assistance from the United States, France and China, as well as Congo (Kinshasa). The National Front managed to control the Angolan government in exile, and was recognized by many African countries and the Organization of African Unity, until that government was dissolved. (Labib S., National Liberation Movement in Africa, 1996)

After the withdrawal of its recognition by most of those countries in addition to the Organization of African Unity, that front had failed to bring its struggle to fight the Portuguese forces to the stage of popular revolution and its struggle remained limited in scope as a result of several factors, including: (Al-Fawal, African political issues as addressed by Al-Ahram newspaper since the October War 1973, Cairo, Egypt. Master's thesis, 1983)

(a)/- Portugal's insistence on not granting independence to Angola and continuing its occupation of Angola, especially after the emergence of oil in the Angolan province of Cabinda, as well as the support of the West and NATO for Portugal and the provision of military assistance that enabled it to continue its military operations against the various Angolan liberation movements, within the framework of the West's efforts to preserve its diverse interests there.

(b)/- The inability of Fanla to create a tribal/ethnic balance between its factions, as the leadership of the party and the army remained emanating from the "Bakonjo" tribes, and the regional, tribal and ethnic trend emerged through the divisions that have occurred on the front since 1962 with the resignation of a number of military leaders in the exile government, and accusing Roberto of working to weaken the army and seek to disperse it, by liquidating its opponents, and then the resignation of the government's foreign minister, "Jonas Savimbi", who accused "Roberto" of favoring his relatives and siding with "the Bakongo".

(c)/- Fanla's attempt to focus on the military sphere and its neglect of political mobilization and popular organization within the country, inevitably due to the fact that the leadership and headquarters of Finla are outside the borders of Angola, precisely in the Congo (Kinshasa), in addition to its gradual abandonment and neglect of the military aspect and its focus on diplomatic and political activity, especially during the period of the exile Government. (Ciment, 1997)

Third: Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)

This front was founded in March 1966 in a small town called Nuangoi, about 500 kilometers from the Zambian border. Jonas Malero Savimbi founded a new organization, known as the international union for total independence of Angola (UNITA). Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, was the movement's headquarters, but in 1967, Savimbi and his

movement were expelled from Zambia, forcing them to move to Cairo until the beginning of the second half of 1968. Savimbi then returned to Angola, specifically to the east of the country, becoming the first national movement to operate with bases within Angola.

If we analyze the social structure of this movement, we find that it relies mainly on the Ofimundu tribe, which lives in the south and represents 33% of the country's total population. This gave the Union a broad political and popular base. Michelle Walfers J., 1983)

The policy pursued by the international union for total independence of Angola (UNITA) is characterized by a shift between appeasement and sometimes violence. From the outset, the Union did not follow clear political and economic principles; it sometimes adopted socialist politics and other times capitalist policy. This is evident in receiving aid from countries with different orientations such as China (which adopts a socialist system), South Africa (which leans towards capitalism), and even from Western countries at other times.

As for the formation the international union for total independence of Angola, it arose as a result of an interaction between three main elements: (Al-Qarai, Mouvement de la Libération armée de Angola, 1970).

1. Angolan students from central and southern Angola who received education abroad and formed the National Union of Angolan Students.
2. Young recruits from the Amangola tribes who defected from the exile government after being members, including a group that received military training in China.
3. Local members of the Chikoy, Tueni and Luchazi self-help associations who arrived in Zambia with Angolan refugees.

But relations between the Union and Zambia, which was based in it, were negatively affected when elements of the Union cut off the Zambia-Benguela railway, to the detriment of Zambia's interests.

In the early nineties, Angola experienced a decline in the conflict between the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the international union for total independence of Angola (UNITA), while the National Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MNLA) was almost absent. (Abou El Fadl, 1993)

Foreign interference in the Angolan civil war was evident, as the warring parties received support from multiple international coalitions. The Angolan government, because of its previous relations with Cuba during the Cold War, continued to benefit from Cuban support, as evidenced by Cuba's dispatch of five thousand military advisers to Angola in early 2000. In contrast, the United States has not issued any statement condemning or warning against foreign interventions, as it has become more open to cooperation with the Angolan government. Instead of UNITA, which was a former ally.

UNITA has also benefited from the illicit arms trade, buying long-range guns from South Africa and Soviet rocket launchers from Ukraine, as well as benefiting from the services of military advisers from Morocco and pilots from security companies from Ukraine, South Africa and Cuba. (Return)

Regarding the financing of the war in Angola, huge budgets have been allocated from a variety of sources. The Angolan government received oil revenues estimated at \$10 million per day from American, French, British and Belgian companies, in addition to diamond revenues worth \$400 million, as the government sold \$3.7 billion worth of diamonds between 1992 and 1998, despite a United Nations decision to ban the illegal trade in diamonds in July 1999. (Odeh, Africa at the End of the Twentieth Century, "Al-Ahram Economic Book" No. 127) UNITA used its revenues to finance the war (ciment, Angola and Mozambique past colonial wars in southern Africa). , 1997)

Factors of civil war in Angola:

The causes of Angola's civil war are many and overlapping, but they are mainly based on the failure to form a coalition government after independence, the struggle for power, divergent tribal affiliations, as well as different ideological, political, economic, and social orientations. For example, the popular movement was moving toward the Soviet Union and Marxism-Leninism, while the National Union leaned toward the United States and capitalism. (Saudi, Issues of Africa, 1980)

In general, many internal and external factors contributed to the Angolan Civil War, from the period before independence from Portuguese colonialism to its aftermath. These factors include:

Internal factors of the war:

Internal factors are one of the main causes of the civil war in Angola, and contributed to its continuation for more than twenty-seven years. (Religion, April 2000)

These factors, which are diverse and numerous, have escalated and exacerbated the conflict. The most prominent of these factors are summarized below:

First: Historical Inheritances:

European colonies in Africa suffered from harsh colonial practices that greatly affected the political, economic and social dimensions of those regions. These practices have resulted in changes in the political map of Africa, giving rise to the problems of minorities and nationalities, as well as the issues of refugees and displaced persons. These colonial legacies have perpetuated disparities and created an environment conducive to conflict, as illustrated in the Angolan case. (Fleifel, 1996)

Multiregionalism:

Before the arrival of the Portuguese, Angola consisted of several different kingdoms and political organizations. Some parts of northern Angola belonged to the Kingdom of Congo, while others came under the Kingdom of Ndungu, founded by the people of Ngola, from whom the name present-day Angola is derived. The Kasanje kingdom also played a strategic role in mediating between major cities, such as Luanda and Luba. The region has witnessed fierce conflicts between these kingdoms, further complicating Angola's political landscape. (Awad, 1974)

Angola, which we know by its present borders, did not exist before the Portuguese came to it as occupiers, as significant parts of present-day northern Angola belonged to what was then known as the Kingdom of Congo, while other parts of central Angola were subject to another kingdom known as the Kingdom of Ndongo, founded by the people of Ngola, to whom the name of the current state belongs. If we turn east from the Kingdom of Ndungu, there was another kingdom known as the Kingdom of Kasange, which was founded by a people, and enjoyed economic and strategic importance because it played the role of mediator between Luanda, the capital of Ndungu at the time, and the current capital of Angola, and other cities in the east such as Luba and Luanda. Located on the road to the Katanga province of present-day Democratic Republic of the Congo (Chaba) and formerly Zaire. (pleissier, 1971) During the sixteenth century, fierce battles and wars took place between the kingdoms of Ndongo and Kassanj, in other words, between the Mbondo and Ambangala tribes (ib, Angolan civil war, 2002) and the Banguila Plateau. Several kingdoms were founded by ethnic subgroups, founded by the bellies of the Ofimbundu tribe in the seventeenth century. This tribe controlled the trade routes between Benguela on the ocean and the Zambezi River in the east,

The Huila Plateau was home to the Kingdom of Bie, which oversaw the trade routes between Luanda and the Makaculu tribes settled on the banks of the Zambezi River, where a strong clash with the Portuguese due to its strategic location ended with its occupation and their trade in slaves from among its sons. (Duffy, 1959) In the far south was the Kingdom of Kwatahama, founded by a tribe of the same name and belonging to the Ambo group settled on the eastern banks of the Kunin River, which contributed to the transport and prosperity of trade in the port of Mozambique, and was a stable land for migrations from the Cape of Good Hope and Transvaal, where these migrants originated from the Bushmen, African Huntut or Boer tribes. Where that kingdom was suffering from a state of segregation and weakness due to isolation of its bellies, its rejection and its resistance to any central authority at the expense of its entity.

Multi-ethnicity:

Angola is formed from a multi-ethnic fabric that includes about a hundred tribes, in which several major languages are spread, the most prominent and strongest of which is the Ovimbundu tribe settled in the central Mirfaat, which knew a division among its subgroups, although it speaks one language, the Umbundo language, it controlled the central plateaus of the country, but it was suffering from political division, and therefore it was an obstacle to the spread of central power from Luanda, the capital of the Kingdom of Ndungu. In establishing a conflict situation

between them and other ethnic groups that existed before and during the Portuguese colonial era (Samuels, 1969) and may have later represented a kind of conflict continuity that spread and the country suffers from in the form of a civil war, which makes us conclude that the reality of civil war was lived throughout the centuries of life of these tribes and Angola continued to suffer from it even in the post-independence phase. On the other hand, (pleissier, Rene Angola s people, 1971) has settled within Angola during the period of the Portuguese occupation ethnic groups did not exist before with conflicting political and cultural entities such as the Europeans, and the result of colonial rule different degrees of control and practices in the region separately, the variation of cultural influences and cases of social change as well as the disparity of the share of each ethnic group of association with colonialism and serve its interests in exchange for some gains, and these are the spoilers of the colonial presence or exposure to attrition and abuse on the part of the colonizers due to their hostile role and these are the debtors of this existence, which resulted in the spread of a state of internal conflict under colonialism. (Fleifel, 1996), which contributed greatly through his policies and practices to its continuation and fueling.

Colonial Legacy:

It can be considered that the Portuguese colonial practices in Angola are the main reason for the deterioration of the social situation and the deterioration of the standard of living of the Angolans, especially with the continuous depletion of the capabilities and resources of Angola's land and people (Bender, 1978)) , but if we go back to the history of the Portuguese presence on Angolan territory because the beginning of the entry of the Portuguese was from the northern parts of Angola, which was characterized by its submission to the territory of the Congo (what was called the Old Kingdom of the Congo) (Al-Barawi, 1962), where colonial control extended from Luanda and then "Ndungo Territory" between the 17th - 19th centuries (Duffy, 1959) Note that most of the northern regions of Angola are areas of social composition Congolese origin, and gradually Portugal sought to annex them to its areas of influence starting in 1883, according to what falls within its colonial strategies based on plans for the European colonial division of the continent of Africa, which coincided with the height of the European colonial movement, especially with the issuance of the decisions of the Berlin 2 Conference held in 1884, as for the southern regions Eastern Portugal fought fierce competition with Britain in the colony of Northern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe currently), which enabled it to impose its control over it starting in 1891, while the region of Cabinda is the last region annexed by the Portuguese colonizer in 1958 and thus began the process of shaping the features of the political map of contemporary Angola,

In the end, we conclude that the northeastern region of Angola is a Congolese territory of geographical and demographic origin and therefore it has a Congolese social and cultural composition, and with the emergence and discovery of oil fields and diamond mines in abundance, these historical factors mixed with the colonial legacy turned into one of the main internal factors in the outbreak of the Angolan civil war, which made this region more inclined to revolution and rejection of the authority of the Angolan center in Luanda. In addition to that, it is considered an important point in the gathering of American and European investments. This latter paved the way for the emergence of an armed opposition movement that played a role in the civil war immediately after independence, and thus gradually the Cabinda region became a field of tension and conflict of interest internally and externally (Fleifel, The Historical Roots of the Angolan Civil War, 1996).

Second: Dichotomy and conflictual tendencies:(The multiplicity of liberation movements - the cold war among them)

One of the most prominent problems facing the struggle of the national movement in Angola, which was linked to the political conflicts in the country, was the phenomenon of multiple movements and divisions. Although the diversity and divisions of liberation movements were common in African colonies seeking independence, Angola was a prime example of the prevalence and complexity of this phenomenon. Many movements, organizations, parties and associations have emerged, all claiming to be operating in Tahrir Square. The Portuguese colonial authorities effectively exploited this situation, helping to fuel disagreements between Angolan movements both at home and in exile. As a result, defections increased, and each member or group became the founders of a new organization with a new national name, as the main objective of these organizations was not to confront the Portuguese authorities, but to preoccupy themselves with waging a cold war against other national organizations. Instead of directing their efforts towards combating Portuguese colonialism, these groups have often turned to internal conflict and exchanged attacks. (Al-Qarai, Movement for Armed Liberation in Angola, 1970)

In addition to the division between the various national movements and their conflict among themselves, there was also conflict among them and no movement was spared internal betrayals, such as what happened within the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) from the defections and departure of the Dacruz faction in 1963 and its accession to the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA). Note that the SPLM will assume power after independence. (Al-Jamal, 1998)

In addition, Angola's government-in-exile has been characterized by a long history of factionalism, expulsions, and defections, often driven by regional and ethnic tendencies. For example, Marcos Kasanga, the Angolan government's first military commander in exile, was removed from his post, to be replaced by José Kalund Ngo, who represents the Ofimendo tribe in the south. But less than two years later, in mid-1964, Kalund Ngo was also fired. This prompted him to reveal government secrets, announcing divisions in the the military and some training bases that were just propaganda, and publicly accused Roberto Holden, the prime minister in exile, of assassinating his dissenting comrades.

On July 16, 1964, Jonas Savimbi, the government's foreign minister in exile and also from the south, submitted his resignation during a press conference on the sidelines of the Second African Summit in Cairo. Savimbi justified his resignation by citing Holden and his government's inaction in armed struggle, accusing him of bias and favoritism towards the Bakongo tribe in northern Angola, where northerners held 13 of the 19 ministerial posts, seven of whom were strongly related to Holden.

In response to Savimbi's resignation and statements exposing Holden, Holden arrested and imprisoned 60 Savimbi supporters of the Ufbendo tribe. The government's defense minister, Alexander Tati, participated in a plot to overthrow Holden and then joined Portuguese forces in Cabinda, where he founded a tribal militia and threatened the Mbala movement, but the latter managed to eliminate the militia. (Al-Qarai, Movement for Armed Liberation in Angola, 1970)

One of the most striking forms of division and conflict among the ranks of the Angolan national movement was its complete inability to do two very important things: (Rothschild, 1977).

First: the lack of consensus between the various fronts of the Angolan National Movement and then support and activation of the Provisional Government of Angola established in 1962, as that government was composed of three organizations, the most important of which was the party founded by "Holden Roberto Zhou Party of the Union of the People of Angola" and, in addition to the Angolan Democratic Party headed by "Emmanuel Kotzica" and the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, despite the recognition of the Organization of African Unity of that government in 1963, but because of the lack of joining movements to that The government such as (MPLA) contributed and accelerated the weakening of that government and further perpetuated the state of division between the different currents of the Angolan national movement and maintained the conflict situation among them.

Second: The divisive situation that prevailed in the political scene between the various Angolan organizations with the start of the Portuguese independence negotiations, due to a number of reasons that express the ideologies and convictions of each movement, perhaps the most prominent of which is the firm conviction of each movement that it is the sole legitimate representative of the Angolan people and therefore the most deserving, most worthy and priority to negotiate independence and then reach power in the country.

Third: Separatist tendencies:

One aspect of the conflict in Angola was manifested by resistance to separatism in the Kabanda region, which is known for its richness in oil and diamonds. Located between Congo Brazzaville and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, this territory covers an area of seven thousand square kilometers and a population of less than 80,000 people. Salazar had administratively annexed this territory to Angola in the early fifties, and oil was discovered in 1966, with a production of about 150,000 barrels per day in 1974.

Thanks to the region's vast wealth, separatist tendencies supported internally and externally have emerged since 1966. Two main groups emerged, the Democratic Union of the Citizens of Kabanda (UPCA) and the Kabanda People's Movement, which later united under the name of the Kabanda Liberation Front (FLIB). This front was pursuing the goal of Kabanda's secession from Angola, and both the Roar (Democratic Republic of the Congo) and Congo (Brazzaville) had direct economic interests in Kabanda's secession.

But the front soon split into two groups: the first led by Louis Rank-Frank, backed by Congo (Kinshasa), and the second led by Auguste Chiumu and backed by Congo (Brazzaville). In the midst of the Angolan Civil War, on August 1, 1975, Louis Frank of the Campla region unilaterally declared Cabinda's independence from Angola. (Labib S., Independence and Conflict in Angola, 1976)

The Captain's guardian liberation front based its claims for secession on historical evidence concerning the legal nature of the territory's relationship with Portugal. In 1881, the governor of Cabinda requested the protection of Portugal from Belgian colonization in Congo (Kinshasa) in exchange for commercial rights and benefits, including a 100-year treaty of protection, ratified at the Berlin Conference of 1885.

But the former Portuguese dictator, Salazar, annexed Cabinda to Portugal's colonies in Luanda since 1958. FLCP considered that the annexation was illegal, owing to the continued validity of the Treaty. The FLN accused Salazar of making the decision after huge quantities of oil were discovered in the province. (Rib, Angolan Civil War, 2002)

On the night of November 11, 1975, Admiral Lidnell Cardozo, the Portuguese High Commissioner, declared the independence of Angola and the withdrawal of his troops, saying:

"I hope that fratricidal conflict will end quickly, that the tools of work will replace the tools of destruction and death, and that Angola will be an indivisible, truly independent unit, free from any foreign interference."

The Portuguese withdrew after five centuries of colonialism, leaving behind a divided African country: the FNLA movement controlled the northwest, the MPLA controlled Luanda and the central region, and the international union for total independence of Angola (UNITA) controlled the south and west.

Immediately after the withdrawal of the Portuguese and the declaration of independence, the Mbla movement proclaimed the birth of the People's Republic of Angola in Luanda, under the presidency of Dr. Agostino Neto, followed by the establishment of the necessary constitutional and administrative institutions and the raising of its black and red gold-star flag. Within a few days, this new government received official recognition from many countries such as Congo, Guinea, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Algeria, Somalia, Nigeria, Cuba, the Soviet Union, the GDR, Poland, Syria, Brazil and others.

In contrast, Finla and UNITA quickly refused to recognize the government of the People's Republic, declaring the People's Democratic Republic of Angola and choosing Huambo as the interim capital of their republic. The city is located in the main mountainous plateau region, with the highest population density in southern Angola, but this government has not received official recognition from any country. (Ahmed, 1976)

Conclusion :

- The civil war in Angola proved that the main reason for the weakness of national integration was the entrenchment of tribalism, which was considered an obstacle to national unity and an obstacle to the establishment of a stable national state, due to the inability of the population fabric in Angola to assimilate and harmonize in the crucible of the same homeland, as a result of ethnographic and linguistic differences.
- The civil war proved that the ideologies followed by the national movements in Angola are not according to sectarian convictions, but are adopted in order to differentiate with the opposing movements, as evidenced by UNITA's change of its doctrine of "Marxism" and its orientation to the arms of the "West" because of its disagreement with "Mbla" Marxism, and the "Mabla" movement was also forced to abandon its declared Marxism in order to preserve its interests and to appease the West and the United States of America, which threatened to intervene directly if it threatened its oil interests and its privileges to extract diamonds.
- It can be said that religious-confessional differences in Angola (Protestantism in the south and east, and Catholicism in the center and west) were only a catalyst for tribal differences, yet religious-doctrinal differences contributed directly or indirectly to fueling and increasing tribal differences.
- Foreign intervention in this war was very clear at all stages of the conflict, and carries with it the competition of interests and influence at times, and the ideological conflict at other times, which earned the war a kind of regional

and international polarization of the local conflicting forces, which increased the intensity of that war and its continuation.

- This war, which has internal and external dimensions, has resulted in a state of insecurity and instability, the disruption of the development process, the depletion of state resources, in addition to the killing of thousands and the displacement of millions of Angolans, whether inside Angola or in neighboring countries, especially in light of its continuation for nearly thirty years.
- Despite all the efforts made to end that war and find a settlement to it, it did not stop with the participation of several parties, and the result was the development of many agreements and settlements, but the problem remained the non-entry into force of these agreements and settlements, which increased the size of the stalemate that beset that crisis.

List of margins:

- **Marxism:** It is a belief and an analytical method, as well as a political, economic, and social philosophical theory, founded by "Karl Marx" and his friend "Friedrich Engels" and then its ideas began to develop by their students and those who adopted this method. See Ahmad Al-Shuyoukhat: The International Arabic Encyclopedia, 2004, p. 37.

Jonas Malheiro Savimbi **Jonas Malheiro Savimbi:** An Angolan politician who studied in Lisbon in the late fifties of the 20th century, joined the Angolan National Liberation Front (FLN), which was led by Roberto Holden at the time, but Savimbi soon withdrew from the Front to found a party in 1966 known as UNITA. When Angola regained its sovereignty in 1975, Savimbi decided to rebel and lead the armed opposition against the government of the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola and Cuba, until 1991 there was a ceasefire, but the MPLA won the elections the following year again, but Savimbi re-entered the armed opposition until he died in 2001. For more see Moncef Bekay: Studies and Research in the History of Sub-Saharan Africa, Dar El Ummah for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Algeria, 2017, p. 17.

Roberto Holden (12-01-1923/02-08-2007), born in Sao Salvador and now known as Mbenza Congo, capital of the ancient Kingdom of Congo. An Angolan politician who established several parties (Union of the People of Northern Angola 1954, Union of the People of Angola 1958, Angolan National Front 1962, Revolutionary Government of Angola in exile), participated in the independence agreements with Portugal, was forced into exile in France and Congo, returned to Angola in 1991 to participate in elections in 1992. See: **J.P. Cosse - J. Sanchez:** op.cit.pp48-49.

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